Social Inclusion
Open Access Journal | ISSN: 2183-2803

Volume 8, Issue 3 (2020)

Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives

Editors

Pascal Delheye, Kirsten Verkooijen, Dan Parnell, John Hayton and Reinhard Haudenhuyse

COGITATIO

Social Inclusion, 2020, Volume 8, Issue 3
Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives

Published by Cogitatio Press
Rua Fialho de Almeida 14, 2º Esq.,
1070-129 Lisbon
Portugal

Academic Editors
Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium)
Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands)
Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK)
John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK)
Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)

Available online at: www.cogitatiopress.com/socialinclusion

This issue is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY). Articles may be reproduced provided that credit is given to the original and *Social Inclusion* is acknowledged as the original venue of publication.

Table of Contents

Boundary Spanning in Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives
Reinhard Haudenhuyse, John Hayton, Dan Parnell, Kirsten Verkooijen and Pascal Delheye 123–128

Sport for Vulnerable Youth: The Role of Multi-Professional Groups in Sustaining Intersectoral Collaboration
Chiara D'Angelo, Chiara Corvino, Eloisa Cianci and Caterina Gozzoli 129–138

Bridge over Troubled Water: Linking Capacities of Sport and Non-Sport Organizations
Mathieu Marlier, Bram Constandt, Cleo Schyvinck, Thomas De Bock, Mathieu Winand and Annick Willem 139–151

Using Realist Interviews to Improve Theory on the Mechanisms and Outcomes of Sport for Development Programmes
Kirsten Thecla Verkooijen, Sabina Super, Lisanne Sofie Mulderij, Dico de Jager and Annemarie Wagemakers 152–161

Young People's Perceptions of the Influence of a Sport-for-Social-Change Program on Their Life Trajectories
Rob Cunningham, Anne Bunde-Birouste, Patrick Rawstorne and Sally Nathan 162–176

(Re)forming the Inside/Outside: On Place as a Governable Domain through Sports-Based Interventions
David Ekholm and Magnus Dahlstedt 177–186

Sport and Incarceration: Theoretical Considerations for Sport for Development Research
Mark Norman 187–196

Exploring the Contested Notion of Social Inclusion and Gender Inclusivity within eSport Spaces
Emily Jane Hayday and Holly Collison 197–208

"Why Can't I Play?": Transdisciplinary Learnings for Children with Disability's Sport Participation
Simon Darcy, Janice Ollerton and Simone Grabowski 209–223

Inclusion through Sport: A Critical View on Paralympic Legacy from a Historical Perspective
Sylvain Ferez, Sébastien Ruffié, Hélène Joncheray, Anne Marcellini, Sakis Pappous and Rémi Richard 224–235

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 123–128
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.3531

Editorial

Boundary Spanning in Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives

Reinhard Haudenhuyse [1,*], John Hayton [2], Dan Parnell [3], Kirsten Verkooijen [4] and Pascal Delheye [5]

[1] Faculty of Physical Education and Physiotherapy, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 1050 Brussels, Belgium;
E-Mail: reinhard.haudenhuyse@vub.be
[2] Department of Sport, Exercise and Rehabilitation, Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 8SG, UK;
E-Mail: john.w.hayton@northumbria.ac.uk
[3] University of Liverpool Management School, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, L69 7ZH, UK;
E-Mail: d.parnell@liverpool.ac.uk
[4] Chair Group Health and Society, Wageningen University & Research, 6700 Wageningen, The Netherlands;
E-Mail: kirsten.verkooijen@wur.nl
[5] Department of Political Sciences, Ghent University, 9000 Ghent, Belgium; E-Mail: pascal.delheye@ugent.be

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 29 July 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract
We can no longer claim that academic interest in the area of sport and social inclusion is lacking. Dedicated books, special issues, commissioned reports, and landmark articles on the topic of social inclusion and sport have been produced by devoted scholars. The same can be said for the burgeoning area of sport for development and peace. These relatively young academic fields seem to be struggling to create new fundamental theoretical insights about how organized sport can both act as an inclusive space and as a vehicle for broader developmental outcomes. Despite scholarly advancements, there remains a number of empirical and theoretical gaps. The aim of this special issue is to critically reflect on issues related to sport, development, and inclusion, and to do so via transdisciplinary and intersectoral perspectives. By making such a contribution, we aim to open up new research pathways.

Keywords
inclusion; intersectoral collaboration; sport for development and peace; transdisciplinarity

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

We can no longer claim that academic interest in the area of sport and social inclusion is lacking. Dedicated books (e.g., Collins, 2002; Dagkas & Armour, 2012; Spaaij, Magee, & Jeanes, 2014), special issues (e.g., Haudenhuyse, 2017; Schaillée, Haudenhuyse, & Bradt, 2019), commissioned reports (e.g., Coalter, 2005; Donnelly & Coakley, 2002), and landmark articles (e.g., Bailey, 2005; Kelly, 2011; Lawson, 2005) on the topic of social inclusion and sport have been produced by devoted scholars. The same can be said for the burgeoning area of sport for development and peace (see Darnell, 2012, for a critical sociology, and Collison, Darnell, Giulianotti, & Howe, 2018, for a collection), which even saw the emergence of a dedicated international open access journal: *Journal of Sport for Development*. So why then another special edition on the topic?

These relatively young academic fields seem to be struggling to create new fundamental theoretical insights about how organized sport can both act as an inclusive space and as a vehicle for broader developmental outcomes. Despite scholarly advancements, there remains a number of empirical and theoretical gaps. The aim of this special issue is to critically reflect on issues related to sport, development, and inclusion, and to do so via transdisciplinary and intersectoral perspectives. By making such a contribution, we aim to open up new research pathways.

2. Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives

Often bound within our own discipline (i.e., the broad field of sport and exercise science), research projects are conceptualized and managed in the offices and hallways of Sport, Health, and Kinesiology university departments. For the most part, we publish our work in peer-reviewed sport journals wherein journal scope is decided by editorial boards (sometimes almost) entirely made up by sport scientists, and where double-blind peer-reviews are performed by sport scholars. When PhD examination committees are formed, we often invite colleagues from our own fields, thus perpetuating institutional and disciplinary boundaries. And for the most part we present our work at sport scientific conferences.

When respondents and settings are selected for interviews, questionnaires, observations, or focus groups, they mostly are situated within what we could term 'the sport sector.' We do not appear to be interested in people that are in no way involved in sport, although equally relevant insights could be gained about social in-/exclusion or development from involving people that are not doing, providing or managing sport. Linking sport research to multiple life and policy domains is vitally important and should, as such, include studies from a broad inter-sectoral perspective. This would also require a need for different disciplines working together to create new conceptual, theoretical, and methodological innovations that can move beyond discipline-specific approaches to address common problems (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, p. 242). Such a collaborative and collective approach has been described as transdisciplinary research (Sparkes & Smith, 2014) and can lead to the development of new theories and synergies of methods in relation to sport, social inclusion, and development.

3. Muddling through Theoretical Boundaries

Disciplinary and sectoral 'boundary closure' hinders the generation of new fundamental theoretical insights about how organized sport can act both as an inclusive space and a vehicle for broad developmental outcomes. Questions about how the field could go beyond the status quo are seldom asked. One possible reason for this is a failure of sport scholars to critically engage with new theoretical developments in more mainstream scientific disciplines such as, for example, sociology, educational sciences, economics, political sciences, gender studies, history, business, management, or philosophy. We rarely encounter researchers from such disciplines in our university hallways, doctoral examination juries and *viva voces*, editorial board meetings, or conferences rooms. When we do draw upon, adapt, or extend 'foreign theories or concepts,' such as, for example, social capital or positive youth development (see Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016), we neglect to keep up to speed with the latest theoretical insights and debates on how such theories are contemporarily applied to 'mainstream' issues.

Whilst the term 'development' is often employed within the sport for development literature, it is seldom theoretically and critically unpacked (for exceptions see Black, 2009; Burnett, 2015; Darnell, 2012). Development often slips into becoming a Western (often neo-conservative) hegemonic concept that is viewed as inherently good. Ziai (2013) provocatively wrote that numerous practices that have been carried out in the name of development have not improved but rather deteriorated the human condition. So, we should not consider all development as inherently good. Additionally, unlike the social in- and exclusion duality, there seems to be no counterpart for 'development,' which is indicative for its hegemonic conceptual nature. It becomes even more problematic when the analytical capacity of 'development' is distracted and deemphasized by abbreviated forms such as SfD (i.e., Sport for Development) or SDP (i.e., Sport for Development & Peace). In a similar vein, most publications on sport and social inclusion do not provide a fundamental debate on what inclusion actually is, nor what the underlying values are that we use to define it (for exceptions see Kelly, 2011; Kingsley & Spencer-Cavaliere, 2015) and how such values are shaped by the places and backgrounds of sport scholars. If we are to engage in such debates, then we also need to ask ourselves why we prefer to use the term 'social' inclusion, and not, for example, economic, cultural, or societal inclusion?

4. Why Are We Talking Development and Not Inclusion?

Before we introduce the selected articles, we must first elaborate on why we chose to incorporate sport for development into the title of this special issue, and not social inclusion. We did not make this decision simply because we favor development over social inclusion. Both concepts suffer from conceptual shallowness and have been criticized for their underlying normative assumptions (Haudenhuyse, 2017; Ziai, 2013). Interestingly enough, and illustrative for the use of normative and un-examined concepts, is that when referring to 'sport-for-good' programs, social inclusion is dominantly used within Global North settings and sport for development (and peace) in the Global 'developing' South. The underlying rationale is: People and societies in the Global

South need to be developed to become more like the Global North, while people excluded in the Global North 'just' need to be included in an already developed system. With that said, we do see that the term sport for development is increasingly being used to refer to (community) sport programs in the Global North (see D'Angelo, Corvino, Cianci, & Gozzoli, 2020; Haudenhuyse et al., 2018; Marlier et al., 2020).

The reason we have chosen sport for development is to attract scholars that are active in at least one of these two fields to contribute to a special issue in the journal of *Social Inclusion*. A cursory view across the titles of the manuscripts that compose this special issue illustrates that both social inclusion and sport for development are included.

5. Introducing the Selected Papers

This unique collection of selected articles opens up transdisciplinary and intersectoral perspectives on the role, impact, and study of sport for development. Rather than boundary closers, the authors of each of the selected articles for this special issue can be viewed as academic "boundary spanners" (Williams, 2002). They do so by innovatively combining theoretical perspectives from different scientific disciplines and taking a broad—as opposed to a traditional-narrow—sectoral approach in their research on their respective sport topics.

5.1. Multi-Professional and Intersectoral Approaches

Chiara D'Angelo, Chiara Corvino, Eloisa Cianca, and Caterina Gozzoli apply a psycho-sociological perspective to explore the importance of multi-professional groups in sport for development projects working with vulnerable youth (D'Angelo et al., 2020). From the interviews with social workers and sport workers, their findings show that belonging to a multi-professional group is a meaningful resource for triggering workers' reflexivity and promoting intersectoral collaboration. Programs are more likely to succeed when professionals and volunteers have the time and space to deal with the unpredictable and volatile nature of young people's lives. This also implies that programs working towards predefined outcomes or 'targets' will exclude the most vulnerable young people (Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, & Nols, 2012). D'Angelo et al. (2020) found that when social workers and sport workers are embedded in a well-managed multi-professional team, they are not only better equipped to deal with unexpected events and young people's negative emotions, but also have more time to develop meaningful relationships with young people. A major implication for program design that D'Angelo et al. (2020) stress is that professionals also need the space and time for face-to-face contact and interpersonal collaboration.

Using a multiple case study design, Mathieu Marlier, Bram Constandt, Cleo Schyvinck, Thomas De Bock, Mathieu Winand, and Annick Willem interviewed personnel from sport, social, health, cultural, and youth organizations in six disadvantaged communities to investigate how the application of capacity building principles may result in higher sport participation rates (Marlier et al., 2020). The reference to troubled waters in the title refers to the difficulties between different types of organizations in valuing and utilizing one another's skills, experiences, expertise, and resources in order to boost their collective capacities. Importantly, based on the principles of capacity building, Marlier et al. (2020) identify three actions that community sport for development programs can take: (1) establish a mix of sport staff, social workers, and representatives of people in disadvantaged situations (see also the study on multi-professional groups of D'Angelo et al., 2020); (2) help (sport) organizations to cope with financial, organizational, and cultural pressures working in disadvantaged situations; and (3) reinforce sport activities when existing local organizations are not able to fulfil the sporting needs of people in disadvantaged situations. By formulating key implications about how (sport) organizations can include people living in disadvantaged communities, Marlier et al.'s (2020) study makes a valuable contribution to policy and practice.

5.2. Mechanisms and Outcomes

Kirsten Verkooijen, Sabina Super, Lisanne Mulderij, Dico de Jager, and Annemarie Wagemakers take on the challenge of evaluating the complexities and intricacies of sport for development programs (Verkooijen, Super, Mulderij, de Jager, & Wagemakers, 2020). Their study explores the value of using realist (evaluation) interviews to gain insights about mechanisms and outcomes in three different programs aimed at marginalized youth and adults. Realist evaluation superimposes the 'Why did it (not) work' question, as opposed to more traditional 'Did it work' question. This not only allows for the generation of theoretical insights—or how the authors call it "theoretical awareness" (Verkooijen et al., 2020)—about the inner workings of sport for development programs, but also assists in the identification of knowledge gaps of program coordinators and practitioners about the evaluated programs. Aligning with the transdisciplinary aim of the special issue, the authors explore the applicability of a conceptual model from the field of social enterprise. Doing so, Verkooijen et al. (2020) construct a program theory for the investigated programs which can be used as a didactical template that practitioners can draw upon to improve their own program design. However, the authors also identify challenges associated with using realist interviews and theory-based methodologies. One of the main challenges is to distinguish between outcomes, mechanisms, and context. For example, an outcome might become part of the context, since programs working with (young) people in challenging settings do not follow a linear trajectory, and nor do their participants.

In "Where are they now?," Rob Cunningham, Anne Bunde-Birouste, Patrick Rawstorne, and Sally Nathan explore young people's perceptions of how a youth-focused sport-for-social-change programs influenced their life trajectories (Cunningham, Bunde-Birouste, Rawstorne, & Nathan, 2020). Their research is unique in that past participants of a football-based program were interviewed about the perceived the impact of the program on their lives. Findings from Cunningham et al. (2020) show that the program had played an influential role in the education and career-based choices of past participants. The program also increased participants' social capital (bonding and bridging), and this was especially so for participants who had experienced displacement and trauma as refugees prior to resettlement. In order to have both a broader and more in-depth understanding on the past, present, and future life trajectories of (young) people that have participated in sport for development programs, the authors impress upon readers the importance of longitudinal research.

5.3. Spaces and Places

David Ekholm and Magnus Dahlstedt investigate the significance of geographic place in relation to sport for development initiatives (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2020). The authors bring in concepts from urban geography and social policy to explore an important topic that has, to date, not been addressed both in sport for social inclusion and sport for development literature. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and interviews in two urban areas in Sweden, the authors found that the places where sport for development projects are implemented are separated from the rest of society through both material and symbolic borders. From their findings it becomes clear that the significance of place is closely related to how communities and certain demarcated urban disadvantaged areas are problematized and made 'governable' for social interventions. The authors also make evident how underlying discourses from 'the outside' negatively impact urban communities through, for example, forms of stigmatization (e.g., no-go zones) and discrimination (e.g., criminalization of youth). The article points to the paradoxical nature of how sport for development (or inclusion) programs and policies can contribute to the otherness and exclusion of urban communities. One of the major practical implications that emerged was that, together with people living in urban areas, programs also need to work on co-constructing counter-narratives against dominant exclusionary discourses.

In his article, Mark Norman develops some initial theoretical connections between the literatures on sport for development, leisure studies, prison sport, criminology, and human (carceral) geography (Norman, 2020). Norman (2020) argues that since millions of people are held in sites of confinement such as prisons, (asylum) detention centers, and refugee camps, sport for development research needs to connect with this emerging body of literature on sport and incarceration. This will allow for increasing the theoretical depth of sport for development and social inclusion research. Some of the conclusions in Norman's article resonate well with the article of Ekholm and Dahlstedt (2020), particularly in relation to sport-based social inclusion programs geared at youth living in urban disadvantaged areas, that young people can often find themselves confined by the material and symbolic borders of a neoliberal state architecture. Norman (2020) calls for a carceral geography of sport that can lead to a more nuanced theoretical analysis of time, space, social control, and resistance in and through sport for development programs.

Emily Jane Hayday and Holly Collison explore the role of esport as a new sport-based activity to achieve the developmental goals of the sport for development (and peace) movement (Hayday & Collison, 2020). Using focus groups and interviews with game publishers, sport for development organizations, esports teams, tournament organizers, and gamers, the authors question the utility of esports as a space to enact social inclusion for women and girls. As an analytical transdisciplinary framework to understand gender dynamics, Hayday and Collison (2020) innovatively combine Lefebvre's spatial theory and Bailey's conceptual model of social inclusion. Findings showed that the dominant hypermasculine dynamics of digital platforms contribute to gender inequality and discrimination (e.g., sexism) within such online communities. This is further aggravated and nurtured by corporate business agendas. Hayday and Collison (2020) show that intersectoral collaboration also holds risks and can actually work against inclusionary and developmental agendas (i.e., UN Sustainable Development Goal 5: Empower woman and girls and ensure their equal rights).

5.4. Disabled Bodies

In their article "Why can't I play?," Simon Darcy, Janice Ollerton, and Simone Faulkner explore the leisure constraints of children with disabilities in community-based sport clubs and schools through the views of parents, teachers, coaches, and club officials (Darcy, Ollerton, & Grabowski, 2020). They analyzed their data using a transdisciplinary conceptual framework, combining the social model of disability and the leisure constraints framework. Their research brings a new social lens to reconceptualize and understand intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints to sport participation for children with disabilities. The authors stress that many impairment-related constraints are not internally located with the child, and as such would need to be challenged through interpersonal support and structural changes. Darcy et al. (2020) conclude by outlining the implications of their findings for policy and practice, not only regarding sport, but also health, education, and social work.

The inclusion and the visibility of disabled athletes has recently become a crucial goal for every organizing committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

Sylvain Ferez, Sébastien Ruffié, Hélène Joncheray, Anne Marcellini, Sakis Pappous, and Rémi Richard take a critical look at the Paralympic movement from a socio-historical perspective (Ferez et al., 2020). In critiquing the leveraging effects of Paralympic Games upon grassroots and elite sport participation, the authors utilize the literature to demonstrate that barriers and forms of exclusion depend on the type of disability (e.g., intellectual disability, sensory impairment). Ferez et al. (2020) also highlight that the extent of media coverage of Paralympic performance depends on the disabilities of the athletes. They call for more inclusive and encompassing representations of disabled sporting bodies that moves away from the exclusive and exclusionary coverage of a small number of high-level athletes often framed according to notions of their able-bodiedness.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Ulf Hedetoft (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) and the Editorial Board of *Social Inclusion* for giving us the opportunity to act as Guest Editors of a thematic issue on the broad theme of sport, development, and social inclusion. A sincere word of gratitude also to António Vieira and Mariana Pires (Cogitatio Press) for their utmost professional approach in coordinating and managing this thematic issue. Their assistance was crucial during the difficult time of the Covid-19 pandemic. Finally, we would like to thank all the authors and reviewers that have contributed to the thematic issue.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Bailey, R. (2005). Evaluating the relationship between physical education, sport and social inclusion. *Educational Review*, *57*(1), 71–90.

Black, D. (2009).The ambiguities of development: Implications for ‘development through sport.’ *Sport in Society*, *13*(1), 121–129.

Burnett, C. (2015). Assessing the sociology of sport: On sport for development and peace. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *50*(4/5), 385–390.

Coalter, F. (2005). *The social benefits of sports: An overview to inform the community planning process* (Sportscotland Research Report No. 98). Edinburgh: Sportscotland.

Collins, M. (2002). *Sport and social exclusion*. London: Routledge.

Collison, H., Darnell, S., Giulianotti, R., & Howe, P. (Eds.). (2018). *Routledge handbook of sport for development and peace*. London: Routledge.

Cunningham, R., Bunde-Birouste, A., Rawstorne, P., & Nathan, S. (2020). Young people’s perceptions of the influence of a sport-for-social-change program on their life trajectories. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 162–176. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2828

D’Angelo, C., Corvino, C., Cianci, E., & Gozzoli, C. (2020). Sport for vulnerable youth: The role of multi-professional groups in sustaining intersectoral collaboration. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 129–138. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2745

Dagkas, S., & Armour, K. (2012). Introduction. In S. Dagkas & K. Armour (Eds.), *Inclusion and exclusion through youth sport* (pp. 1–6). New York, NY: Routledge.

Darcy, S., Ollerton, J., & Grabowski, S. (2020). “Why can’t I play?”: Transdisciplinary learnings for children with disability’s sport participation. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 209–223. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2750

Darnell, S. (2012). *Sport for development and peace: A critical sociology*. London: Bloomsbury.

Donnelly, P., & Coakley, J. (2002). *The role of recreation in promoting social inclusion: Perspectives on social inclusion working paper series*. Toronto: Laidlaw Foundation.

Ekholm, D., & Dahlstedt, M. (2020). (Re)forming the inside/outside: On place as a governable domain through sports-based interventions. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 177–186. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2688

Ferez, S., Ruffié, S., Joncheray, H., Marcellini, A., Pappous, S., & Richard, R. (2020). Inclusion through sport: A critical view on paralympic legacy from a historical perspective. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 224–235. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2735

Haudenhuyse, R. (2017). Introduction to the issue “Sport for social inclusion: Questioning policy, practice and research.” *Social inclusion*, *5*(2), 85–90.

Haudenhuyse, R., Theeboom, M., & Nols, Z. (2012). Sports-based interventions for socially vulnerable youth: Towards well-defined interventions with easy-to-follow outcomes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(4), 471–484 .

Haudenhuyse, R., Buelens, E., Debognies, P., De Bosscher, V., Derom, I., Nols, Z., . . . Vertonghen, J. (2018). Belgium: Community sport for development. In H. Collison, S. Darnell, R. Giulianotti, & P. Howe (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of sport for development and peace* (pp. 430–441). London: Routledge.

Hayday, E. J., & Collison, H. (2020). Exploring the contested notion of social inclusion and gender inclusivity within esport spaces. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 197–208. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2755

Kelly, L. (2011). Social inclusion through sports based interventions? *Critical Social Policy*, *31*(1), 126–150.

Kingsley, B., & Spencer-Cavaliere, N. (2015). The exclusionary practices of youth sports. *Social Inclusion*, *3*(3), 24–38.

Lawson, A. (2005). Empowering people, facilitating community development, and contributing to sustainable development: The social work of sport, exercise,

and physical education programs. *Sport, Education and Society*, *10*(1), 135–160.

Marlier, M., Constandt, B., Schyvinck, C., De Bock, T., Winand, M., & Willem, A. (2020). Bridge over troubled water: Linking capacities of sport and non-sport organizations. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 139–151. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2465

Norman, M. (2020). Sport and incarceration: Theoretical considerations for sport for development research. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 187–196. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2748

Schaillée, H., Haudenhuyse, R., & Bradt, L. (2019). Community sports and social inclusion: International perspectives. *Sport in Society*, *22*(6), 885–896.

Schulenkorf, N., Sherry, E., & Rowe, K. (2016). Sport for development: An integrated literature review. *Journal of Sport Management*, *30*(1), 22–39.

Spaaij, R., Magee, J., & Jeanes, R. (2014). *Sport and social exclusion in global society*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Sparkes, A., & Smith, B. (2014). *Qualitative research methods in sport, exercise and health: From process to product*. London: Routledge.

Verkooijen, K., Super, S., Mulderij, L., de Jager, D., & Wagemakers, A. (2020). Using realist interviews to improve theory on the mechanisms and outcomes of sport for development programmes. *Social Inclusion*, *8*(3), 152–161. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2747

Williams, P. (2002). The competent boundary spanner. *Public Administration*, *80*(1), 103–124.

Ziai, A. (2013). The discourse of 'development' and why the concept should be abandoned. *Development in Practice*, *23*(1), 123–136.

About the Authors

Reinhard Haudenhuyse holds Master's degrees in Physical Education and Third World studies at Ghent University (Belgium). In 2012, he received his PhD in Physical Education and Movement Sciences at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium). His research interests revolve around youth, pedagogy, poverty, social in-/exclusion, and the broad field of leisure.

John Hayton is a Senior Lecturer in Sport Development in the Department of Sport, Exercise and Rehabilitation at Northumbria University. John holds a PhD in Sociology and Social Policy from Durham University, UK. John's research interests coalesce around the policy, delivery, and management of sport, leisure, and physical recreation in and by the non-profit and voluntary sector.

Dan Parnell research interests lies in business management, policy, social and economic networks in sport. Dan serves as Co-Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Managing Sport and Leisure*, edited a number of books, is a Co-Editor of the Routledge book series *Critical Research in Football*, and recently co-edited the *Routledge Handbook of Football Business and Management*. Dan is the Co-Founder of *The Football Collective*, a global network of football scholars.

Kirsten Verkooijen is an Assistant Professor at the chair group Health and Society of Wageningen University and Research, in the Netherlands. She wrote her PhD dissertation about the role of self- and social identity in health-related risk behavior among Danish adolescents. Her current research addresses health promotion and health inequalities among socially vulnerable groups, often with a focus on sports and exercise.

Pascal Delheye studied Physical Education, Sports Management and History in Leuven and Lyon. Following post-doctoral research in Leuven and Berkeley, he was appointed as Professor of Sports History at the Faculty of Movement and Rehabilitation Sciences of the KU Leuven. Since 2017, he is affiliated with the Center for Local Politics at the Faculty of Political & Social Sciences of Ghent University. As chairholder of the UGent Chair Frans Verheeke (www.thefutureofsport.be), he is focusing on sports policy and politics, intersectoral cooperation, social innovation, inclusion, and empowerment.

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 129–138
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2745

Article

Sport for Vulnerable Youth: The Role of Multi-Professional Groups in Sustaining Intersectoral Collaboration

Chiara D’Angelo *, Chiara Corvino, Eloisa Cianci and Caterina Gozzoli

Department of Psychology, Catholic University of Milan, 20123 Milan, Italy; E-Mails: chiara.dangelo@unicatt.it (C.D.), chiara.corvino1@unicatt.it (C.C.), eloisa.cianci@unicatt.it (E.C.), caterina.gozzoli@unicatt.it (C.G.)

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 30 December 2019 | Accepted: 23 April 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract
Intersectoral actions in the sport-for-development field constitute a pre-condition for the implementation of sport-based interventions. At an operational level, the multi-professional group is the tool through which intersectoral collaboration may successfully achieve its aims. Despite the prominent role of the group, this topic is under-researched in terms of understanding intersectoral actions in the sport-for-development field. By applying a psycho-sociological perspective, our research explores the role of the multi-professional group as a limit/resource for sport-for-development workers that operate with vulnerable youth. Following a phenomenological interpretive approach, 12 practitioners (six sport workers and six social workers) participated in semi-structured interviews to explore the role of multi-professional groups as a resource/limit in working with socially vulnerable youth through sport. The results indicate that, in the participants’ experience, belonging to a multi-professional group is a meaningful resource to trigger reflexivity, promote collaboration and integrate their different professions. The interviews highlighted the positive potential of this tool to address the challenges that emerge when working with socially vulnerable youth, including the management of negative emotions, unexpected events and the relationship with young people. Some interviews also suggested that the presence of multiple professions, under certain circumstances, may be a risk when working with youth. These findings have significant value for programme design, strategy and management as they show the value of trans-disciplinary practices as an agenda for social inclusion through sport.

Keywords
intersectoral collaboration; multi-professional group; social vulnerability; sports; youth

Issue
This article is part of the issue “Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives” edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

Sport for Development (SFD) programmes for vulnerable youth have significantly increased in the last decade (Corazza & Dyer, 2017; Dukic, McDonald, & Spaaij, 2017; Nols, Haudenhuyse, & Theeboom, 2017). Such interventions generally aim either to develop inclusion in sport or inclusion through sport (Coalter, 2002). In the first paradigm, programmes facilitate access to sport participation by tackling infrastructural or economic barriers that limit engagement in sport (Vandermeerschen, Vos, & Scheerder, 2015). In the second paradigm, sport is used to address the needs of vulnerable populations (Gozzoli, D’Angelo, & Confalonieri, 2013; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Schulenkorf, 2012). In this second approach, sport, if properly used, may constitute an oppor-

tunity to sustain several benefits among socially vulnerable youth, including participation, education, social inclusion, life skills, work skills and health (D'Angelo, Corvino, De Leo, & Sanchéz, 2019; Hermens, Super, Verkooijen, & Koelen, 2017; Holt et al., 2017). However, sport can also trigger negative effects such as social exclusion, doping, match fixing (Coalter, 2017).

Several authors have reported that research on sport should outline under which conditions and through which mechanisms sport can be an effective in encouraging positive social development (Coalter, 2017; Schaillée, Haudenhuyse, & Bradt, 2019; Whitley et al., 2019).

At present, intersectoral actions in the sport-for-development field constitute a meaningful condition for the implementation of sport-for-development interventions (Lindsey & Bitugu, 2019; Misener & Doherty, 2012). Intersectoral collaboration cannot be fully understood without considering the role of the multi-professional work group. A work group is a system of two or more individuals who are interconnected (face-to-face or virtually) and interdependent in sharing a common goal of working and performing organisational tasks (Arrow, McGrath, & Berdahl, 2000; Kozlowski & Bell, 2003). The work group is prominently important at an organisational level, because it is a tool through which an organisation may successfully achieve its aims by defining clear tasks and roles (Kozlowski & Bell, 2003). In this domain, the sharing of skills and expertise that underpins intersectoral actions requires the constitution of a new work group composed of diverse professionals who meet and capitalise on their knowledge for a common purpose. Thus, when understanding intersectoral actions, the functioning of such multi-professional groups at the managerial or operational level is particularly important in determining whether or not such collaboration is successful.

However, research in this field has mainly analysed intersectoral collaboration through factors that inhibit or support a partnership from a macro perspective (Lindsey & Bitugu, 2019). These include personal elements (e.g., personal commitments in the partnership and relationships), institutional elements (e.g., organisational commitment and societal and political context) and organisational elements (e.g., leadership, task management, communication structure, building on capacities, visibility; Hermens, Verkooijen, & Koelen, 2019; Koelen, Vaandrager, & Wagemakers, 2012). An understanding of the role of multi-professional groups is still lacking. This topic is also under-researched within the Italian context of sport and development (Svensson & Woods, 2017) and in relation to youth's social vulnerability (Jones, Edwards, Bocarro, Bunds, & Smith, 2017). By analysing the representation and feelings of the workers, the aim of our study is to explore the role of the multi-professional group as a limit/resource for sport-for-development workers that operate with socially vulnerable youth. The study seeks to answer the following question: is the multi-professional group a resource or limit for workers of sport-based intervention and how so?

2. Intersectorial Actions in Sport-Based Intervention for Socially Vulnerable Youth

In defining vulnerable youth, the fluidity and uncertainty of social and personal identities need to be considered, as do the transformations in family roles in contemporary society, as these expose every child or youth to some kind of 'vulnerability' (Bauman, 2005). It is especially critical to differentiate people who are vulnerable from people who are not, although the risk of stigmatisation that this type of categorisation fosters has been widely criticised (Sperling, 2020). Although we are aware of these challenges, in this study we understand socially vulnerable youth as a specific group of young people who are daily subjected to multifaceted stressors (e.g., social, emotional and economic), which include poor family management, poverty, deviant conduct, lack of motivation, disaffection towards institutions and lack of social networks, which may lead to social maladjustment (Galuppo, Gorli, Alexander, & Scaratti, 2019; Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, & Skille, 2014; Regoliosi & Scaratti, 2010). Tackling these fragilities is delicate and complex and, thus, requires specific attention involving a diverse set of skills from different professional fields (Edwards, Lunt, & Stamou, 2010). Various studies have investigated the success of collective actions promoted by different professionals, particularly when delivering programmes or services to vulnerable populations (Camiré, Trudel, & Forneris, 2012; Holt et al., 2017; Yohalem, Wilson-Ahlstrom, Fischer, & Shinn, 2009).

The literature from the sport and development field agrees that such interconnections between sectors and professionals are crucial in the successful inclusion of vulnerable youth in institutionalised sport settings and the broader community. For instance, Jones et al. (2017) noted that youth sport programmes should stipulate collaboration with community organisations by sharing expertise and resources through an integrated curriculum. Spaaij (2012) has highlighted that youth development is prominently associated with a programme's capacity to promote connections with multiple institutional agents. Nevertheless, in a recent review, Holt et al. (2017) reported the meaningful role of distal ecological systems (e.g., the community) in developing outcomes and changes for individual youths through sport. Because the sport sector is generally better equipped to develop technical sport skills while social entities have a deeper expertise concerning pedagogical, psychological and educational skills (Coalter, 2013; Sanchéz, Gozzoli, & D'Angelo, 2013), the integration of these entities could ensure that vulnerable youth receive the comprehensive care they need (Hermen, Super, Verkooijen, & Koelen, 2015; Marlier et al., 2015).

3. Intersectoral Actions: The Role of the Group

Intersectoral actions are formal collaborations or partnerships among organisations or people with different

backgrounds and expertise that work together to achieve a common goal. In this domain, intersectoral actions require the definition of a common work purpose and the presence of different sectors, such as the sport and social sector, to tackle that purpose (Corbin, Jones, & Barry, 2016). The achievement of the organisational goal, including that of an intersectoral collaboration, requires the presence of a work group (Kozlowski & Bell, 2003). A work group is an interdependent and interconnected social system in which individuals cooperate to achieve organisational tasks (Arrow et al., 2000; Kozlowski & Bell, 2003). The group constitutes the meso-level between the individual and the wider organization, included those that are interconnected through a partnership, which makes it possible to address a common scope (Kozlowski & Bell, 2003). The peculiarity of the work group that cooperates in an intersectoral action is the presence of multiple professionals belonging to different sectors and disciplines (Lindsey & Bitugu, 2019).

In this study, we explore the role of multi-professional groups in intersectoral actions using a psychosociological perspective (Barus-Michel, Enriquez, & Lévy, 2005). This framework was developed as an interpretative perspective for organisational contexts. Starting from the intersection of contributions from sociology, social psychology and psychoanalysis, the psychosociological approach provides an interpretative key for organisational phenomena. This approach analyses the interconnections between the individual, the group and the organisation, as well as how these influence each other (Barus-Michel et al., 2005). The peculiarity of this approach is that the work group is considered both as a resource and a limit to organisational success. The work group may constitute an important resource in understanding one's own emotions, allowing the worker to reflect and co-build shared meanings for the work experience. The cooperation and relationships with the other can, however, lead to dysfunctional and risky dynamics such as mobbing or destructive conflicts, which may have negative consequences in terms of achieving the organisational purpose (Cabiati, Ripamonti, & Pozzi, 2016; Scaratti, Gorli, & Ripamonti, 2009).

4. Methods

By analysing the representation and feelings of the workers, our study seeks to answer the following question: Is the multi-professional group a resource or limit for workers of sport-based intervention for vulnerable youth and how so?

Following a phenomenological interpretive approach (Smith & Osborn, 2008), we involved 12 practitioners (six sport workers, including five sport coaches and one sport administrator; six social workers, including three educators and three psychologists) in semi-structured interviews. The sample was selected using convenience sampling. We selected the sample by including sport and social workers from Italian sport-based programmes for vulnerable youth who were in our network from previous evaluation research projects (Gozzoli et al., 2013). We used this sampling approach because these workers were involved in sport programmes that had meaningfully features for the aim of this research: 1) These programmes are plus-sport interventions in which sport is used as a social context for socially vulnerable youth work (Coalter, 2007); 2) they are implemented through the collaboration of both social and sport organisations (i.e., intersectoral action was present); and 3) both social workers and sport workers were present during sport sessions with the youth (i.e., there is a new multi-professional group composed of different professionals who collaborate on the ground with youth).

We used the semi-structured interview format to explore the phenomena of multi-professional group as a resource or limit to work with socially vulnerable youth through sport. Because Interpretative Phenomenological Approach is used to study the meanings experience hold for participants (Smith & Osborn, 2008), the interview schedule included questions about representations and feelings about the role of the multi-professional group as a resource or limit for sport-based workers (e.g., 'How does the multi-professional group help you in your work with youth?' and 'How does the multi-professional group limit your work with youth? How does the multi-professional group help to achieve project goals?').

Interviews were collected within the last three years and lasted around 40–45 minutes. The interviews were conducted in Italian, recorded, transcribed by hand, anonymised and analysed using paper-pencil content analysis method by applying an inductive and deductive process of categorisation (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). During the first phase of the analysis, we used deductive content analysis to point out macro-categories related to group resources and limits expressed in the interviews. We highlighted widely where the interviewees talked about the group as a limit or as a resource. Subsequently, we applied inductive content analysis to create sub-categories related to group resources and limits. In this domain, we detailed participants' representations and feelings of the two macro-categories. The bottom-up logic of categorisation was used because it is not possible to determine in advance which micro-category will sustain each category related to group resources and limits. The entire analysis process was conducted by two independent researchers (Chiara Corvino and Chiara D'Angelo); the researchers analysed cases of divergence until an agreement was reached.

The authors declare that the procedure met the international norms and ethical principles established by the European Union 2016/679 Regulation, the Declaration of Helsinki established by the World Medical Association (1964) and related revisions with written informed consent obtained from each participant.

5. Results

The results show that, in interviewees' experience, belonging to a multi-professional group is a meaningful resource to trigger reflexivity, promote collaboration and integrate the different professions. We need to specify there that participants often used the word 'interprofessional supervision' to talk about the group; this term is used in the Italian psycho-educational and medical fields to indicate a team of professionals from different disciplines (generally educators, psychologists, psychiatrists or doctors) who gather to discuss the cases they are treating. The interviews (see Table 1) highlight the positive potential of multi-professional groups to address some of the challenges that emerge when working with socially vulnerable youth through sport, including the management of negative emotions, unexpected events and the relationship with young people. Although the data yield a positive representation of the group as a resource for intersectoral collaboration, some interviews suggested that the presence of multiple professions risks creating confusion or overlaps when working with youth.

5.1. Resources

5.1.1. Group as a Resource to Manage Negative Emotions

Sport and social workers reported the struggle of managing youth deviant conduct. In the interviewees' experiences, youth had different difficulties during sport sessions: They had physical conflicts with their peers, they insulted adults or peers or they were twitchy and nervous. All of these behaviours had an impact on workers, who claimed to feel tired and stressed after programme activities. The interviewees pointed out that one of the most difficult parts of their work was coping with the emotional fatigue related to vulnerable youth conduct:

> In my opinion, the emotions of workers are important to consider. The first trainings with youth were very challenging: Participants didn't respect rules, they were not able to keep their concentration and we too had some difficulties in limiting them. (Social worker)

This issue was particularly challenging for sport coaches, who were not used to such situations in the sport context. The words of one sport coach summed up this challenge:

> At the beginning of the project we had some difficulties…the training was fine, but immediately after something happened that let you down [the coach is talking about episodes of brawling after the programme activities]. Emotionally, it is something that really affects you in this type of project. In my work inside the sport club it had never happened to me. I mean, when I'm in the field I am the coach, but here….I do not say that I am something more, but I care about the success of their path, don't I? So, when something out of the blue happens, something deviant, you feel disappointment and discomfort.

A separation between the work of coaches in a conventional sport environment—the grassroots sport society—and in the sport-based programmes emerged. In the interviews, participants reported that the role of coaches changed: The emotional involvement of coaches was higher compared than that of the social workers, as was their distress if youth disappointed the adults' expectations. This can be seen in the words of another sport coach:

> The coach here has a different role: You need to be a friend, you need to be a coach, you need to be a brother, you need to be a dad—you need to be everything they need, for each of them.

The coaches who work with socially vulnerable youth thus seem to identify totally with the vulnerabilities of the youth (i.e., the lack or absence of adequate parental figures; lack of positive social relationships) and feel responsible for filling the resulting emotional and social void. The coach is a friend, a brother—in some cases even a father. However, this thought cannot be fully realised: At some point, the coach will face the limit of his own role and consequently become frustrated. The results highlight the differences in how coaches and social workers manage emotions in working with at-risk youth: Coaches seem less prepared, and therefore more vulnerable, in tolerating the failures, frustrations and limits of their actions. This separation leads them to focus more on psychological issues, which is the part of the work with vulnerable youth for which they feel less prepared: "In this programme, I didn't really work on technical, tactical, athletic aspects. I focused more on the psychological side of the activity" (Sport coach).

In this domain, it emerged that the presence of a multi-professional group helped coaches to better cope

Table 1. Macro and micro categories of the research.

Macro-category	Micro-category
Resource	Group as a resource to manage negative emotions Group as resource to manage unpredictable situations Group as a resource to manage the relationship with youth
Risk	Group as a risk that create double-leadership

with this challenge, as they received reflective feedback from the social workers. In the inter-professional supervision, social workers shared their competence and supported coaches in understanding their reactions towards the youth. The multi-professional group became a space where workers could reflect and share interpretations about their own behaviour with youth. In particular, for sport workers, the group was useful in engaging with the competence of social workers and helped the sport workers to modulate their emotional reactions, especially when the youth showed deviant conduct. One coach summarises this aspect:

> In my sport society, I am the coach, I make the decision and that's it: There is no one who tells me 'no you did it wrong, yes you did it well.' Here, there was also the moment after I made a decision, when I faced an educator. In most cases he told me 'yes, you did it well or you can change, try to fix the situation this way.' It was helpful to have feedback after my actions. During one interprofessional supervision, we discussed the behaviour of some participants [the interviewee is talking about poor behaviour]. After the interprofessional supervision, I acted and took into consideration what we had shared during the discussion. Thus, working as a group with people who have skills that differ from mine was certainly useful for the educational purposes of the project. (Sport coach)

5.1.2. Group as Resource to Manage Unpredictable Situations

As a consequence of youth conduct, the data showed another important related challenge: Sport programme personnel did not have complete control of training planning and implementation. Actually, the mood of the youth could potentially change what they had previously planned:

> Here something strange happened, something a little more complicated than normal. Thus, having the firmness and the…coldness, also, to make a decision in a very short space of time can surely help a person who works in similar projects. You have to be prepared for everything, because when I really saw guys who were about to hit, I had to raise my voice! You need to be ready for everything! (Sport coach)

The interviewees reported that the presence of a multi-professional group on the ground may be useful in reading and interpreting the dynamics between youth when something unpredictable and fast happens. Because the sport coach is focused on the training itself, the multiple 'eyes' on the participants helps in understanding why they have behaved in a certain way when sharing reflections during the interprofessional supervision:

> When the team is large it can be helpful to have 'two eyes' on the field: It is not bad. From the outside we can see things that we cannot see from the inside. (Sport coach)

> During the interprofessional supervision, we realised that we saw different things during the trainings [the interviewee here refers to her—or himself as a social worker and to the sport coach]. There are 15 boys, sometimes 16, sometimes 17 boys, and they are scattered in the gym. It is clear that if the sport coach is turned to one side and I'm turned to the other, we see two different things. Or even if we are looking at the same situation, we read it in two different ways, and therefore it is important to talk to each other. (Social worker)

5.1.3. Group as a Resource to Manage the Relationship with Vulnerable Youth

Programme workers widely describe the challenge of maintaining a relationship of appropriate closeness with the youth. On the one hand, the relationship requires support and closeness, while on the other hand, the youth also need to recognise the authority of the adults and rules. To make the relationship with youth effective, these two relational elements should be held together, as these sport coaches explain:

> The relationship you need to have with them—you need to be one of them, but at the same time they need to understand that you are the one there, that you are the coach, but that you speak and move in their ways, then you can do it. (Sport coach)

> You are the coach, yes, true, but you need to be a little…distant, somehow—but not too much. I mean, the youth need to feel you are close to them to take you as an example. (Sport coach)

These poles of the relationships are not described by the participants in a fragmented way rather the need to create a balance between them is clear. The first component is described as particularly challenging to convey in the work with youth, because participants often disregard the rules of coexistence. It is therefore important for operators to provide a clear value structure to which the youth can refer and in which they can find security. This component, although it is difficult to implement, is essential to keep the youth together and to promote their inclusion, because it is precisely through the rules that it is possible for each to enter into a positive relationship with the other:

> Even if it is difficult, it is important to give them precise rules…when I talk about rules, I mean the rules that we put in—listening and respect, which are clearly very general rules—but I think that those simple rules

are useful to stay together in the sport field for that hour and a half. And they will be useful once they're out in their daily life. (Social worker)

In this domain, the interviews highlighted that the multi-professional group is a useful device to find out how to manage the relationship with youth by analysing their needs and setting common relationship rules:

Working in a group with the coach, the psychologist, and I…working side by side—jointly—was very positive for me. We set some basic rules to use with the boys. This allowed us to give the youth the same feedback and to manage emergency situations in a common way. (Social worker)

During the interprofessional supervision we talked a lot about the youth and the 'measures' to use with them in the sport setting…especially for the ones who are more troubled, we tried to understand them and how to relate with them. (Sport coach)

This was particularly useful for coaches, who acquired new skills and learned new ways to relate with the youth:

During the interprofessional supervision, we saw how coaches slowly acquired new knowledge. I saw that some coaches started using educative language. They developed a different perspective on the youth, they tried to make interpretations about youth behaviours saying, 'maybe this thing in this situation meant….' Also during trainings, they took the responsibility of doing something more educational. (Social worker)

The co-presence of social workers enhanced the professional integration of sport coaches and seemed to be useful to improve the coaches' relational work with the youth. In this domain, there seemed to be a disparity between professionals. The coaches needed to acquire support and skills from the social workers to carry on their work with the vulnerable youth, rather than the opposite.

5.2. Risks: Group as a Risk that Create Double-Leadership

Although the multi-professional group is meaningfully useful for all of the reasons mentioned, the social workers pointed out that the co-managing of training with coaches is not simple. There is the risk of creating a double-leadership which may be confusing for the young people, who need clear and defined role models:

Well, it is not easy…I try not to enter [the interviewee is talking about the fact that he/she tries not to intervene during the training in place of the sport coach] even if sometimes I would like to enter in the game and play with the boys. I understood that entering in the game might not be positive for the role of the coach toward the boys….It could interfere, because during the activity the youth should refer to him….Probably, if you enter in the game, you create a double role. (Social worker)

6. Discussion of Results and Conclusion

The intersection of diverse skills and competences in a work group makes it possible to overcome some of the challenges of working with socially vulnerable youth in sport-based interventions. The first of these challenges is that the vulnerabilities of youth have an emotional impact even on the workers taking care of them, especially for the sport coaches (Gozzoli, Gazzaroli, & D'Angelo, 2018). In line with psychosociological assumptions, the multi-professional group can serve as a tool to focus on these difficulties and elaborate them. When the group operates in this way, it becomes an emotional container where people can build meaning based on emotions through sharing their thoughts with others (Bion, 1962). This exchange has indeed allowed coaches to receive feedback on their actions, and this has enhanced their reflexivity. As pointed out by Galuppo, Gorli, Scaratti, and Kaneklin (2014), exchange with others inside a work group may trigger self-awareness and introspection, and this positively affects on how people manage their emotions at work.

The second challenge involves the management of unpredictable situations, and the sharing of different perspectives on youth was helpful for the workers to interpret why and how certain situations occurred during trainings. This is in line with the psychosociological perspective, which highlights the unpredictable and creative outcomes generated by the interdependency of diverse individuals inside the group (Lewin, 1951).

The final challenge concerns the creation of a good balance between relational closeness and establishing a good authority relationship with the youth. As pointed out by Coalter (2013) and Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, and Coalter (2012), the quality of the relationship established between youth and the programme workers is a key mechanism in such sport for the development initiatives. This relationship is one of the main working nodes to support young people in their educational paths and can be considered a sort of pre-condition for working with vulnerable youth through sport. The challenge involving SFD personnel concerns the fact that both poles of the quality of the relationship, ethical and affective (Alfieri, et al., 2018; Cigoli & Scabini, 2007), should be supported. The presence of professionals with non-sport skills was a source of support for coaches, who improved their capacity to relate towards youth. However, the co-presence of several professionals during training may obstruct the relationship with youth by creating fragmented role models.

Although this research mainly highlights the positive aspects of working in a multi-professional group,

the psychosociological approach warns us against certain risks. First, the multi-professional group is not always a place for emotional reworking and constructive exchange with the other. The relationship with the other can also lead amplify negative emotions and create conflicts which, if not properly managed, become destructive and impair the achievement of the organisational objective. The formation of the work group is not immediate, however, and requires appropriate coordination leading to the construction of a clear and shared work object with which people can identify and build a sense of belonging (Gazzaroli, Gozzoli, & Gardey, 2019; Gozzoli, 2016a, 2016b). Despite the positive role of the work group in intersectoral collaboration, the psychological effort of dealing with individuals belonging to organisations with diverse cultures, practices and organisational values should be taken into account.

In terms of the wider sport for development literature, these results confirm the meaningful role of intersectoral collaboration and draw attention to the copresence of different skills and knowledge, which serve as an added value for sport-based interventions (Lindsey & Bitugu, 2019).

In more detail, the multi-professional group helped in achieving the purpose of the intersectoral collaboration from two points of view: 1) The exchange with other professionals in the group mitigated sport coaches' vulnerability and helped them in finding out strategies to improve their daily work with youth. Thus, the group enhanced reflection and led to increased awareness and introspection by coaches about their work with youth (Galuppo et al., 2014; Stelter, 2009, 2014). Nevertheless, the group enhanced sport workers' educative learnings about vulnerable youth. In this regard, the presence of professionals with non-sport skills was a source of support for coaches who comprehensively improved their behaviours towards youth; and 2) the group facilitated educative synergies and coherence between social and sport workers and avoided dissonance between them.

There are several implications of this work for future sport-based interventions and policymakers. First, to generate effective collaboration between sectors in the micro sport environment with youth, this study highlights that SFD personnel need space and time for face-to-face contact and interpersonal cooperation. This means that engaging SFD personnel in common group practices can support them in their work with vulnerable youth. This result also emerged in previous studies on SFD intersectoral action, in which sport workers and social workers pointed out the lack of time to build and maintain the personal relationships necessary for intersectoral action and inclusive sport activities (Hermens et al., 2015). Sharing space and time together can also be helpful in developing a trans-disciplinary methodology and inter-professional culture for working with vulnerable youth through sport (Edwards et al., 2010). The interviewees talked about the usefulness of the inter-professional supervision as a formal device in which different professionals physically meet, exchange opinions and reflect on the actions carried out with the youth (Scaratti et al., 2009). This kind of practice should be encouraged when planning sport-based interventions, because it is in the inter-professional meetings that SFD staff could experience and take advantage of the value of intersectoral collaborations.

Second, a proper monitoring and coordination of such groups should be introduced. The role of project managers or professionals coordinating the multi-professional group is crucial to enhance inter-professional integration. This is particularly important since, according to the coaches themselves, the professional knowledge of the SFD coaches (Côté & Gilbert, 2009) is less relevant when working with vulnerable youth. The research highlights that a trans-professional culture and methodology integrating psycho-pedagogical dimensions with the sport dimensions is still in its infancy in Italy. In the context of this study, this can be explained culturally by the Italian sport system, in which there is a strong opposition between the 'sport for all' ideology and competitive sport, which is more focused on the development of technical sport skills. An integration of the two philosophies should be considered critically (Porro, 2020). The need of coordination is, thus, meaningful.

Nevertheless, the research highlights the importance to properly finance the back-office work in sport-based intervention in order to micro-plan, reflect and find out common strategies to accurately work with vulnerable youth through sport. In this domain, national and international funding should not only focus on the practice of sport but should also consider inter-professional supervision as a useful back-office practice to be financially supported.

7. Limitations

This study examined a limited sample of Italian practitioners in which the work in interprofessional supervision had a fundamental role and was supported by appropriate financial resources in programme implementation. Not all sport-for-development programmes have this unique feature, and it is not always sustainable to create face-to-face engagement between social workers and sport workers.

Future studies should cross-analyse diverse programs at both Italian and international level in order to understand widely the role of multi-professional groups. Longitudinal studies should be further considered in order to understand how the work group evolve during time and how it impacts on the efficacy of the intervention itself. Although the study has limited generalizability, the research provides some insight into the value of such multi-professional groups, which can be taken into account when planning sport-based interventions.

Acknowledgments

We thank you all the sport and social workers involved in the interviews.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Alfieri, S., Tagliabue, S., Marta, E., Aresi, G., Lanz, M., & Pozzi, M. (2018). Gratitude as a variable of mediation between parental support and self-esteem in adolescence. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *27*(5), 1394–1401.

Arrow, H., McGrath, J. E., & Berdahl, J. L. (2000). *Small groups as complex systems: Formation, coordination, development, and adaptation*. London: Sage.

Barus-Michel, J., Enriquez, E., & Lévy, A. (Eds.). (2005). *Dizionario di psicosociologia* [Psychology dictionary]. Milan: Cortina.

Bauman, Z. (2005). *Liquid life*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bion, W. R. (1962). *Learning from experience*. Oxford: Routledge.

Cabiati, M., Ripamonti, S., & Pozzi, M. (2016). Creating knowledge and enhancing change in organisations: The contribution of authorship and expansive learning in a case study. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, *11*, 97–104. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.lcsi.2016.06.001

Camiré, M., Trudel, P., & Forneris, T. (2012). Examining how model youth sport coaches learn to facilitate positive youth development. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, *19*(1), 1–17.

Cigoli, V., & Scabini, E. (2007). *Family identity: Ties, symbols, and transitions*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Coalter, F. (2002). *Sport and community development: A manual*. Edinburgh: Sportscotland.

Coalter, F. (2007). Sports clubs, social capital and social regeneration: Ill-defined interventions with hard to follow outcomes? *Sport in Society*, *10*(4), 537–559.

Coalter, F. (2013). 'There is loads of relationships here': Developing a programme theory for sport-for-change programmes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(5), 594–612. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690212446143

Coalter, F. (2017). Sport and social inclusion: Evidence-based policy and practice. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 141–149. http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i2.852

Corazza, M., & Dyer, J. (2017). A new model for inclusive sports? An evaluation of participants' experiences of mixed ability rugby. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 130–140. http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i2.908

Corbin, J. H., Jones, J., & Barry, M. M. (2016). What makes intersectoral partnerships for health promotion work? A review of the international literature. *Health Promotion International*, *33*(1), 4–26. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/daw061

Côté, J., & Gilbert, W. (2009). An integrative definition of coaching effectiveness and expertise. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, *4*(3), 307–323. https://doi.org/10.1260/174795409789623892

D'Angelo, C., Corvino, C., De Leo, A., & Sanchéz, R. M. (2019). How can performing arts and urban sport enhance social inclusion and interculturalism in the public space? *Comunicazioni Sociali*, *1*, 142–155. http://dx.doi.org/001200_000050

Dukic, D., McDonald, B., & Spaaij, R. (2017). Being able to play: Experiences of social inclusion and exclusion within a football team of people seeking asylum. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 101–110. http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i2.892

Edwards, A., Lunt, I., & Stamou, E. (2010). Inter-professional work and expertise: New roles at the boundaries of schools. *British Educational Research Journal*, *36*(1), 27–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920902834134

Galuppo, L., Gorli, M., Alexander, B., & Scaratti, G. (2019). Leading in social entrepreneurship: Developing organizational resources in confrontation with paradoxes. *Research in Organizational Change and Development*, *27*, 167–186.

Galuppo, L., Gorli, M., Scaratti, G., & Kaneklin, C. (2014). Building social sustainability: Multi-stakeholder processes and conflict management. *Social Responsibility Journal*, *10*(4), 685–701 https://doi.org/10.1108/SRJ-10-2012-0134

Gazzaroli, D., Gozzoli, C., & Gardey, G. S. (2019). The living and working together perspective on creativity in organizations. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02733

Gozzoli, C. (2016a). Living and working together in organizations. Theme relevance: An introduction. *World Futures*, *72*, 219–221. https://doi.org/10.1080/02604027.2016.1245528

Gozzoli, C. (2016b). Living and working together in organizations: Traces and ways. *World Futures*, *72*, 222–233. https://doi.org/10.1080/02604027.2016.1245535

Gozzoli, C., D'Angelo, C., & Confalonieri, E. (2013). Evaluating sport projects which promote social inclusion for young people: A case study. *Revista Iberoamericana de Psicologia del Ejercicio y el Deporte*, *8*(1), 145–163.

Gozzoli, C., Gazzaroli, D., & D'Angelo, C. (2018). Who cares for those who take care? Risks and resources of work in care homes. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00314

Haudenhuyse, R. P., Theeboom, M., & Coalter, F. (2012). The potential of sports-based social interventions for vulnerable youth: Implications for sport coaches and youth workers. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *15*(4), 437–454. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2012.663895

Haudenhuyse, R. P., Theeboom, M., & Skille, E. A. (2014).

Towards understanding the potential of sports-based practices for socially vulnerable youth. *Sport in Society*, *17*(2), 139–156. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.790897

Hermens, N., Super, S., Verkooijen, K. T., & Koelen, M. A. (2015). Intersectoral action to enhance the social inclusion of socially vulnerable youth through sport: An exploration of the elements of successful partnerships between youth work organisations and local sports clubs. *Social Inclusion*, *3*(3), 98–107. http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i3.139

Hermens, N., Super, S., Verkooijen, K. T., & Koelen, M. A. (2017). A systematic review of life skill development through sports programs serving socially vulnerable youth. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, *88*(4), 408–424. https://doi.org/10.1080/02701367.2017.1355527

Hermens, N., Verkooijen, K. T., & Koelen, M. A. (2019). Associations between partnership characteristics and perceived success in Dutch sport-for-health partnerships. *Sport Management Review*, *22*(1), 142–152. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2018.06.008

Holt, N. L., Neely, K. C., Slater, L. G., Camiré, M., Côté, J., Fraser-Thomas, J., . . . Tamminen, K. A. (2017). A grounded theory of positive youth development through sport based on results from a qualitative meta-study. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *10*(1), 1–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2016.1180704

Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, *15*(9), 1277–1288. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687

Jones, G. J., Edwards, M. B., Bocarro, J. N., Bunds, K. S., & Smith, J. W. (2017). An integrative review of sport-based youth development literature. *Sport in Society*, *20*(1), 161–179. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2015.1124569

Koelen, M. A., Vaandrager, L., & Wagemakers, A. (2012). The healthy alliances (HALL) framework: Prerequisites for success. *Family Practice*, *29*(1), 132–138. https://doi.org/10.1093/fampra/cmr088

Kozlowski, S. W. J., & Bell, B. S. (2003). Work groups and teams in organizations. In W. C. Borman, D. R. Ilgen, & R. J. Klimoski (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Industrial and organizational psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 333–375). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Levermore, R., & Beacom, A. (2009). Sport and development: Mapping the field. In R. Levermore & A. Beacom (Eds.), *Sport and international development* (pp. 1–25). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lewin, K. (1951). *Field theory in social science*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Lindsey, I., & Bitugu, B. B. (2019). Partnerships in and around SDP. In H. Collison, S. C. Darnell, R. Giulianotti, & P. D. Howe (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of sport for development and peace* (pp. 152–161). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Marlier, M., Lucidarme, S., Cardon, G., de Boudeauduij, I., Babiak, K., & Willem, A. (2015). Capacity building through cross-sector partnerships: A multiple case study of a sport program in disadvantaged communities in Belgium. *BMC Public Health*, *15*. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-015-2605-5

Misener, K. E., & Doherty, A. (2012). Connecting the community through sport club partnerships. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *4*(2), 243–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2012.674962

Nols, Z., Haudenhuyse, R., & Theeboom, M. (2017). Urban sport-for-development initiatives and young people in socially vulnerable situations: Investigating the 'deficit model.' *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 210–222. http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i2.881

Porro, N. (2020). Welfare and sports policies in contemporary Italy. In N. Porro, S. Martinelli, & A. Testa (Eds.), *Sport, welfare and social policy in the European Union* (pp. 142–157). New York, NY: Routledge.

Regoliosi, L., & Scaratti, G. (2010). *La prevenzione del disagio giovanile* [Prevention of juvenile social disease]. Roma: Carrocci Editori.

Sanchéz, R. M., Gozzoli, C., & D'Angelo, C. (2013). Can sport include people? Risks and chances. *Revista Iberoamericana de Psicologia del Ejercicio y el Deporte*, *8*(1), 164–182.

Scaratti, G., Gorli, M., & Ripamonti, S. (2009). The power of professionally situated practice analysis in redesigning organisations: A psychosociological approach. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, *21*(7), 538–554. https://doi.org/10.1108/13665620910985531

Schaillée, H., Haudenhuyse, R., & Bradt, L. (2019). Community sport and social inclusion: International perspectives. *Sport in Society*, *22*(6), 885–896. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2019.1565380

Schulenkorf, N. (2012). Sustainable community development through sport and events: A conceptual framework for sport-for-development projects. *Sport Management Review*, *15*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2011.06.001

Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (2nd ed., pp. 53–80). London: Sage.

Spaaij, R. (2012). Building social and cultural capital among young people in disadvantaged communities: Lessons from a Brazilian sport-based intervention program. *Sport, Education and Society*, *17*(1), 77–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2011.607913

Sperling, J. (2020). "I just want to finish high school like everybody else": Continuation high school students resist deficit discourse and stigmatization. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *52*(5), 465–484. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2019.1691960

Stelter, R. (2009). Coaching as a reflective space in a society of growing diversity-towards a narrative, post-

modern paradigm. *International Coaching Psychology Review*, *4*(2), 207–217.

Stelter, R. (2014). Third generation coaching: Reconstructing dialogues through collaborative practice and a focus on values. *International Coaching Psychology Review*, *9*(1), 51–66.

Svensson, P. G., & Woods, H. (2017). A systematic overview of sport for development and peace organisations. *Journal of Sport for Development*, *5*(9), 36–48.

Vandermeerschen, H., Vos, S., & Scheerder, J. (2015). Who's joining the club? Participation of socially vulnerable children and adolescents in club-organised sports. *Sport, Education and Society*, *20*, 941–958. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2013.856293

Whitley, M. A., Massey, W. V., Camiré, M., Blom, L. C., Chawansky, M., Forde, S., . . . Darnell, S. C. (2019). A systematic review of sport for development interventions across six global cities. *Sport Management Review*, *22*(2), 181–193. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2018.06.013

Yohalem, N., Wilson-Ahlstrom, A., Fischer, S., & Shinn, M. (2009). *Measuring youth programme quality: A guide to assessment tools* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: The Forum for Youth Investment.

About the Authors

Chiara D'Angelo is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Psychology of the Cattolica University where she teaches Work and Organizational Psychology and coordinates the Postgraduate Course of Specialization 'Sport and Psychosocial Intervention.' She did a PhD in Psychology on sport coaches identity. She has special interest in monitoring and evaluation of sport-based programs aimed at social inclusion of socially vulnerable population.

Chiara Corvino is a PhD Candidate in Psychology at the Catholic University of Milan. Her research focuses on sport as a tool for the inclusion of socially vulnerable youth in the Italian context.

Eloisa Cianci has a PhD in Anthropology and Epistemology of the Complexity at the University of Bergamo. She is lecture in Clinical Psychology of Groups and Organizations at the Faculty of Psychology at the Catholic University of Milano. She currently works as a project planner and manger for several European projects related to sport and social issues.

Caterina Gozzoli is Full Professor at the Faculty of Psychology of the Catholic University of Milan where she teaches Psychology of the Co-living and Clinical Psychology of Groups and Organizations. She has special interest in trans-cultural competences and evaluation of sport-based programs aimed at social inclusion of socially vulnerable population.

COGITATIO

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 139–151
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2465

Article

Bridge over Troubled Water: Linking Capacities of Sport and Non-Sport Organizations

Mathieu Marlier [1,2,*], Bram Constandt [2], Cleo Schyvinck [2], Thomas De Bock [2], Mathieu Winand [1] and Annick Willem [2]

[1] Department of International Sport Management, LUNEX International University of Health, Exercise, and Sports, 4671 Differdange, Luxembourg; E-Mails: mathieu.marlier@lunex-university.net (M.M.), mathieu.winand@lunex-university.net (M.W.)
[2] Department of Movement and Sport Sciences, Ghent University, 9000 Gent, Belgium;
E-Mails: mathieu.marlier@ugent.be (M.M.), bram.constandt@ugent.be (B.C.), cleo.schyvinck@ugent.be (C.S.), thomas.debock@ugent.be (T.D.B.), annick.willem@ugent.be (A.W.)

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 31 December 2019 | Accepted: 23 March 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract
Community Sport Development Programs (CSDPs) that use an intersectoral capacity building approach have shown potential in reaching individuals in disadvantaged situations. This study has investigated how the application of capacity building principles in disadvantaged communities results in higher sport participation rates in these communities. A multiple case design was used, including six similar disadvantaged communities in Antwerp, Belgium; four communities implemented the CSDP, two communities served as control communities without CSDP. In total, 52 face-to-face interviews were held with sport, social, health, cultural, and youth organizations in these communities. Four key findings were crucial to explain the success of the CSDP according to the principles of capacity building. First, the CSDP appeared to be the missing link between sport organizations on the one hand and health, social, youth, and cultural organizations on the other hand. Second, shifting from a sport-oriented staff to a mix of sport staff, social workers and representatives of people in disadvantaged situations helped increase trust through a participatory approach. Third, CSDPs assisted sport clubs to deal with financial, organizational, and cultural pressures that arose from the influx of new members in disadvantaged situations. Finally, the CSDPs developed well-planned and integrated strategies focusing on reinforcing the existing local organizations already using sport to reach their goals. These capacity building principles were key in attaining higher sport participation for people living in disadvantaged communities.

Keywords
capacity building; community sport; disadvantaged communities; intersectoral partnerships; sport participation; youth

Issue
This article is part of the issue “Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives” edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

Enabling as many people as possible to participate in sport is the main target of the public sport sector (Council of Europe, 2001, Articles 1.i and 4.2). Currently, in Europe, about 40% of the population engages in weekly sport participation (Scheerder, Vandermeerschen, & Breedveld, 2017). Unsurprisingly, target groups in disadvantaged situations, such as people from lower social class, and people from cultural ethnic minori-

ties, engage less in sport than the general population (Vandermeerschen, Vos, & Scheerder, 2013). Furthermore, the number of ethnic cultural minorities and lower socio-economic groups are growing (Putnam, 2007). Given that Europe will become even more ethnically diverse in the coming years, it is interesting to focus on this relatively unexplored target group from a sport participation point of view. Furthermore, supported by the health discourse in recent years, sport has been used increasingly by many non-sport organizations as a popular means to enhance physical activity levels, social integration, and mental health of people in disadvantaged situations (Marlier et al., 2015). After all, sport is known for its ability to capture or "hook" a large number of people (Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016).

Unlike non-sport organizations, many sport organizations (e.g., local sport authorities, sport clubs, sport federations) continue to struggle to include these target groups. Reasons mentioned for this incapacity to engage people in disadvantaged situations are the top down sport promotion initiatives of traditional sport organizations (Lawson, 2005) and the lack of collaboration with partners that have more experience in attracting these target groups (Barnes, Cousens, & MacLean, 2007). In many sport organizations, these feelings of incapacity result in difficulties to engage with this unknown target group.

The capacity building approach is one promising method to deal with the challenges to engage people in disadvantaged situations and to enhance collaboration (Jones, Edwards, Bocarro, Bunds, & Smith, 2017). The capacity building approach is based on four principles: (1) valuing pre-existing capacities, (2) developing trust through a participatory approach, (3) being responsive to context, and (4) developing well-planned and integrated strategies with clear purposes (NSW Health Department, 2001). In the sport realm, programs that implement this capacity approach, either explicitly or implicitly, are referred to as Community Sport Development Programs (CSDPs; Hylton, Bramham, Jackson, & Nesti, 2013). Moreover, these programs are categorized as 'Sport Plus' initiatives because they aim to develop sport participation and developmental goals (e.g., build self-esteem, increase health and social cohesion in the community; see Coalter, 2010). While capacity building has strong historical roots in the health sector, recent studies have also highlighted its usefulness in a sport setting (Edwards, 2015; Jones, Edwards, Bocarro, Svensson, & Misener, 2019). However, a lack of understanding persists regarding the capacity building processes that explain how to reach individuals in disadvantaged situations through sport. The need to analyze programs that were found effective in engaging disadvantaged individuals through capacity building principles is one of the main issues that hamper these insights (Millar & Doherty, 2016).

To fill this knowledge gap, this study builds on the results of a previous study that discovered significant multilevel differences in disadvantaged communities for sport participation between communities with and without CSDP (Marlier, Cardon, De Bourdeaudhuij, & Willem, 2014). In total, 61.3% of the participating adults from CSDP-communities reported engagement in sport, whereas in similar control communities without CSDP, this only amounted to 42.4% (Marlier et al., 2014). Furthermore, populations most at risk of exclusion, such as ethnic women of lower social class, engaged three times more in sport participation than those in the control communities (Marlier et al., 2014). This successful case of a CSDP is used to extract lessons on how (sport) organizations can include individuals in disadvantaged situations. The capacity building principles are used as a theoretical framework to structure these lessons. In summary, this study aims to explain how sport organizations can improve the inclusion of disadvantaged individuals through sport.

In the following sections we focus on the capacity building principles through the framework of the NSW Health Department (2001). This framework has been chosen because of its contribution to the capacity building theory, both from a scholarly as well as a practitioner viewpoint (Heward, Hutchins, & Keleher, 2007).

1.1. Capacity Building Principles Underpinning the Delivery of CSDPs

1.1.1. Valuing Pre-Existing Capacities

The first principle of capacity building is valuing pre-existing capacities, which refers to the identification and application of skills, experiences, expertise, and resources within the own organization and community, as well as those from other organizations and community members (NSW Health Department, 2001). External partnerships are therefore advocated as a crucial element to overcome capacity deficiencies (Svensson, Hancock, & Hums, 2017). Nevertheless, the link between the capacities of different organizations is often missing in delivering CSDPs. In one CSDP, where sport trainers were in charge of engaging youth in disadvantaged situations, a lack of capacity to engage this target group was noted (Armour & Sandford, 2013). In another CSDPs where youth and social workers were responsible for program delivery, staff was confronted with a lack of adequate sport equipment, a deficit of sport pedagogical skills among the supporting staff and limited opportunities to make use of the existing local sport facilities (Theeboom, Haudenhuyse, & De Knop, 2010). Therefore, a first necessity for successful CSDPs is to bridge this capacity gap by linking and leveraging the capacities of the different sectors.

1.1.2. Developing Trust through a Participatory Approach

The second principle is developing trust through a participatory approach (NSW Health Department, 2001).

This principle concerns the capability to involve the target group in the decision-making process regarding the selection and planning of the activities (Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, & Nols, 2012; Spaaij, Schulenkorf, Jeanes, & Oxford, 2018). Such participatory approach in program design, delivery, and evaluation is key in developing trust (Coalter, 2007; Edwards, 2015). One of the success factors of a CSDP (a sport action zone) was to get people from the local community involved in identifying the critical community needs (Sport England, 2006). This involvement also empowered the local people to deal with these community needs by themselves (Sport England, 2006). In another CSDP, aimed at promoting sport participation in tennis, the identification of a community champion (i.e., an ambassador, influencer of the community) was essential for program success (Vail, 2007). One of the key findings in the study was that community champions, in which community members had trust, were much more effective in engaging community members than in communities where trust in such person was lacking (Vail, 2007). Thus, developing trust through a participatory approach is necessary to share skills, knowledge, and resources both for those participating in the activities and for partners collaborating to deliver those activities.

1.1.3. Being Responsive to Context

The third principle of capacity building is being responsive to context (NSW Health Department, 2001). This principle refers to the realization that programs do not exist in isolation (Pawson, Greenhalgh, Harvey, & Walshe, 2005). All programs are influenced by the political, physical, economic, and cultural environments in which they operate. All these factors shape the program for better or for worse (NSW Health Department, 2001). In the context of sport promotion, CSDPs need to be aware of the lack of experience of local sport authorities to engage groups in disadvantaged situations (Vandermeerschen & Scheerder, 2017). Another important element in the sport promotion context are the sport clubs. In many Western countries these sport clubs are the main actors in sport promotion (Misener & Doherty, 2012). However, from an organizational perspective, they face many challenges regarding declining volunteer rates, infrastructure deficits and increasingly complex stakeholder demands (Misener & Doherty, 2012). Coalter (2007) warned that identifying and engaging with hard to reach groups is not the core-activity of sport clubs and that imposing this agenda could be damaging for their sustainability. Taking these specific contextual influences into account will thus partially determine whether a CSDP will be successful or not.

1.1.4. Developing Well-Planned and Integrated Strategies with Clear Purposes

The fourth principle of capacity building is developing well-planned and integrated strategies with clear purposes to find alternative ways for obtaining sustainability (NSW Health Department, 2001). This means working at the individual, organizational, and partnership levels, with a clear definition of goals, strategies, evaluation, and responsibilities for actions on the different levels (NSW Health Department, 2001; Simmons, Reynolds, & Swinburn, 2011). For example, in the setting of sport clubs, Allison (2001) claimed that engaging in multiple relationships with organizations across different sectors (e.g., facilities, suppliers, sponsors, media, schools, other clubs, sport councils, and granting agencies) may aid sport clubs to effectively deal with their lack of resources. Furthermore, this engagement also supports the program's sustainability and quality of the sport offer to participants. In 'Street League'—a CSDP that focused on engaging disadvantaged people over sixteen years of age in organized sport and aimed at developing social and other transferable skills in a fun environment—sustainability was achieved through the funding by non-sport focused government agencies and private business (Skinner & Zakus, 2008). Deciding on the ideal number of organizational strategies and partnerships is difficult. General recommendations are to start small and then to diversify (Welty Peachey, Cohen, Shin, & Fusaro, 2018).

In light of this background, the current study investigates a case study of a CSDP that was successful in reaching higher sport participation in disadvantaged communities. The aim of the study is to investigate how the capacity building principles help to explain the success of this CSDP.

2. Method

2.1. Description of the CSDP

The CSDP—the subject of this case study—is situated in Antwerp (506,225 inhabitants, Flanders, Belgium). The program is considered one of the most advanced CSDPs in Flanders (Theeboom & De Maesschalck, 2006). Since 2003, this program is structurally organized by the Antwerp Sport Authority (Cas, 2005). The main goal of the CSDP is to increase sport participation opportunities for people in disadvantaged communities, who experience higher financial, mobility, and commitment thresholds to participate in sport or exercise.

In total, 33 full-time equivalent staff members are employed to deliver the CSDP in Antwerp. These employees have five key responsibilities and activities closely related to the capacity building principles (Bogaerts, 2013). Firstly, exchanging information from and to the participating partners (sport, health, social, youth, cultural organizations) in the community, e.g., advising organizations on how to integrate disadvantaged groups into sport and exercise. Secondly, supporting the sport activities of partners, for instance, by personally assisting and guiding people towards existing sport clubs and activities. Furthermore, each partner can ask for (logistical) support of staff members of the CSDP to facilitate the

organization of their sport activities. Thirdly, organizing sport activities that complement the existing initiatives, or adapting the sport activities to the needs of people in disadvantaged situations (e.g., bike lessons for adults, urban circus for the youngest, street dance for adolescents, street soccer for homeless, walking groups for the elder, and swimming and exercise activities for women only). The fourth responsibility is to create new sport infrastructure in the community (e.g., urban sport infrastructure for skating, parkour, or dancing). Finally, searching for innovative new ways to reach program goals, e.g., organizing a cultural sport festival with local partners where ethnic minorities demonstrate sport from their native country and where community members are invited to try these 'foreign' sports.

At the moment of data collection, 17 of 62 communities located in the city of Antwerp had implemented the CSDP. Three coordinators manage the CSDP at the city level. These coordinators coach and guide 30 staff members delivering the CSDP in the 17 communities, while they also collaborate with the leaders of partner organizations at the city level. In summary, all activities that lower the threshold for people to engage in sport and exercise in their local neighborhood can be considered as part of the CSDP. Hence, communities without a CSDP staff member also have several activities that fit the criteria for the CSDP. The difference is that no staff member will be coordinating and implementing the aforementioned key activities related to the capacity building principles (i.e., exchanging information, supporting partners, organizing complementary sport and movement activities, creating new sport infrastructure, and exploring innovative ways to reach CSDP-goals).

2.2. Sampling and Data Collection

A multiple case design was used to assess and explain the capacity building principles that helped to create higher sport participation in disadvantaged communities. Four CSDP-communities and two control communities were purposively selected from the communities that were part of the previous quantitative study (Marlier et al., 2014). We used a qualitative method because this method is the recommended approach to investigate and understand how something works (Yin, 2013). Furthermore, adding multiple cases enabled us to bring more variation and richness to our analysis and make our findings more robust and generalizable (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2013).

As partnerships are located at the heart of the capacity building theory, sampling of interview participants was done by asking the CSDP staff members whom they considered their most important partner organizations in the sport, health, social, and other sectors. Persons most knowledgeable within the organization were invited to participate in the qualitative case-study. In control communities, potential stakeholders were selected through snowball sampling of organizations that had sport and community-based missions. Three trained researchers visited the participants at their organization and audio-recorded the interviews. Prior to the face-to-face interviews, the interviewees were informed via email about the purpose of the study. All selected participants agreed to participate in the study. This resulted in a total of 52 in-depth, semi-structured interviews, each lasting 40 minutes on average (see Table 1). In the two control communities four interviews per community were executed. In the program communities, the number of interviews ranged from six to ten. Some organizations were active on a city level and thus worked on a supra community level. In total, eleven interviews were conducted at the city level.

Interview questions were developed, based on a review of the literature on successful and effective factors in capacity building (NSW Health Department, 2001). For example, questions were posed like: To what extent does the CSDP make use of the capacity of partner organizations (principle 1: value pre-existing capacities)? To what extent is the target group involved in determining the activities of CSDP (principle 2: build trust through active participation)? Are there environmental influences that hamper or benefit the CSDP and how do you adapt to these (principle 3: be responsive to context)? Is there a joint goal setting and planning in the CSDP (principle 4: plan and integrate clear purposed strategies)?

General questions were also asked regarding the perceptions of the success factors and pitfalls of the CSDP and the added value and experienced problems with the CSDP. The in-depth interviews allowed for probing to deepen the understanding on the processes that helped to understand the success of the CSDP and its partners to reach higher sport participation in disadvantaged communities.

2.3. Data Analysis

After transcription of the interviews, qualitative data analysis was conducted with NVivo 12. Four steps were taken to reduce and analyze the 266,144 words of interview transcripts. Firstly, transcripts were coded following deductive reasoning based on the codebook of underlying principles of capacity building. A selection of the transcripts was coded by a second researcher to test the reliability of coding and to assure the quality of the coding process (Edwards & Skinner, 2010). Secondly, stakeholder groups were categorized in subsets to isolate comments of sports, social, health, youth, and cultural stakeholders for program and control communities. Thirdly, after the coding-process, recurring patterns of capacity building mechanisms were identified that could explain why CSDPs were able to create higher sport participation in the disadvantaged communities in which they operated. Interviews were conducted and transcribed in Dutch. Quotes used to illustrate and explain certain results were translated from Dutch to English. The reliability of translation of each quote was checked and ver-

Table 1. Overview of interviewees of different organizations in program communities, control communities and at the city level.

	PC 1	PC 2	PC 3	PC 4	CC 1	CC 2	City	Total	Example
Staff of CSDP	2	2	2	2	/	/	3	11	
Sport Organization (SP)	1	1	3	2	1	/	3	11	Grassroot sport clubs, local sport authorities, sport facility administrations
Social Organization (SO)	2	3	3	1	2	4	4	19	Outreach organizations, organizations fighting against drug abuse and homelessness, organizations focusing on building community cohesion and empowering disadvantaged individuals
Cultural organization (CU)	2	/	/	1	/	/	1	4	Organizations focusing on cultural activities (e.g., concerts, art workshops), organizations creating places to meet for community members
Health Organization (HE)	1	1	/	/	/	/	/	2	Local health centers
Youth Organization (YO)	1	3	/	/	1	/	/	5	Outreach organizations for youth, organizations focusing on providing leisure opportunities for children, day-care organizations, juvenile delinquency prevention organizations
Total	9	10	8	6	4	4	11	52	

Notes: PC stands for program communities (with CSDP), CC stands control communities (without CSDP). The persons that were interviewed in these organizations were the persons most knowledgeable within the organization with regard to the CSDP.

ified by one fellow researcher. To check the validity of the preliminary findings, the analyses were presented to the study participants and checked if they were in line with their perception of reality (Creswell, 2013). In the findings-section organizations are referred to by the abbreviations used in Table 1.

3. Findings

A previous study showed that the CSDP was successful in stimulating sport participation in disadvantaged communities (Marlier et al., 2014). The findings of this present study focus on how the CSDP was able to achieve these results. The capacity building principles are used as a theoretical framework to structure the main findings. When using quotations, we refer to the organizations with the abbreviations used in Table 1.

3.1. Valuing Pre-Existing Capacities

This capacity building principle refers to the identification and leveraging of skills, resources and partnerships within the community. Analyses of the interviews indicated that the CSDP leveraged pre-existing capacities by connecting the capacities of sport organizations with the capacities of health, social, youth, and cultural organizations. One manager of a local sport authority, who operated in both the program and control communities, indicated that: "There is definitely a difference between promoting sport in communities with or without CSDP. Staff of the CSDP know their community and their partners and can therefore promote sport activities much better" (SP 1, CC 1).

It became apparent that the CSDP connected information, skills, and resources between the sport sector on the one hand and the youth, health, social, and cultural sectors on the other hand. One manager of a public center for social welfare stated: "I think the role of the CSDP is extremely important. If they did not exist, we would not have a connection between those who don't do sport, the social aspect of sport and competitive sport" (SO 2, PC 1). This connection enabled the CSDP and sport organizations to better reach people in disadvantaged situations: "We notice that, the more we collaborate with partners, the more referrals we get of people in disadvantaged situations. Also, it gives us better insight into their experienced thresholds to do sport" (CSDP, PC 1). Reciprocally, this connection enabled the social, health, and cultural organizations to improve access to sport-specific infrastructure, information, and skills.

Because being able to connect the capacities of different organizations is one of the most essential elements (if not the most essential one) to understand why sport participation was higher in program communities than

in control communities, we visualized these connections in Figure 1. The figure is based on the analysis of the interviews and is not the result of structural analysis of the network. The arrows represent the connections of the different organizations. Dotted lines symbolize a moderate connection between different organizations (e.g., in both program and control communities, information was exchanged about activities between youth and sport organizations). The full lines in the figure symbolize strong connections between different organizations. These connections represent the organization of mutual activities, sharing of resources, skills and information. In both program and control communities, health, social, cultural, and youth organizations were strongly connected. However, only in program communities, the CSDP acted as a liaison to connect the information, resources, and skills between sport and other organizations in the community. When checking the preliminary findings with the interviewees, they verified that this image was overall an accurate representation of the connections in the community.

3.2. Developing Trust through a Participatory Approach

This capacity building principle concerns the capability to involve the target group in the decision-making process of the activities. The analysis of the interviews indicated three factors that helped to induce this participatory approach in sport activities.

A first important evolution to develop more trust through participation was a change of the mix of competences of the staff members. A first shift from a sport-focused to a mix of sport and social profiles helped to increase participation and trust of people in disadvantaged situations. In general, social workers were acknowledged as reinforcing agents due to their affinity with people in disadvantaged situations. A second shift was to recruit disadvantaged individuals as new staff members in the CSDP, or as new trainers in sport organizations. One sport organization specified: "Over time we made sure we had different trainers from different ethnicities. This really lowered the threshold for ethnic children and adults to go to our sport club" (SP 2, PC 4). Several interviewees indicated that sport activities were much more effective when given by people of the community who had a disadvantaged background, compared to sport activities that were merely offered for them. In some cases, these individuals grew to be the needed community champions, that catalyzed sport participation in their community. One quote of such a community champion illustrates this finding:

> After I started working for the CSDP, we talked about my grassroot sport club. A couple of people of the CSDP saw the potential and endorsed my club for funding of the 'city diversity fund.' This allowed my club to expand and organize more activities to reach the target group. Now we developed into a club with as many as 600 members in different sports as Thai boxing, volleyball, indoor football, karate and kickboxing. (SP 1, PC 1)

A second way that illustrates the participatory approach in which staff members of the CSDP operated was to visit the homes, local bars, and other places where disadvantaged individuals would get together. After personal contact and some 'small talk,' an initial form of trust was developed. This trust helped to detect the real sporting-needs in the community.

A third way to grow trust through participation was co-organizing low threshold movement opportunities in the 'safe' facilities of partners. Initiating sport sessions in the known and trusted structure of the social or health organizations aided to lower participation thresholds and reach people that otherwise would not have been reached. One quote to illustrate this finding:

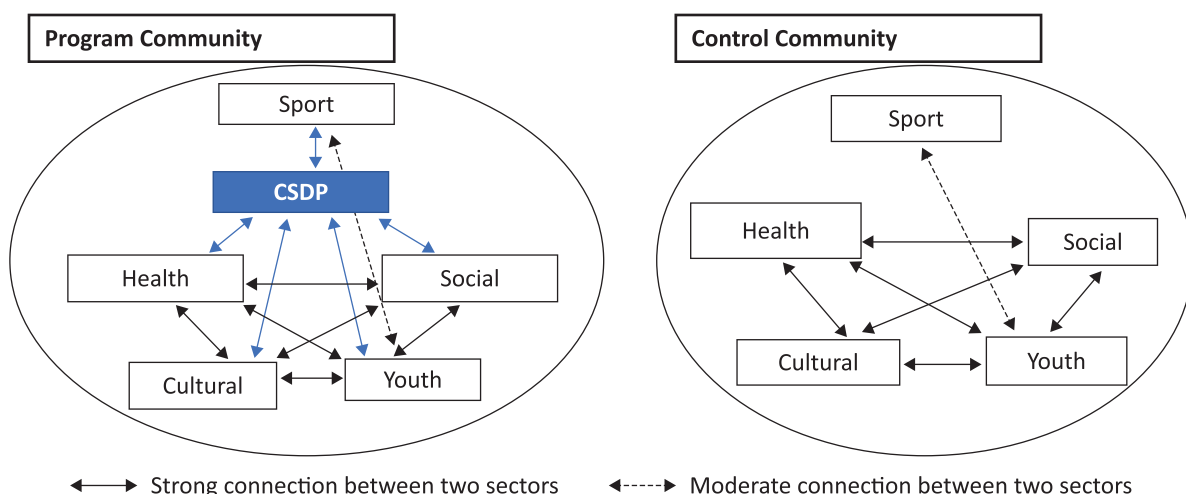


Figure 1. Graphical representation of the connections between sport, health, social, cultural and youth organizations in CSDP and control communities.

> Even if there is a yoga offer in the community, in most cases it takes more to engage them [disadvantaged individual] into these activities. When we organize a yoga course with the CSDP in our infrastructure we reach much more people. (HE 1, PC 1)

3.3. Being Responsive to Context

This capacity building principle refers to the ability to adapt to each context. CSDP-staff members specified they have a general framework (see the five key responsibilities and activities in Section 2.1) but can prioritize according to the needs of the community members and organizations.

One element that helped to make activities fitting the needs of their community was that CSDP-staff members are encouraged to experiment and try new activities and methods in their community: "We really are stimulated to innovate….A lot of elements which are now structurally embedded come from former trial and error experiments" (CSDP, PC 2).

Another element of being responsive to context is being able to face challenges due to changes in the physical, economic, cultural and political environment. One interesting finding that emerged from the analysis was how the CSDP tackled new financial, organizational, and cultural pressures in sport clubs that dealt with more disadvantaged members:

> At a certain point 70% of the members of a club were guided through the CSDP and were disadvantaged. This also meant that there were problems getting the membership fee, there was little consumption by this group in the canteen, troubles with transport to the games. Without support [from the CSDP] this club would never be able to sustain themselves. (SP 3, city level)

To respond to these evolutions, the CSDP put several coping mechanisms in place to help sport clubs to manage these new financial, organizational, and cultural pressures.

Financial pressures of those sport clubs were tackled by installing three measures. First, the CSDP would pay the membership fee of people in disadvantaged situations directly to the sport club, so the sport club would not need to worry about getting the payment. One interviewee of a sport organization stated: "Without the financial assistance of the CSDP we would not be able to survive. There are currently 40 members that do not or cannot pay their membership fee" (SP 2, PC 4). Second, the CSDP would install a personalized payment plan for people in disadvantaged situations, so they could spread the payment of the membership fee over different months, which would alleviate the financial threshold. Third, the CSDP aided in recruiting additional resources for the sport clubs by helping to apply for external funding.

Organizational pressures were in part overcome by decreasing the administrative burden. In several sport clubs that were open to engaging with hard to reach groups, professional assistance was offered in dealing with the administration of enrolling new members. This allowed the sport clubs to focus on what they wanted to focus on: sport. Furthermore, interviews with sport club staff revealed that, by partnering with the CSDP, they were able to attract more members and volunteers. Attracting members and volunteers represents a big organizational pressure for many sport clubs.

Cultural pressures were dealt with by informing, explaining, and supporting trainers and board members, on the specific thresholds of different groups of disadvantaged individuals. Such pressures arose when new participants from a different culture, religion, or background joined the sport activities. Additionally, the CSDP helped in explaining the sport clubs' formal and informal norms to people in disadvantaged situations.

3.4. Developing Well-Planned and Integrated Strategies with Clear Purposes

This capacity building principle refers to having clear definition of goals, strategies, evaluation, and responsibilities for the different activities.

Interviews with youth, social, cultural, and health organizations made apparent that the value of the CSDP resides in the organization of a multitude of activities and strategies. Table 2 presents an overview of the stakeholders' perceived added value of a couple of activities organized by the CSDP. The added value for the sport organizations is not repeated in the table as it is mentioned in the previous sections. This list is not exhaustive, and although the added value of these activities transcended stakeholder groups, it does give a good overview of the well-planned and integrated strategies of the CSDP.

One important strategy was to reinforce local organizations that already used sport to reach their goals (e.g., guiding activity to sport clubs, consultation service in social and health organizations to inform the target group of local sport opportunities).

Another strategy was to deliver a complementary sport offer when no other organizations in the community could fulfil sporting needs indicated by the individuals in disadvantaged situations (e.g., the bike school, sport activities for women only, mixed culture sport camps).

4. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to get better insights in how (sport) organizations can attain higher levels of sport participation in disadvantaged communities. The case for this study was a CSDP in Flanders that was successful in engaging disadvantaged individuals in sport participation (Marlier et al., 2014). The principles of capacity building—i.e., (1) valuing pre-existing capacities,

Table 2. Indicated added value of activities of the CSDP for social, health, cultural and youth organizations.

Sector	Activities of CSDP	Indicated added value
Social	Bike school A bike school that aims to learn adults how to ride a bike.	"The bike school for us is part of a course on mobility that mainly focuses on adult women that are not able to ride a bike. We consider the bike school as part of their personal development… They develop on a practical, emotional and social level during the bike course" (SO 3, PC 3).
	Supporting sport activities of partners The CSDP supports activities of partners by providing trainers with the right sport technical and pedagogical qualifications.	"I would need to partake in many extra trainings on the sport technical aspect without the partnership of the CSDP. And I think that the CSDP would miss a whole lot of tools and knowhow to reach the hard-to-reach groups that we are able to reach" (SO 1, PC 4).
Health	Consultation service Doctors prescribe movement and sport as a medicine and refer them to a CSDP staff member. This staff member explains the opportunities to be physically active in the community (e.g., who to contact, when and where activities take place, the price and how they could get financial support at fixed moments in the building of the health organization.	"In our center, health prevention is important, but for us, nurses and doctors, it is difficult to get people active….The fact that he [CSDP-staff member] comes to our organization diminishes that threshold and relieves us, because for every sport related question we can refer directly to them" (HE 1, PC 2).
Cultural	Sport and culture camps The CSDP organizes camps together with culture and youth organizations. In the morning children in disadvantaged situations get sport activities, in the afternoon they get cultural activities.	"They [CSDP-staff] really want to engage the community. They invest a lot of time to go to the different organizations, to people in disadvantaged situation to build a week that is adapted to the needs of this group. They organize a lot of games and sports in a professional way, that we would not be able to give with our [cultural] background….In this way the children get a broader array of leisure time activities which make it more likely for them to find something they like and want to continue doing" (CU 2, PC 1).
Youth	Sports Infrastructure The CSDP provides sports infrastructure that gives priority to people in disadvantaged situations.	"We have a partnership regarding a girl soccer project….The CSDP provides infrastructure and assists in finances. We mainly focus on reaching the target group. So yes, we really reinforce each other targets" (YO 2, PC 2).

(2) developing trust through a participatory approach, (3) being responsive to context, and (4) developing well-planned and integrated strategies—served as a guiding framework to explain how the CSDPs reached these results. In the next section, we will discuss four key implications for (sport) organizations that want to include individuals in disadvantaged situations.

A first key implication is to link capacities of sport organizations with the capacities of the social, youth, health, and cultural organizations. In this study, the CSDP was able to bridge the gap between sport and non-sport organizations and link their capacities. This resulted in a twofold effect. On the one hand, sport organizations could make use of the expertise and net-

work of youth, social, and health organizations to reach people in disadvantaged situations. On the other hand, these non-sport organizations could make use of sport-specific skills and the sport infrastructure of sport organizations. Previous studies have demonstrated that reaching this target group represents a capacity deficit for many organizations in the sport sector (Armour & Sandford, 2013; Theeboom et al., 2010). This deficit has been related to the habit of sport organizations to work in isolation from other organizations (Barnes et al., 2007; Lawson, 2005). In line with these findings, we noted that sport organizations worked largely independent from social, health, and cultural organization in control communities (without CSDP). Other researchers have expressed the importance of leveraging local partnerships and *to value pre-existing capacities* to include people in disadvantaged situations in sport participation (Hawe, Noort, King, & Jordens, 1997; Welty Peachey et al., 2018). Svensson et al. (2017) also noted that external partnerships were crucial to overcome capacity deficiencies. In a different study, he recommended that many sport organizations with developmental goals would benefit from additional training and support in building partnerships (Svensson, Andersson, & Faulk, 2018). This finding confirms the importance of having a coordinated program in a community that can facilitate collaboration between sport and other sectors (Dobbels, Voets, Marlier, De Waegeneer, & Willem, 2018). In our study, the CSDP executed this coordination function and facilitated collaborations between the different organizations.

The second key implication is to shift from a sport-oriented staff to a mix of sport staff, social workers and representatives of people in disadvantaged situations. Our findings showed that staff constitution was an important element to develop trust through a participatory approach. Many authors have stated that an active involvement and participatory approach of individuals in disadvantaged situations is an essential element of each program that aims to have a positive effect for this group (Haudenhuyse et al., 2012; Spaaij et al., 2018). In our study, a mixed staff of social and sport profiles helped to increase affinity with perceived thresholds of people in disadvantaged situations and to engage them in the sport offer. Previous studies affirm that social workers have a more successful understanding of including disadvantaged target groups (Armour & Sandford, 2013). Interestingly, we found that a new phase of active participation of the target group was established by recruiting trainers and staff with a disadvantaged background. This reaffirms the conclusions of a study on recruiting Muslim women in community sport regarding the crucial character of integrating ethnic minorities in the center of decision-making processes (Maxwell & Taylor, 2010).

The third key implication is to assist sport clubs to deal with financial, organizational, and cultural pressures that arise from the influx of new members in disadvantaged situations. In line with findings of Coalter (2007), we found that the identification of hard-to-reach groups and guiding them to sport clubs led to new financial, organizational, and cultural pressures. One of the biggest successes of the CSDP was to find a response for these pressures, by (1) taking care of part of the administration, (2) advancing the membership fee, and (3) installing workshops on dealing with cultural differences. By transferring this knowledge to the sport clubs, they were better prepared to be inclusive for these individuals. As such, a safer environment and a positive feedback loop were created, while more peers were attracted. Likewise, Forde, Lee, Mills, and Frisby (2015) concluded that difficult target groups can be integrated in the existing sport offer as long as sufficient efforts are made to reduce potential barriers.

The fourth and final key implication is to reinforce sport activities of partners and deliver a complementary offer only when existing local organizations are not able to fill sporting needs of people in disadvantaged situations. Our findings revealed that the CSDPs were successful in developing well-planned and integrated strategies mainly by reinforcing local organizations that already used sport to reach their goals. Similarly, Vos, Vandermeerschen, and Scheerder (2016) explained that local authorities should only offer sport activities when private and non-profit supply of sport activities is insufficient. The CSDP in this study engaged in many well-planned and integrated strategies. However, Svensson and Hambrick (2016) argued that picking and choosing battles is important for organizations to be sustainable. Whether or not an organization can integrate this capacity building element will thus largely depend on its stage of development (Svensson et al., 2018; Welty Peachey et al., 2018). It is good to be reminded that this specific CSDP consists of 33 staff members and has been evolving for more than 15 years, which is substantial in comparison with many other CSDPs.

5. Limitations

The generalizability of the findings represents the main limitation of this study. More precisely, this study looked at a CSDP in the specific context of disadvantaged communities in one specific city in a Western setting. It is very likely that the implementation of the same program in different communities in different cities could result in distinct outcomes. These outcomes depend largely on the characteristics of the people living in the community, the sport and recreational infrastructure, and the experience of the key stakeholders with community development and partnerships (Trickett et al., 2011). As such, we acknowledge the importance of context when it comes to the effectiveness of the program. In effect, this is the third guiding principle of capacity building theory (NSW Health Department, 2001). We tried to mitigate this limitation by implementing a multiple case that incorporated the views of multiple stakeholders of different sectors. A multiple case design is generally believed to be a stronger base for theory building and generalization

of the findings (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2013). However, more work is needed to confirm our findings.

6. Conclusion

While capacity building is widely known to engage people in disadvantaged situations, few studies have studied the principles underpinning capacity building theory. Our study applied these principles to enhance our understanding about how organizations can include people in disadvantaged situations in sport.

The capacity building principles were deemed very useful for this purpose. This study differentiates from other work done in this area because it examines a CSDP that was found successful in attaining higher sport participation in disadvantaged communities. Authors in the research field have advocated research on such programs with proven outcomes to advance the understanding of the delivery of sport for individuals in disadvantaged situations (Coalter, 2007; Haudenhuyse et al., 2012).

Our study contributes to practice by formulating four key implications that help to understand how (sport) organizations can include people living in disadvantaged communities. A first key implication is that sport organizations and non-sport organizations should strive to link their capacities. However, as the title of the manuscript gives away, troubled water stands between these two types of organizations before they can value their capacities. In this case study, the CSDP could bridge 'the troubled water' by three actions based on the capacity building principles: (1) shifting staff constitution from a sport-oriented staff to a mix of sport staff, social workers, and representatives of people in disadvantaged situations, (2) helping sport clubs to cope with financial, organizational, and cultural pressures that arise from the influx of new members in disadvantaged situations, and (3) reinforcing sport activities of partners and organizing a complementary offer when existing local organizations are not able to fill sporting needs of people in disadvantaged situations.

Acknowledgments

The authors of the research would like to thank the staff of the CSDP for their assistance and kind cooperation, the researchers who aided in gathering the data and transcribing the interviews, the board of practitioners who assisted in building the design of the study and helped to filter useful and interesting information for the practitioners on the field, and all interviewees for sharing their time and expertise in helping to understand the success of the CSDP. A sincere thank you goes out to the reviewers who shared their insights and helped to improve the article. Last but not least, the researchers are grateful for the funding provided by the Flemish Policy Research Centre on Sports.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Allison, M. (2001). *Sports clubs in Scotland*. Edinburgh: SportScotland.

Armour, K., & Sandford, R. (2013). Positive youth development through an outdoor physical activity programme: Evidence from a four-year evaluation. *Educational Review*, *65*(1), 85–108.

Barnes, M., Cousens, L., & MacLean, J. (2007). From silos to synergies: A network perspective of the Canadian sport system. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, *2*(5), 555–571.

Bogaerts, M. (2013). *Buurtsport Antwerpen, presentatie bedrijfsbezoek sportmanagement UGent* [Community sport development program Antwerp, presentation company visit]. Location: Antwerp.

Cas, J. (Ed.). (2005). *Buurtsport scoort: Voortgangsrapport 2005* [The community sport development program scores: Progress report 2005]. Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen.

Coalter, F. (2007). Sport clubs, social capital and social regeneration: Ill-defined interventions with difficult to follow outcomes? *Sport in Society*, *10*(4), 537–559.

Coalter, F. (2010). The politics of sport-for-development: Limited focus programmes and broad gauge problems? *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *45*(3), 295–314.

Council of Europe. (2001). *Recommendation no. R (92) 13 Rev: Of the committee of ministers to member states on the revised European sports charter.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Retrieved from https://rm.coe.int/16804c9dbb

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Dobbels, L., Voets, J., Marlier, M., De Waegeneer, E., & Willem, A. (2018). Why network structure and coordination matter: A social network analysis of sport for disadvantaged people. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *53*(5). https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690216666273

Edwards, A., & Skinner, J. (2010). *Qualitative research in sport management*. Oxford: Routledge.

Edwards, M. B. (2015). The role of sport in community capacity building: An examination of sport for development research and practice. *Sport Management Review*, *18*(1), 6–19.

Eisenhardt, K. M., & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(1), 25–32.

Forde, S. D., Lee, D. S., Mills, C., & Frisby, W. (2015). Moving towards social inclusion: Manager and staff perspectives on an award winning community sport and

recreation program for immigrants. *Sport Management Review*, *18*(1), 126–138.

Haudenhuyse, R., Theeboom, M., & Nols, Z. (2012). Sports-based interventions for socially vulnerable youth: Towards well-defined interventions with easy-to-follow outcomes? *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690212448002

Hawe, P., Noort, M., King, L., & Jordens, C. (1997). Multiplying health gains: The critical role of capacity-building within health promotion programs. *Health Policy*, *39*(1), 29–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0168-8510(96)00847-0

Heward, S., Hutchins, C., & Keleher, H. (2007). Organizational change: Key to capacity building and effective health promotion. *Health Promotion International*, *22*(2), 170–178.

Hylton, K., Bramham, P., Jackson, D., & Nesti, M. (2013). *Sports development*. London: Routledge.

Jones, G. J., Edwards, M. B., Bocarro, J. N., Bunds, K. S., & Smith, J. W. (2017). Leveraging community sport organizations to promote community capacity: Strategic outcomes, challenges, and theoretical considerations. *Sport Management Review*, *21*(3), 279–292.

Jones, G. J., Edwards, M. B., Bocarro, J. N., Svensson, P. G., & Misener, K. (2019). A community capacity building approach to sport-based youth development. *Sport Management Review*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2019.09.001

Lawson, H. A. (2005). Empowering people, facilitating community development, and contributing to sustainable development: The social work of sport, exercise, and physical education programs. *Sport Education and Society*, *10*(1), 135–160. https://doi.org/10.1080/1357332052000308800

Marlier, M., Cardon, G., De Bourdeaudhuij, I., & Willem, A. (2014). A capacity building approach to increase sports participation in disadvantaged urban communities: A multilevel analysis. *Journal of Urban Health*, *91*(6), 1114–1128.

Marlier, M., Van Dyck, D., Cardon, G., De Bourdeaudhuij, I., Babiak, K., & Willem, A. (2015). Interrelation of sport participation, physical activity, social capital and mental health in disadvantaged communities: A SEM-analysis. *PLoS ONE*, *10*(10). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0140196

Maxwell, H., & Taylor, T. (2010). A culture of trust: Engaging Muslim women in community sport organizations. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, *10*(4), 465–483.

Millar, P., & Doherty, A. (2016). Capacity building in nonprofit sport organizations: Development of a process model. *Sport Management Review*, *19*(4), 365–377.

Misener, K. E., & Doherty, A. (2012). Connecting the community through sport club partnerships. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *4*(2), 243–255.

NSW Health Department. (2001). *A framework for building capacity to improve health*. Gladesville: Better Health Care Centre.

Pawson, R., Greenhalgh, T., Harvey, G., & Walshe, K. (2005). Realist review: A new method of systematic review designed for complex policy interventions. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, *10*(Suppl. 1), 21–34.

Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *30*(2), 137–174.

Scheerder, J., Vandermeerschen, H., & Breedveld, K. (2017). Diversity in participation reigns, policy challenges ahead: Sport for all (ages) from a European perspective. In R. A. Dionigi & M. Gard (Ed.), *Sport and physical activity across the lifespan: Critical perspectives* (pp. 45–65). London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-48562-5_3

Schulenkorf, N., Sherry, E., & Rowe, K. (2016). Sport for development: An integrated literature review. *Journal of Sport Management*, *30*(1), 22–39.

Simmons, A., Reynolds, R. C., & Swinburn, B. (2011). Defining community capacity building: Is it possible? *Preventive Medicine*, *52*(3/4), 193–199. https://doi.org/10.1015/j.ypmed.2011.02.003

Skinner, J., & Zakus, D. H. (2008). Development through sport: Building social capital in disadvantaged communities. *Sport Management Review*, *11*, 253–275.

Spaaij, R., Schulenkorf, N., Jeanes, R., & Oxford, S. (2018). Participatory research in sport-for-development: Complexities, experiences and (missed) opportunities. *Sport Management Review*, *21*(1), 25–37.

Sport England. (2006). *Understanding the success factors in sport action zones*. London: Sport England. Retrieved from https://www.sportengland.org/media/39032/sport-action-zones-evaluation-final-report.pdf

Svensson, P. G., & Hambrick, M. E. (2016). "Pick and choose our battles": Understanding organizational capacity in a sport for development and peace organization. *Sport Management Review*, *19*(2), 120–132.

Svensson, P. G., Andersson, F. O., & Faulk, L. (2018). A quantitative assessment of organizational capacity and organizational life stages in sport for development and peace. *Journal of Sport Management*, *32*(3), 295–313.

Svensson, P. G., Hancock, M. G., & Hums, M. A. (2017). Elements of capacity in youth development nonprofits: An exploratory study of urban sport for development and peace organizations. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *28*(5), 2053–2080.

Theeboom, M., & De Maesschalck, P. (2006). *Sporten om de hoek, een brede kijk op buurtsport in Vlaanderen* [Sport around the corner, a broad view on community sport development programs in Flanders]. Sint-Niklaas: Flemish Institute for Sports Management and Recreation Policy.

Theeboom, M., Haudenhuyse, R., & De Knop, P. (2010). Community sports development for socially deprived groups: A wider role for the commercial sports sector? A look at the Flemish situation. *Sport in Society*, *13*(9), 1392–1410.

Trickett, E. J., Beehler, S., Deutsch, C., Green, L. W., Hawe, P., McLeroy, K., . . . Schulz, A. J. (2011). Advancing the science of community-level interventions. *Journal Information*, *101*(8), 1410–1419.

Vail, S. E. (2007). Community development and sport participation. *Journal of Sport Management*, *21*(4), 571–596.

Vandermeerschen, H., & Scheerder, J. (2017). Sport managers' perspectives on poverty and sport: The role of local sport authorities. *Sport Management Review*, *20*(5), 510–521. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2017.02.002

Vandermeerschen, H., Vos, S., & Scheerder, J. (2013). Who's joining the club? Participation of socially vulnerable children and adolescents in club-organised sports. *Sport, Education and Society*, *20*(8), 941–958. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2013.856293

Vos, S., Vandermeerschen, H., & Scheerder, J. (2016). Balancing between coordination, cooperation and competition? A mixed-method approach for assessing the role ambiguity of local sports authorities. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *8*(3), 403–419.

Welty Peachey, J., Cohen, A., Shin, N., & Fusaro, B. (2018). Challenges and strategies of building and sustaining inter-organizational partnerships in sport for development and peace. *Sport Management Review*, *21*(2), 160–175.

Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

About the Authors

Mathieu Marlier is a Senior Lecturer at the International Sport Management Department at LUNEX University, International University of Health, Exercise, and Sports. His research focuses on the value of cross-sector partnerships in sport. In 2016 he published his PhD in this field while affiliated at Ghent University. Mathieu is currently involved in several European projects regarding social innovation, social inclusion, vital cities, and good governance.

Bram Constandt is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of Movement and Sports Sciences of Ghent University. Holding a PhD in sport management, his current research focuses mainly on how to deal with ethical issues (e.g., match-fixing, gambling, doping) in sport organizations. In addition, he has a strong interest in studying and teaching sport history, thereby highlighting the societal value of sport.

Cleo Schyvinck is a Doctoral Student at Ghent University in the Department of Sport and Movement Sciences. Her research focuses on corporate social responsibility in professional sport organizations.

Thomas De Bock is a PhD Candidate at Ghent University, Belgium, in the Department of Movement and Sport Sciences. Thomas started his PhD in 2018 and the main focus of his research is on sport federations' sport-for-all policies. Thomas holds a master's degree in History, EU politics and Business Economics, all three achieved at Ghent University.

Mathieu Winand is a Professor of Sport Management and Head of Department of International Sport Management at LUNEX International University of Health, Exercise, and Sports in Luxembourg. His research interests are in sport governance, performance management, and innovation in sport. Mathieu is Deputy Editor of *Sport, Business and Management* and Director of MEMOS in French, the Executive Masters in Sport Organization Management supported by Olympic Solidarity.

Annick Willem is Associate Professor in Sport Management at the Department of Movement & Sports Sciences (Ghent University). She is Head of the Sport Management research group. Her research, which appeared in several high-impact academic journals, is on management and policy in the sports sector, with a particular focus on organizational issues such as knowledge management, collaboration, networking, and on ethical management issues. Annick teaches several sport management courses and is academic coordinator of the Belgian Olympic Academy.

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 152–161
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2747

Article

Using Realist Interviews to Improve Theory on the Mechanisms and Outcomes of Sport for Development Programmes

Kirsten Thecla Verkooijen *, Sabina Super, Lisanne Sofie Mulderij, Dico de Jager and Annemarie Wagemakers

Chair Group Health and Society, Wageningen University & Research, 6700 Wageningen, The Netherlands;
E-Mails: kirsten.verkooijen@wur.nl (K.T.V.), sabina.super@wur.nl (S.S.), lisanne.mulderij@wur.nl (L.S.M.), dico.dejager@wur.nl (D.d.J.), annemarie.wagemakers@wur.nl (A.W.)

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 30 December 2019 | Accepted: 23 April 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract

The complex nature of Sport for Development (SfD) programmes makes impact evaluation challenging. Realist evaluation has been proposed as a new, theory-driven approach to evaluate complex programmes. The present study aimed to explore the value of conducting realist interviews to gain improved insight into the mechanisms and outcomes of three SfD programmes in the Netherlands: a programme that promotes sports participation among socially vulnerable youth; a combined lifestyle intervention for adults of low social economic status; and a sports-based programme for marginalised adults. In addition, the study aimed to investigate the applicability of a conceptual model from the field of social enterprise (Roy, Baker, & Kerr, 2017) as the preliminary programme theory for those interviews. First, for each programme, a realist interview was conducted with one researcher as the key informant. Thereafter, the findings from and experiences with the individual realist interviews were discussed among the informants in a group meeting. The results revealed that the conceptual model functioned well as preliminary programme theory for the SfD programmes. The realist interviews contributed to theoretical awareness and trustworthiness. Importantly, the interviews highlighted knowledge gaps and generated ideas for programme improvement. Hence, the realist interview technique is recommended as a methodological tool to generate, validate, and improve programme theory in the field of SfD. This study had, however, an explorative character, and more research is needed to confirm and generalize the findings and to learn how a greater number of stakeholders might contribute to this type of realist evaluation.

Keywords

health promotion; programme theory; realist evaluation; social inclusion; sport for development

Issue

This article is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

Within the field of Sport for Development (SfD), there is broad agreement that we need greater insight and evidence on the effectiveness of SfD programmes as well as the mechanisms that bring these effects about (e.g., Coalter, 2007; Gould & Carson, 2008). These insights are needed to optimize the impact of these programmes and to convince programme funders to maintain their investment in successful programmes. SfD programmes are, however, complex interventions consisting of multiple components targeted towards multiple outcomes, which makes it extremely difficult to establish the effects and the underlying causes (Wold & Mittelmark, 2018). Moreover, SfD programmes take place in real-life, hence in changing contexts, which complicates the evaluation

of their effect even further. A relatively new approach to programme evaluation, in response to these challenges, is realist evaluation (Pawson, 1996). Realist evaluation acknowledges the complexity of social programmes. Its main objective is not to provide an answer to the question 'Does the programme work?' but to answer the question 'What part of the programme works, for whom, and under what circumstances?' In other words, it aims to reveal the coherence between the context, the mechanisms, and the outcomes of a programme. Programme theory, which outlines the sequence of expected mechanisms and outcomes (Jolley, 2014; Weiss, 2000), can be very helpful for realist evaluation. Realist evaluation checks whether the assumptions of such theory hold (Manzano, 2016; Westhorp, 2014).

The aim of the present study was twofold. First, it aimed to explore the value of using a realist interview technique to gain greater insight into the mechanisms and outcomes of SfD programmes. The realist interview technique has been described by Mukumbang, Marchal, Van Belle, and van Wyk (2019) as a useful, but an underutilized, tool for realist evaluation. In a realist interview, respondents are asked to examine and comment on existing programme theory, with the aim of improving these theories. According to Pawson and Tilley (1997) placing programme theories for examination could inspire, validate, falsify, and/or modify hypotheses about how programmes work, which is an essential process for theory refinement. Second, the study aimed to explore the applicability of a conceptual model from the field of social enterprise as the preliminary programme theory for a realist inquiry in the field of SfD. This model developed by Roy et al. (2017) is explained in further detail in the next section.

1.1. A Conceptual Model from the Field of Social Enterprise

To explore the value of using a realist interview technique, the present study made use of an existing programme theory from the field of social enterprise. Although examples of programme theory can be found within the field of SfD (e.g., Coalter, 2012; Gould & Carson, 2008; Pawson, 2006; Witt & Crompton, 1997) and in the closely related field of health promotion (e.g., Herens, Wagemakers, Vaandrager, van Ophem, & Koelen, 2017; Van Koperen et al., 2013), we decided to borrow a theory from a different, yet adjacent, scientific field to allow for new, unexpected theoretical insights (Chalip, 2006; Sparkes & Smith, 2014). In addition, theories in the field of SfD tend to focus on youth (e.g., Coalter, 2012; Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, & Nols, 2013; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011), whereas we wanted to cover a broader spectrum of SfD programmes. The selected theory is the conceptual model by Roy and colleagues (2017), which describes the mechanisms (i.e., mediating variables) and outcomes of social enterprise as a health and wellbeing intervention (see Figure 1). The model has been empirically informed by research on 13 social enterprises in the city of Glasgow. In general, social enterprises are businesses with primarily social objectives (Kerlin, 2013), such as a community centre offering services and employment training to local people, or a coffee bar employing disadvantaged people at a fair wage. Although SfD programmes are rarely approached as social enterprises, they share important characteristics. Both SfD programmes and social enterprises aim to reduce social vulnerability and strive for a more equal society (Sepulveda, 2015). Also, both operate largely outside the health (care) sector despite their aim to improve the health and well-being of a disadvantaged population (Caló, Roy, Donaldson, Teasdale, & Bagioni, 2019). Finally, their focus is typically on local communities.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the model by Roy et al. (2017) identifies four different forms of social enterprise: personal care services; arts and creativity; work integration; and community development. Each of these forms of social enterprise has been linked to certain mediating variables, such as improving knowledge and skills and providing meaningful work. These mediating variables, in turn, have been found to produce various intermediate outcomes related to physical, mental, and social determinants of health. At last, the intermediate outcomes are believed to contribute to the ultimate goal of improved health and well-being among social enterprise participants. The model was selected as a preliminary programme theory for the current study because of its broad scope of mechanisms and outcomes, which deemed it suitable for capturing a broad range of SfD programmes. Notably, Roy et al. (2017) invited other researchers to test and refine the model for various types of social enterprises. In the current study, we used the model to gain greater insight into the mechanisms and outcomes of three, relatively diverse, SfD programmes in the Netherlands. These three programmes are (1) Youth, Care, and Sport, (2) X-Fittt 2.0, and (3) programmes by The Life Goals Foundation. A brief description of the three programmes follows below.

1.2. Brief Description of the Three SfD Programmes

Youth, Care and Sport refers to a broad set of initiatives developed to increase sports participation among socially vulnerable young people in community sports clubs in the Netherlands (Super, Hermens, Verkooijen, & Koelen, 2014). The emphasis of these initiatives is (1) on the inclusion of sports in the care trajectories of youth, by stimulating youth care workers to guide their young clients to community sports clubs where possible, and (2) on the professionalization of sports coaches when they are working with socially vulnerable young people. Participation is voluntary and includes participation in local sports clubs in regular teams, sometimes with additional pedagogical support when needed.

X-Fittt 2.0 is a combined lifestyle intervention for low-income, overweight people living in a deprived

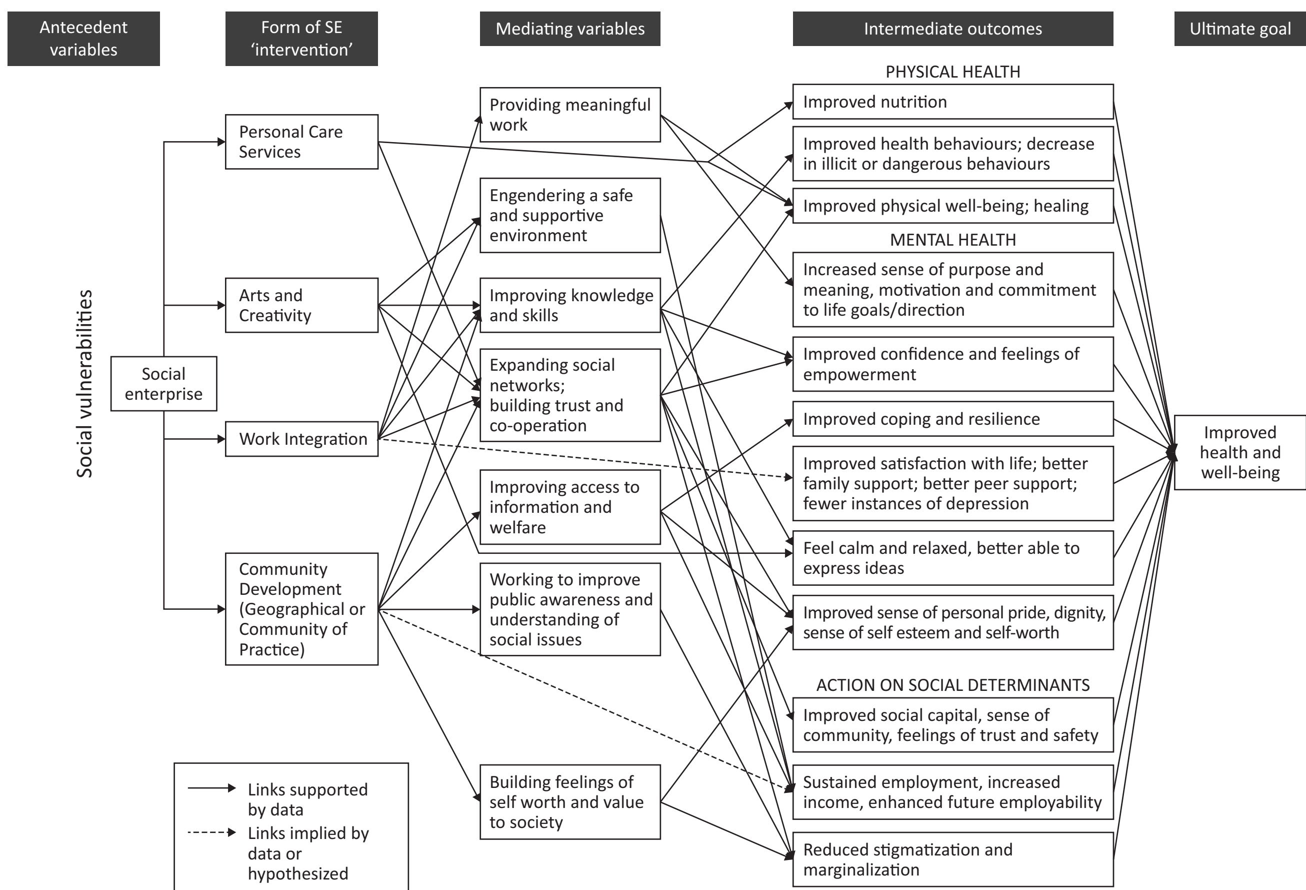


Figure 1. Conceptual model of social enterprise as a health and well-being intervention (Roy et al., 2017).

neighbourhood (Wagemakers, Mulderij, Verkooijen, Groenewoud, & Koelen, 2018). It targets multiple lifestyle behaviours, but foremost physical activity and nutrition. The programme is funded by a healthcare insurance company and the municipality and is free of charge for participants. The programme lasts two years, the first 12 weeks of which consists of group sports sessions twice a week, an individual sports session once a week, advice from a dietician, and four hours of coaching by a lifestyle coach. Thereafter, participants are encouraged to remain physically active by receiving six hours of lifestyle coaching over the remaining two years.

The Life Goals Foundation refers to sports programmes for socially vulnerable adults in the Netherlands, such as the homeless, drug addicts, ex-offenders, and psychiatric patients (Society Impact, 2019). The programmes aim is to increase their participation in society. The Life Goals foundation builds collaborations between municipalities, social care institutions, and community sports clubs to start local Life Goals programmes. In addition, they train sports coaches in the Life Goals methodology, which teaches them how to interact with participants and how to create a supportive environment. The Life Goals programmes do not have fixed durations, and consist of one to five sports activities a week. An important aspect of the Life Goals methodology is the Life Goals sessions, in which participants learn how to use their newly learned skills, such as trust and collaboration, in their daily life.

2. Methods

To identify and reflect on the mechanisms and outcomes of SfD programmes we used the realist interview technique. In their recent article, Mukumbang and colleagues (2019) distinguish three types of realist interviews: theory gleaning interviews, theory testing interviews, and theory consolidation interviews. The interview technique applied in the current study fits best with the theory testing interviews since our purpose was to apply and refine initial programme theory, rather than to initiate (gleaning) or confirm (consolidation) theory. For the X-Fittt 2.0 programme, an initial programme theory, or logic model, was available (Wagemakers et al., 2018), and the Life Goals programme also had a theoretical basis. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this research, we asked the informants to reflect on a model that they were unfamiliar with, namely the model by Roy et al. (2017), to spark new and innovative insights. In addition, we wanted to test the model's fit as preliminary programme theory for different types of SfD programmes.

The interviews were held with one key informant for each of the three SfD programmes, as it was a first exploration of the value of the realist interview technique. The

informants were researchers involved in the evaluation of the specific SfD programme and co-authors of this article (Sabina Super, Lisanne Sofie Mulderij, and Dico de Jager). The first author (Kirsten Thecla Verkooijen) conducted the interviews. The interviews started with an explanation of the purpose and procedure of the interview. Hereafter, the model by Roy et al. (2017) was introduced and shown to the interviewee on a large paper sheet. This sheet was then used to discuss the various elements of the model from right to left, thus, starting with 'the ultimate goal' and working towards the 'type of intervention.' The two overarching questions during the interviews were: (1) "Are the mechanisms and outcomes in the conceptual model applicable to the particular SfD programme?", and (2) "What mechanisms or outcomes are missing in the model?" The opening question was: "Do you agree that improved health and well-being is the ultimate aim of [name of the programme]?" Questions on mechanism and outcomes focused on the actual mechanism and outcomes in the programmes, rather than expected mechanism and outcomes. Also, informants were asked to elaborate on the observed mechanism and outcomes in relation to the context of each programme. As suggested by Pawson (1996), the interviewer adopted an active and explicit role in teaching the preliminary theory, while the interviewee was asked to confirm or falsify and, above all, to refine that theory. During the interview, the interviewer used a marker to write notes on the sheet and checked with the interviewees if these notes captured his or her reflections correctly.

All three interviews lasted approximately forty minutes, including an explanation of the model by the interviewer, and were audio-recorded and transcribed. Each transcript was checked by the corresponding informant for accuracy. Thereafter, the recording and transcripts were independently analysed by two researchers, the first author and for each programme a different co-author. To support validity, this co-author was never the informant of that same programme. After the individual interviews, the results from the interviews and experiences with the interview technique were discussed among the researchers in a group meeting of approximately one hour. The central question of that meeting concerned the applicability of the realist interview technique as a methodological strategy to improve insight into the mechanisms and outcomes of SfD programmes. The paper sheets written on during the individual interviews were brought to the meeting as input. Observations from the group meeting were integrated into the findings.

3. Results

Although the aim of this research was, first and foremost, to explore the value of using realist interviews in the field of SfD, we start the result section with a reflection on the applicability of the conceptual model by Roy et al. (2017) as preliminary programme theory. The reflection on the value of the realist interviews will follow.

3.1. Applicability of the Conceptual Model as Preliminary Programme Theory

A summary of the respondents' reflections on the mechanisms and outcomes of the SfD programmes, guided by the conceptual model, can be found in Table 1. In general, the respondents found many of the model's components relevant and applicable to the SfD programmes. For all three SfD programmes, the ultimate goal was 'improved wellbeing.' Yet, for the lifestyle programme X-Fittt 2.0, improved physical health was most important, whereas for the other two programmes well-being was. Or as the informant of the Youth, Care and Sports programmes put it: "For young people, having a fun life is more important than being healthy." Especially the intermediate mental health outcomes, such as improved coping and self-confidence, were perceived as strongly applicable to all three informants. Also, some mediating variables, such as engendering a safe and supportive environment, appeared highly important to all three programmes. However, the respondents also pointed out components that were perceived as irrelevant or beyond the scope of their particular programme. For instance, employment and income, access to information and welfare, and improved awareness and understanding of social issues were, according to the informants, of little importance to the SfD programmes. Nevertheless, being confronted with the model triggered the respondents to think about these components and how they may be part of the programme in an alternative way. For example, the informant of the Youth, Care and Sports programmes proposed replacing 'providing meaningful work' with 'providing a meaningful activity,' and believed that the sports club could be a place for young people to disclose their problems and be directed towards professional help rather than directly providing information and welfare.

For some components, respondents indicated that there was currently too little evidence to conclude whether these were indeed mechanisms or outcomes of the programme. For example, the informant of the lifestyle programme X-Fittt 2.0 was not sure if feelings of self-worth among participants increased: "I have never heard from participants that their self-image improved….Participants mention improvements in self-confidence, they don't mention self-worth, which makes it hard to conclude anything on that." Similarly, whether access to information and care served as a mediating variable in the Youth, Care, and Sports programmes was unknown to the informant, and the informant of the Life Goals programmes was not able to confirm with certainty that a reduction of stigma and marginalization, a core aim of these programmes, had been achieved. Also, for some intermediate outcomes, only temporary improvements were observed. For instance, a temporary

Table 1. Respondents' reflections on the applicability of the model by Roy et al. (2017) to 'their' SfD programme.

Model Components	Youth, Care and Sport	X-Fittt 2.0	Life Goals
Ultimate Goal			
• Improved health and well-being	Improved (physical) health is not the ultimate goal, improved wellbeing is.	Ultimate goal aligns well with the ultimate goal as defined in the model.	Improved (physical) health is not the ultimate goal, improved wellbeing is.
Intermediate outcomes—Physical health			
• Improved nutrition • Improved health behaviours, decrease in illicit or dangerous behaviour • Improved physical well-being, healing	Questionable whether physical health outcomes are (relevant) intermediate outcomes.	Improved nutrition, health behaviours, and physical well-being are all major intermediate outcomes.	Nutrition often improves at the start, but not in the long run. A decrease in illicit or dangerous behaviour and improved physical wellbeing are intermediate outcomes.
Intermediate Outcomes—Mental Health			
• Increased sense of purpose • Improved confidence and empowerment • Improved coping and resilience • Improved satisfaction with life, family and peer support • Feel calm and relaxed • Improved sense of personal pride	All intermediate mental health outcomes can be observed. However, negative effects on these mental health outcomes also occur.	All intermediate mental health outcomes can be observed, with social support probably the most important one.	All intermediate mental health outcomes are explicit aims. Some are observed as outcomes, like confidence, social support, feeling calm and personal pride.
Intermediate Outcomes—Social Health Determinants			
• Improved social capital • Sustained employment, increased income, employability • Reduced stigmatization and marginalization	Social capital tends to improve. Employment is of little relevance. Stigmatization decreases when children fit in with the other participants.	Sense of community increases temporarily. Effect on employability is unknown. Stigmatization is unlikely to be affected.	Social capital and employability are positively affected. Reduced stigma and marginalization are core aims, but it is unknown if these are affected.

effect on healthy eating was observed for the Life Goals programmes: "Participants often get inspired, at least in the beginning, to eat more healthily. However, this change in behaviour is often not sustained when sports coaches do not work towards this goal." Within the X-Fittt 2.0 programme, temporary effects were found for the sense of community: "Sense of community increases a lot during the group activities, but after 12 weeks, when the activities are over, participants usually don't see each other again, and the sense of community disappears."

All three informants judged the model to be appropriate for realist evaluation in the field of SfD, and they could easily see how SfD programmes could be added as a separate form of social enterprise to the model. Nevertheless, they also identified elements that they believed were currently missing from the model, such as emotional health and the provision of small challenges (Youth, Care and Sports), reduced health care consumption, increased social participation (X-Fittt 2.0), as well as pleasure and socialization (The Life Goals Foundation). In addition, the informant of the Youth, Care and Sports programmes stressed that not all components of the model are necessarily affected positively. For instance, self-confidence among youth may decrease when sports activities are felt to be too challenging. Further, stigmatization may actually increase when socially vulnerable children stand out in a group.

Table 1. (Cont.) Respondents' reflections on the applicability of the model by Roy et al. (2017) to 'their' SfD programme.

Model Components	Youth, Care and Sport	X-Fittt 2.0	Life Goals
Mediating Variables			
• Providing meaningful work • Engendering a safe and supportive environment • Improving knowledge and skills • Expanding social networks • Improving access to information and welfare • Working to improve public awareness and understanding of social issues • Building feelings of self-worth and value to society	Providing a meaningful *activity* (rather than work) is an important mediating variable, whereas improving knowledge and skills is not. Expanding one's social network and trust is extremely important. Whether access to information and care is a mediating variable is unknown.	Providing meaningful work and improving access to information and welfare are not mediating variables. Engendering a safe and supportive environment and improving knowledge and skills strongly are. Social networks expand, but often temporarily. It is unknown if public awareness and understanding of social issues improves and feelings of self-worth and value to society are built.	Providing meaningful work is a mediating variable for some programmes. Engendering a safe and supportive environment, improved knowledge and skills, and self-worth and value to society are mediating variables, whereas access to information and welfare and working to improve public awareness and understanding of social issues are not.
Overall Fit and Missing Elements	The model is useful for the evaluation of youth SfD programmes, especially if it were expanded with elements such as emotional health and the provision of small challenges that are particularly relevant for young people.	The model is appropriate to explore the mechanisms and outcomes of X-Fittt 2.0. Health care consumption and social participation could be added as intermediate outcomes.	The model is useful for the evaluation of Life Goals programmes. Pleasure and socialization are missing as important mediating variables.

3.2. The Value of Conducting Realist Interviews

Overall, the respondents agreed that participating in the realist interviews was a useful exercise as it initiated theoretical awareness and generated validation of existing assumptions. In other words, the informants felt that the interviews helped to improve theory on how an SfD programme works. In addition, they felt that the interviews helped them to identify knowledge gaps, such as the lack of insight on the effect of the lifestyle programme on participants' self-worth. Identification of these knowledge gaps was important to them because they give direction to future research. The interviews and group discussion also revealed opportunities to improve SfD programmes. For instance, the X-Fittt 2.0 programme may benefit from making social contacts between participants more lasting, while The Life Goals foundation might expand its focus to lifestyle behaviours, like nutrition, to increase its impact. Furthermore, for both X-Fittt 2.0 and The Life Goals Foundation, the interviews and group discussion sparked ideas on how to address employability in the programmes. Finally, while none of the respondents judged access to information and welfare to be a function of the current programmes, the group meeting triggered a discussion on the pros and cons of making sports coaches so-called 'case managers,' responsible for the provision of information and/or the referral of participants to the health and care domain.

The group discussion seemed to be a valuable addition to the individual interviews. Despite, or because of, the differences between programmes, the group discussion helped to further reflect on each programme's specific mechanisms and outcomes. Also, the meeting facilitated the exchange of ideas and practices for programme improvement. An important observation from the individual interviews was that sometimes mechanisms and outcomes were reported according to what the programme sought to implement or achieve rather than what the programme was actually successful in doing. In those cases, the interviewer had to actively ask the informant for clarification. During the group meeting, the informants acknowledged that this helped them become more aware of existing discrepancies between the intended and the actual programme outcomes. Finally, while reflecting on the realist interviews, all three informants agreed that distinguishing between the mecha-

nisms and the outcomes of a programme was not an easy task. Sometimes mechanisms could hardly be distinguished from outcomes, depending on the context of a programme. Expanding social networks was an example of a difficult to define programme element, since it may serve as a means of increasing information and skills (e.g., employability), but also affect social wellbeing directly.

4. Discussion

This research aimed to explore the value of using a realist interview technique as a methodological strategy to provide greater insight into the mechanisms and outcomes of SfD programmes. In addition, the study aimed to examine the suitability of a conceptual model from the field of social enterprise as a basis for these interviews. The interviews and group discussion with the three key informants proved itself to be a meaningful exercise that may contribute to science and practice in the field of SfD in three ways. First, reflecting on the proposed programme theory enhanced theoretical awareness and elicited new and more trustworthy insights into the mechanisms and outcomes of the programmes studied. Hence, realist interviews can help to disentangle what works within an SfD programme and why, which then can be used to further adjust and refine programme theory. Secondly, realist interviews may contribute to ideas for programme improvement. The individual interviews, and certainly the group discussion, in which the informants learnt from each other's expertise, generated ideas to increase the impact of SfD programmes by, for example, adding new elements such as employability or nutrition to the existing programmes. Finally, realist interviews may help to identify the intended mechanisms and outcomes for which proof of their actual presence is still lacking. Identification of these knowledge gaps may guide further research in which all intended mechanism and outcomes are captured and assessed. A complete evaluation contributes to accountability, which for stakeholders, including programme managers, policymakers, and funding agencies, is crucial for (adjusting) future programmes and policies (Jolley, 2014).

Notwithstanding the perceived value of the realist interviews, it was also perceived as a challenging exercise. Likewise in other studies, it appeared quite difficult to distinguish between outcomes, mechanisms, and context. Because programmes do not operate in a vacuum, mechanisms may work differently in different contexts (Jagosh et al., 2015). Over time, a previously defined mechanism may actually become an outcome, while an outcome may become context (Herens et al., 2017). Another challenge was to differentiate between actual and intended mechanisms and outcomes. At times, the informants needed reminding that they had been asked about the observed programme outcomes and mediating factors, rather than about the intended outcomes and mediators. Despite these reminders, assumptions, rather than observations, may have influenced their input. Especially in the field of SfD, widespread assumptions about positive development through sports are often too easily taken for granted (Nols, Haudenhuyse, & Theeboom, 2017). Hence, a realist interviewer needs to be alert for possible false assumptions and not to be afraid to ask further questions. This requires a different, more critical, role as interviewer compared to more traditional interviews in which respondents are treated as indisputable sources of information (Mukumbang et al., 2019).

The second aim of this research was to explore the suitability of a conceptual model from the field of social enterprise as a preliminary programme theory for realist evaluation in the SfD field. Overall, the model by Roy et al. (2017) provided a good basis to reflect on the perceived mechanisms and outcomes of the three SfD programmes, despite the fact that these programmes differed substantially with respect to the target group, contents, objectives, and context. Hence, this model from an adjacent scientific field proved to generalise well across different SfD programmes and populations. On a critical note, one could say that the applicability of the model may even have been too good, in so much as it did not sufficiently challenge the respondents' dominant way of thinking (Sparkes & Smith, 2014), an important reason for choosing the model in the first place. Furthermore, we want to stress that our purpose was not to develop one definitive programme theory that should cover all SfD programmes in future research. As Haudenhuyse and colleagues (2013) well explain, participants are unlikely to be best served with top-down predefined programme outcomes. Hence, the model can be used as a template for realist interviews, but in the end, each programme would preferably have its own programme theory to reflect its unique context. In fact, the X-Fittt 2.0 programme had developed its own programme theory prior to its start in close collaboration with stakeholders and citizens (Wagemakers et al., 2018). Reflecting once again on the previously developed programme theory may help to detect and adapt to changes in the programme and its context, which is an important element of action research and benefits programme outcomes (Jolley, 2014; Mukumbang et al., 2019).

Some limitations of our study should be noted. First of all, interviews were conducted with only one key informant per programme, as our study was a first exploration of the value of realist interviews using a programme theory borrowed from another field. It is recommended, however, to include more informants to cross-validate the input for each programme. The study addressed three different SfD programmes to learn about the possible benefits of the realist interview technique. As such, the lessons learned from our exercise (i.e., theoretical awareness, programme improvement, and knowledge gaps) might contribute to the science and practice within the field of SfD, but we cannot extrapolate our findings to draw conclusions about SfD programmes in general. Also, the informants were all academic researchers and

co-authors of this paper. This was decided because we believed researchers to be a relatively objective source of information and often responsible for programme evaluation. However, relying on the expertise of these academics obviously created a particular bias. We acknowledge that it would have been valuable to involve more stakeholders such as staff, coaches, and programme participants, since they could have provided other relevant contributions toward clarifying the programme theory (Manzano, 2016; Pawson & Tilley, 1997). Furthermore, we recommend that future research should involve more stakeholders, not only to complement programme theory but also to make it a joint reflection exercise. However, engaging more stakeholders requires time, as well as the need to learn together how to reflect on, discuss, and unravel mechanism, outcomes, and context in an interview or group discussion, as not all stakeholders are familiar with programme theories. Especially regarding youth SfD programmes, it might be challenging to have children, or young people, reflect on mechanisms and outcomes (Super, Wentink, Verkooijen, & Koelen, 2017). Nevertheless, regardless of who the informant is, time, place, and actor perspectives define the mechanisms, outcomes, and contexts addressed in the interviews, and therefore, these are always dynamic in nature (Herens et al., 2017).

5. Conclusion

While acknowledging its limitations, our 'reflection exercise' looks promising for SfD programmes, and probably for programmes in other fields too. The interviews and group discussion provided meaningful insights: Reflecting on the proposed programme theory enhanced theoretical awareness about mechanisms and outcomes, and related to this, revealed opportunities for programme improvement and facilitated the identification of knowledge gaps. The conceptual model provided a good basis to reflect on the perceived mechanisms and outcomes of the three SfD programmes and proved to generalise well across different SfD programmes and populations. We hope that this explorative study, illuminating the benefits of the realist interview technique, can inspire others to validate and refine existing programme theory, to improve programme design, and in a broader sense may contribute to the scientific advancement of the SfD field. We recommend engaging multiple stakeholders to make the realist inquiry more comprehensible, and thus, more worthwhile. Collecting the experiences from a greater number and variety of programmes will at the same time help further develop and refine the realist interview technique.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Güven Alarslan for his feedback on a draft version of this work.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Caló, F., Roy, M. J., Donaldson, C., Teasdale, S., & Bagioni, S. (2019). Exploring the contribution of social enterprise to health and social care: A realist evaluation. *Social Science & Medicine*, *222*, 154–161.

Chalip, L. (2006). Toward a distinctive sport management discipline. *Journal of Sport Management*, *20*, 1–21.

Coalter, F. (2007). *A wider social role for sport: Who's keeping the score?* London: Routledge.

Coalter, F. (2012). 'There is loads of relationships here': Developing a programme theory for sport-for-change programmes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(5), 594–612.

Gould, D., & Carson, S. (2008). Life skills development through sport: Current status and future directions. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *1*(1), 58–78.

Haudenhuyse, R., Theeboom, M., & Nols, Z. (2013). Sports-based interventions for socially vulnerable youth: Towards well-defined interventions with easy-to-follow outcomes? *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(4), 471–484.

Herens, M., Wagemakers, A., Vaandrager, L., van Ophem, J., & Koelen M. (2017). Contexts, mechanisms, and outcomes that matter in Dutch community-based physical activity programs targeting socially vulnerable groups. *Evaluation & the Health Professions*, *40*(3), 294–331.

Jagosh, J., Bush, P. L., Salsberg, J., Macauley, A. C., Greenhalgh, T., Wong, G., . . . Pluye, P. (2015). A realist evaluation of community-based participatory research: Partnership synergy, trust building and related ripple effects. *BMC Public Health*, *15*. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-015-1949-1

Jolley, G. (2014). Evaluating complex community-based health promotion: Addressing the challenges. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, *45*, 71–81.

Kerlin, J. A. (2013). Defining social enterprise across different contexts: A conceptual framework based on institutional factors. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *42*(1), 84–108.

Lyras, A., & Welty Peachey, J. W. (2011). Integrating sport-for-development theory and praxis. *Sport Management Review*, *14*(4), 311–326.

Manzano, A. (2016). The craft of interviewing in realist evaluation. *Evaluation*, *22*(3), 342–360.

Mukumbang, F. C., Marchal, B., Van Belle, S., & van Wyk, B. (2019). Using the realist interview approach to maintain theoretical awareness in realist studies. *Qualitative Research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794119881985

Nols, Z., Haudenhuyse, R., & Theeboom, M. (2017). Urban sport-for-development initiatives and young peo-

ple in socially vulnerable situations: Investigating the 'deficit model.' *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 210–222.

Pawson, R. (1996). Theorizing the interview. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *47*(2), 295–314.

Pawson, R. (2006). *Evidence-based policy: A realist perspective*. London: SAGE Publications.

Pawson, R., & Tilley, N. (1997). *Realistic evaluation*. London: SAGE Publications.

Roy, M. J., Baker, R., & Kerr, S. (2017). Conceptualising the public health role of actors operating outside of formal health systems: The case of social enterprise. *Social Science & Medicine*, *172*, 144–152.

Sepulveda, L. (2015). Social enterprise—A new phenomenon in the field of economic and social welfare? *Social Policy and Administration, 49*(7), 842–861.

Society Impact. (2019). *Wat is Life Goals waard? Op zoek naar de meerwaarde van sport voor een kwetsbare doelgroep*. [What is Life Goals worth? In search of the added value of sports for a vulnerable target group]. The Hague: Society Impact. Retrieved from https://www.societyimpact.nl/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Life-Goals_-De-meerwaarde-van-sport-voor-een-kwetsbare-doelgroep2-2.pdf

Sparkes, A. C., & Smith, B. (2014). *Qualitative research methods in sport, exercise and health: From process to product*. London: Routledge.

Super, S., Hermens, N. J., Verkooijen, K. T., & Koelen, M. A. (2014). Enhancing life prospects of socially vulnerable youth through sport participation: A mixed method study. *BMC Public Health*, *14*. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-14-703

Super, S., Wentink, C. Q., Verkooijen, K. T., & Koelen, M. A. (2017). Exploring the sports experiences of socially vulnerable youth. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 198–209.

Van Koperen, T. M., Jebb, S. A., Summerbell, C. D., Visscher, T. L. S., Romon, M., Borys, J. M., & Seidell, J. C. (2013). Characterizing the EPODE logic model: Unravelling the past and informing the future. *Obesity Reviews*, *14*(2), 162–170.

Wagemakers, A., Mulderij, L. S., Verkooijen, K. T., Groenewoud, S., & Koelen, M. A. (2018). Care-physical activity initiatives in the neighbourhood: Study protocol for mixed-methods research on participation, effective elements, impact, and funding methods. *BMC Public Health*, *18*. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-018-5715-z

Weiss, C. H. (2000). Which links in which theories shall we evaluate? *New Directions for Evaluation*, *2000*(87), 35–45.

Westhorp, G. (2014). *Realist impact evaluation: An introduction*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Witt, P. A., & Crompton, J. L. (1997). The protective factors framework: A key to programming for benefits and evaluating results. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration, 15*(3), 1–18.

Wold, B., & Mittelmark, M. B. (2018). Health-promotion research over three decades: The social-ecological model and challenges in implementation of interventions. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, *26(*20), 20–26.

About the Authors

Kirsten Thecla Verkooijen is an Assistant Professor at the chair group Health and Society of Wageningen University and Research, in the Netherlands. She wrote her PhD dissertation about the role of self- and social identity in health-related risk behaviour among Danish adolescents. Her current research addresses health promotion and health inequalities among socially vulnerable groups, often with a focus on sports and exercise.

Sabina Super is a Lecturer and Researcher at the chair group Health and Society. She obtained her PhD degree in 2017 on a research project focusing on the role of sports participation in the personal development of socially vulnerable young people. Currently she is working on several research projects that focus on people's capacity to cope with stressful or challenging life events (such as poverty or disease). Most of her projects include vulnerable groups such as children in youth care, people with a low socio-economic status, or multi-problem families. Her work is inspired by the salutogenic model of health.

Lisanne Sofie Mulderij (MSc) holds a Master's degree in Nutritional Epidemiology and in 2016 started a PhD program in the chair group Health and Society of Wageningen University & Research, the Netherlands. Her research focuses on care-physical activity (care-PA) initiatives for people with a lower socioeconomic status, including 1) the evaluation of the impact of care-PA initiatives on participants, 2) the unravelling of the effective elements of care-PA initiatives for people with a low SES, 3) the investigation of the societal costs and benefits of care-PA initiatives for people with a low SES, and 4) the exploration of alternative ways to fund care-PA initiatives, prevention, and healthcare.

Dico de Jager (MSc) holds a Master’s degree in Sport Policy and Sport Management. In 2019 he started as a Researcher at the Wageningen University and Research in Wageningen, the Netherlands. His research is focused on the critical elements of sport programs for social vulnerable adults, especially the elements needed for successful life skills transfer to other social domains. In addition, he works for the Life Goals Foundation, which creates and implements sport programs for vulnerable adults.

Annemarie Wagemakers (PhD) is an Associate Professor in Health and Society at Wageningen University and Research, and has a wide experience with complex public-health-promotion projects. Her research focuses on the combined influence of lifestyle and the social and physical environments of health and well-being in real-life settings. Her research is usually based on the use of mixed methods, including action research methods, strong stakeholder participation, and collaboration involving low-SES groups, integral health policy, and interdisciplinary approaches.

COGITATIO

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 162–176
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2828

Article

Young People's Perceptions of the Influence of a Sport-for-Social-Change Program on Their Life Trajectories

Rob Cunningham, Anne Bunde-Birouste *, Patrick Rawstorne and Sally Nathan

School of Public Health and Community Medicine, University of New South Wales, Sydney, NSW 2052, Australia;
E-Mails: robert.cunningham@unsw.edu.au (R.C.), ab.birouste@unsw.edu.au (A.B.-B.), p.rawstorne@unsw.edu.au (P.R.), s.nathan@unsw.edu.au (S.N.)

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 25 January 2020 | Accepted: 8 June 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract
Sport-for-social-change programs focusing on enhancing young people's personal and social development emerged in the early to mid-2000s. Children and adolescents who participated in early programs are now adults, providing an opportunity to examine whether these programs have had any influence on their life trajectories. The Football United program has been operating in Sydney, Australia, since 2006 and is used as a case study in this article. This qualitative study draws on 20 interviews conducted in 2018 with a diverse sample of past participants of the program. Key findings were that participants perceived that the relationships they formed at Football United have had a substantial impact on their life trajectories, including influencing education and career decisions. These relationships were found to increase participants' social capital, creating diverse connections with people and institutions within and external to their geographical communities. This study also found participants embraced a long-term commitment to 'give back' to their local geographical, cultural, and ethnic communities, which they attributed to their participation in the program.

Keywords
Australia; football; social capital; sport; sport-for-social change; Sydney; youth development

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

Youth focused sport-for social-change (SFSC) programs have gained prominence over the past two decades as part of a global movement in using sport as a tool to tackle complex social and development problems (Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2013; Kay, 2012). SFSC programs often focus on disadvantaged and vulnerable groups such as "at-risk youth, indigenous communities, recently arrived refugees, and culturally and linguistically diverse communities" (Sherry, Schulenkorf, & Chalip, 2015). These groups of young people often face discrimination and social exclusion within their geographic communities, and demonstrate poorer outcomes in education, employment, and health (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2016). Youth-focused SFSC programs leverage the global popularity of sport to incorporate life-skills, education, and capacity building elements with the aim of positively influencing the personal and social development of participants (Holt et al., 2017).

Research into the impact and outcomes of youth-focused SFSC programs suggest they have the potential to contribute to building participants' life-skills, including

enhancing social, emotional and behavioural capabilities (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012; Holt et al., 2017; Nathan et al., 2013; Weiss, Bolter, & Kipp, 2016; Whitley, Massey, & Farrell, 2017; Whitley, Massey, & Wilkison, 2018). Studies also suggest these programs have the potential to positively influence participants' social connectedness through facilitating relationships outside of their cultural, ethnic, and geographical communities (Spaaij, 2012, 2013). Longer-term impact studies of SFSC programs are limited, perhaps due to the difficulty in following up with this population in the years after their participation. However, given some programs have now been in place for up to 15 years, longer term impacts can be examined (Hoekman, Schulenkorf, & Welty Peachey, 2018).

The Football United (FUn) program, which is the focus of the current article, provides opportunities to explore whether and how a youth-focused SFSC program helped influence the life trajectories of participants. The FUn program has been operating for thirteen years and works with young people from disadvantaged and diverse backgrounds, with the aim of positively influencing participants' personal and social development (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012; Nathan et al., 2010, 2013). FUn has demonstrated short-term impacts such as positively influencing participants' sense of self, pro-social behaviours, and engagement within school (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012; Nathan et al., 2010, 2013). However, the FUn program also aims to have a positive impact on participants' long-term development and life trajectories (Bunde-Birouste, 2013) yet, to date, such longer term follow-up research has not been undertaken.

This study examines the experiences of a sample of FUn program participants, at a minimum six years after initial program engagement when they were still young adults, yet education and career trajectories were likely to be established. The study explores whether and how participants perceived their involvement in FUn has influenced their life trajectories and what aspects of the program, if any, may have contributed to their decisions, pathways, and achievements. The findings of this study are an important step in starting to understand how SFSC programs may positively influence young people's longer-term life-paths.

1.1. Theoretical Lens

Social capital theory was identified as an analytical lens after the interviews were conducted and following an initial inductive thematic analysis (see Section 2). Social capital theory was chosen as FUn was initially created with the goal of bringing people together through football, highlighting a commitment to creating social connections within and external to the participating young people's cultural, ethnic and geographical communities (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012; Nathan et al., 2010, 2013). The program goals (see Section 2) also align with key concepts in social capital theory, described in further detail below. The study aims to examine how participants' life trajectories may have been influenced by the networks of social relationships established through their involvement in FUn.

Social capital is based on the concept that 'relationships matter'; it is about the connections we make with others and the value of these relationships (Field, 2003, p. 1). Social capital allows for a deep analysis of the importance of social ties across communities and society. The analysis in this article is influenced by several key scholars in social capital, including Putnam's (2000) view of social capital suggesting that "social networks have value…and refers to connections among individuals, social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Bourdieu's (1986) and Coleman's (1994) conceptualisation of social capital and its relationship to disadvantaged groups within society, is also relevant for this study and is detailed later in this section. As most participants in the current study arrived in Australia as refugees, this article is also influenced by scholars who have embraced a social capital framework examining the resettlement experiences of refugees. In particular Ager and Strang (2004) used social capital theory to highlight the importance of social connections within their 'indicators of integration' framework, suggesting that relationships and connection are critical in the resettlement and life trajectories of refugees (Ager & Strang, 2004). Ager and Strang's framework draws on social capital theorists such as Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (2001) to distinguish between three types of social connection that influence successful integration of refugees within their host communities; social bonds, social bridges, and social links.

1.1.1. Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

Bridging social capital refers to creating relationships with heterogeneous groups, and is seen as having societal advantages when compared to bonding social capital as it helps to build relationships among diverse individuals and groups, guarding against exclusion, and has been argued to promote social cohesion (Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Putnam describes 'bonding' as a sociological superglue which reinforces and strengthens existing networks in comparison with 'bridging' being the "WD-40 that binds communities together" (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). Ager and Strang (2008) suggest bridging social capital helps create social cohesion amongst people from different cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, creating opportunities to build understanding and social connection.

1.1.2. Linking Social Capital

Woolcock has been credited with extending Putnam's concepts of 'bonding and bridging,' coining the term 'linking social capital' to describe vertical connections that link members of a community to individuals, groups and

institutions outside of their local community (Woolcock, 2001). Linking social capital is seen as a mechanism that can unlock opportunities, resources, and power within society by creating relationships between "unlike people in dissimilar situations" (Woolcock, 2001, p. 13). Through these personal and institutional relationships diverse and disadvantaged groups in society can gain access to a range of resources outside of their cultural, ethnic, and geographical communities (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Woolcock, 2001). Linking social capital is also argued to be more important for diverse populations such as migrants and refugees when resettling in a new country, allowing connections to be established with educational, occupational and social institutions (Ager & Strang, 2004, 2008). Linking social capital is not only crucial in the period of resettlement, it can also influence positive long-term educational, occupational and social outcomes (Ager & Strang, 2004, 2008; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Correa-Velez, Gifford, McMichael, & Sampson, 2016).

The descriptions of social capital above provides an overview of the potential to enhance social capital for disadvantaged and diverse groups. Bourdieu (1986) however views social capital as an asset of and for the privileged and powerful within society, and that it is used as a resource to maintain such power. For Bourdieu disadvantaged individuals and groups do not have the same access to social capital resources as the privileged and powerful do, which perpetuates ongoing societal inequities (Bourdieu, 1986). Aligned with this view, using SFSC programs to facilitate social capital has also been criticised as a "micro-solution to macro-problems" (Darnell, 2012, p. 95), which fails to take into account complex social, cultural and institutional forces that continue to oppress disadvantaged and minority communities (Blackshaw & Long, 2005; Darnell, 2012; Kay & Bradbury, 2009; Spaaij, 2009). Also, some SFSC scholars have suggested that developing social capital through SFSC programs serves only to legitimise an unjust neoliberal ideology that has weakened the public system and increased inequity (Blackshaw & Long, 2005; Darnell, 2012; Kay & Bradbury, 2009; Spaaij, 2009). In this context, Darnell (2012) argued that facilitating social capital through SFSC programs help individuals succeed in a largely unjust society and failed to address issues of structural inequality within society.

Other SFSC researchers and scholars acknowledge the concerns relating to failure to address structural inequity, while also suggesting these programs have the potential to enhance participants' social capital (Adams, Harris, & Lindsey, 2017; Coalter, 2010; Sherry, 2010; Spaaij, 2012, 2014; Welty Peachey, Cohen, Borland, & Lyras, 2011). For example, Spaaij (2012) examined the building of social and cultural capital within a youth-focused SFSC program in Brazil. While acknowledging that the wider social context and lived experience of young people translates into inequitable access to social capital resources, Spaaij's study also demonstrated that SFSC programs ability to build social and cultural capital (Spaaij, 2012). Spaaij suggests this is achieved by young people developing relationships with 'institutional agents' such as mentors who have the capacity to link participants to opportunities and resources outside of their geographic and cultural community (Spaaij, 2012). Both Spaaij (2012) as well as Adams et al. (2017), use Coleman's conceptualisation of social capital to demonstrate that social capital is not only a resource accessible to the rich and powerful, but also can benefit disadvantaged and diverse groups within society in some contexts. Coleman states social capital can be viewed as:

> The set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisations and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person. These resources differ for different persons and can constitute an important advantage for children and adolescents in the development of their human capital. (Coleman, 1994, p. 300)

Coleman's conceptualisation of social capital is important for this study as it relates directly to the development of young people, and suggests access to social capital resources is built on the strength of family and community relationships, not only pre-determined by just privilege, power or status within society (Coleman, 1994).

In this article we examine whether participants viewed their life trajectories as being in part influenced by bridging and linking relationships, in particular the relationships created through their involvement with the FUn program. The article also explores in what ways these relationships operated to influence their life trajectories.

2. Methods

A qualitative inquiry using in-depth interviews was undertaken with 20 former participants in the FUn program. Underpinning this study was a strengths-based approach, with a focus on examining participants' current and past personal and social resources and assets that positively influenced their life trajectories (Zimmerman, 2013). The research team included a PhD candidate and three supervisors from the University of New South Wales. It is important here to note the past experiences and knowledge of the research team and their potential impact on the interpretation of the findings. The first author, Rob Cunningham, has often used SFSC programs in his 20 years field experience working with young people. The second author, Anne Bunde-Birouste, is the founder and director of the FUn program. These experiences could potentially lead to 'overreach' when it comes to analysing potential impacts of this program, a valid criticism of past SFSC research and evaluation (Coalter, 2010, 2015; Darnell, 2012; Kay & Bradbury, 2009). However, two authors (Patrick Rawstorne and Sally Nathan) are not involved in the delivery of SFSC programs. The make-up of this research team allowed for reflexivity and guarded

against overreach. Braun and Clarke (2019, p. 595) state "assumptions and positionings are always part of qualitative research," and what matters is the ability of researchers to be reflexive and understand their own assumptions and how such assumptions may inadvertently or otherwise influence the research process. Reflexivity was achieved in the current study through frequent team meetings during data collection, data analysis and theme development. During this process, the research team actively sought discrepant or negative cases to ensure the reporting of findings was reflective of the entire data set. This approach is consistent with Braun and Clarke (2019) who state that working in a team should be "collaborative and reflexive, designed to develop a richer more nuanced reading of the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 594).

2.1. The Program: FUn

Following two years of background research and pilot activities, FUn began in 2006 with the aim of supporting refugee and newly arrived young people in their resettlement into local communities in Sydney. This support included providing opportunities to participate in football activities with the goal of bringing people together, fostering social inclusion and cohesion (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Nathan et al., 2010, 2013). The program has since evolved to become a multi-strategic capacity-building program to engage with disadvantaged young people from all cultural backgrounds. The FUn program has four key areas of focus.

The first is to engage young people through sport. This occurs through specially designed activities that incorporate a positive youth development and life skills curriculum nested within football activities providing opportunities to develop personal, social and leadership skills. Regular program sessions are run during weekends, and after school, and include special events such as gala days, and school holiday camps. These activities are free, safe, and accessible opportunities for young people from diverse and disadvantaged backgrounds to play football. A complementary goal of the football activities and associated curriculum is the development of mentoring relationships between coaches, volunteers, and players. Mentoring is considered an integral mechanism of the program and is considered to have a significant influence on the lives of participants (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012).

The second area of focus concerns personal and professional development through more structured activities. Young people and their families can participate in a range of courses and workshops in coaching, refereeing, mentoring, life-skills, leadership, first aid, project management and volunteering. This learning is then applied as participants engage in various roles within the FUn program which includes the opportunity to start as a participant and progress to a youth leader and coach (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012).

The third area of focus is the linkages between the program participants and a range of community and organisational stakeholders. These links between program participants and institutions and agencies in the education, community services, government, and corporate sectors is viewed by FUn as being critical in providing their young participants with opportunities and networks for longer-term development (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012).

The fourth area of focus is to create awareness within society of the challenges faced, but also the strengths of young people from disadvantaged and diverse backgrounds. Awareness raising is achieved through advocacy and research, with the aim of positively influencing changes to government policy and public perceptions (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012).

Previous research into the impact of FUn has found the program has consistently produced quantifiable improvements in the lives of individuals in the short term (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012; Nathan et al., 2010, 2013). This research, conducted with FUn participants at the time of their involvement in the program and up to one year after engagement, demonstrated a positive impact on young people's sense of self, and appreciation for and engagement with peers from diverse backgrounds and pro-social behaviour (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012; Nathan et al., 2010, 2013). Results also indicated connections between participating in FUn and learning English, positive engagement with school, and building self-confidence (Bunde-Birouste, 2013; Bunde-Birouste et al., 2012; Nathan et al., 2013). This current study is the first research to explore FUn's influence on program participants in the longer-term.

2.1.1. Sampling Approach

A purposive sampling design (Patton, 2015) was used to recruit former FUn participants. FUn staff members were asked to nominate former program participants who had been involved in the program for any length of time between 2009–2012, allowing for a minimum six-year gap between participants' initial involvement in the program and participation in the study. This timeframe is important as the current study aims to examine participants' perceptions of whether FUn had any influence on their life trajectories. A six-year gap ensured all participants were young adults at the time of this study. This enabled participants during their interviews to reflect on a range of life experiences post their involvement with the program, and whether FUn had any influence on their life trajectories.

FUn staff members were asked to nominate former participants with varying experiences of the program, including the length of time they participated and their type of involvement. The purpose of seeking these variations was to enable an examination of whether the type and length of involvement in the program had any in-

fluence on potential long-term development for participants. Sixteen former FUn participants who were nominated by FUn team members were contacted by e-mail to ask if they were interested in participating. Ten FUn participants from this sample group agreed to an initial round of interviews. The remainder of the interviewees were recruited via snowball sampling; all 10 participants were asked to nominate a FUn peer that had also started attending the program between 2009–2012. This resulted in the recruitment of ten additional participants.

2.1.2. Data Collection

Interviews were conducted either face to face or via Skype depending on factors such as location or preference of the interviewee. Interviews covered a range of topics including life experiences prior to being introduced to FUn, their experiences as a participant in the program, and their life trajectories after the program. A flexible semi-structured approach to interviewing was used (Patton, 2015). While the interviewer guided the discussion towards the overall research aims of the study, flexibility enabled the exploration of unique insights and ensured the experience of participants was prioritised and respected (Nathan, Newman, & Lancaster, 2018). The semi-structured interview allowed for participants to provide in-depth accounts of their experiences prior to, within, and since their involvement with the program.

2.1.3. Data Analysis

This study initially employed an inductive thematic approach to analysis, influenced by the work of Braun and Clarke (2006) and Terry, Hayfield, Clarke, and Braun (2017), undertaking a six-phase analytic process. Familiarisation of the data set began during the interview process; the audio recordings of each interview were listened to multiple times helping to create early analytic observations. This process provided added flexibility, allowing for interview questions to be shaped and influenced by earlier interviews. Once interviews were complete, familiarisation of the entire data set began, which involved reading and re-reading transcripts multiple times. Going back to the original audio recordings allowed for a full immersion and engagement with the data. The research team also returned to the original data set multiple times to confirm that the coding and theme development remained true to the voices of participants in the study (Terry et al., 2017).

Coding of the entire data set was also conducted inductively. At this early stage coding was inclusive; ensuring all data of interest was highlighted and recorded. The research team met to examine codes, those with similar meanings were integrated, some codes required further development, and others were deleted if deemed to have little relevance to the research questions. Theme development commenced following completion of coding for the entire dataset. As per Terry et al. (2017), the study's research aim was used as a guide for theme development. During this phase codes were examined, those that demonstrated a pattern of meaning were grouped together or combined, and a number of initial 'candidate themes' were identified (Braun, Clarke, & Terry, 2015, p. 102). Theme development was an extensive process for the research team, with reflexivity achieved through frequent team meetings to agree on key themes and meaning and resulted in returning to the data set many times to look for discrepant cases. At the stage of theme refinement, the research team agreed that applying a theoretical framework would provide a platform for a more theoretically informed and deeper analysis of the data. The research team examined and rejected a number of theoretical frameworks prior to committing to social capital theory which was more aligned to the candidate themes and research questions.

2.1.4. Ethics

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of New South Wales. Participants of the study provided written consent prior to interviews. To protect the identity of participants, their names and other personal details have been changed.

3. Results and Discussion

This section presents findings from the data analysis of participant interviews. Table 1 presents a description of participant characteristics including cultural and ethnic backgrounds, the length and type of involvement in the FUn program, their education and employment achievements, and their current involvement within their geographical, cultural, and ethnic communities.

As can be seen in Table 1, a majority of participants in this study arrived in Australia as refugees. Prior to their settlement in Australia their life histories were characterised by trauma, loss, and grief. Participant histories of displacement and resettlement are important in this study. As we will argue throughout this article the lived experience of participants influenced their experience within the program, and also shaped how the program may have influenced their life trajectories.

Participants in the current study were introduced to the FUn program as children or adolescents. Participants' type and length of involvement in the program was influenced by the structure and opportunities within the FUn program at their school. It is important to note that many SFSC programs run for a defined period and often do not extend beyond a few months (Spaaij, 2011). FUn differs from this model and offers ongoing engagement and the ability for participants to progress to facilitators, youth leaders and coaches within the program. While the aim of the study had been to recruit a sample of participants with varying length and type of experience with the program, it was difficult to contact

Table 1. Participant characteristics and experiences.

Pseudonym and gender (M/F)	Country of birth	Refugee status	FUn involvement	Current study/occupation	Current involvement in community activities (includes cultural, ethnic and geographic communities)
Shirisha (F)	Nepal	Yes	2010–Present Participant Youth leader/coach	Nurse	SFSC facilitator Leader of a youth dance class Youth events coordinator Television presenter
Grace (F)	Ghana	Yes	2008–Present Participant Youth leader/coach	Full-time student in Social Science/ Criminology Part-time employee in customer service	SFSC facilitator Youth group coordinator Food bank volunteer Refugee Council presenter
Mohamed (M)	Guinea	Yes	2010–Present Participant Youth leader/coach	Full time student in Health Science/ Physiotherapy Part time employee in customer service Semi-professional footballer	SFSC facilitator
Amar (M)	Bosnia	Yes	2009–2011 Participant	Trade/business owner	Participation in Bosnian community events
Zaida (F)	Iraq	Yes	2009–2012 Participant	Allied health	No current community activities
Kirra (F)	Australia (Indigenous)	No	2011–Present Participant Youth leader/coach	Teacher	Leader of youth dance group Responsible for implementing SFSC program
Aamira (F)	Kenya	Yes	2006–2014 Participant Youth leader/coach	Refugee resettlement worker Full time student in International Development	Creator and director of social change initiative National Council Refugee Women Committee member
Jose (M)	Australia	No	2008–2014 Participant	International logistics	Volunteer at church and youth groups
Brev (M)	Iran	Yes	2009–Present Participant Youth leader/coach	Professional footballer Police officer trainee	SFSC facilitator
Medi (F)	Congo	Yes	2008–2012 Participant	Full time student in Education Employed in childcare	Facilitates information and education sessions for Congolese community
Aida (F)	Ethiopia	Yes	2009–2016 Participant Youth leader/coach	Full time student in International Studies (Human Rights)	Supports and coordinates community events in the Ethiopian community

Table 1. (Cont.) Participant characteristics and experiences.

Pseudonym and gender (M/F)	Country of birth	Refugee status	FUn involvement	Current study/occupation	Current involvement in community activities (includes cultural, ethnic and geographic communities)
Ram (M)	Bhutan	Yes	2010–2014 Participant Youth leader/coach	Electrical engineer Youth and sports coordinator	Sydney Bhutanese Community Executive Committee member
Amira (F)	Syria	Yes	2011–2012 Participant	Medical receptionist	Provides translation and interpretation services
Adama (M)	Congo	Yes	2012–Present Participant Youth leader/coach	Finance Recently completed a degree in Commerce/Law	Volunteer at the Migrant Resource Centre, Red Cross SFSC facilitator Football coach
Kamelah (F)	Afghanistan	Yes	2012–2014 Participant	Full-time bachelor student in Health Science	Afghan women's football team Manager Participation in Afghan community events
Aliyah (F)	Sudan	Yes	2012–2014 Participant	Full-time student in Social Sciences International football scholarship	Football club Community events
Abdul (M)	Afghanistan	Yes	2012–2014 Participant	Trade apprenticeship	Football club
Majeeda (F)	Australia	No	2009–2012 Participant	Full-time student in Social Work Employed in childcare	Nil
Lana (F)	Iraq	Yes	2009–2013 Participant Youth leader/coach	Allied health	Young women's leadership programme
Asim (M)	South Sudan	Yes	2012–2015 Participant Youth leader/coach	Performing arts	Nil

Note: Pseudonyms have been used for all participants in this study.

those with minimal involvement, and those with moderate and intensive involvement were more likely to agree to be interviewed.

While the sample of participants did not include those with minimal experience, it did consist of young people who had different experiences within the program. Five participants described their involvement within the programme as lasting two years, six participants as lasting three to four years, and three participants between six to eight years. Six participants described their involvement as ongoing, undertaking a role within FUn at the time of their interview. This ongoing involvement often incorporated extended breaks where they could not maintain involvement due to other commitments. As the table indicates participants who were involved with FUn for a shorter duration were more likely to be involved as participants. While those with longer term involvement were more likely to have progressed to youth leaders and coaches within the program. All participants were aged between 21 and 28 years of age at the time of their interviews, and the gender split was 12 female and 8 male participants.

At the time of being interviewed for this study, all twenty participants were either in full time education or

employment, in professions as varied as teaching, allied health, international development, electrical engineering, finance, and the arts. 18 participants reported being active in their local communities either through playing and coaching sport, creating their own SFSC programs, facilitating youth programs, or organising and participating in community events. The following sections focus on participants' perceptions of how the FUn program influenced their life trajectories.

3.1. Relationships with Peers: Bridging Social Capital

In this section we examine participants' perceptions that FUn facilitated long-term relationships with their adolescent peers across cultural and ethnic divides within their geographical communities. We argue that most participants had limited social capital (Putnam, 2000) at the time of their introduction to FUn, and through their participation in the program were able to create new social networks that increased their sense of belonging. Specifically, we use the concept of bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) to understand how a sense of belonging experienced by participants not only assisted them at the time of their involvement in the program, but also potentially influenced their life trajectories.

We use Grace, Shirisha, Kirra and Amar's experience in relation to bridging social capital, specifically their search for a sense of belonging, and the role FUn played in meeting this need. Grace spent the first 13 years of her life in a refugee camp and explained during her interview that this undermined her sense of belonging: "It's really hard to feel like you belong anywhere…we all [want] to belong, we all [want] to fit in, we all to want to feel at home….I've always…wanted that feeling." Growing up in the camp, Grace explained that she had strong relationships with family and friends; however, the insecure and unstable nature of life as a displaced person did not allow her to develop a sense of belonging. Grace shared that her childhood experience created a strong desire to one day live in a place she could call home, one that offered safety, stability, and most of all a sense of belonging.

While resettlement in Australia provided hope to Grace, the reality was that she initially still felt socially isolated and disconnected from her adolescent peers which initially prevented her from achieving a sense of belonging. Grace described her parents being overprotective when it came to participating in social activities with her adolescent peers. This was true for a number of participants who described their care-givers as being fearful of their new surroundings, preventing them from developing social relationships with their peers, particularly those from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The little contact Grace had with her peers at school was characterised by racism: "I was called monkey, ape, everything, it was racial, it was the fact that I couldn't speak English." This racism and lack of social connection undermined not only Grace's resettlement experience, but her well-being and actions towards others. Grace described getting into fights and undertaking illegal activities. At this point Grace had little social capital to draw upon to help her meet the challenges of her new environment, and her lack of social connection with her peers undermined the sense of belonging she had been searching for in Australia.

It was at this time that FUn came into Grace's life; she was given permission to attend FUn program activities as they involved a sport, football, that her family had a deep connection to from their past. She explained that she and her father, siblings and friends would often play football in the refugee camp together and developed a shared love of the sport. Grace's introduction to FUn provided an opportunity to establish new friendships, and she shared that she was able to build positive social connections for the first time since her resettlement:

> I went there and I played, and I made a lot of new friends….There was just a connection there for the first time I felt like there was hope. I feel some sort of connection to Australia, you know, to my new home in a way. (Grace)

Grace provided various accounts of how FUn activities such as camps and tournaments allowed her to participate alongside other young people from a wide variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds, including Anglo-Saxon Australians. This helped Grace and other participants build awareness of other cultural groups, as well as learning communication skills. Grace explained how participation in FUn was able to break down preconceived ideas she had about other groups of young people from different backgrounds to her own. Grace's experience was consistent with a number of other participants, for example Kirra and Amar discussed below and Shirisha who explains the impact FUn had on her developing relationships outside of her own cultural and ethnic community: "I made so many friends, they were different and they were so great, like they're still friends with me."

Shirisha and Grace established long-term, positive friendships that continue today. Grace continued in her interview to detail how important these social connections were: "It's positive because you feel connected and you feel like you belong, that sense of belonging in that space is so important and FUn offered me that."

Grace, Shirisha, and several other participants newfound sense of belonging was achieved by the creation of bridging social capital, creating and sustaining relationships with young people from outside of her cultural and ethnic community (Putnam, 2000). This was important as prior to their engagement with FUn the little social capital they were able to draw upon was through bonding relationships with a few family and friends from within their own ethnic and cultural communities. While these bonding relationships offered support, they could not help participants integrate into a society made up of many different ethnic and cultural groups, particularly

the dominant cultural group of Anglo-Saxon Australians. In facilitating these new relationships FUn created an environment that promoted social connections amongst previously disconnected groups of young people. As social capital theory suggests bridging social capital was critically important for participants as it helped "create relationships across cultural and ethnic divides" (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). This allowed Grace, Shirisha and other participants to break down cultural barriers that were preventing them from successfully adapting and integrating into their new geographical communities.

While participants perceived FUn as providing a sense of belonging by facilitating social connections at the time of their resettlement, a number of participants explained that this sense of belonging and connections also impacted their life trajectories. Several participants including Grace, Kirra and Amar explained that prior to their involvement with FUn they were at risk of making poor decisions that they believed would have negatively impacted their future development. These participants often spoke about the 'two roads' they could have gone down, the first involving illegal activities, conflict, and withdrawal from school and/or career opportunities. These participants explained that it was the relationships they formed through FUn that helped them choose a second road that ultimately led to social connection and engagement in school, career, and community.

Kirra who currently works as a teacher and is involved in creating her own SFSC program, explains she may have chosen a different path in life without the sense of belonging she found in FUn: "There's no way that I would have stayed on track, not when I look at where the people that I was hanging out with are now…drugs, crime." Amar who currently owns his own trade business and actively participates in local Bosnian events in his community, echoes Kirra's experiences: "FUn came along and then that got me away from those bad friends…like it kept me on a straight path." Kirra and Amar's perceptions are important as they are two of only three participants that were born in Australia, demonstrating that FUn's ability to create a sense of belonging through social connections went beyond those young people resettling in Australia. At the time of their introduction to FUn both Kirra and Amar had an existing social network of young people within their geographic communities, however these relationships may be viewed as negative social capital with a potential to undermine a positive life trajectory (Neale, Tompkins, & Strang, 2018). Through their introduction to FUn they can be seen to have established a new set of social relationships, creating bridging social capital to others outside their existing community of friendships which they perceived as positively influencing their life trajectories.

Grace has recently completed a bachelor's degree in the social sciences. She is considering continuing study with a master's degree and has the goal to achieve social change through employment in the community development field. Grace is also heavily involved in her local geographic, cultural, and ethnic communities in a range of part time employment and voluntary roles. These roles include working as a SFSC facilitator, speaker for a refugee council, and volunteering in the operation of a food bank for disadvantaged members of the community. Grace credits the relationships she established at FUn and the sense of belonging it created, for what she has achieved today. Grace suggests FUn changed the trajectory of her life: "Coming here [Australia] I was offered two options….To go off the rails and do everything but good…then FUn was there. They offered the alternative and I took that alternative."

Grace and other participants believed that FUn played an instrumental role in their resettlement experiences and potential life trajectories. These findings are supported by social capital literature that has focussed on successful resettlement and long-term outcomes for young people from refugee backgrounds (Ager & Strang, 2004, 2008; Correa-Velez et al., 2010). This literature argues that for young people from a refugee background, a sense of belonging is a critical social determinant of both well-being and successful resettlement in the long-term (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Ager and Strang's model of integration suggests that the social connections formed through bridging social capital is one factor that can influence long-term education, employment, housing, and health outcomes (Ager & Strang, 2004). This relationship between bridging relationships, sense of belonging, and successful long-term resettlement outcomes is important. It supports the findings of this study, that FUn's facilitation of bridging social capital may have not only supported resettlement, it may have also contributed to participants' life trajectories.

3.1.1. Relationships with Mentors: Linking Social Capital

Perhaps the most critical relationship participants formed during their association with FUn was with FUn program staff who acted as mentors for them at the time of the program, with some participants stating they are still receiving mentoring support today from those same people. In this section we examine how participants' relationships with mentors created linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001). Mentors in particular helped participants connect to educational and employment institutions outside of their existing cultural, ethnic, and geographical communities.

The mentoring in FUn is informal and there is no set timeframe for mentoring to occur. Mentoring relationships are developed organically through participants working alongside FUn program staff in the various program elements. FUn participants suggested that trust, built through a sustained period of time, was a critical component in the success of their mentoring relationships. Participants viewed the constant positive reinforcement from FUn team members as being instrumental in building confidence and belief in themselves to achieve their personal goals. Participants spoke of hav-

ing absolute trust in the FUn team, relying on them for support and guidance, and being able to turn to them for support when experiencing hardship and challenges. Participants provided numerous examples of how their FUn mentors assisted them in their long-term development. One example was described by Aliyah, who following her participation in FUn received a prestigious scholarship to attend an American university to play football and study:

> I know (FUn team members) played a massive role into probably where I am at the moment…when I first got into FUn I was pretty shy and quiet and I liked football, but I didn't think I was any good at it. I was constantly being called by [FUn team member] and she'll say: "You're good at it." And even with other aspects of my life they were constantly encouraging me to go out there and put my full potential into things….Just listening to them constantly telling me all the positive things is probably one of the main reasons I'm able to achieve so many things today. (Aliyah)

Like Aliyah, other participants talked about how their relationships with FUn mentors were influential in what they have achieved both educationally and professionally. Table 1 highlights that all 20 participants were either engaged in full time study or employment at the time of the interview. Participants went on to study and develop careers predominantly in the allied health, education, and welfare professions. Other participants pursued careers as varied as law, engineering, arts, and trade industries. Several participants detailed how FUn mentors helped connect them to educational and career pathways. This was achieved through identifying individual passions, then supporting and connecting participants to a pathway that would lead them to reach their goals. Aamira provides a clear example of this:

> I was very lucky to get the first ever football scholarship from FUn/UNSW [University of New South Wales]….I guess that was the key success to me. I knew I wasn't going to get enough ATAR [Australian Tertiary Admission Rank] to get me into university. I really didn't know where I was going. So, when I received that scholarship I was like, this is my chance to do something in academia in the future and to maybe get a degree. I decided on Sociology, Anthropology and Development Studies. Those three majors led to the community work. I've always had that idea of working with the community and it's not nationally, I would want to work internationally as well. So, that was the start of it. (Aamira)

Aamira was born in and spent the first 10 years of her life in a refugee camp in Kenya. Both Aamira's parents died in her early childhood and she came to Australia at the age of 10 with the support of a family member. At the time of her interview for this study Aamira was completing her master's degree in international development, working as a refugee resettlement worker, and had created a fashion event promoting and celebrating African women and diversity. Since her interview for this study Aamira has started a PhD in international development. Aamira credits FUn mentors with 'kick-starting' her career: "To be honest, if I didn't get involved with FUn, I wouldn't know where I would be. I definitely credit FUn to my success in terms of pointing me to directions and making me focus.''

Aamira and Aliyah provide examples of how FUn was able to support participants to connect to an education and career pathway, and this echoes other participant's experiences. The relationships created between participants and their FUn mentors can be viewed as a form of linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001). FUn mentors helped participants make 'vertical connections' to education and employment opportunities (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Woolcock, 2001). These opportunities may have been out of reach of participants lacking in social capital resources prior to their involvement in the FUn program, as many of these opportunities existed outside their cultural, ethnic and geographic communities (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Woolcock, 2001) and may not have been part of their imagined future. FUn mentors helped participants to unlock resources and power within society, accessing educational and vocational opportunities that they may not have been able to access without these relationships (Woolcock, 2001).

FUn did not set out to achieve system wide structural change; and therefore the influence of the program remains open to critique from SFSC scholars who suggest social capital is used to maintain a social structure of inequality and promote a neo-liberal ideology (Blackshaw & Long, 2005; Darnell, 2012; Kay & Bradbury, 2009; Spaaij, 2009). Instead FUn aimed to provide opportunities for young people from disadvantaged and diverse backgrounds to fully participate in the society in which they live. The results in this section suggest participants did benefit by enhancing their linking social capital, which was achieved by investing in relationships that linked them to opportunities within the broader social structure of society. While not creating societal change, participants view FUn as being instrumental in providing linking opportunities that changed the trajectory of their lives.

It is important to note that FUn's influence on the development of linking social capital was not achieved by chance. As detailed in the program description, the program considers mentoring to be an integral mechanism of the program, as is creating linkages between program participants and a range of community and organisational stakeholders. Linking participants to institutions and agencies in the education, community services, government, and corporate sectors is viewed by FUn as being critical in providing their young participants with opportunities and networks for longer-term development (Bunde-Birouste, 2013).

3.1.2. Giving Back to Community: Reciprocity and Bounded Solidarity

In this section we examine participants' long-term commitment to 'give back' to their local communities, a key finding in the analysis of participant interviews. Participants did this by either staying involved in FUn, developing other community projects, or going onto tertiary study, or careers in social justice, welfare, health, or education fields. The following discussion is framed by key social capital concepts of reciprocity and bounded solidarity (Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000).

Not all participants were involved in community activities at the time of their interviews for this study. Majeeda started studying social work full time and working in childcare left her little opportunity for participation in activities in her geographical community. Asim also suggested his work as an actor, including constant travel, impacted on his ability to be involved in community-based activities. However, for the remaining 18 participants there was a strong connection and involvement in their local geographic, cultural, and ethnic communities.

Medi is currently completing a bachelor's degree in education, works part time in childcare, and is involved in her local Congolese community providing information and education sessions for those that have recently resettled in Australia. Throughout her interview, Medi demonstrated a commitment and motivation to give back, utilising the experience and skills she has developed to make a difference in the lives of others:

> In Uganda we lived in a refugee camp which meant we didn't have any early childhood education or early primary school education. My dream was to just go to school and study, then eventually when I came to Australia…I had that opportunity to study and once I finished high school I was just interested in learning and eventually…teach my knowledge to others. Then eventually I'll go back to my country and teach young children like myself who don't have those opportunities to get an education, especially young girls.

Medi's experiences are consistent with the majority of participants in the study. Participant interviews suggest that while FUn developed skills and helped them on their career pathways, it was also their childhood experiences of trauma, disadvantage and displacement that led to a passion for creating social change. It appears that participants lived experience created a drive to contribute to others by helping those who had also experienced similar challenges in their lives enabled in part by the confidence and skills they developed in FUn.

Ram who arrived in Australia following many years living in a refugee camp in Nepal, is currently working as an electrical engineer, and used the experiences he obtained from FUn to organise SFSC programs and events within this community. He described in his interview a commitment to utilise the skills and knowledge he has gained through life experience and formal study to make a difference not only in his ethic community in Australia, but also by returning to Nepal:

> Yeah, that's been my passion and I always wanted to be an engineer and do something with electricity especially from the background that I come from. I come from Nepal…there is not much infrastructure…there is not much electricity production going on there. Since I was young I always (wanted) to go into the energy field and make some contribution to the country…because I came from there, I still pursue that dream. (Ram)

Some participants explained how they were currently utilising their FUn experience to launch projects within their own local communities. Dance classes, youth education groups, and SFSC projects, were just a few of the varied projects and programs that former FUn participants were running in their own communities. Participants that had created their own programs or were working to create social change were asked what it meant to them to 'give back.' Consistently participants suggested it had significant meaning because of their childhood experiences, helping others in similar circumstances was their driving force. Some participants suggested because they were helped and were given opportunities by FUn they were determined to provide others with similar opportunities, which is described by Grace:

> I think its experience…once you've experienced something and you understand that you're blessed to be where you are, you will really want to give back. And just appreciation of where you are today makes you want to do something for other people.

Social capital literature often cites 'norms of reciprocity' as an integral component in creating social capital in communities (Putnam, 2000). On the surface this could help to explain participant's motivations to 'give back'; as they were provided support in their resettlement, they wanted to reciprocate by providing support to others experiencing similar circumstances. However, this does not appear to adequately reflect participants' deep motivation and determination to make a difference within their geographic, ethnic, and cultural communities. A deeper look at the social capital literature, and particularly scholars who have focused on diverse communities such as refugees and immigrants, provides a stronger explanation. Portes (1998, p. 8) suggests 'giving back' is stronger in immigrant communities due to what he terms 'bounded solidarity.' This is created within groups who share similar experiences of disadvantage based on cultural and religious ties, and in the case of the current study a shared experience of trauma and displacement. These communities often share a strong sense of belonging and obligation (Portes, 1998). Gomez et al. (2015)

used the term principled motivation to describe actions that have a positive impact on individuals or communities, are usually voluntary, and are performed with no expectation of being rewarded. Gomez et al. (2015) suggested actions arising from principled motivation are guided by individual and collective values or having a sense of belonging to a group.

'Bounded solidarity' and 'principled motivation' provide an explanation of participants' need to 'give back' to their local communities. Participant's life experiences of trauma and displacement appeared to create a bounded solidarity with their communities. We argue here, based on participant interviews that FUn played a pivotal role in fostering the principled motivation that led participants to 'give back.' FUn provided a sense of belonging to participants. FUn also provided mentoring, developed life skills, and provided opportunities for participation in community based and international social change initiatives. These various program elements provided participants with the knowledge and skill set to be able to pursue social change activities aligned with their individual values following program involvement. As stated above, FUn did not set out to create system wide societal change, yet some participants made a significant contribution to the communities in which they lived. In this way, the results respond to some of the critique of social capital in the SFSC literature, by showing that programs may benefit an individual through access to social capital and in turn these individuals will help provide similar benefits to their wider communities (Darnell, 2012). By 'giving back' to their geographic, cultural, and ethnic communities, participants in this study were demonstrating the potential that SFSC programs have to create change beyond the individual.

3.1.3. Personal Development

While participants in this study perceived the relationships, they formed through FUn as being instrumental to their long-term development, they also viewed the program as contributing to the development of life skills which continue to be used today. One example used by several participants was the development of leadership skills. Skill building through leadership focused workshops, camps, international events, and football coaching training, provided multiple opportunities for participants to develop leadership skills. A number of participants reported it was the leadership skills they acquired through FUn that led to them undertaking long-term leadership roles within their geographical, ethnic, and cultural communities. Another personal development outcome that was consistent amongst several participants was an increase in confidence. These participants described their participation in a variety of FUn life-skill activities had increased their confidence which had a positive impact on developing relationships, communicating with a wide range of audiences, presenting their ideas, and developing social change initiatives.

While it is outside the scope of this article, it is recommended that further research examines personal development outcomes and how they are influenced by the various program elements of youth-focused SFSC programs.

3.1.4. Limitations

While this study has provided new insights to the field by examining participant perceptions of whether and how youth-focused SFSC programs have influenced their life trajectories, there are several limitations. Firstly, this study relied on the individual perceptions of 20 young people who participated in the program. While sample size can be a contentious issue the research team was guided by Terry et al. (2017) who suggest between 15–20 qualitative interviews is appropriate for an exploratory study. The research team also considers the sample size of a mix of moderately and highly engaged participants in the FUn program as being appropriate for an explorative study, and important in identifying whether these programs have the potential to influence the life trajectories of young people. While the findings may not be transferrable to all young people who attend the FUn program, nor generalizable to other programs, the potential influence of such programs on the lives of moderately and highly engaged participants is illuminated by the study findings. In particular the changes in bridging and linking social capital, reciprocity and bounded solidarity are worthy of further study and investigation.

Secondly it is probable that participants that chose to respond and participate in interviews for this study were motivated to participate because of a positive connection to the program, and because they consider themselves to be 'on-track' with their lives. Former FUn participants who had less of a connection to the program, or who had considered themselves not to be 'on-track' in their lives may not have been motivated to participate.

Finally, we wish to note the limitations and challenges of the retrospective approach taken in this study. There are many factors influencing the life trajectories of young people, and it is not possible to provide causal evidence of the long-term influence of such programs without a longitudinal experimental research design. Doing so may also assist scholars in the area to further develop conceptual and theoretical frameworks to better explain the mechanisms by which these programs deliver benefits to young people and society more broadly. However, in the absence of such a study design it remains critical to start to understand the potential long-term influence of youth focused SFSC programs. The voices of participants in this study should not be undervalued in achieving these goals. Further qualitative and quantitative research is being planned to test this explorative phase and further examine these important areas of practice and research.

4. Conclusion

This study set out to examine whether and how former FUn participants perceived the program had influenced their life trajectories. The findings demonstrate that participants did perceive that the program had influenced their life trajectories in positively described ways. The relationships participants formed through FUn had the greatest impact, in particular for participants who had experienced displacement and trauma as refugees prior to resettlement in Australia. Creating and sustaining bridging social capital, through relationships within and outside of their cultural and ethnic communities created a sense of belonging in Australia and longer-term connections for some participants. Findings also suggest the mentoring relationships between participants and FUn program staff created linking social capital which set them on a path to pursuing their educational and career goals. The study also argues the FUn program influenced participants' motivation to embrace a long-term commitment to 'give back' to their local cultural, ethnic, and geographical communities.

The findings are important for youth-focused SFSC programs. This study suggests these programs have the potential to positively influence the life trajectories of at least some participants. The findings of this study could be used to inform future long-term impact studies. The study could also inform the implementation and design of youth-focused SFSC programs to include active strategies to enhance bridging and linking social capital, particularly for young people from disadvantaged and diverse backgrounds.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Adams, A., Harris, K., & Lindsey, I. (2017). Examining the capacity of a sport for development programme to create social capital. *Sport in Society*, *21*(3), 558–573.

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2004). *Indicators of integration: Final report* (Development and Practice Report 28). London: Home Office.

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2), 166–191.

Blackshaw, T., & Long, J. (2005). What's the big idea? A critical exploration of the concept of social capital and its incorporation into leisure policy discourse. *Leisure Studies*, *24*(3), 239–258.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *11*(4), 589–597.

Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Terry, G. (2015). Thematic analysis. In P. Rohleder & A. Lyons (Eds.), *Qualitative research in clinical and health psychology* (pp. 95–113). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Bunde-Birouste, A. (2013). *Kicking goals for social change* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia.

Bunde-Birouste, A., Nathan, S., McCarroll, B., Kemp, L., Shwe, T., & Grand Ortega, M. (2012). *Playing for change*. Sydney: School of Public Health and Community Medicine.

Coakley, J. (2011). Youth sports: What counts as "positive development"? *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, *35*(3), 306–324.

Coalter, F. (2010). Sport-for-development: Going beyond the boundary? *Sport in Society*, *13*(9), 1374–1391.

Coalter, F. (2013). *Sport for development: What game are we playing?* London: Routledge.

Coalter, F. (2015). Sport-for-change: Some thoughts from a sceptic. *Social Inclusion*, *3*(3), 19–23.

Coleman, J. S. (1994). *Foundations of social theory.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Correa-Velez, I., Gifford, S. M., & Barnett, A. G. (2010). Longing to belong: Social inclusion and wellbeing among youth with refugee backgrounds in the first three years in Melbourne, Australia. *Social Science & Medicine*, *71*(8), 1399–1408.

Correa-Velez, I., Gifford, S. M., McMichael, C., & Sampson, R. (2016). Predictors of secondary school completion among refugee youth 8 to 9 years after resettlement in Melbourne, Australia. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *18*(3), 791–805.

Darnell, S. C. (2012). *Sport for development and peace: A critical sociology*. London: Bloomsbury.

Field, J. (2003). *Social capital*. London: Routledge.

Gomez, C., Perera, B. Y., Weisinger, J. Y., Tobey, D. H., & Zinsmeister-Teeters, T. (2015). The impact of immigrant entrepreneurs social capital related motivations. *New England Journal of Entrepreneurship*, *8*(2), 19–30.

Hoekman, M. J., Schulenkorf, N., & Welty Peachey, J. (2018). Re-engaging local youth for sustainable sport-for-development. *Sport Management Review*, *22*(5), 613–625.

Holt, N. L., Neely, K. C., Slater, L. G., Camire, M., Cote, J., Fraser-Thomas, J., . . . Tamminen, K. A. (2017). A grounded theory of positive youth development through sport based on results from a qualitative meta-study. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *10*(1), 1–49.

Kay, T. (2012). Sport in the service of international development. *Criminal Justice Matters*, *88*(1), 18–19.

Kay, T., & Bradbury, S. (2009). Youth sport volunteering:

Developing social capital? *Sport, Education and Society*, *14*(1), 121–140.

Nathan, S., Bunde-Birouste, A., Evers, C., Kemp, L., MacKenzie, J., & Henley, R. (2010). Social cohesion through football: A quasi-experimental mixed methods design to evaluate a complex health promotion program. *BMC Public Health*, *10*(1), 587–598.

Nathan, S., Kemp, L., Bunde-Birouste, A., MacKenzie, J., Evers, C., & Shwe, T. (2013). "We wouldn't of made friends if we didn't come to Football United": The impacts of a football program on young people's peer, prosocial and cross-cultural relationships. *BMC Public Health*, *13*, 1–16.

Nathan, S., Newman, C., & Lancaster, K. (2018). Qualitative interviewing. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of research methods in health social sciences* (pp. 391–410). Singapore: Springer.

Neale, J., Tompkins, C. N. E., & Strang, J. (2018). Qualitative exploration of relationships between peers in residential addiction treatment. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, *26*(1), 39–46.

Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: It's origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *241*(1), 1–24.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Sherry, E. (2010). (Re)engaging marginalized groups through sport: The homeless World Cup. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *45*(1), 59–71.

Sherry, E., Schulenkorf, N., & Chalip, L. (2015). Managing sport for social change: The state of play. *Sport Management Review*, *18*(1), 1–5.

Spaaij, R. (2009). Sport as a vehicle for social mobility and regulation of disadvantaged urban youth: Lessons from Rotterdam. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *44*(2/3), 247–264.

Spaaij, R. (2011). *Sport and social mobility*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Spaaij, R. (2012). Building social and cultural capital among young people in disadvantaged communities: Lessons from a Brazilian sport-based intervention program. *Sport, Education and Society*, *17*(1), 77–95.

Spaaij, R. (2013). Changing people's lives for the better? Social mobility through sport-based intervention programmes: Opportunities and constraints. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *10*(1), 53–73.

Spaaij, R. (2014). Refugee youth, belonging and community sport. *Leisure Studies*, *34*(3), 303–318.

Szreter, S., & Woolcock, M. (2004). Health by association? Social capital, social theory, and the political economy of public health. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, *33*(4), 650–667.

Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. In C. Willig & W. Rogers (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 17–37). London: Sage.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2016). *Leaving no one behind: The imperative of inclusive development. Report on the world social situation 2016*. New York, NY: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Weiss, M. R., Bolter, N. D., & Kipp, L. E. (2016). Evaluation of the first tee in promoting positive youth development: Group comparisons and longitudinal trends. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, *87*(3), 271–283.

Welty Peachey, J., Cohen, A., Borland, J., & Lyras, A. (2011). Building social capital: Examining the impact of Street Soccer USA on its volunteers. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(1), 20–37.

Whitley, M. A., Massey, W. V., & Farrell, K. (2017). A programme evaluation of 'exploring our strengths and our future': Making sport relevant to the educational, social, and emotional needs of youth. *Journal of Sport for Development*, *5*(9), 21–34.

Whitley, M. A., Massey, W. V., & Wilkison, M. (2018). A systems theory of development through sport for traumatized and disadvantaged youth. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *38*, 116–125.

Woolcock, M. (2001). The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes. *ISUMA, Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, *2*(1), 11–17.

Zimmerman, M. A. (2013). Resiliency theory: A strengths-based approach to research and practice for adolescent health. *Health Education & Behavior*, *40*(4), 381–383.

About the Authors

Rob Cunningham is a PhD Candidate in the School of Public Health and Community Medicine at the University of New South Wales. For the past two decades he has worked in direct social work practice specialising in working with young people experiencing trauma.

Anne Bunde-Birouste is an International Expert in health promotion, sport for social change and practice-based research, with particular focus on innovative health promotion approaches with youth, disadvantaged groups, and communities.

Patrick Rawstorne is a Researcher, Higher Education Educator, Psychometrician, and an AHPRA registered Psychologist. He has particular research interests in structural disadvantage and inequity, as well as in mental health.

Sally Nathan is a Public Health Social Scientist who partners with health services and NGOs to improve equity and access for young people, disadvantaged groups, and communities.

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 177–186
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8.i3.2688

Article

(Re)forming the Inside/Outside: On Place as a Governable Domain through Sports-Based Interventions

David Ekholm * and Magnus Dahlstedt

Department of Culture and Society, Linköping University, 601 74 Norrköping, Sweden; E-Mails: david.ekholm@liu.se (D.E.), magnus.dahlstedt@liu.se (M.D.)

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 4 December 2019 | Accepted: 25 February 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract
This article draws attention to two sports-based interventions carried out as part of the Midnight Football initiative and the places where they are conducted in two suburban areas in Sweden. Rather than approaching geographic place as simply a background and a context for sport-based interventions, we put place in the spotlight, scrutinising the very formation of place and its productive role in governing social policy. In line with a Foucauldian approach, and based on interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, the aim of the article is to explore how the specific localities where interventions take place are formed as governable domains. The analysis shows how place is constituted in association with sport sites, local youth outreach and recruiting coaches. These places are made distinct from the rest of the surrounding cities via material and symbolic borders, directing the movement of people within the urban geography. These differentiations underpin attributions of the areas in terms of otherness and exclusion from the rest of society, localising a variety of problematisations to the demarcated areas. Furthermore, the places are demarcated as being filled with danger, intertwined with narratives challenging such a discourse. In conclusion, the findings enable us not only to scrutinise how specific meanings are attributed to place and how place is formed, but also to explore the performative and governable potential of place.

Keywords
football; geography; governmentality; place making; social exclusion; youth

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

In recent years, the suburban landscape in Sweden, as in many other Western welfare states (Dikec, 2017), has undergone significant transformations regarding an increase in segregation and exclusion (Franzén, Hertting, & Thörn, 2016). Here, the significance of place, as a container for problems and interventions, has been prominent in contemporary policy discourse (Sernhede, Thörn, & Thörn, 2016). In this context, sports-based interventions have been suggested as a means of social change, targeting in particular the youth of the urban peripheries (e.g., Parker, Morgan, Farooq, Moreland, & Pitchford, 2019). Since sports-based interventions are becoming more widespread and integrated as forms of governing social policy (e.g., Collins & Haudenhuyse, 2015), our point of departure is that such interventions can be analysed as sites of governing social problems, individuals and populations (e.g., Ekholm, 2018; Kelly, 2013).

Even though places are a recurrent theme in studies on sports-based interventions, there seems to be little or no scrutiny in research of the formation of place as such. We argue that understanding the productive role and performativity of place is pivotal for assessing gov-

erning interventions as part of contemporary social policy. Place is more than the location of problems and interventions; it is a force of policy in its own right. Rather than approaching the places and areas of the urban periphery simply as a background and context for sport-based interventions, we position these in the spotlight of investigation, interrogating the very discursive formation (cf. Foucault, 1972) of place in terms of domains of governing (cf. Rose, 1999).

In this interrogation, we specifically direct our attention to two sports-based interventions, carried out as part of the Midnight Football initiative, in the urban periphery of Sweden—more specifically, in West City (and the suburban area Västerort) and East City (and the suburban area Österort), two neighbouring cities and municipalities of similar sizes (with populations between 100,000 and 200,000 people). The aim of this article is to explore how the specific suburban areas where the interventions take place are formed in discourse as governable domains and how the particular rationalities are interrelated to broader social policy discourse.

Midnight Football is a nationwide sports-based intervention, designed by a national corporate social responsibility foundation, and implemented in collaboration with local agencies and associations. The activities take place in an urban geography characterised by socioeconomic disadvantages, in collaboration with Suburbia FC in West City and Sumeria FC in East City. Both Västerort, in West City, and Österort, in East City, are recognised as prioritised areas in local social and municipal policy and have been identified as particular targets for interventions. Participants, managers and coaches tend to come from the specific residential areas where the activities take place. The interventions are performed by local sports associations, one at each site, providing resources in the form of local managers and coaches. Municipal agencies are partners, providing support and collaboration to varying degrees. In West City, the municipality provides minor association grants, while in East City, the municipality provides significant funding through an assignment agreement (Ekholm, 2019). Moreover, the interventions are supported by sponsors and charitable community actors (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2018). The sport activities—five-a-side indoor football on Saturday evenings at 20:00—target young people aged 12–25 (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2019). The overall ambition is to use football to promote social inclusion, prevent crime and facilitate employability. However, the interventions do not have any clear programme theory (cf. Coalter, 2012), making these objectives difficult to achieve and evaluate. Still, the activities have a general arrangement and routine (the coaches divide the young people into teams, the first team to score wins, the winning team remains on the pitch, and subsequent teams come onto the pitch in turn), as well as an implicit understanding of socio-pedagogical elements of the learning and social relations provided through Midnight Football guiding the arrangement of activities (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2019). Similar activities are carried out by the foundation through a variety of cross-sector collaborations in up to 20 Swedish municipalities.

2. Research Context

In recent decades, economic inequalities have been increasing in Sweden, creating geographic divisions in the urban landscape, with growing patterns of social vulnerability and exclusion. Here, the concentration of subsidised public housing in urban outskirts in conjunction with socioeconomic divisions (shaped by ethno-cultural segregation) have laid the foundation for advanced spatial segregation (Franzén et al., 2016)—referred to in public debate as “areas of exclusion” (Sernhede et al., 2016). This context of segregation is not unique to Sweden. Rather, such patterns can be recognised in most developed societies (Dikec, 2017).

A range of studies on the sociology of sport have paid attention to the geographical locations where sports-based interventions take place. Here, urban peripheries have been seen as sites needing interventions for social change, targeting certain populations, not least those referred to as “at-risk youth” (e.g., Hartmann, 2016). However, there is a tendency in existing literature to take the conditions of exclusion and segregation in the urban geography as a given context and framework for the sports-based interventions examined. Such literature situates examinations to “social housing” areas (e.g., Collins & Haudenhuyse, 2015) and “deprived areas” (e.g., Coalter, Allison, & Taylor, 2000), or specifically to “inner-city” areas in the US (e.g., Bustad & Andrews, 2017), “estates” in the UK (e.g., Morgan, 2018), “disadvantaged communities” in Australia (e.g., Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008) and “areas of exclusion” in Scandinavia (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2017). Such terms for places are euphemisms for deprived and distressed residential areas located in the urban periphery. In the existing literature, there has been a repeated focus on the forces and consequences of neoliberalism, in terms of segregation and deprivation in the neighbourhoods of the poor and the excluded (e.g., Collins & Haudenhuyse, 2015). Importantly, this literature provides clear critical reflections on how inequalities and processes of exclusion play out and on the conceptual foundation of the promotion of sport as a response to such processes (e.g., Hartmann, 2016). However, in line with a predominant conception of place, less effort is made to explore, in greater detail, the various meanings and symbolic forces producing the places themselves.

Turning to literature on critical urban geography, considerable attention has been paid to the meanings of place as something more than just a physical territory, a landscape where various problems and interventions are located. Here, the analytical focus is directed on the very production of space, illustrating how social processes in space, together with representations of space, help to produce places in specific ways (Lefebvre, 1991). In this

respect, the constructed meanings of place have productive effects in terms of conditioning how processes of both inclusion and exclusion are formed (Zukin, 1995). Thus, in order to further investigate places and their productive effects, "it is necessary to examine the assumptions about inclusion and exclusion which are implicit in the design of spaces and places" (Sibley, 1995, p. x). Based on this assertion, we make no claim to provide a full examination of the role of place in relation to sports-based interventions. However, in this article, we make the case that there is a point to be made about seeing the formation of place as integral to the forms of governing promoted. Moreover, we provide the contours of a framework for such an examination, beyond showcasing how such an empirical examination can be conveyed and what it may discern.

3. Theoretical and Methodological Framework

In line with a Foucauldian approach, discourse refers to different ways of talking about and understanding certain things and objects (Foucault, 1980, 1982). Foucault (1972) stresses that concepts are formed in relation to other concepts, by association and differentiation. He uses the term discursive formation to describe how objects (such as places) are formed. Two particularly important points about discursive formations can be made, pinpointing how the world, concepts and the ways in which objects are formed could be different and have been produced through struggles and power relations, and how discourse and statements constitute a productive and performative force, producing objects in ways that enable them to be acted upon (Foucault, 1980, 1982). Following such an understanding, the conceptual understanding of places can be approached as discursive formations (cf. Foucault, 1972), with a focus on how they are constructed by certain problematisations and technologies of governing (Rose, 1999). The term problematisation can be described as the discursive formation of a problem. What are perceived as problems become problems in relation to how solutions or technologies of governing are prescribed and talked about. Problematisations are, so to speak, explicitly or implicitly embedded in interventions, solutions and technologies of various kinds and how these are talked about. Thus, problems and solutions are not seen as opposites, but rather as being embedded in the same discourse (Bacchi, 2009). In this respect, the term governing means the actions and interventions promoted to guide the actions and behaviours—or the conduct—of individuals and populations (Foucault, 1982). Accordingly, problematisations and technologies of governing intersect at certain domains. In this article, we use the term domain to describe the discursive formations where the problematisations and technologies of governing are located. Accordingly, such domains can be referred to, for instance, as places, localities, areas, territories or residential areas, meaning the geographical sites of problematisation and governing. Domains are the "abstract spaces" (Rose, 1999, p. 31) and discursive formations where statements about problematisations and technologies of governing are hosted. Thus, domains may be understood as containers of problems and solutions (Rose, 1999). In this sense, domains cannot pre-exist the articulated problematisations and technologies of governing, but are produced through such discourse (Rose, 1999). Forming these domains is an act of animation (cf. Foucault, 1980; Rose, 1999). Animation refers to how the articulation of discourse produces—or animates—a conceptual understanding of the world and its objects (i.e., place) that can be acted upon (Foucault, 1980). The production of domains, in this sense, has been likened to the efforts of a cartographer, animating spaces and objects as visible and controllable demarcations of reality (Rose, 1999).

The empirical material analysed in this article comprises of observations of sports activities carried out at the two sites investigated as well as interviews with managers, coaches, participants, partnering agencies and a variety of representatives from community agencies and authorities. The empirical material presented and investigated in this article was gathered as part of a wider research project, examining both the organisational dimensions of the interventions (Ekholm & Holmlid, 2020) and the socio-pedagogical outline of social work promoted (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2019). Observations were conducted on five occasions at each site, and field notes were taken and transcribed. In this article, field notes provide a context for the interpretations and analysis made (cf. McSweeney & van Luijk, 2019), not least with respect to the familiarity of the suburban geography and the meaning attributed to it, as scrutinised in this article. 60 semi-structured interviews were undertaken, focusing on the role of sport in combating social problems. Three intervention managers, male, aged 25–40 years old, were interviewed (one in West City and two in East City) alongside nine male coaches, aged 18–30 (all in East City). Further, interviews were conducted with 21 participants aged 15–21, 19 male (seven in West City; twelve in East City) and two female (both in West City). Alongside this, 27 interviews were conducted with sponsors, charitable contributors, municipal partners, community agencies and authorities such as representatives from local schools, social services and the police (nine respondents were involved in both cities, ten in West City and eight in East City). Even though not all these interviews are featured in the presentation of the analysis, all the interviews were analysed and constitute the empirical material explored.

Interviews and observations were conducted by the authors of the article and two research assistants; a few additional interviews were conducted by a team of undergraduates. Both the authors and the assistants are familiar with the areas (and similar areas) where the research was conducted. The authors have a native Swedish background, while the assistants are from mi-

grant backgrounds. The composition and previous experiences of the research team have provided access to the field as well as a basis for reflexive approaches to the explorations made.

Guided by the conceptual framework outlined, this empirical material is examined with a focus on how sport is articulated as a response to a variety of social problems. More specifically, we examine how place emerges as a domain in relation to such articulations, as a container for problematisations and technologies of governing. We examine how places are described, how specific meanings are ascribed to places and how certain places are demarcated from other places. In this process of exploration, four themes have been identified, concerning how place is formed around the practices of sport, how places are demarcated from the city and society, how the problems responded to are discursively located in the particular places of intervention, and how danger is ascribed to and reflected upon in relation to the place demarcated. Altogether, the analysis displays the discursive formations and interrelations between how problems and responding interventions are articulated, and how places emerge and are constituted by such discourse.

4. Results and Analysis

This analysis is divided into four subsections. First, the analysis shows how place is constituted in association with sport. Second, the localities are discursively made distinct from the rest of the cities by means of material and symbolic borders. Third, these differentiations underpin a discourse and attributions of the locality in terms of otherness and exclusion from the rest of society. Fourth, the localities are demarcated by being animated as full of danger, while narratives challenge this discourse. In this sense, the places are formed as domains integrated within the promoted forms of governing. Notably, these discourses of differentiation and the demarcation of the places are articulated in similar ways via the different positions from which they are examined.

4.1. Centring the Suburb around the Practices of Sport

Through a variety of articulations, place is associated with sport practices and the notion of sport as a means of intervention and social change. Three main interconnected facets of the suburban locality centring around sport can be discerned, emphasising how sport practices are conveyed at central locations in the studied areas, how these practices reach out to the local youth in particular, and how coaches are recruited and granted their position on the basis of their local connection.

First, the importance of the sports-based practices conducted at central places in the demarcated suburbs is repeatedly stressed in the discourse. In Västerort, there are two sports centres and football grounds. One is just outside the suburban area, or beyond the road demarcating the boundaries of the residential area and was traditionally used by local football clubs. The other sports field and complex, including the upper secondary school and the main school building, is located in the park at the centre of the surrounding area. When asked in an interview if it would be possible to conduct the activities at the sports ground beyond the road, Martin, the West City Midnight Football manager, responds, “never,” furthermore explaining that “the important thing is that it is so local…that it is close,” suggesting that “the kids should just get their bags and run out from school and be on the sports ground in two minutes.” In this way, he animates a domain where access to sport grounds is constitutive of the place and the movements enabled.

Localising sport activities in general, and the Midnight Football activities in particular, to the central park in Västerort also has a certain importance for the young people in terms of how they move within the area. When sixteen-year-old participant Boban describes how he spends time with his friends, he emphasises that they meet up “around the park…and play football and so on.” The park is located near the football field and the upper secondary school. It is also there that young people meet up to attend the Midnight Football activities and hang around during the Midnight Football activities when they are not playing.

The sports complex is also part of the local school in Österort, located centrally within the area. Abraham, one of the managers for East City’s Midnight Football activities, says: “Now, the sports centre happens to be where it is….If we want to carry out indoor activities…well, then we need a sports centre.” He explains that the location of the venue is not intended to be part of the design of the intervention. Still, the location at the centre of the area gives young people from the area easy access to the activities. Here, the important thing is how the location is part of a general discourse of the place, and how the particular domain is animated around the sports centre even though the infrastructure just “happens” to be located at a particular place.

Second, respondents repeatedly describe how participants are reached out to in relation to where they live within the demarcated suburban areas. The young people’s movements revolve around the sports centres in these areas. Almost all the young participants come from Västerort. There are some exceptions, for example young people who live in other socioeconomically disadvantaged areas of West City. This is reaffirmed by seventeen-year-old participant Ali, who states that—and animates how—the young participants are “mainly from [Västerort],” adding that “some might come from other parts,” mentioning other areas of socioeconomic deprivation.

Here, it is important to note the primarily local reach of young people when they move around. When exceptions do occur, they move from similar areas to the location of the activities. Looking at East City, Sulejman, East City’s other manager, reflects on how young people from Österort are agile in their movement, articulat-

ing how borders and movements are constructed from different positions. Accordingly, the local young people sometimes attend recreation centres and activities in other parts of the city. However, young people from more affluent residential areas rarely come to Österort and the Midnight Football activities held there:

> You can tell by the kids…something I have noticed….Kids from [Österort]…go to the recreation centres in [two other areas]. There is a lot of movement nowadays. It's incredible. They move…they are everywhere.
>
> Interviewer: Do kids from other areas come to [Österort]?
>
> No, I don't think so. Not into these areas. It's usually the kids who live here.

According to this description, recreation centres and sports activities in the area, such as Midnight Football, are more or less exclusively attended by local young people. Local youngsters may move around the city, but young people from other areas do not come to the area. The perceived borders limit movements into the area (of exclusion), and in that sense reinforce the demarcations. The area of exclusion, discursively located in the periphery—the outside—of the city, forms its own logic of exclusion and inclusion. In this sense, it is the young people from areas and localities beyond the area of exclusion that do not enter it, reconfiguring the notions of inside and outside borders and demarcations. Accordingly, young people from outside the (perceived) outside do not enter. Thus, the locality, reach and movement of young people constitute a contrasting discourse of inclusion, re-forming the notions of inside and outside; the area of exclusion (outside) is demarcated from the rest of the city, forming its own 'inside' through the movement of young people.

Third, interrelated to the local movements of participating young people, the discourse formative of the interventions pinpoints how local leaders are a cornerstone of the interventions. Almost all leaders have their backgrounds in these areas and still live there. According to Niklas, who works for the foundation, there is a need for "locally rooted leaders, who know the young people and their movements and who have good connections," in order to reach out to young people. This argument and discourse is generally put forward by managers and coaches (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2019), but also by Harald, a police officer in West City. Harald explains how "[Västerort] is kind of….they don't accept anyone…, but in an area of exclusion, it is essential for leaders to know the locality, principally, to be accepted." The same discourse is repeated in East City. Here, Hans, who represents the elite sport club involved in supporting Midnight Football, pinpoints the importance of a "connection to the area….It's not a game going out there on a Saturday night, I can tell you," emphasising that Saturday nights in the area are dangerous and that this is not a time or a place for recreation.

4.2. Separating the Suburb from the City and Society

In order to make the domain distinct, the place needs to be formed and animated as something else, compared to the rest of the cities and society at large. Accordingly, people from other areas do not enter the sites of intervention. Rather, they move within the localities, centring their movements around the sport sites. This discourse can be grasped in two synchronic dimensions, pinpointing how material and symbolic dimensions of separation are articulated and intertwined, reinforcing each other.

First, a range of material dimensions of separation are articulated. In West City, physical borders are clearly marked in the territory. The residential area where Midnight Football takes place, centred around the park, school and sports centre, is clearly demarcated on three sides, bordering the rest of the city: on one side by the main railway tracks, on another side by large industrial sites, and on a third side by a busy motorway. These physical barriers, in turn, are surrounded by large bushes and fields. Demarcated in these directions, the apartment blocks that make up the area are surrounded by a circular road, encapsulating the area from the outside. Martin (Suburbia FC) describes this:

> [Västerort] has a geographical barrier in the form of a road that goes around the whole area. So, [Västerort] is geographically encapsulated, with only a few crossing points…difficult bus connections…and if you don't have a driving licence then it's not natural to get out. It's not a prison, definitely not. But there is a very clear mental barrier.

Accordingly, the area is clearly demarcated in the urban geography, with recognised passages directing the movement that is possible (without a car). Importantly, this way of perceiving and reiterating the cartography of the suburban geography is an act of animation, enforcing the contours of the domain in relation to the perceived barriers. Apartment blocks face the inside of the area where the park, school, sports centre and football fields are located. Demarcations to the outside allow for open spaces in the park and suburban centre—as commented on by Klas, the owner of an industrial factory that sponsors Midnight Football. Referring in particular to the circular road, he says that "this ring isn't very fortunate, but the inside provides…a community space, and that's a real opportunity.''

In Österort, the borders are more invisible to the uninitiated visitor, although they are clear to residents. Neighbouring residential areas blend into each other. Despite being demarcated by large motorways in two directions, there are generally more passages compared to Västerort. When asked about the border towards

the neighbouring residential area of Österort, manager Abraham (Sumeria FC) says that the border "is not there, it's not physically there." He then explains which apartment blocks and buildings belong to which residential area, thereby introducing and animating the symbolic borders in the landscape. He emphasises that people who move between the areas recognise the boundaries, in terms of both material and symbolic dimensions, and says that there is a general notion that "you shouldn't be on the other side," in that sense describing the normative significance of symbolic borders restricting the movement of young people.

Second, as noted above, the material dimensions of separation become meaningful and able to be acted upon in their symbolic dimensions. The material borders are highly visible in West City but are primarily described in terms of their symbolic manifestation in East City. In the following, Abraham expounds on the borders separating Österort from nearby localities:

> You can compare [Söderort] to [Österort]. They are really close. There is a damn invisible border in between. It has been there ever since I was a kid. If you live in [Söderort], you go to [Söderort school], you are a [Söderort] guy, then you don't hang out in [Österort]….We have thought about sharing weeks…one week [Österort], the other week [Söderort]….Damn, this is great fun. Yes, excellent. Then you cross the border next week if you want to join.

The borders are traditional; they are "invisible," but are still powerful in terms of steering the movement of young people, limiting the extent to which Midnight Football participants cross into other areas. Moreover, borders are continuously mobilised, for instance by administrative divisions into school areas, creating symbolic demarcations that help to shape a sense of residential belonging.

Notwithstanding the degree to which borders are physical, they become symbolic barriers in discourse on how areas are demarcated. Even when they are not as clearly visible in the territory, the symbolic boundaries are clearly noticed by residents. Confirming the symbolic observance of borders expressed by Abraham, Eva—a civil servant with the East City municipal culture and leisure administration—speaks about the municipality's general interest in supporting the intervention. She says it is important to "have a connection…like integration between areas, where…there is like a wall [and] sharp delineation," limiting the opportunities for young people from outside Österort to "get to the sports centre" and participate in Midnight Football. Accordingly, the policy objectives guiding the municipal administration's interest in reaching out to young people via sport have to challenge the symbolic forces of barriers in the suburban geography.

4.3. Problematising the Place

When separated from the rest of its city, each locality has its own internal characterisations. In the discourse, the local residents are described in various ways as being excluded and as other, and in particular as being vulnerable. These problematisations concern how vulnerability and exclusion create specific challenges located to and contained within the areas, suggesting that certain conditions need to be taken into account for those who operate there.

First, socioeconomic vulnerability is associated in a variety of ways with the areas where the Midnight Football interventions take place. This vulnerability creates difficult conditions and specific challenges for organising sports practices within traditional associations, including due to difficulties in terms of paying membership fees and parental involvement. Habwir, a participant in West City Midnight Football in his early twenties, describes how Midnight Football "provides an opportunity to practise football for free" for young people who cannot afford to join teams. Marika, the chair of the municipal board for leisure and culture in West City, explains how the vulnerability in Västerort result in a certain sense of despair among young people who live there. According to Marika, "a lot of people are unemployed and have nothing to do during the day." They "live on social benefits and many of the kids have never seen their parents go to work," so the kids "have no hope of ever getting a job themselves" and "they lose hope." Through discourse and animation, the domain is formed as a site for challenges and needs as well as governing measures, which are specifically located to the area and not to other parts of the city.

Marika acknowledges how the residents' socioeconomic vulnerability also creates challenges for sport associations, recalling that "there were so many failures [and] difficulties in forming lasting associations." Along these lines, Azad, who works as an integration coordinator with the district sports federation, describes how "associations out in these areas face severe difficulties…and they are weak in terms of resources." Specifically, he mentions an association previously active in Västerort, saying "they were an association with many teams…but teams just disappear." It is on this basis that Bernt, secretary of the charitable gentlemen's club, justified the club's support for Midnight Football: "We could have given money to some team in [an affluent area], but they are too privileged." There, "they have money, coaches, adults around who can provide support," but "that's not the case in [Västerort]." All of these challenges are mirrored in East City and Österort, with the exception that Sumeria FC functions well as a sports club, with a long tradition of providing sport activities. Still, Sulejman from Sumeria FC believes that the activities of Midnight Football can be seen as a form of social work, responding to challenges of deprivation and exclusion. Accordingly, many young people "were excluded because they could

not afford…membership fees." But the open forms of Midnight Football "mean a form of integration," which, for Sulejman, "is, in a sense, social work."

Second, the current patterns of segregation in each city, and the socioeconomic deprivation in Västerort and Österort, are also recognised in local policy and municipal administration (Ekholm, 2019). Both Västerort and Österort are repeatedly talked about, and thus animated, as places in need of support and governing interventions. Therefore, Midnight Football has appeared on the local political agenda. Sulejman reflects on the terms under which Österort is targeted by the benign forms of governing in the municipal administration:

> We were at a meeting with the municipality on how to change [Österort], make [Österort] a better place….It's the last time I will go to such a meeting….Even if there are good intentions…there is a constant focus on people being different, immigrants….What difference does it make? Why does [Österort] have to be different? [Österort] is as much a part of [East City] as [two affluent areas]! Just let it be a part of [East City]. There is too much focus on this stuff….Even if there are good intentions, there is always a focus on…people being immigrants.

Even through the support and care from the municipality are seen to be benevolent, the discourse of aid and support are underpinned by stigmatisation and exclusion, as noted by Sulejman. The position from where the needs and challenges are articulated comes from outside the area, animating and enforcing the distinction as an area of exclusion perceived to be outside the city. Not least, these articulations are underpinned by a repeated emphasis on the migrant background of the residents. However, in a contrasting narrative, resistance towards this discourse can arise. In such contrasting discourses, in the dialectics where these discourses confront each other, a differentiation and a border are animated and introduced.

4.4. Attributing and Refusing Danger

In relation to the aforementioned demarcations, two dialectic dimensions of articulating danger vis-à-vis sport practices are constitutive of the place as a domain, concerning both how dangers are located in the places and how the discourse of danger attributed to the places, from positions outside the areas, is refuted in counter-narratives.

First, there is talk about dangers being prevalent, for instance in the form of young people burning cars and throwing stones (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2020). At times, such articulations may be exaggerated and utilised for the purpose of legitimising the activities promoted in the intervention (cf. Hartmann, 2016). However, even such articulations play a role in the discourse animating and forming the places of intervention. Most vividly, Martin (Suburbia FC) in West City recounts the dangers of life in Västerort. He describes how kids "pick up stones, throw them at things," "start fights," how "older guys sit on benches selling bags of stuff," how "you hear people screaming [and] your hear people fighting," how "all your friends are unemployed," and how the area is a "slum…and when you become part of this slum…you risk losing your grip." The situation resonates well with how Darko, an East City Midnight Football coach, describes East City as a place "with a lot of crime, burning cars and a lot of negative things." According to Sead, another coach in East City, "if the Midnight Football wasn't there, the kids would have learned from the older guys…hanging around outside the shopping mall…and believe me, there are no positive things happening there."

This problematisation of impending danger is a discursive underpinning for understanding the sports activities as an intervention to prevent crime and promote social inclusion. Such rationality is also embraced by some of the young people participating in the activities. Saman, a fifteen-year-old boy participating in the West City Midnight Football activities, touches upon the significance of place when describing the relationship between problems and sport as a responding solution and an activity of intervention:

> If there is nothing to do at home, there is Midnight Football. Young people go there and play football. When you don't play, you sit down on the benches and just talk about whatever. You're not entirely focused on football….People go there instead of doing bad things, like burning cars and stuff that happened a couple of weeks ago…like selling drugs. There are a lot of criminals in [Västerort]. Especially young people.

Here, the sports intervention appears as both a response and an alternative to the dangers present in the area, in the form of burning cars and selling drugs. Such a discourse forms a strong imagery, recognising that Västerort is a particular place. Thus, as a place, Västerort is constituted as dangerous, and in need of governing intervention.

Second, in the light of the various dangers attributed to the localities, there are counter-narratives, not least in the form of discursive battles with current media discourses. In these counter-narratives, the suburbs are described as not necessarily being more dangerous than other areas of the cities. Accordingly, there can be a variety of animations of the domain that come into conflict with each other. However, these are still articulated with respect to the perceived boundaries and demarcations.

Even after animating the particular dangers above, Martin says that "we never say that we have a problem in [Västerort]—because we don't….Our problem is that other people have a problem with [Västerort]." When reflecting on current discourses in the media, he says:

> Do they have to picture it that way? The only thing they want to tell the world is that [Västerort] is a scary

> place. Those who read the papers don't live in the area, and the only information they get is about how bad [Västerort] is….We shouldn't stigmatise these areas…..Stop recounting examples in the media without explaining what lies behind the shootings….There is a structural problem.

Here, the animation of the place is recognised, questioned and countered. Accordingly, the media stigmatises and animates the place in an unfair way, and Martin provides a counter-narrative on the basis of this animation. Furthermore, Martin specifically highlights a repeated focus on danger in his dialogues with both potential partners and supporters of the activities. When Klas recalls a recent visit, he says that other people, "from outside" Västerort, asked him where he would park his car, implying that he cannot park his car within the residential area. But in his counter-narrative, Klas describes Västerort as "a very warm place…filled with people," mentioning that "it is a very open space with the playgrounds and hills and a large green park" next to the sports centre and the football ground where the football activities took place during his visit.

With respect to the situation in East City, Abraham focuses on the images and misinterpretations disseminated by the media. He says that "what is written in the media about fights and guns and stuff…is about real criminals, older people" and not about young people in the area. Therefore, "all these words…are misrepresentations from the media that don't correspond to reality….From the outside, there is so much prejudice about crime and bad things…but that's from people who haven't set foot in this neighbourhood." Notably, this discourse about the situation in the area, as articulated from within, conflicts with the discourse from the outside. Contrasting these conflicting discourses against each other makes the symbolic demarcations of the suburban geography clear. Both discourses are constitutive of the demarcated domains. This formative dialectic, attributing danger while simultaneously refusing such attribution of danger articulated from the outside, facilitates the formation of the domain, constituted by problematisations as well as by discourses about sport as a means of responding to such problematisations.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

In this article, we have analysed how the two places of Västerort and Österort are discursively formed as domains of problematisation and governing intervention (cf. Rose, 1999). Accordingly, it is the discourse of social problems and sport as a means of response that facilitates the construction of these places. Places are thus discursively formed in specific ways, but the formation of place also has a political significance and potential which need to be recognised when exploring (cf. Rose, 1999) sports-based interventions, for instance. We argue that the places of intervention are discursively disassociated and demarcated from the rest of society in both material and symbolic dimensions. In this respect, social change is located to the places portrayed as separate from and marked as being outside the city; demarcated from the city and in that sense from society as a whole.

There is a clear discursive pattern throughout the analysis. The places of problematisation and intervention are differentiated in contrast to the discursive outside. In one instance, places are differentiated through the intervention outreach of youth participation and through the recruitment strategies for coaches. In another instance, places are differentiated by marking borders in the suburban geography and ascribing certain meanings, not least in terms of limiting the movements of young people (in particular, the inward movement of young people from the demarcated outside). In a third instance, places are differentiated through the localisation and containment of problems and by pointing out the specific conditions for establishing sport practices. In a fourth instance, places are differentiated by the dialectics between dangers attributed and dangers resisted. Interestingly, and most importantly, differentiations are made not least in a dialectic manner between articulations from the discursive inside (from people residing in the areas) and from the discursive outside (from people and positions outside the areas), against which counter-narratives can be formed, in turn constituting the borders. In the variety of instances, people, attention and language are drawn and directed towards the insides of the places, erecting symbolic borders towards the outsides. Manifestly, this performs the areas of exclusion as the discursive inside. Accordingly, such articulation needs to be viewed as a struggle to form and reform the distinctions between inside and outside the borders, animating the places, or residential areas, as part of the promoted sports-based interventions. Demarcations between inside and outside are not pre-determined but are continually (re)formed in discursive struggles. What is (on) the inside and what is (on) the outside is not given, and even the governing ambitions of development and reform may contribute to the resurrection of symbolic borders. Still, conceptualising the (re)formation of demarcations is important in terms of how people in general, and young people in the areas in particular, make sense of their place in the suburban geography and in society.

Here, the struggle for representation of the place, to articulate the conditions of life in the place, and to animate the domain of intertwined problematisation and technologies of governing, is a matter of opportunities for forming counter-narratives. This aligns with what is referred to in the scientific literature on sports-based interventions as critical pedagogy (e.g., Nols, Haudenhuyse, Spaaij, & Theeboom, 2018; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013), the development of a counter-conduct (Luguetti, Oliver, Dantas, & Kirk, 2017) that is potentially facilitated through socio-pedagogical arrangements within sports activities providing pockets of resistance (Sabbe, 2019). For this potential to be realised,

awareness of the socio-political context of segregation, marginalisation and inequalities needs to be raised and platforms for articulation and resistance need to be provided. In order for practitioners to develop and refine sports-based interventions such as those described in this article, knowledge about the productive power of place needs to be acknowledged. In one instance, this involves the ways in which places are othered, stigmatised and made separate from society as a whole, in turn making them specific targets of governing interventions. Here, opportunities to form critical and emancipatory perspectives and counter-narratives, intrinsic in the socio-pedagogical arrangements of activities, can be fore-fronted. In another instance, knowledge about the significance of place relates to the basic recognition that places differ from each other and that different places have their own conditions that need to be recognised when arranging activities (Ekholm & Holmlid, 2020). In relation to the concerns raised here, it is necessary to explore the significance and meaning of the football activities and Midnight Football arrangement for the young participants themselves, as well as the potential to provide arenas for resistance. This involves scrutinising the meaning of the sports activities as a place located and enacted within the place of the urban periphery and marginalised areas of exclusion mapped out in this article. This, however, is a future effort within the research project of which this article is a part. In order to understand the meaning and discourse of the young participants in greater detail, we argue, knowledge about how place is animated and constituted in the discourse of problematisations and as subjects of technologies of governing is fundamental. In forthcoming publications, we aim to provide such knowledge on the basis of interviews with the participants briefly introduced here, and on the ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the site—and in the areas—of the intervention activities.

These results on the mobilisation of sports-based interventions as a means of social change, targeting in particular the young people of the urban peripheries, provide knowledge on how place is made and what place in turn can do and enable (cf. Sibley, 1995). Such knowledge contributes to current research on sports-based interventions, where little interest has so far been paid in the scientific literature to further investigating the meaning of specific places where sports interventions are carried out. We have provided one example of how place can be explored as something more than just a surface or a background for specific interventions (cf. Lefebvre, 1991). By interrogating place as a discursive formation and domain, we have provided an opportunity for scrutinising not only how specific meanings are attributed to place and how place is formed, but also the political and governmental potential of place as intertwined in technologies of intervention (cf. Rose, 1999). The discursive formation of place is an ongoing process. It is continually articulated from a variety of actors with different positions, and with different meanings attributed to and associated with the places of problematisation and governing. In these ongoing processes, researchers are also involved in contributing towards and challenging the discourses that are discerned and presented. On the basis of our framework and approach, we hope to provide critical reflections that challenge and problematise how certain places are demarcated as being separate from society and become targets of specific forms of intervention. This contribution has a particular validity for literature on sports-based interventions, but also for research addressing a range of other interventions far beyond the practices of sport.

Acknowledgments

The authors want to thank James Frempong, Catarina Lack, Nedžad Mešić, Senad Mutic, Anna Oksa, Julia Schossner and Bengt Tall for their contributions in the research project.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Bacchi, C. (2009). *Analysing policy: What's the problem represented to be?* Frenchs Forest: Pearson.

Bustad, J. J., & Andrews, D. L. (2017). Policing the void: Recreation, social inclusion and the Baltimore Police Athletic League. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 241–249.

Coalter, F. (2012). 'There is loads of relationships here': Developing a programme theory for sport-for-change programmes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(5), 594–612.

Coalter, F., Allison, M., & Taylor, J. (2000). *The role of sport in regenerating deprived areas*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.

Collins, M., & Haudenhuyse, R. P. (2015). Social exclusion and austerity policies in England: The role of sports in a new area of social polarization and inequality? *Social Inclusion*, *3*(3), 5–18.

Dikec, M. (2017). *Urban rage: The revolt of the excluded*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ekholm, D. (2018). Governing by means of sport for social change and social inclusion: Demarcating the domains of problematization and intervention. *Sport in Society*, *21*(11), 1777–1794.

Ekholm, D. (2019). Mellan självständighet och kontroll: Civilsamhället som samhällsbyggare genom idrott som socialpolitiskt verktyg [Between autonomy and control: The role of civil society in building community through sport as a means of social policy]. In J. Syssner (Ed.), *Ett nytt kontrakt för samhällsbyggande?* [A new contract for building society?] (pp. 125–150). Stockholm: Linnefors.

Ekholm, D., & Dahlstedt, M. (2017). Football for Inclusion: Examining the pedagogic rationalities and the tech-

nologies of solidarity of a sports-based intervention in Sweden. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 232–240.

Ekholm, D., & Dahlstedt, M. (2018). Rationalities of good-will: On the promotion of philanthropy through sports-based interventions in Sweden. *Managing Sport and Leisure*, *23*(4/6), 336–349.

Ekholm, D., & Dahlstedt, M. (2019). Pedagogies of (de)liberation: Salvation and social inclusion by means of Midnight Football. *Sport, Education and Society*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2019.1694504

Ekholm, D., & Dahlstedt, M. (2020). A model of discipline: The rule(s) of midnight-football and the production of order in subjects and society. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*. http://doi.org/10.1177/0193723520919818

Ekholm, D., & Holmlid, S. (2020). Formalizing sports-based interventions in cross-sectoral cooperation: Governing and infrastructuring practice, program and preconditions. *Journal of Sport for Development*, *14*, 1–20.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge*. Harlow: Harvester Press.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, *8*(4), 777–795.

Franzén, M., Hertting, N., & Thörn, C. (2016). *Stad till salu. Entreprenörurbanismen och det offentliga rummets värde* [City for sale. Entrepreneurial urbanism and the value of public space]. Gothenburg: Daidalos.

Hartmann, D. (2016). *Midnight basketball. Race, sports, and neoliberal social policy*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Kelly, L. (2013). Sports-based interventions and the local governance of youth crime and antisocial behavior. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *37*(3), 261–283.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Luguetti, C., Oliver, K. L., Dantas, L. E. P. B. T., & Kirk, D. (2017). An activist approach to sport meets youth from socially vulnerable backgrounds. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, *88*(1), 60–71.

McSweeney, M., & van Luijk, N. (2019). Leaving the comfort zone: Utilizing institutional ethnography in sport for development and peace research. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *11*(4), 559–572.

Morgan, H. (2018). Enhancing social mobility within marginalized youth: The accumulation of positive psychological capital through engagement with community sports clubs. *Sport in Society*, *21*(11), 1669–1685.

Nols, Z., Haudenhuyse, R., Spaaij, R., & Theeboom, M. (2018). Social change through an urban sport for development initiative? Investigating critical pedagogy through the voices of young people. *Sport, Education and Society*, *24*(7), 727–741.

Parker, A., Morgan, H., Farooq, S., Moreland, B., & Pitchford, A. (2019). Sporting intervention and social change: Football, marginalized youth and citizenship development. *Sport, Education and Society*, *24*(3), 298–310.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom. Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sabbe, S. (2019). *Community sport and social cohesion: A social work perspective* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Ghent: Ghent University.

Sernhede, O., Thörn, C., & Thörn, H. (2016). The Stockholm uprising in context. In M. Mayer, C. Thörn, & H. Thörn (Eds.), *Urban uprisings* (pp. 149–173). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of exclusion. Society and difference in the West*. London: Routledge.

Skinner, J., Zakus, D. H., & Cowell, J. (2008). Development through sport: Building social capital in disadvantaged communities. *Sport Management Review*, *11*, 253–275.

Spaaij, R., & Jeanes, R. (2013). Education for social change? A Freirean critique of sport for development and peace. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, *18*(4), 442–457.

Zukin, S. (1995). *The culture of cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

About the Authors

David Ekholm is a Researcher and Lecturer at Linköping University, Sweden. Ekholm's main research interests are in the sociology of social work and social policy. Here, he has a particular focus on youth interventions aiming for social inclusion and utilized by means of sport and leisure activities. Ekholm's research is characterized by critical and constructionist perspectives on contemporary social policy transformations.

Magnus Dahlstedt is a Professor in social work at Linköping University, Sweden. His research concern citizenship and democracy in times of migration and market-orientation, welfare and social policy changes. Dahlstedt's main research interests are the politics of inclusion/exclusion. In particular, his research is oriented towards the formation of citizenship in the context of the multi-ethnic city, social polarization and social inequality.

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 187–196
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2748

Article

Sport and Incarceration: Theoretical Considerations for Sport for Development Research

Mark Norman

Department of Health, Aging & Society, McMaster University, Hamilton, L8S 4L8, Canada; E-Mail: normam2@mcmaster.ca

Submitted: 30 December 2019 | Accepted: 23 March 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract
Despite a rapid expansion in research on Sport for Development (SfD), there remain numerous untapped veins of exploration. This article makes a novel argument for increasing the theoretical and substantive depth of SfD research by linking it to the relatively small, yet developing, body of literature on sport and incarceration. Drawing from the emergent field of carceral geography and the literature on prison sport, this article provides critical theoretical considerations for SfD programs that occur in 'compact' sites of confinement, such as prisons or refugee camps, or are enmeshed in 'diffuse' manifestations of carcerality. Given the structures of inequality that have led to the confinement of more than 13 million people in prisons, refugee camps, and migrant detention centres across the globe, as well as the multitude of ways that groups and individuals are criminalized and stigmatized in community settings, there are compelling reasons for SfD research to more deeply engage with concerns of space and carcerality as they relate to sport. As such, this article provides an important foundation for future analyses of SfD and carcerality, and signposts some potential ways forward for a deepening of theoretical perspectives in SfD research.

Keywords
carceral geography; incarceration; prison sport; space; sport for development

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the author; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

Despite a rapid expansion in research on Sport for Development (SfD), there remain numerous untapped veins of exploration for scholars. One area that has, thus far, been largely neglected in the SfD literature, is sport and other diverse forms of physical culture (hereafter collectively referred to as 'sport'), as well as other forms of recreation and leisure, in prisons and other sites of incarceration. This article makes a novel argument for increasing the theoretical and substantive depth of SfD research by linking it to the relatively small, yet developing, body of literature on sport, leisure, and incarceration. In doing so, it brings the SfD literature into dialogue with critical theoretical developments in criminology and human geography, specifically the emergent field of carceral geography, and advocates for a deeper consideration of space and carcerality within SfD research.

There are compelling reasons to consider and develop connections between these bodies of literature. There are over 10.7 million people held in prison or pre-trial detention around the globe (Walmsley, 2018), as well as an additional 2.6 million refugees living in camps (UNHCR, 2018) and an uncertain number of migrants forcibly confined in over 2,200 detention camps in 100 countries (Global Detention Project, 2019). While there is considerable variation of conditions within and between these types of confinement, these carceral spaces share many characteristics—including the prominent social role of sport, and in some instances SfD inter-

ventions, in the daily lives of many people living therein. Further, and critical for the theoretical analysis of SfD and incarceration, carceral geographers have recognized how the spatial characteristics and embodied effects of incarceration are manifested in a myriad of 'diffuse' ways beyond these physical sites (Moran, Turner, & Schliehe, 2018). As this article details, there are numerous ways in which these theoretical developments contribute to a more critical analysis of some SfD interventions.

As such, this article develops some initial theoretical connections between the literatures on SfD, prison sport, and carceral geography. The article is theoretical in its orientation, drawing from existing literature to perform its analysis. However, much of the work on carceral space and sport that is discussed in this article is derived from the author's broad, ongoing investigations into the social meanings and organization of sport in Canadian prisons and youth custody centres. The article begins by sketching some initial points of connection between research on SfD and prison sport, before introducing theoretical perspectives from carceral geography that provide insights into sport and carcerality. The bulk of the article is devoted to a deep theoretical consideration of critical considerations for SfD research through the lens of compact and diffuse models of carcerality. These analyses provide novel insights, raise critical questions, and signpost ways forward for a deepening of theoretical perspectives in SfD research.

2. SfD and Prison Sport Research: Initial Points of Connection

SfD, despite its similarities to historical 'sport-for-good' efforts, is a relatively recent phenomenon that focuses on leveraging sport to achieve a wide array of social, educational and health outcomes (Darnell, 2012; Darnell, Field, & Kidd, 2019). SfD interventions are typically implemented in Global South countries with funding and ideological support from governmental, nongovernmental and corporate donors based in the Global North (Darnell, 2012); however, the logic of SfD is increasingly being applied to programs targeting supposedly 'vulnerable' or 'at-risk' groups in Global North countries (e.g., Hayhurst & Giles, 2013; Nols, Haudenhuyse, & Theeboom, 2017; Scherer, Koch, & Holt, 2016). Scholarship on SfD has proliferated in the past two decades (Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016). While a recent overview of SfD research (Darnell, Chawansky, Marchesseault, Holmes, & Hayhurst, 2018) notes a paucity of critical theoretical perspectives among most SfD scholarship, researchers have developed critical analyses of SfD using diverse approaches, such as political economy (Darnell, 2012), postcolonial feminism (Hayhurst, 2016), critical race theory (Forde, 2015), and the Capabilities Approach (Dao & Smith, 2019; Darnell & Dao, 2017), among others. Less common, but significant, are analyses of SfD spaces (e.g., Forde, Waldman, Hayhurst, & Frisby, 2017; Oxford & Spaaij, 2017), which will be discussed in greater detail in a later section.

At first glance, there may seem to be little to link SfD with sport and physical recreation in prisons. Unlike SfD, prison sport is not institutionalized—rather, its form and availability will vary widely depending on the jurisdiction, the type and security level of confinement, and the prisoner subculture in specific institutions (Norman, 2018a). Further, although some youth custody institutions provide sport initiatives that are, like much SfD programming, explicitly linked with specific social or pedagogical outcomes (Meek, 2014; Meek & Lewis, 2014; Norman, Ricciardelli, & Sonoda, 2020), in adult institutions activities are often detached from such intentions and are viewed by staff a way for prisoners to expend aggression and thus be more docile (Martos-García, Devís-Devís, & Sparkes, 2009; Norman, 2017). Indeed, there is scant reference to prison sport in the SfD literature. The most explicit connection between the two was provided in a study by Gallant, Sherry, and Nicholson (2015), who framed the outcomes and management of sport participation by prisoners—such as improved health, skill development that could contribute to desistance, and partnership between prisons and external sport organizations—as SfD. Although the authors did not deeply develop this connection or situate their study in the SfD literature, their explicit linking of prison sport and SfD nonetheless provides a valuable entrée to bridging these areas of study.

Whereas SfD is a burgeoning realm of research (Schulenkorf et al., 2016), socio-cultural research on sport in prisons remains relatively limited. Among the major sociological themes in the existing literature are the contributions of sport to: constructions of hegemonic masculinity in male prisons (Andrews & Andrews, 2003; Sabo, 2001), the control and management of prison populations (Martos-García et al., 2009; Norman, 2017) and prisoners' micro-resistances to these regimes of social control (Martinez-Merino, Martos-García, Lozano-Sufrategui, Martín-González, & Usabiaga, 2019; Norman, 2017; Norman & Andrews, 2019), and the likelihood of prisoners desisting from crime after being released into the community (Meek, 2014; Meek & Lewis, 2014). A new vein of recent research (Gacek, 2017; Norman, 2019; Norman & Andrews, 2019), which this article builds upon, explicitly engages with theoretical developments in carceral geography to consider the spatial significance of sport in prisons.

Yet, despite their differences, there are a number of substantial ways in which these areas of study potentially align. For example, the SfD sector's major focus on providing programming in the Global South parallels a trend in which, with the notable exception of the United States, the highest prison populations and rates of incarceration are found in BRIC or Global South countries (Walmsley, 2018). Meanwhile, as incarceration rates of girls and women have skyrocketed by over 50% since 2000 (Walmsley, 2017), SfD's core interest in gender equality and female empowerment, and important critiques thereof (Chawansky & Hayhurst, 2015), take on

relevance in prison sport programs. Further, both SfD and prison sport can be rationalized or analyzed through a human rights lens. The SfD sector has placed a strong emphasis on sport as a human right and/or a vehicle toward achieving human rights (Darnell, 2012). In prisons, the right to outdoor recreation and exercise is enshrined in various global guidelines and policies (Norman, 2018a) and its significance to prisoners' health, social life, and dignity is acknowledged in some considerations of human rights in prisons (Coyle & Fair, 2018).

While such overlapping interests provide a small window into how the SfD and prison sport literatures might inform each other and offer some fertile ground for further analysis and critique, this article argues that there are deeper theoretical reasons to link these areas of research. In so doing, the article suggests that research on SfD could more deeply consider both its spatial significance and its relation, in at least some instances, to carcerality. In these efforts, the article draws inspiration from Darnell and colleagues' critique of the narrow focus of the SfD literature and call for critical scholars to adopt "an increasingly holistic approach to [SfD] research, rather than an exclusive or bordered one" (Darnell et al., 2018, p. 147). To perform this analysis, the article draws heavily from theoretical developments in carceral geography, most notably the distinction between compact and diffuse carceral models (Moran et al., 2018).

3. Carceral Geography: Novel Theoretical Insights into Sport

Carceral geography is an emergent subfield of human geography that is concerned with the critical examination of the "the nature of carceral systems and experiences within them, the spatial geographies of carceral systems, and the relationship between the carceral and an increasingly punitive state" (Moran, 2015, p. 2). Philo's (2012, p. 4) influential articulation of this area of study considered its focus to be "the spaces set aside for 'securing'—detaining, locking up/away—problematic populations of one kind or another." However, carceral geographers have demonstrated that the effects and characteristics of incarceration spread far beyond the physical boundaries of sites of confinement and, further, that there is significant mobility of bodies, material goods, and ideas "within, between, and beyond carceral institutions" (Moran, 2015, p. 72). Carceral geography can be understood as focusing on two closely related models of carcerality: compact and diffuse (Moran et al., 2018). The inspiration for analyzing these carceral models is the work of Michel Foucault (1977), who argued that the social control apparatuses of the prison "merge and intertwine wider society with the carceral in a diffuse way…via 'carceral circles,' which, like ripples in water, extend far from the prison" (Moran et al., 2018, p. 668).

Drawing on a wide range of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives, carceral geographers have deepened and extended Foucault's postulation by analyzing a variety of "other compact carceral sites [beyond the prison] which resemble the prison both in functional form and in mode of operation" (Moran et al., 2018, p. 669) and by considering how carcerality is manifested in diffuse ways through social means (e.g., the social stigma faced by former prisoners) or technological apparatuses (e.g., surveilled spaces for youth deemed 'at-risk' of criminal behaviour). Further, critical scholars have increasingly recognized how spaces of incarceration engender embodied practices and corporeal transformations that endure far beyond the period of confinement and can contribute to social stigma or difficulty adjusting to life in the community (Caputo-Levine, 2013; Moran, 2015). The horizons for critical analysis of various SfD interventions are significantly broadened by the insight that compact carceral sites share notable similarities and that carcerality is manifested and embodied in diffuse forms beyond these spaces of confinement. Further, carceral geography provides an intriguing lens through which to engage in nuanced analyses of carcerality within specific sport spaces.

The handful of studies that consider sport within a carceral geography framework provide some important entry points for theoretically deepening SfD research. Gacek's (2017, p. 73) analysis of Canadian male prisoners' 'imaginative mobilities' included a nuanced consideration of how sport and recreation enabled "inmates to psychologically enter the inner spaces of their minds to avoid and distance themselves from the prison life that exists 'outside' their anatomical control." According to Gacek (2017, p. 82), these activities enabled prisoners to psychologically transcend the boundaries of the prison, stave off boredom and enjoy pleasurable (imaginary) experiences—and, in so doing, "to endure the boredom, mundanity, uncertainty, and (in)security of the prison culture." Norman and Andrews (2019) similarly considered how prisoners used sport to produce spaces that enabled them to cope with their confinement, while also recognizing how sport shaped prison spaces in unique and sometimes contradictory ways, including promoting violence or exclusion and "asserting [prisoner] agency in the face of administrative control" (Norman & Andrews, 2019, p. 459). Finally, Norman (2019) examined yoga as an alternative form of physical culture that facilitates contact between the 'inside' (prisoners) and 'outside' (members of the community), creates spaces for otherwise suppressed emotional expression, and, notable for this article, interacts outside the prison with diffuse carceral effects such as the stigmatization of former prisoners. While sharing a general focus on sport in carceral space, these studies also suggest the possibilities for a carceral geography perspective to deepen the analysis of specific forms of sport and human movement within particular carceral sites.

Given the great social and geographic diversity of SfD programs, there are numerous ways in which considerations of carcerality and space might enrich the critical

analysis of SfD. This article represents an initial consideration of these, with the aim of laying a foundation for deeper future research in this area.

4. SfD, Prison Sport and Carceral Space: Theoretical Considerations

Despite the significance of socially-produced space to SfD, spatial analyses are limited in the SfD literature. Scholars have rightly noted that complex phenomenon of SfD must be understood as occurring "across local, global and transnational levels within the [SfD] sector" (Giulianotti, 2011, p. 52), while specific SfD interventions have been found to cultivate 'safe spaces' for emotional expression, psychosocial wellbeing, or social support (e.g., Oxford & Spaaij, 2017). Using vignettes arising from their research, Forde et al. (2017) provided a compelling insight into considering how SfD programs facilitate a variety of types of movement in and through diverse spaces and, in so doing, produce complex and contradictory spatial meanings related to neoliberalism, community, gender, and social injustice. SfD research has thus only tentatively linked to potentially-relevant developments in the broader field of sport geography, such as disciplinary surveillance and resistance in sport spaces (Bale, 1993), the contradictory meanings of physical activity as a 'therapeutic landscape' (van Ingen, 2004), the politics of health promotion through physical activity space (Fusco, 2007), or emerging non-representational analyses of movement, time and space (Andrews, 2017). This article contributes to initial efforts to deepen the connection between SfD and sport geography research through its engagement with the prison sport and carceral geography literatures.

4.1. SfD and Compact Forms of Carcerality

A clear entry point to connecting the prison sport and SfD literatures is found where similarities exist between prisons and various other compact carceral sites SfD interventions occur. Indeed, in his research on prison sport, Norman (2017, 2018a, 2018b) has argued that there may be considerable value in comparative research on sport across a range of 'total institutions'—such as military facilities, youth custody centres, and refugee camps—that share carceral features. Though not explicitly describing them as compact carceral sites, researchers have examined the social meanings of sport in a variety of spaces fitting this description, including camps for refugees and migrants (Dukic, McDonald, & Spaaij, 2017; McGee & Pelham, 2018; Spaaij et al., 2019) and various historical sites, such as mental institutions (Ellis, 2013), Japanese internment camps in the United States (Mullan, 1999), and Canadian residential schools for Indigenous youth (Forsyth, 2013; Te Hiwi & Forsyth, 2017). In cases where SfD programs have operated in compact sites, carceral geography offers researchers rich insights for analyzing the oppressive daily experiences of confined people and the potential liberatory or punitive effects that sport may generate.

A notable feature of certain compact carceral sites is the social construction of time and its relation to space. Prisoners, for example, experience time both as a fixed passage of years, months and days ('clock time') and in temporal flows, relating to the monotonous daily routine of prison life, which may be made to feel faster by tactically engaging in particular activities (Moran, 2012). As such, prisoners often speak of 'killing' or 'passing' time and describe particular spatial and temporal experiences as facilitating 'hard' or 'easy' time (Wahidin, 2006). In sites of incarceration, "the embodied experience of time is inextricably bound up with the embodied experience of space, and vice versa" (Moran, 2012, p. 310). Further, at a macro-level, Gill, Conlon, Moran, and Burridge (2018) noted that contemporary carcerality is defined in part by the relationship between time, space, and global structures of inequality, leading to:

> The organized warehousing of sections of the global population forced to wait purposelessly on the margins of developed economies in prisons, camps, slums and detention centres in response to global political-economic conditions. The calibration of carceral space to accommodate this wastage, over and above aspirations to reform or even punish the incarcerated, is a hallmark of the neoliberal carceral landscape. (Gill et al., 2018, p. 190)

Some prison sport literature has engaged with questions of time, space, and carcerality in ways that may be translatable to SfD research. Notably, some research on prison sport has identified its impact on the perceived passage of time as one of the most significant outcomes for prisoner participants (Gallant et al., 2015; Martos-García et al., 2009; Norman & Andrews, 2019; Sabo, 2001). At an instrumental level, Gallant et al. (2015, p. 53) suggested that prison sport programs "may distract inmates…[and] positively impact individual mood as well as the overall mood of the facility." More critically, Gacek (2017) argued that sport and recreational activities could not just help pass time, but also be a form of 'imaginative mobility' that could temporarily transport the participant beyond the daily frustrations of their incarceration. Building upon these findings, Norman and Andrews (2019, p. 462) found that prisoners' engagement with sport could facilitate stillness and mental escape, and in so doing help them "cope with the spatial and temporal restrictions placed upon them, both in their regular daily routine and in exceptional circumstances such as being confined to their cells during a lockdown." Research on leisure in prisons (Fortune & Whyte, 2011; Yuen, Arai, & Fortune, 2012), meanwhile, has highlighted the possibility for leisure activities to bring prisoners and community members together in a shared venture and, in so doing, increase the possibility for carceral spaces to "be re-imagined as spaces that are vital for promoting commu-

nity cohesion and increasing social acceptance" (Fortune & Whyte, 2011, p. 31).

These findings have significant implications for understanding the experiences of SfD participants living in compact carceral sites, such as refugee camps. Insights about time and carceral space raise questions about both the liberatory and punitive possibilities of sport in such environments. For example, might an SfD program in a refugee camp enable participants to experience time and space in more pleasant ways? Or, given the global pressures within the SfD sector to produce 'positive' outcomes that may not align with participants' experiences or interests (Donnelly, Atkinson, Boyle, & Szto, 2011), might an SfD program in a compact carceral space reinforce the slow passage of time and bureaucratic spatial management of residents' daily lives? And, in line with critiques of SfD's enmeshment in global forms of structural inequality and circuits of capital (Darnell et al., 2018; Darnell & Dao, 2017; Forde et al., 2017; Oxford & Spaaij, 2017), to what extent does SfD in compact spaces contribute to or challenge "the institutionalized disposal of time…[and] wastage of human life" (Gill et al., 2018, p. 190) that characterizes contemporary carceral logic?

A further consideration arises from the possibility for SfD or prison sport programs to operate as a form of social control within a compact carceral site. Carceral spaces, both compact and diffuse, are characterized by "the deployment of a new range of strategies of social control and coercion" (Moran et al., 2018). Prison sport studies (Martos-García et al., 2009; Meek, 2014; Norman, 2015, 2017) have found that prison administrators may view sport as a means for diverting prisoners' energy and attention away from their punitive conditions of confinement, making sport participation a short-term management tool "with no implications for the long-term development of the prisoner in terms of their rehabilitation into…society at the end of their sentence" (Martos-García et al., 2009, p. 86). Further, the opportunity to engage in certain forms of sport (and the possibility of this privilege being withdrawn) may be used as an incentive to induce particular forms of behaviour (Meek, 2014; Norman, 2017), while the instrumental rationales underpinning sport provision may contribute to a broader correctional philosophy that sees individual choice, rather than structural factors, as the sole cause of criminal behaviour (Norman, 2015). In such a context, specific uses of sport may represent resistance, however small, against regimes of control. For example, prisoners may participate in weightlifting or bodybuilding to develop muscular physiques that visibly represent the threat of violence (Norman, 2017), play sport to demonstrate agency in the face of inherently disempowering experiences of incarceration (Martinez-Merino et al., 2019), repurpose recreation spaces or equipment for illicit means (Norman, 2017), or simply shape the experience of carceral time and space in more pleasurable ways (Gacek, 2017; Norman & Andrews, 2019).

Historical research on compact carceral sites offers further insight into the operation of social control and resistance in these spaces through sport. For example, Indian residential schools—which were government-funded, church-run boarding schools for Indigenous children in Canada, operating between 1880 and 1996—used sport as part of their broader agenda to eradicate Indigenous culture and assimilate youth into Euro-Canadian society (Forsyth, 2013). Students, who were often forcibly removed from their families and forced to endure abusive and austere treatment, participated in physical training exercises and military drills that were intended to control their bodies, assimilate them into Canadian culture, and teach them deference to authority (Forsyth, 2013); meanwhile, boys' ice hockey, which flourished at some residential schools, was viewed by administrators as a way to generate "student compliance, obedience, and discipline…[translating] into well-behaved, moral, and disciplined boys off the ice" (Te Hiwi & Forsyth, 2017, p. 82). Yet, participation in sport could bring benefits and prestige, as well as a temporary relief from the pains of the carceral experience. As Te Hiwi and Forsyth (2017, pp. 107–108) noted, despite the social control impetus behind an ice hockey program at one residential school, "many boys took up the opportunity for fun, competition, and recreation, and to escape from the struggles of daily life at the school, albeit temporarily." Similarly, for some Japanese Americans held in internment camps during WW2, participation in or spectatorship of competitive baseball matches represented an important social activity and "a way to deny the oppressive facts of wartime imprisonment" (Mullan, 1999, p. 17).

These insights on social control and resistance in carceral spaces provide an important point of connection with existing SfD research, which has recognized that sport programs may attempt to socialize young people into hegemonic values and promote a neoliberal view of individual responsibility for 'development' (Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Dao, 2017; Hayhurst & Giles, 2013). Yet, there is scope for a deeper investigation of how coercion and autonomy operate in SfD contexts. How might SfD interventions, like sport programs in carceral facilities, be "both a carrot and a stick…, sometimes being viewed as an attractive activity for prisoners that can also promote good behaviour, and other times being withheld, as a form of punishment" (Norman, 2017, p. 603)? And how might SfD participants, particularly in compact carceral sites in which their agency is severely curtailed, find ways to engage in tactical forms of micro-resistance to the oppression experienced in their daily lives (Martinez-Merino et al., 2019; Norman, 2017)? In this vein of analysis, carceral geography's sensitivity to the ways in which carceral time and space are embodied (Moran, 2012) offers a useful entry to considering how SfD programs in compact sites inscribe the carceral upon the bodies of participants and, notably, how participants can use sport in unintended ways to produce spaces that are sites of pleasurable or meaningful experiences. Such ques-

tions have begun to be explored in prison sport research (Norman, 2019; Norman & Andrews, 2019), and would align well with cutting edge theoretical concerns in SfD research around human movement and space (Forde et al., 2017), "hope and social change" through sport (Forde & Kota, 2016, p. 445), and "questions of socialization, identity, bio-politics, and the body [as they are] produced and constrained within the terrain (both material and discursive) of the [SfD] sector" (Darnell et al., 2018, p. 140).

4.2. SfD and Diffuse Forms of Carcerality

While some SfD initiatives occur at compact carceral sites, these are clearly the minority of programs. Yet, there are a myriad of ways in which diffuse forms of carcerality may be manifested in and through SfD interventions. Firstly, there are impacts of imprisonment felt by individuals and communities beyond the physical site of the prison. As Moran et al. (2018, p. 670) explain, "techniques and technologies of confinement leach into everyday domestic, street, and institutional spaces with which both former inmates and their loved ones…come into contact." This may be seen in a variety of SfD programs in Global North countries for 'vulnerable' or 'at-risk' (usually young) people (e.g., Bustad & Andrews, 2017; Nols et al., 2017; Scherer et al., 2016; Schulenkorf et al., 2016), a group that may well include participants who have been incarcerated or who have been subjected to diffuse manifestations of carcerality such as police surveillance. Further, sport activities are sometimes used in community programs that exist as alternatives to incarcerating young people (e.g., Joseph, 2015); yet, as Fishwick and Wearing (2017, pp. 49–50) demonstrated, such diversionary programs, although avoiding direct incarceration, nonetheless "govern and direct mobilities—that is, where young people go (or do not go)…creating 'liminal' spaces of semi-confinement." Lastly, returning to Gill et al. (2018), spatially—and economically-segregated slums or urban townships sit alongside compact carceral sites as spaces for "the organized warehousing of sections of the global population forced to wait purposelessly on the margins of developed economies" (Gill et al., 2018, p. 190). Some scholars have fruitfully examined the deployment of SfD programs in slums (Forde & Kota, 2016; Willis, 2000), yet critical analysis of sport, poverty and urban space remains limited (Gruneau, 2015).

In the SfD literature, Scherer et al. (2016) offer one of the most significant considerations of diffuse carceral effects in their examination of an urban SfD program in Canada. They observed that the young men in their study were "subjected to a nearly insurmountable set of obstacles associated with an urban carceral network" (Scherer et al., 2016, p. 190) and argued that some formerly incarcerated men "are still doing hard time in the 'free' market as a result of the additional punitive conditions that they are subjected to in the carceral city" (Scherer et al., 2016, p. 193). Another example of the intersections of diffuse carcerality with SfD can be seen in Midnight Basketball programs in the United States in the 1990s (Hartmann, 2001). These programs can be considered a forerunner of SfD, for although "there may not have been a direct through-line from Midnight Basketball to the emerging global [SfD] sector, but they inhabited the same conceptual and historical frame" (Darnell et al., 2019, p. 6). Midnight Basketball targeted "poor, inner-city youth and young men of color" in an attempt to reduce crime and drug use (Hartmann, 2001, p. 350). These programs not only racialized and criminalized participants, but also created spaces of surveillance and diffuse carcerality: early iterations featured prison guards as coaches and police vehicles parked prominently outside gyms, while programs typically had a significant presence of uniformed police officers at each session (Hartmann, 2001). Yet, within diffuse carceral spaces such as slums, sport—albeit, often outside of or in opposition to institutionalized SfD programs and organizations—may be part of larger efforts by residents to create local solidarity, advocate for social change, or create spaces that develop collective hope and resistance (Forde & Kota, 2016; Gruneau, 2015).

Another important characteristic of diffuse carcerality is that the effects of incarceration are "mobile and embodied" (Moran et al., 2018, p. 670)—that is, confinement can generate bodily practices and comportments, or what Caputo-Levine (2013) terms the 'carceral habitus,' that are carried with individuals after they leave the physical site. As Moran (2015, p. 35) explained, "incarceration has a particular set of prison-dependent, tell-tale inscriptions [and] the stigma prisoners may experience after release is to some extent enabled by the 'lack of fit' between these inscriptions and the circumstances of release." This revelation has implications for sport practices within and beyond carceral spaces. For example, in a consideration of the spatial dynamics of yoga practice during and after incarceration, Norman (2019) identified a potential incompatibility between former prisoners' 'carceral habitus' and the (racialized and classed) spaces of private yoga studios where they might seek to practice upon their release. More positively, research on Stride Circles—communities of volunteers and incarcerated women formed through weekly leisure nights at a prison in Ontario, Canada—found that the post-release continuity of the Circles enabled former prisoners to navigate enduring carceral effects, such as social isolation, difficulty adjusting to life on the 'outside,' and stigma (Fortune, Thompson, Pedlar, & Yuen, 2010).

In the case of SfD, these insights raise questions about how sport spaces are constructed in ways that might create or exacerbate social marginalization. For example, understanding how immersion in carceral spaces or exposure to diffuse forms of carcerality can inscribe the body in ways that are stigmatizing in other contexts (Moran, 2015) could enable more nuanced critiques of various SfD or sport and social inclusion initiatives.

Indeed, many sport interventions operate from a 'deficit discourse,' "which positions 'at-risk' youth, refugees, immigrants or the poor as fundamentally lacking in skills, abilities or motivations" (Darnell et al., 2018, p. 6; see also Nols et al., 2017; Spaaij, 2011). In such a context, how might the sport participation of refugees and asylum seekers, many of whom have extensive experience living in carceral spaces such as camps or detention centres (e.g., Spaaij, 2011; Spaaij et al., 2019), be affected by their embodied experience of involuntary confinement? And how might this carceral habitus interact with the 'football habitus,' or other sport, which has been shown to facilitate social interaction and engagement by asylum seekers in sport-based social inclusion programs (Dukic et al., 2017)? Similar questions might be asked of SfD interventions aimed at reintegrating child soldiers (e.g., Dyck, 2011; Kath & van Buuren, 2013) who carry with them into sport spaces the embodied experiences of immersion in carceral (para)military cultures from a young age.

Another pertinent line of inquiry relates to SfD or sport-based social inclusion programs geared at urban (often racialized) youth who are criminalized in various ways (e.g., Bustad & Andrews, 2017; Hartmann, 2001; Scherer et al., 2016). Indeed, Scherer et al. (2016) highlighted how some participants at an inner city SfD program experienced and embodied diffuse effects of past confinement through limited employment prospects and social stigma; and Bustad and Andrews' (2017) analysis of an American Police Athletic League demonstrated how sport-based social inclusion efforts can be used to attempt to control poor, racialized youth in a broader context of neoliberal carcerality. Conversely, the fact that leisure may provide a site for developing intentional communities that endure beyond the period of incarceration (Fortune et al., 2010) opens up intriguing possibilities for combatting the detrimental impacts of diffuse carcerality through SfD programs. In either case, such insights are crucial for better understanding the diverse experiences of SfD participants in order to "connect everyday lives to the broader contexts of sport, development and [SfD]…[and] developing an understanding of the complexities of [SfD]" (Darnell et al., 2018, p. 11). Developing deeper theoretical connections along these lines will enhance not only the SfD literature, but also the significant body of research on sport and social inclusion.

5. Conclusion

Scholars have increasingly argued that we have entered a 'carceral age' that is "characterized by unprecedented fluidity between forms of confinement, be they state-sanctioned, quasi-legal, ad-hoc, illicit, spatially fixed, mobile, embodied or imagined, and in which the scale of deployment of carceral techniques and infrastructures demands critical attention" (Moran et al., 2018, p. 668). As has been extensively discussed in this article, carcerality is manifested not only in compact sites of confinement, but in a host of diffuse ways that, to use Foucault's (1977) metaphor, 'ripple' outward from these spaces and shape experiences and relationships on a much wider scale. Coincidentally, the idea of a 'ripple effect' has also been deployed in the SfD literature to describe how social changes that occur at a local level may have broader sociopolitical effects (Sugden, 2010). These two very different applications of the same metaphor point to relevant questions arising from this article. Specifically, are there compelling reasons to build theoretical bridges between the study of sport in carceral spaces—or, perhaps, a 'carceral geography of sport'—and SfD? And, if so, are there practical considerations for SfD research that arise from this connection? It is hoped that this article has answered the first question in the affirmative. As for the latter question, this article offers a number of new lines of consideration for SfD researchers.

Firstly, a greater recognition of how some SfD programs occur in carceral spaces, including compact carceral spaces beyond the prison, will enable researchers to more fully and critically consider the array of sites at which such interventions occur. Secondly, insights from prison sport and carceral geography literature may inform more nuanced theoretical analysis of time, space, social control, and resistance in and through SfD initiatives. Thirdly, considering the diffuse "mobile and embodied" (Moran et al., 2018, p. 670) effects of carcerality in SfD spaces could provide opportunities to more deeply understand the lived experiences of participants and the ways in which sport interventions empower or further marginalize them. Finally, by highlighting the links between SfD and diverse bodies of literature, particularly those focused on prison sport and carceral geography, this article supports ongoing efforts by SfD researchers to deepen engagement with critical interdisciplinary perspectives. As the critical SfD literature continues to expand its theoretical horizons and consider a wider range of types and locations of sport interventions, there is a great deal of potential for research to grapple with the complexities of carcerality that may be present in SfD interventions in diverse global settings. It is hoped that, by providing an initial effort to link the SfD and prison sport literatures and critically analyzing them in light of theoretical developments in carceral geography, this article has provided a platform upon which future research can advance.

Acknowledgments

This research was supported by a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and Michael Dao for his thoughtful feedback on a draft of this manuscript.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

References

Andrews, G. J. (2017). From post-game to play-by-play: Animating sports movement-space. *Progress in Human Geography*, *41*(6), 766–794.

Andrews, J. P., & Andrews, G. J. (2003). Life in a secure unit: The rehabilitation of young people through the use of sport. *Social Science & Medicine*, *56*(3), 531–550.

Bale, J. (1993). The spatial development of the modern stadium. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *28*(2/3), 121–133.

Bustad, J. J., & Andrews, D. L. (2017). Policing the void: Recreation, social inclusion and the Baltimore Police Athletic League. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 241–249.

Caputo-Levine, D. D. (2013). The yard face: The contributions of inmate interpersonal violence to the carceral habitus. *Ethnography*, *14(*2), 165–185.

Chawansky, M., & Hayhurst, L. M. (2015). Girls, international development and the politics of sport: Introduction. *Sport in Society*, *18*(8), 877–881.

Coyle, A., & Fair, H. (2018). *A human rights approach to prison management: Handbook for prison staff*. London: University of London.

Dao, M., & Smith, T. (2019). The capability approach as a conceptual bridge for theory-practice in Sport-for-Development. *Journal of Global Sport Management*. https://doi.org/10.1080/24704067.2019.1703117

Darnell, S. (2012). *Sport for development and peace: A critical sociology*. London: Bloomsbury.

Darnell, S. C., Chawansky, M., Marchesseault, D., Holmes, M., & Hayhurst, L. (2018). The state of play: Critical sociological insights into recent 'sport for development and peace' research. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *53*(2), 133–151.

Darnell, S. C., & Dao, M. (2017). Considering sport for development and peace through the capabilities approach. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, *2*(1), 23–36.

Darnell, S. C., Field, R., & Kidd, B. (2019). *The history and politics of sport-for-development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Donnelly, P., Atkinson, M., Boyle, S., & Szto, C. (2011). Sport for development and peace: A public sociology perspective. *Third World Quarterly*, *32*(3), 589–601.

Dukic, D., McDonald, B., & Spaaij, R. (2017). Being able to play: Experiences of social inclusion and exclusion within a football team of people seeking asylum. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 101–110.

Dyck, C. B. (2011). Football and post-war reintegration: Exploring the role of sport in DDR processes in Sierra Leone. *Third World Quarterly*, *32*(3), 395–415.

Ellis, R. (2013). Asylums and sport: Participation, isolation and the role of cricket in the treatment of the insane. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *30*(1), 83–101.

Fishwick, E., & Wearing, M. (2017). 'Unruly mobilities' in the tracking of young offenders and criminality: Understanding diversionary programs as carceral space. In J. Turner & K. Peters (Eds.), *Carceral mobilities: Interrogating movement in incarceration* (pp. 44–66). New York, NY: Routledge.

Forde, S. D. (2015). Fear and loathing in Lesotho: An autoethno*graphic* analysis of sport for development and peace. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *50*(8), 958–973.

Forde, S. D., & Kota, A. (2016). Football as a terrain of hope and struggle: Beginning a dialogue on social change, hope and building a better world through sport. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *8*(5), 444–455.

Forde, S. D., Waldman, D., Hayhurst, L., & Frisby, W. (2017). Sport, development and social change. In M. L. Silk, D. Andrews, & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of physical cultural studies* (pp. 568–579). New York, NY: Routledge.

Forsyth, J. (2013). Bodies of meaning: Sport and games at Canadian residential schools. In J. Forsyth & A. R. Giles (Eds.), *Aboriginal peoples and sport in Canada: Historical foundations and contemporary issues* (pp. 15–34). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Fortune, D., Thompson, J., Pedlar, A., & Yuen, F. (2010). Social justice and women leaving prison: Beyond punishment and exclusion. *Contemporary Justice Review*, *13*(1), 19–33.

Fortune, D., & Whyte, C. (2011). Re-imagining institutional spaces: The communitizing potential of leisure. *Leisure/Loisir*, *35*(1), 19–35.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Fusco, C. (2007). 'Healthification' and the promises of urban space: A textual analysis of place, activity, youth (PLAY-ing) in the city. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *42*(1), 43–63.

Gacek, J. (2017). 'Doing time' differently: Imaginative mobilities to/from inmates' inner/outer spaces. In J. Turner & K. Peters (Eds.), *Carceral mobilities: Interrogating movement in incarceration* (pp. 73–84). New York, NY: Routledge.

Gallant, D., Sherry, E., & Nicholson, M. (2015). Recreation or rehabilitation? Managing sport for development programs with prison populations. *Sport Management Review*, *18*(1), 45–56.

Gill, N., Conlon, D., Moran, D., & Burridge, A. (2018). Carceral circuitry: New directions in carceral geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, *42*(2), 183–204.

Giulianotti, R. (2011). Sport, transnational peacemaking, and global civil society: Exploring the reflective discourses of "sport, development, and peace" project officials. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *35*(1), 50–71.

Global Detention Project. (2019). *Global detention project annual report 2018*. Geneva: Global Detention Project.

Gruneau, R. (2015). Sport, development and the chal-

lenge of slums. In R. Field (Ed.), *Playing for change: The continuing struggle for sport and recreation* (pp. 33–64). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hartmann, D. (2001). Notes on midnight basketball and the cultural politics of recreation, race, and at-risk urban youth. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *25*(4), 339–371.

Hayhurst, L. M. (2016). Sport for development and peace: A call for transnational, multi-sited, postcolonial feminist research. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise & Health*, *8*(5), 424–443.

Hayhurst, L. M., & Giles, A. (2013). Private and moral authority, self-determination, and the domestic transfer objective: Foundations for understanding sport for development and peace in Aboriginal communities in Canada. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *30*(4), 504–519.

Joseph, J. (2015). Physical culture and alternative rehabilitation: Qualitative insights from a martial arts intervention program. In W. Crichlow & J. Joseph (Eds.), *Alternative offender rehabilitation and social justice: Arts and physical engagement in criminal justice and community settings* (pp. 55–77). New York, NY: Palgrave.

Kath, E., & van Buuren, N. G. (2013). Soldados nunca mais: Child soldiers, football and social change in Rio de Janeiro's favelas. In N. Schulenkorf & D. Adair (Eds.), *Global sport-for-development: Critical perspectives* (pp. 194–215). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martinez-Merino, N., Martos-García, D., Lozano-Sufrategui, L., Martín-González, N., & Usabiaga, O. (2019). Frictions, cracks and micro-resistances: Physical activity and sport as strategies to dignify imprisoned women. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *11*(2), 217–230.

Martos-García, D., Devís-Devís, J., & Sparkes, A. C. (2009). Sport and physical activity in a high security Spanish prison: An ethnographic study of multiple meanings. *Sport, Education and Society*, *14*(1), 77–96.

McGee, D., & Pelham, J. (2018). Politics at play: Locating human rights, refugees and grassroots humanitarianism in the Calais Jungle. *Leisure Studies*, *37*(1), 22–35.

Meek, R. (2014). *Sport in prison: Exploring the role of physical activity in correctional settings*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Meek, R., & Lewis, G. (2014). The impact of a sports initiative for young men in prison: Staff and participant perspectives. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *38*(2), 95–123.

Moran, D. (2012). "Doing time" in carceral space: Timespace and carceral geography. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *94*(4), 305–316.

Moran, D. (2015). *Carceral geography: Spaces and practices of incarceration*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Moran, D., Turner, J., & Schliehe, A. K. (2018). Conceptualizing the carceral in carceral geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, *42*(5), 666–686.

Mullan, M. L. (1999). Sport, ethnicity and the reconstruction of the self: Baseball in America's internment camps. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *16*(1), 1–21.

Nols, Z., Haudenhuyse, R., & Theeboom, M. (2017). Urban sport-for-development initiatives and young people in socially vulnerable situations: Investigating the 'deficit model.' *Social Inclusion*, *5*(2), 210–222.

Norman, M. (2015). Prison yoga as a correctional alternative? Physical culture, rehabilitation, and social control in Canadian prisons. In W. Crichlow & J. Joseph (Eds.), *Alternative offender rehabilitation and social justice: Arts and physical engagement in criminal justice and community settings* (pp. 78–98). New York, NY: Palgrave.

Norman, M. (2017). Sport in the underlife of a total institution: Social control and resistance in Canadian prisons. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *52*(5), 598–614.

Norman, M. (2018a). Physical activity in prisons. In J. Piggin, L. Mansfield, & M. Weed (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of physical activity policy and practice* (pp. 342–355). New York, NY: Routledge.

Norman, M. (2018b). Researching sport in a 'total institution': Reflections on research barriers and methodological adaptations in a study of prison physical culture. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise & Health*, *10*(1), 17–31.

Norman, M. (2019). Transforming space? Spatial implications of yoga in prisons and other carceral sites. *Race & Yoga*, *4*(1), 1–16.

Norman, M., & Andrews, G. J. (2019). The folding of sport space into carceral space: On the making of prisoners' experiences and lives. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, *63*(3), 453–465.

Norman, M., Ricciardelli, R., & Sonoda, J. (2020). *Sport and youth incarceration: A scoping review*. Manuscript in preparation.

Oxford, S., & Spaaij, R. (2017). Critical pedagogy and power relations in sport for development and peace: Lessons from Colombia. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, *2*(1), 102–116.

Philo, C. (2012). Security of geography/geography of security. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *37*(1), 1–7.

Sabo, D. (2001). Doing time, doing masculinity: Sports and prison. In D. Sabo, T.A. Kupers, & W. London (Eds.), *Prison masculinities* (pp. 61–66). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Scherer, J., Koch, J., & Holt, N. L. (2016). The uses of an inner-city sport-for-development program: Dispatches from the (real) creative class. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *33*(3), 185–198.

Schulenkorf, N., Sherry, E., & Rowe, K. (2016). Sport for development: An integrated literature review. *Journal of Sport Management*, *30*(1), 22–39.

Spaaij, R. (2011). *Sport and social mobility: Crossing boundaries*. London: Routledge.

Spaaij, R., Broerse, J., Oxford, S., Luguetti, C., McLach-

lan, F., McDonald, B., . . . Pankowiak, A. (2019). Sport, refugees, and forced migration: A critical review of the literature. *Frontiers in Sports and Active Living*, *1*(47). https://doi.org/10.3389/fspor.2019.00047

Sugden, J. (2010). Critical left-realism and sport interventions in divided societies. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *45*(3), 258–272.

Te Hiwi, B., & Forsyth, J. (2017). "A rink at this school is almost as essential as a classroom": Hockey and discipline at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1945–1951. *Canadian Journal of History*, *52*(1), 80–108.

UNHCR. (2018). Refugee facts. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*. Retrieved from https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/camps

van Ingen, C. (2004). Therapeutic landscapes and the regulated body in the Toronto Front Runners. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *21*(3), 253–269.

Wahidin, A. (2006). Time and the prison experience. *Sociological Research Online*, *11*(1), 1–10.

Walmsley, R. (2017). *World female imprisonment list* (4th ed.). London: International Centre for Prison Studies.

Walmsley, R. (2018). *World prison population list* (12th ed.). London: International Centre for Prison Studies.

Willis, O. (2000). Sport and development: The significance of Mathare Youth Sports Association. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, *21*(3), 825–849.

Yuen, F., Arai, S., & Fortune, D. (2012). Community (dis)connection through leisure for women in prison. *Leisure Sciences*, *34*(4), 281–297.

About the Author

Mark Norman is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Health, Aging & Society at McMaster University, Canada. He holds a PhD in Exercise Sciences (University of Toronto) and a master's degree in International Studies (Simon Fraser University). His primary area of research is focused on sport, physical culture, and incarceration. He is currently leading a project on sport and recreation in youth custody in Ontario, Canada, which is supported in part by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

COGITATIO

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 197–208
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2755

Article

Exploring the Contested Notion of Social Inclusion and Gender Inclusivity within eSport Spaces

Emily Jane Hayday * and Holly Collison

Institute for Sport Business, Loughborough University London, London, E20 3BS, UK; E-Mails: e.hayday@lboro.ac.uk (E.J.H.), h.collison@lboro.ac.uk (H.C.)

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 31 December 2019 | Accepted: 12 May 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract

With an emphasis on virtual engagement, creativity, and diverse competitive platforms, eSport is being explored as a new activity to achieve development outcomes within the Sport for Development (SfD) movement (Kidd, 2008). Research has shown the potential of eSport to provide opportunities for social interaction, bonding, and building social capital (Trepte, Reinecke, & Juechems, 2012). This exploratory research, conducted in 2019, examines the current eSport landscape and utility of eSport as a space to enact social inclusion and more specifically, in-line with SfD agendas and goals, positive experiences for women and girls. Three interactive focus groups were conducted in the UK and USA (N = 65) involving key stakeholders, including game publishers, SfD organisations, eSport teams, tournament organisers, and gamers. Supplementary interviews (N = 16) were conducted to allow for richer accounts and perspectives to be examined. Findings exposed the contested notion of social inclusion within online gaming communities as evidenced by the dominant masculine dynamics of digital spaces. Consistently those engaged in eSport claimed social inclusion and inclusivity were the most significant features and offering to the SfD movement. Yet, simultaneously the same voices exposed toxicity in the form of gender inequality and discrimination as the challenge embedded within eSport among its rapidly growing participants and spectators. This article empirically examines gender dynamics within eSport spaces, using Bailey's social inclusion theory and Lefebvre's spatial theory, and critically presents new opportunities to the field of SfD.

Keywords

communities; eSport; gaming; gender; social inclusion; sport for development; toxicity

Issue

This article is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

1.1. Virtual Spaces and the Business of eSport

eSport originated in Stanford University's Artificial Intelligence Laboratory in 1972 as students gathered to play Spacewar (Li, 2016). eSport has now become a thriving industry, with revenues reaching $1.1 billion in 2019 (Pannekeet, 2019), and international contests attended and viewed by millions globally. The primary user groups engaging and captivated by eSport, both as participants and spectators, tend to be adolescents and young people (Hamari & Sjöblom, 2017). 'eSport' is used as an overarching term encompassing numerous eSport genres and is often referred to by synonyms such as gaming, electronic sports, virtual sports, and cyber sports (Jenny, Manning, Keiper, & Olrich, 2016). eSport takes many forms including first person shooter games (i.e., Counter-Strike), fighting games (i.e., StreetFighter IV), multiplayer online battle arena games (i.e., League of Legends), real-

time strategy games (i.e., StarCraftII), and sport-based video games (i.e., FIFA), all of which are owned and managed by the game developers and publishers (Funk, Pizzo, & Baker, 2018). eSport's (largely digital) potential for inclusion (dos Santos, Moreira, Coutinho, & Maia, 2018) lies in its virtual accessibility through online streaming platforms, like Twitch, which have been instrumental in the development, engagement, and global reach of eSport.

When examining virtual spaces, it is critical to consider the, often concealed, gender dynamics to understand what influence they may have on access, engagement, and participation. Within Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs; e.g., e-commerce, computer games, emails, and the Internet), there is a known global digital gender divide, with women having lower engagement with ICTs compared to their male counterparts (Huyer & Sikoska, 2003; Wagg, Cooke, & Simeonova, 2019). Gender specific social and structural barriers, such as education and cultural practices, influence access and have led to this disparity. Importantly for the scope of this article, this divide has resulted in specific gendered behaviours and practices affecting virtual spaces. Accordingly, it is via empirical analysis that we explore this gendered discourse within digital gaming environments.

Hypermasculinity embedded in sporting contexts is not a new narrative. Coavoux (2019) notes the hegemonic nature of playing video games forms part of the gendered culture of adolescence reinforcing masculine domination. The opportunities for males are more prevalent as "for boys, games fit into normal forms of sociability" (Coavoux, 2019, p. 3). This has resulted in gendered differences in gaming patterns (Amazan-Hall et al., 2018; Crawford, 2005; Vossen, 2018). Therefore, research suggests that women continue to face stigmatisation, discrimination, and entry barriers into new virtual sporting paradigms and gaming networks. Despite scholars observing the rise and, in some cases equal numbers of females within gaming environments, the disparity of experience and treatment reveals contested inclusion outcomes (Paaßen, Morgenroth, & Stratemeyer, 2017; Royse, Lee, Undrahbuyan, Hopson, & Consalvo, 2007). Consequently, the 'male gamer stereotype' and 'cultural inaccessibility' of eSport has led to discrimination and toxic practices towards females (Crawford, 2005; Mortensen, 2018; Paaßen et al., 2017; Vossen, 2018). This emergence of toxicity and gendered practices concealed within eSport frames the context of this article.

1.2. Toxicity in Virtual Spaces

Online communities and platforms serve many opportunities to exercise prosocial attitudes and behaviours. Märtens, Shen, Losup, and Kuipers (2015, p. 2) claim that "communication channels might be abused to harass and verbally assault other players" and define toxicity as the use of profane language by one player to insult or humiliate a different player. Further research suggests that online gaming toxicity and hostility against marginal groups does not discriminate and is evident across gaming platforms. Kishonna Gray's (2014) ethnography of the Xbox Live gaming community, for example, describes sustained cultures of gendered and racially motivated harassment directed at women of colour who opt to communicate with teammates via voice chat. According to the Scholars Strategy Network, "problems are worsened by gaming community leaders who claim that gender-based harassment is a 'non-issue' and dismiss their responsibility for fostering rape cultures," and warns that "unless hostile online behaviours are reduced, vulnerable people, marginalised groups, and the public generally will all be further harmed" (Miller, 2019).

This article empirically exposes the challenges associated with gendered norms and practices present within eSport, whilst exploring the utility and potential for eSport to support Sport for Development (SfD) agendas. SfD refers to the intentional use of sport as a mechanism to achieve non-sport development goals. Actors and stakeholders in sport, academia, the private sector, non-profit and non-governmental organisations, government agencies and international organisations, among others, look to use sport's potential as a tool to serve personal, community, national, and international development objectives (Sportanddev.org, 2019). A critical component of the SfD movement centres on utilising sport to achieve the 2017 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which outline the 17 priority areas such as peace and security, reducing inequalities, health, and education (United Nations, 2019). Such goals provide leveraging opportunities and the legitimisation of sport beyond its traditional spaces. Here, the eSport industry has been recognised as a potentially innovative addition to the catalogue of mainstream sport offerings within SfD programming (Heere, 2018; Oillaux, 2018). However, underneath the veil of technology, little is understood about the quality of experience, that often young, participants encounter, especially women and girls. It is this confrontation of inclusion versus quality of experience that frames the methodological approach and theoretical frameworks applied in this article.

1.3. Selling eSport to Outsiders?

Due to the various forms eSport can take, alongside the multiple platforms and playing contexts, constructing a universally accepted definition is complex. Moreover, there is limited consensus on how to define and classify eSport (Wagner, 2006). The most comprehensive definition was provided by Wagner (2006, p. 2) who defines eSport as "an area of sport activities in which people develop and train mental or physical abilities in the use of information and communication technologies." Yet, this presents a significant challenge as before eSport can be utilised or considered in new spaces (such as SfD) it needs to be further understood and acknowledged.

The potential of eSport to contribute to the SfD movement and specific SDGs is slowly being realised. In December 2018, at the seventh Olympic Summit held in Lausanne, Switzerland, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) led discussions about the rapid development of eSports and the current involvement of various Olympic stakeholders. The Summit agreed that "the Olympic Movement should not ignore its growth, particularly because of its popularity among young generations around the world" (IOC, 2018). The recognition by the IOC of eSport as a rapidly growing industry has two consequences. Firstly, it gives credibility to a sport that is building mainstream capital, and secondly provides potential new opportunities for both the Olympic Movement and SfD.

eSport is still evolving as an industry and, for many external stakeholders within mainstream sport, academia and the SfD sector for example, there is a lack of knowledge and acceptance (dos Santos et al., 2018; IOC, 2018). Concerns have specifically been noted regarding the commercially driven nature of the industry compared to traditional sports' orientation as value-driven (IOC, 2018). The coming together of sport (in this case eSport) and the corporate business sector can be a beneficial, yet challenging, partnership. As we explore, this has consequences for participants when considering how eSport has exponentially grown (in both business capital and participation) in the absence of universal governance structures, and consequences for behaviours that may cause harm. This lack of regulation may hamper eSports acceptance as a credible social inclusion platform as the potential for eSport to be envisioned as an unbounded 'sport for all' tool may be questioned. Evidence suggests that digital and social inclusion, as well as gender inclusivity, are currently fragile within the eSport space.

1.4. Social Inclusion

Warschauer (2004) claims the concept of social inclusion well reflects imperatives of the current information era in which issues of identity, language, social participation, community, and civil society are performed and negotiated. The multiple conceptual framings and historical considerations of 'inclusion' goes beyond the scope of this article. However, in developing the empirical framework of this research, the following influences and definitions shaped the nuanced connections made between social inclusion and the eSport industry. In political and educational spheres inclusion is about the participation of all children and people and the removal of exclusionary practice (Armstrong, 2003). Participation lends itself as the key component to the inclusion paradigm. Yet, access and alienation are also the key principles of social 'exclusion' (Collins, 2003). Quality of experience and of inclusion outcomes must therefore position a host of social justice, equality, ethno-linguistic, gender, and socio-economic factors (Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler, & Bereded-Samuel, 2010). It is the aforementioned recognition of 'quality' as an indicator for inclusion that drives this article's empirical analysis.

From the perspective of sport organisations, governance, and participation, social inclusion is about fairness, and changing the structure of sport to ensure that it becomes equally accessible to all members of society (Sport England, 2001). This article recognises this importance of access and participation, though centres the analysis and critique of social inclusion outcomes related to gender inclusivity within eSport by using Bailey's (2005) framework to map the quality of experience. 'Quality' here is important and will be empirically analysed through the lens of social connectivity or, as Bailey (2005) refers, spatial distances, as well as feelings of acceptance and belonging, equal opportunities, and empowerment. The tension, often seen in sport and SfD, is the misnomer between equal access and inclusion. Therefore, Bailey (2005) and Lefebvre's (1991a) theoretical accounts allow the empirical findings to investigate the quality of inclusion in relation to gender.

Gender inclusivity and equality is a foundational development objective embedded in global social inclusion agendas. Indeed, this is core to the SDGs focus on empowering all women and girls and eliminating gender-based discrimination (United Nations, 2019). Throughout this article we focus our attention on 'gender inclusivity.' Specifically, examination of gender dynamics within eSport spaces and related gendered experiences of equal participation, opportunities, and treatment. Often, especially in the context of SfD, inclusion narratives are supported by the goal of empowerment. Again, this indicates that access and participation is not a true reflection of development, unless a social outcome is accompanied by the act of engagement. This illustrates the importance of examining the 'quality' of experience as a unit of analysis to investigate gender inclusion and, more specifically, the experience of girls and women. The notion of social inclusion highlights that the rights of all should be equally invested in and promoted, and it is the action (or quality of experience) of gendered inclusion dynamics that are contested within this article.

Applying Bailey's (2005) conceptual model of social inclusion and Lefebvre's (1991a) conceptualisation of space as a theoretical grounding, we suggest that social inclusion in relation to gender is fractious and contentious within eSport, in part due to the multiple and competing agendas of the industry.

2. Theoretical Framework

Bailey's (2005) conceptual model of social inclusion can be understood and applied through a group of social, emotional, economic, and cultural characteristics that contribute to the process of cultivating and experiencing social inclusion. Drawing upon the work of Donnelly (1996), Freiler (2001) and Bailey (2005, p. 76), we apply the connected dimensions of social inclusion:

1) Spatial: Social inclusion relates to the proximity and the closing of social and economic distances;

2) Relational: Social inclusion is defined in terms of a sense of belonging and acceptance;

3) Functional: Social inclusion relates to the enhancement of knowledge, skills and understanding;

4) Power: Social inclusion assumes a change in the locus of control.

The fundamental principles of SfD align with Bailey's (2005) social inclusion framework, which broadly aims to: bring people together from diverse economic and social backgrounds through a shared activity or interest which is intrinsically valuable (spatial); create or incite a sense of belonging and acceptance of others, irrespective of differences (relational); offer opportunities for the enhancement and development of skills, knowledge, and competencies (functional); and increase social networks, civic pride, and community cohesion to enhance community capital (power). These four components construct quality indicators or sites of inclusion that require exploration to question gendered dynamics of eSport participation.

In applying Bailey's (2005) framework of social inclusion, we also consider a deeper exploration of the inter-sectoral relationship between the commercial business entities and objectives of the eSport industry and how this impacts the quality of inclusivity in relation to gender. In doing so, we apply a philosophical analysis of space, based on the work of Henri Lefebvre and colleagues (Lefebvre, 1991a, 1991b, 2003; Lefebvre & Réguiler, 1986/2004; Sheilds, 1999), as a frame through which the complex foundations and characteristics of this unique and largely under researched space may be deconstructed. Lefebvre's work surpasses conventional conceptualisations of space. First and foremost, space can be understood in philosophical terms (Lefebvre, 1991a; Lefebvre & Réguiler, 1986/2004) and, in this context, takes the form of ideas, opinions, discourses, and imagination. Such spatial analysis requires the establishment of social concepts (i.e., interaction, identity), metaphysical constructs (i.e., beliefs, values), alongside understanding power relations and spatial (re)production. It is these social concepts that connect the conceptualisation of space with Bailey's (2005) inclusion framework and significantly advance previous applications by confronting and acknowledging spatial and relational dynamics with social inclusion indicators. Often seen as stagnant or passive, the conditions that both connect and disrupt the quality of experience are challenged through the intersection of Lefebvre's (1991a) triad of spatial terms and Bailey's (2005) social inclusion indicators. Lefebvre's (1991a) three spatial conceptualisations are:

1) The First Space: Thought is seen as an important philosophical precondition; a metaphysical starting point for understanding spatial construction. These ideological framings of a space could be evidenced (or 'felt') in the social dissemination of messages, ethics, and beliefs. In this case, the coming together of eSport participants, consumers, and key stakeholders through collective thought and interest.

2) The Second Space: With thought comes the production space; the combination of tangible institutions and structures, and their connections and relationships to individuals, communities and organisations that form around thought commonalities. eSport production involves multiple and diverse stakeholders, all of whom appear to share (to varying degrees) imperatives, and form production relations, with respect to increasing eSport's popular appeal, reach, and potential.

3) Third Space: Beyond production, we take interest in eSport as an action space; in which processes of thought and production affect individual and collective identity and behaviours. Action comprises of participants interacting, establishing groups to belong and enacting practices within eSport spaces.

Essentially, through Lefebvre's (1991a) thought, production, and action schema, a critical analysis of eSport can be undertaken. This analysis illustrates internal, external, and inter-sectoral considerations as current structures and conditions threaten social inclusion, feed discriminatory cultures affecting women participants, and disrupt the lack of uptake by the SfD sector. To this conceptualisation, Bailey's (2005) framework provides four key quality indicators (spatial, relational, functional, and power) as means to empirically explore the gendered behaviours, attitudes, and actions which have manifested in each phase of eSports' participatory evolution. It is this intersection of spatial analysis and inclusion indicators that allows for this nuanced approach to exploring gender dynamics, namely by providing a framework which examines the philosophical notion of eSport spaces, its social construction, and how this influences the quality of inclusion experienced by its participants.

3. eSport, Sport Management, and the SfD Sector

In contrast to other sports, commercial business entities, and stakeholders, eSport has not been widely embraced or accepted by the global SfD movement or by those contributing to SfD scholarly and policy level discourse. Importantly, however, it should be noted that SfD practitioners are starting to cautiously consider eSport as a viable sport intervention to support social development outcomes (Kids in the Game, 2019; Oillaux, 2018). In Schulenkorf, Sherry, and Rowe's (2017) extensive review of SfD research undertaken between 2000–2015, for instance, all virtual forms of sport (video games)

were excluded. Such exclusion highlighted the lack of acceptance, implementation, and inter-sectional consideration between these two fields.

Since Schulenkorf et al.'s (2017) review advancements have been made, not only in the level of scholarship, but also in the continued development and professionalisation of eSport. Sport management has been particularly active in producing new forms of academic discourse around eSport (Cunningham et al., 2018; Funk et al., 2018; Heere, 2018), and the potential of eSport has been recognised, but not without contestation. With numerous perspectives globally, there remains a lack of consensus regarding eSport's place within the sporting movement (British eSports Association, 2017; Wagner, 2006). This has legal, policy, and litigation implications for sport business (Holden, Kaburakis, & Rodenberg, 2017), which impacts eSport's access into traditional sporting frameworks and the SfD sector. This lack of clarity around eSport's status and position limits our understanding of how appropriate eSport might be as a tool to promote social inclusion and gender inclusivity.

4. Method

This exploratory research consisted of two main phases whereby three focus groups were followed by semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2012). Drawing on Scholz' (2019) work, we identified primary and secondary eSport stakeholders, including national eSport federations, trade unions, game publishers, teams and gamers, tournament organisers, and media entities. Additionally, SfD organisations and practitioners (example stakeholders outlined in Section 1.2) who plan to or were using eSport interventions as part of their programming, were invited to attend the focus groups. All stakeholders were invited to participate via email. Snowball sampling was then utilised to extend participant networks (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004). Data collection was undertaken in 2019 (April to July) and included 81 participants (focus groups, n = 28, n = 20, n = 17; interviews, N = 16). Diverse stakeholder representation was achieved (see Tables 1 and 2) and, critically, female participation was reflective of industry trends (Taylor, 2020; Women in Games, 2018).

The methodological approach to data collection required utilising multiple tools to extract the level of information needed to apply Lefebvre's (1991a) conceptualisation of space and Bailey's (2005) inclusion indicators to our analysis. Therefore, within the focus groups, participants responded to pre-determined statements focused on the notion of space, gendered behaviours, and social inclusion, which encouraged debate and dialogue (Carey & Asbury, 2012). Other activities included the completion of persona templates where participants reflected on their experiences and any challenges faced. Alongside these organised data collection activities, expert speakers provided multiple perspectives on the industry that provoked group discussions.

Focus groups lasted between three and three and a half hours, one was hosted in the UK, with a further two hosted in the USA. These two international contexts were chosen due to the national popularity of eSport, as well as their positioning close to some of the sector's most significant stakeholders. Focus group worksheets, recordings, and researcher reflections were used to determine key thematic areas, which were subsequently used to guide the semi-structured interviews. Themes included: current industry practices; notions of belonging and community ideals; unequal participation, toxic and male dominated environments; and eSport's potential to inhibit or encourage socially inclusive practices. Interviews enriched understanding gained through the focus groups, and typically lasted between 25–60 minutes and were primarily conducted via Skype (Hanna, 2012). All data sources were subsequently transcribed verbatim and analysed. Analysis was guided by the theoretical framework drawing from the work of Bailey (2005) and Lefebvre (1991a). Open and axial coding (Bryman, 2012) was undertaken independently by the researchers to develop initial codes. Codes were then discussed and confirmed by both members of the research team to confirm agreement and validity. Pseudonyms were provided for interviewees and focus groups to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

From a methodological standpoint, the thematic focus around inclusion exposed and focused discussions around toxicity which defined much of the data in relation to gender. This focus led to deeper analysis of gender discrimination and how this manifested within eSport spaces. The paradox between the ideological belief in eSport, and the quality of experience encountered by women, girls, and male observers to such practices, made the SfD element of the research complex and multifaceted. It was these contestations and critiques of experience by eSport participants that allowed for a rich theoretical debate.

5. Discussion

Through Lefebvre's (1991a) and Bailey's (2005) theoretical framework, we examined the complexity of the space and the realities of gender inclusivity within eSport. The ideological belief (thought space) is that eSport has belonging and community at its core and here lies the potential for SfD. Yet, the fractured industry, fuelled by a lack of governance (production space) had resulted in unequal participation and hypermasculine, sexualised environments encased in tribal dynamics, leading these digital gaming environments (action space) to subsequently enact toxic and discriminatory behaviours towards females.

5.1. Competing Teams? Business vs Sport

The origins of eSport are rooted in the notion of community, and all participants identified eSport as a space to

Table 1. Focus group characteristics.

Focus Group	Gender	Sector	Titles/Games Mentioned (Competing & Spectating)
1 London (N = 28)	M = 75% (n = 21) F = 25% (n = 7)	46%—eSport Industry (n = 13): • eSport Organisations (trade union, private, non-profit, suppliers, sponsors) = 6 • eSport Leagues = 3 • eSport Team Managers = 3 • Media = 1 29%—Gamers-University Students (n = 8): • Amateur = 7 • Semi-Professional = 1 25%—SfD (n = 7): • Charitable Foundation = 4 • International Charity = 1 • SfD Researchers = 2	Call of Duty FIFA CounterStrike: Global Offensive Fortnite Overwatch League of Legends RPGs strategy games (i.e., Final Fantasy Tactics) Rocket League
2 USA (N = 20)	M = 75% (n = 15) F = 25% (n = 5)	65%—eSport Industry (n = 13): • Game Publisher = 3 • Live Streaming Platform = 1 • eSport Organisations (trade union, private, non-profit, suppliers, sponsors) = 5 • eSport Team Managers = 1 • Collegiate eSport Director = 3 15%—Gamers-University Students (n = 3): • Amateur = 3 20%—SfD (n = 4): • Charitable Foundation = 2 • Mental Health Non-Profit = 1 • Sports Association = 1	Rocket League Dota 2 Super Smash Bros League of Legends Overwatch Rainbow Six Siege NBA 2K Madden Playerunknown's Battlegrounds League of Legends Fortnite StarCraft 2 World of Warcraft Hearthstone Neverwinter
3 USA (N = 17)	M = 65% (n = 11) F = 35% (n = 6)	88%—Gamers-University Students (n = 15): • Amateur = 10 • Collegiate Team = 4 • Professional = 1 12%—SfD (n = 2): • Non-Profit = 1 • Sports Association = 1	League of Legends Overwatch First Person Shooter (i.e., Call of Duty) Fortnite Apex Legends CounterStrike: Global Offensive Quake Champions NBA 2K

belong (spatial and relational), as "eSports can give people a good outlet and community" (FG 3—USA). eSport's initial conception and purpose as a safe space of thought and connectivity, founded by gamers themselves, has evolved into a commercial industry. Herein reside competing agendas and new motivations which are constantly negotiated in what Lefebvre (1991a) considered the 'production' or second space. This creates a primary tension between the competing, yet interdependent, sport and non-sport business sectors. Unlike traditional sport, eSport operates through a business model based around the priority of selling games and growing a brand. As one interviewee states, "I would say there's almost no focus on that [social impact/responsibility] because there's such a focus on making money" (Interviewee 7).

The business focus and commitment to commercial growth has been welcomed by many. Nonetheless, when considered as a safe, communal space and source of connection (spatial and power), the risks associated with growth on participants has largely been ignored. This

Table 2. Characteristics of interview participants.

Interview	Gender	Sector	Titles/Games Mentioned (Competing & Spectating)
N = 16	M = 75% (n = 12) F = 25% (n = 4)	62%—eSport Industry (n = 10): • Game Publisher = 4 • eSport Organisations (trade union, private, non-profit, suppliers, sponsors) = 4 • Media = 1 • eSport Team Managers = 1 13%—Gamers (n = 2): • Amateur = 2 25%—SfD (n = 4): • Professional Sport Foundation = 1 • International Charity = 2 • Non-Profit = 1	Madden League of Legends FIFA Call of Duty Overwatch Hearthstone Fortnite

has significant consequences for eSport's ability to be recognised as a legitimate and safe tool within SfD and, more worryingly, the detrimental effects on the often young and female participants who have been exposed to the culturally inaccessibility and toxic eSport spaces (Vossen, 2018).

5.2. Thought Space: Opportunity for Inclusion and Engagement

The philosophical foundations of eSport and its communities are founded on ideals, values, and beliefs surrounding identity and a sense of belonging. Within these predominantly online spaces, participants come together through a shared interest and passion, which "is centred on the community" (Interviewee 1). This conceptual starting point, which Bailey terms spatial construction, can be understood through the notion of collective thought. The potential for eSport to create inclusive spaces, with further links to the functional construct of social inclusion (by enhancing skills and knowledge), brings enthusiasm and interest from external stakeholders within SfD. As one participant states, eSport is a "new way to attract younger audiences, links to STEM [Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths] work…can drive female engagement" (FG 1—UK). Heere (2018, p. 4) also noted eSports' potential within SfD, as in "certain cases traditional sport might no longer serve as the most effective hook, and activities such as video gaming, dance, and music might offer equally effective returns on their investment.''

This acknowledgment that eSport could provide a new opportunity to engage and attract individuals has led to the identification of multiple points of entry for SfD stakeholders, as it is possible to "reach a new target group through eSports [and] Influence the gender imbalance" (FG 1-London). eSport has the capacity to operate in the absence of traditional gender imbalances and disparity (Kim, 2017) due to the virtual format and its intrinsic and reduced focus on the 'physical' dynamics of sport. The capability of eSport to be a socially inclusive practice was noted during our research, as one participant states:

> If you look at it from a very purely physical dimension, there's not I guess, those barriers which exist, which lead to separation in traditional, you know, or mainstream sports and so it's interesting to…think about why that might have happened within eSport. (Interviewee 9)

Therefore, eSport has the potential to offer an inclusive environment that is open to all (regardless of gender, race, geographical location and, to some degree, disability and socio-economic status). The digital modality also heightens eSport's inclusive properties as the online format "makes it really simple, it reduces the barriers to entry. You can pick it up and play and it's just easier…a mainstream tool to spread to the masses" (Interviewee 7). Yet, the financial capacity of individuals to access competitions and purchase needed equipment may limit inclusion of certain groups (dos Santos et al., 2018).

Although eSport has potential to contribute to the SfD sector as a tool to enhance social inclusion, some current practices and cultures need addressing. Power imbalances exist between participants and businesses, for example, influencing the locus of control (Bailey, 2005) with "exploitative companies. Over promising and under delivering as developers control and own the space," there are instances of "sexism being more accepted, sort of…developers like supporting that culture….The communities are much more fractured than real life" (FG 3—USA).

The contest and interdependency between the commercial realities and priorities of the industry, juxtaposed against the values and beliefs that eSport provides a safe space for online communities, resulted in a fractured reality impacting the relational quality of experience. Yet, these contested realities were not encountered by all participants.

5.3. Production Space: Unequal Participation and Fractured Space

The reality of eSport experiences demonstrate splintered and disrupted spaces, with competition, exclusionary boundaries, and tribal mentalities developing between eSport games and participant groups (Xue, Newman, & Du, 2019). As one participant states: "There's very distinct separate tribes…generally split by game [and] by company too, so there's an Overwatch tribe, there's a World of Warcraft tribe…" (Interviewee 1). This serves as an exclusionary structure that antagonises the homogenous and inclusive potential of eSport by restricting, as Bailey's (2005) framework illustrates, the closing of social and economic distances between participants (spatial and relational). Tribalism, via the fractured competitive structures eSport prescribes, explicitly counters the spatial and relational dynamics many participants hold as the foundational value of their sport. This tension is also present when examining participants' awareness of gender dynamics and access to online gaming communities. As one participant claimed: "I wish there were more females involved as a girl myself" (FG 3—USA). Displays of hypermasculine behaviours and its impact were also highlighted:

> Early on, you need to really think about how to make sure that girls feel safe in this world because I know the gaming industry could probably trot out a few players and say look we have a couple of women/girls that play. I mean I'm sure if I say it 90% to 10%, male to female, I know it's close to that. I would assume that it doesn't feel like a very approachable thing for girls versus boys. (Interviewee 3)

Safety and a sense of acceptance (relational) is needed within the space for females to feel welcomed into digital environments. However, research has shown when women do compete, they are marginalised or rendered invisible (Paaßen et al., 2017). Even though there is a need to address the negative gendered practices, Neerukonda and Chaudhuri (2018) highlight that technology has the potential to be a mechanism to achieve gender equality. If we reflect broadly on SfD objectives, and the embedded principles to empower all women and girls (United Nations, 2019), we might question if eSport could contribute to help achieve these aims.

It must be remembered, nevertheless, a clear gap exists between technological usership, digital skills, eSport participation, and gender. Neerukonda and Chaudhuri's (2018) examination of Artificial Intelligence, for instance, demonstrated the reproduction of human and gender biases, noting that ICTs are often designed and created within male-dominated environments (Huyer & Sikoska, 2003). The politics of gender is also an important influence in this context due to the "global gender digital divide" where women often lack access to information and digital skills (Wagg et al., 2019, p. 1). Therefore, the resulting gender disparity in digital spaces (including eSport) may be leading to the (re)production of traditional social/gender inequalities, often through the prism of male hegemony and objectification (Coy, 2009; Sherry, Osborne, & Nicholson, 2016).

Within eSport, representations of females through avatars are often highly sexualised in nature, with female characters being eight times more likely to be wearing revealing clothing (Delamere & Shaw, 2008; Downs, & Smith, 2009; Vandenbosch, Driesmans, Trekels, & Eggermont, 2017). This highly gendered space is fuelling traditional masculine stereotypes and cultures which, in part, is being addressed and tackled by businesses at the core of the industry. One interviewee from a leading game publisher states "in our values …as a company…everything we do is very much focused on equity [and] inclusion…making everyone feel that they are equal, and that helps gender" (Interviewee 5). A further participant highlights the specific structural changes that are happening within a specific eSport title:

> We're doing a lot of things internally to make sure that we are as inclusive and diverse as we claim to be…If you look at the…diversity of the Overwatch roster, we have a female engineer on there, Tracer is an LGBT woman character; she's super empowered…..There are so many role models that they've embedded…that I think people have started to identify with and resonate with, in ways that never really could have happened if they were playing…a game [that] had another huge roster of white males or women in like skimpy garments. (Interviewee 1)

This is potentially an example of how the eSport space is being (re)produced by key stakeholders who are trying to address the gender imbalance and increase social inclusion by removing the hypersexual depictions of females (Delamere & Shaw, 2008). This is an attempt to create in-game role models that may encourage more females to participate. As Paaßen et al. (2017.p. 13) claim, the "lack of visible female role models in gaming may…be an additional obstacle which keeps female gamers from visibly performing the role of a gamer." Even with examples of industry adaption to reduce the gender-related differentiation of gaming practices, when considering the fractured nature of eSport, coupled with the importance of competition and beliefs surrounding who eSport is 'for' (relational), there are significant negative behaviours and actions evident.

5.4. Action Space: Toxicity and Negative Gender Discourses

Gender dynamics have been the focal point used to explore and contest social inclusion barriers and opportunities that are experienced and acted upon within eSport spaces. eSport has developed certain gendered norms and cultures through which women are made to feel unwelcome (Vossen, 2018). This is fuelled, in part, by the nature of eSport's competitive online environments and its participants' anonymity; essentially, the "community is still anti diversity because it can hide behind screens. Developers are [at the] centre of control and need to lead on this," as "anonymity empowers, enables, and emboldens toxic behaviour" (FG 2—USA). This has led to the proliferation of negative behaviours, displays of dominant masculine cultures, and gender inequality which has infiltrated and distorted the ideals held in the thought space.

The contested nature and outcome of the production space has led to acts of gender discrimination, which has been referred to as 'toxic gamer cultures' (Consalvo, 2012). One participant identifies "gaming has a bad reputation, especially with female audiences [and] toxic player behaviour" (FG 2—USA). By reducing acceptance and belonging (relational), as well as potential interest from females (spatial), negative gender discourses being enacted here specifically impede two of Bailey's (2005) social inclusion indicators. As "right now, it's very difficult for female gamers to enter the eSports scene," another participant noted, "…because there are so many negative stereotypes about women's competency in gaming" (FG 3—USA). Another interviewee recalls the exclusionary behaviour she was exposed to, "if you're in voice chat and you're, you know, very clearly female, people may harass you for being female in voice chat" (Interviewee 9). The culture of gender discrimination has been seen in broader video gaming through Mortensen's (2018, p. 796) research into GamerGate which identified the "protectiveness of the male space of video gaming." This defensive, hypermasculine behaviour centred around collective identity has also been seen in traditional sports, such as football, and can be likened to hooliganism (Spaaij, 2008). Notwithstanding potential, eSport in many ways suffers the same consequences as other mainstream and corporate fuelled sports enterprises despite the illusion of a new form of sporting movement and safety via virtual participation.

The toxicity and the exclusionary practices noted results in a level of concern regarding eSport's acceptance by SfD stakeholders and the mainstream sport landscape. The current behaviours paradoxically conflict with the ideological notion that eSport is a tool that can bring people together (relational). As one participant reflects:

> I hate to say I think as a community right now, we are quite hypocritical….We talk about all being diverse and from different backgrounds. Together we are gamers, but then we log on and we've become a different person. (Interviewee 16)

Lefebvre's (1991a) third space (as applied to the toxicity and gender discrimination experienced within eSport gaming spaces), demonstrates the harmful consequences of inter-sectoral power negotiations that manifest when commercial entities enter eSport spaces. Whilst online toxicity is not exclusive to eSport, the business infrastructure in which it has been sustained, and evolved from, has done little to prevent, protect, and regulate against sexism and toxicity within competitive formats and playing cultures.

6. Conclusion

By using Bailey's (2005) and Lefebvre's (1991a) conceptualisation of space and social inclusion we have been able to critically analyse and explore the structures, complexities, and realities at play within the eSport industry. More importantly, we have introduced a new framework in which to consider the quality of access and participation in relation to social inclusion. The implications of this are significant for both the consideration of eSport's insertion into new spaces (SfD and mainstream sporting platforms) and the nuanced approach to scrutinising gender dynamics. This is particularly relevant to examinations of eSport where the spatial, relational, and experiential outcomes are often blurred and distorted by the contestation between gaming values and brand loyalty versus the reality and quality of experience. In many ways, the intersection of Lefebvre (1991a) and Bailey (2005) allows the framing of social inclusion to go beyond access and participation and facilitates a deeper understanding and visibility of the concealment and manifestations of gender dynamics in eSport and potentially sport more broadly.

Although this research provided valuable insights into the gendered dynamics of online eSport spaces, this study was limited to two global contexts. Due to the relative scarcity of academic research (dos Santos et al., 2018), future studies should look to examine other international settings and diverse eSport communities to enhance understanding. Additionally, although this research focused on gender inclusivity, other priority areas relevant to social inclusion agendas such as disability, race, and social-economic status require further investigation.

More specifically, the ideological construction of the space (thought) and the potential for eSport to provide a socially inclusive environment for SfD has been examined. While clear synergies and opportunities exist, there are tensions and sites of contestation present that challenge any future partnership. Participants acknowledge the fragmented and hypermasculine nature of the industry, which is exacerbated by corporate businesses agendas, that disrupt idealised notions of community (production). Fuelled by anonymity (action), this has led to toxic behaviours and gender inequalities being created within

eSport communities. Ultimately, resulting in a contested depiction of social inclusion within the space as current practices, beliefs, and behaviours restrict eSport's advancement across spatial, relational, functional, and power components (Bailey, 2005).

Despite the above critical analysis of eSport's toxic behaviours towards women, there is no lack of desire for activism from participants who recognise the need for challenging such behaviours. As one interviewee claimed, we need to "build campaigns to promote [and] stop people being so toxic….I think teams need to come together…and tackle it" (Interviewee 15). Critically, alongside gender disparity in participation, it is paramount to acknowledge the underrepresentation of women decision makers within the eSport industry as "at the top level and working in industry, very few leaders in eSports are women" (FG 2—USA). Moreover, as with any other sector (Kalaitzi, Czabanowska, Fowler-Davis, & Brand, 2017), gender disparity is evident within eSport's organisational levels and this may affect its long-term efforts to challenge gender dynamics.

There are, however, signs of organisations and institutions advocating for diversity and inclusion enhancement (Amazan-Hall et al., 2018; AnyKey, 2019), as well as specific female participation initiatives aiming to address discrimination (GirlGamer, 2019; Women in Games, 2019). Yet, eSport is in a nascent stage of development (production phase). The current focus placed on stabilising its business models and associated legal and economic infrastructures has, significantly, halted focus towards inclusive practices, governance, and gamer welfare. We suggest this requires openness to inter-sectoral involvement to support developments around governance and regulation as the current structure appears to have limited focus on regulating eSport, with growth and consumerism outweighing the risks of marginalising participants. Critically, the ideological foundations of eSport support the SfD agenda, but in the absence of regulation, and a universal effort to enhance the quality of experience 'for all,' the blurred lines between inclusion and welfare damages eSports forecasted projection into development spaces.

Acknowledgments

This research received an internal grant from Loughborough University London's Joint Fund, and we are grateful for this funding which allowed us to conduct this research.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Amazan-Hall, K., Chen, J. J., Chiang, K., Cullen, A. L., Deppe, M., Dormitorio, E., . . . Trammell, A. (2018). Diversity and inclusion in eSports programs in higher education: Leading by example at UCI. *International Journal of Gaming and Computer-Mediated Simulations*, *10*(2), 71–80.

AnyKey. (2019). We advocate for diversity, inclusion, and equity in gaming. *AnyKey* Retrieved from https://www.anykey.org/en/about

Armstrong, F. (2003). Researching the practices and processes of policy making. In F. Armstrong (Ed.), *Spaced out: Policy, difference and the challenge of inclusive education* (pp. 1–8). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic.

Bailey, R. (2005). Evaluating the relationship between physical education, sport and social inclusion. *Educational Review*, *57*(1), 71–90.

British ESports Association. (2017). *eSports: The world of competitive gaming*. Buckinghamshire: British eSports Association. Retrieved from http://www.britisheSports.org/assets/WhatiseSportsPDFOCT17V2pdf1.pdf

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Carey, M. A., & Asbury, J. (2012). *Focus group research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Coavoux, S. (2019). *Gendered differences in video gaming*. Paris: Orange Labs/Sense. Retrieved from http://www.annales.org/edit/enjeux-numeriques/DG/2019/DG-2019-06/EnjNum19b_7Coavoux.pdf

Collins, H. (2003). Discrimination, equality and social inclusion. *The Modern Law Review*, *66*(1), 16–43.

Consalvo, M. (2012). Confronting toxic gamer culture: A challenge for feminist game studies scholars. *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media, and Technology*, *1*(1), 1–6.

Coy, M. (2009). Milkshakes, lady lumps and growing up to want boobies: How the sexualisation of popular culture limits girls' horizons. *Child Abuse Review: Journal of the British Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect*, *18*(6), 372–383.

Crawford, G. (2005). Digital gaming, sport and gender. *Leisure Studies*, *24*(3), 259–270.

Cunningham, G. B., Fairley, S., Ferkins, L., Kerwin, S., Lock, D., Shaw, S., & Wicker, P. (2018). eSport: Construct specifications and implications for sport management. *Sport Management Review*, *21*(1), 1–6.

Delamere, F. M., & Shaw, S. M. (2008). "They see it as a guy's game": The politics of gender in digital games. *Leisure/Loisir*, *32*(2), 279–302.

Donnelly, P. (1996). Approaches to social inequality in the sociology of sport. *Quest*, *48*, 221–242.

dos Santos, E. Z. L., Moreira, L. O., Coutinho, E. F., & Maia, J. G. R. (2018). *Assessing socioeconomic issues of the Brazilian e-sports scene*. Paper presented at the XVII SBGames, Foz do Iguaçu, Brazil.

Downs, E., & Smith, S. L. (2009). Keeping abreast of hypersexuality: A video game character content analysis. *Sex Roles*, *62*, 721–733.

Freiler, C. (2001). *From experiences of exclusion to a vision of inclusion: What needs to change*. Paper pre-

sented at CCSD/Laidlaw Foundation Conference on Social Inclusion, Ottawa, Canada.

Funk, D. C., Pizzo, A. D., & Baker, B. J. (2018). eSport management: Embracing eSport education and research opportunities. *Sport Management Review*, *21*, 7–13.

Gidley, J. M., Hampson, G. P., Wheeler, L., & Bereded-Samuel, E. (2010). From access to success: An integrated approach to quality higher education informed by social inclusion theory and practice. *Higher Education Policy*, *23*(1), 123–147.

GirlGamer. (2019). GirlGamer eSports festival. *GirlGamer*. Retrieved from https://www.girlgamer.gg

Gray, K. L. (2014). *Race, gender, and deviance in Xbox live: Theoretical perspectives from the virtual margins*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Hamari, J., & Sjöblom, M. (2017). What is eSports and why do people watch it? *Internet Research*, *27*(2), 211–232.

Hanna, P. (2012). Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: A research note. *Qualitative Research*, *12*(2), 239–242.

Heere, B. (2018). Embracing the sportification of society: Defining e-sports through a polymorphic view on sport. *Sport Management Review*, *21*, 21–24.

Holden, J. T., Kaburakis, A., & Rodenberg, R. (2017). The future is now: e-Sports policy considerations and potential litigation. *Journal of Legal Aspects of Sport*, *27*(1), 46–78.

Huyer, S., & Sikoska, T. (2003). *Overcoming the gender digital divide: Understanding ICTs and their potential for the empowerment of women* (Instraw Research Paper Series 1). Santo Domingo: UN–INSTRAW.

International Olympic Committee. (2018). Communique of the 7th Olympic summit. *Olympic*. Retrieved from https://www.olympic.org/news/communique-of-the-7th-olympic-summit

Jenny, S. E., Manning, R. D., Keiper, M. C., & Olrich, T. W. (2016). Virtual(ly) athletes: Where eSports fit within the definition of "sport." *Quest*, *69*(1), 1–18.

Kalaitzi, S., Czabanowska, K., Fowler-Davis, S., & Brand, H. (2017). Women leadership barriers in healthcare, academia and business. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *36*(5), 457–474.

Kidd, B. (2008). A new social movement: Sport for development and peace. *Sport in Society*, *11*, 370–380.

Kids in the Game. (2019). eSports. *Kids in the Game*. Retrieved from https://www.kidsinthegame.com/school-programs/king-eSports

Kim, S. J. (2017). *Gender inequality in eSports participation: Examining League of Legends* (Unpublished Master's thesis). University of Texas, Austin, USA.

Lefebvre, H. (1991a). *The production of space* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1991b). *The critique of everyday life* (Vol. 1; J. Moore, Trans.). London: Verso.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). *Key writings*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Lefebvre, H., & Réguiler, C. (2004). Attempt at the rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean cities. In *Rhythmanalysis: Space, time and everyday* life (pp. 85–100). London: Continuum. (Original work published 1986)

Lewis-Beck, M., Bryman, A. E., & Liao, T. F. (2004). *The Sage encyclopedia of social science research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Li, R. (2016). *Good luck have fun: The rise of eSports*. New York, NY: Skyhorse Publishing.

Märtens, M., Shen, S., Losup, A., & Kuipers, F. (2015). Toxicity detection in multiplayer online games. In *Proceedings of the 2015 International Workshop on Network and Systems Support for Games (NetGames)* (pp. 1–6). Zagreb: IEEE.

Miller, B. (2019). Countering online toxicity and hate speech. *Scholars Strategy Network*. Retrieved from https://scholars.org/contribution/countering-online-toxicity-and-hate-speech

Mortensen, T. E. (2018). Anger, fear, and games: The long event of #GamerGate. *Games and Culture*, *13*(8), 787–806.

Neerukonda, M., & Chaudhuri, B. (2018). Are technologies (gender)-neutral? Politics and policies of digital technologies. *ASCI Journal of Management*, *47*, 32–44.

Oillaux, C. (2018). eSports for development? *Sportanddev.org*. Retrieved from https://www.sportanddev.org/en/article/news/eSports-development

Paaßen, B., Morgenroth, T., & Stratemeyer, M. (2017). What is a true gamer? The male gamer stereotype and the marginalization of women in video game culture. *Sex Roles*, *76*(7/8), 421–435.

Pannekeet, J. (2019). Newzoo: Global eSports economy will top $1 billion for the first time. *Newzoo*. Retrieved from https://newzoo.com/insights/articles/newzoo-global-eSports-economy-will-top-1-billion-for-the-first-time-in-2019

Royse, P., Lee, J., Undrahbuyan, B., Hopson, M., & Consalvo, M. (2007). Women and games: Technologies of the gendered self. *New Media & Society*, *9*(4), 555–576.

Scholz, T. M. (2019). *eSports is business: Management in the world of competitive gaming*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schulenkorf, N., Sherry, E., & Rowe, K. (2017). Global sport for development. In N. Schulenkorf & S. Frawley (Eds.), *Critical issues in global sport management* (pp. 176–191). Oxon: Routledge.

Sheilds, R. (1999). *Lefebvre, love & struggle: Spatial dialectics*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Sherry, E., Osborne, A., & Nicholson, M. (2016). Images of sports women: A review. *Sex Roles*, *74*(7/8), 299–309.

Spaaij, R. (2008). Men like us, boys like them: Violence, masculinity, and collective identity in football hooliganism. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *32*(4), 369–392.

Sport England. (2001). *Making English sport inclusive: Equity guidelines for governing bodies*. London: Sport England.

Sportanddev.org. (2019). What is sport and development? *Sportanddev.org*. Retrieved from https://www.sportanddev.org/en/learn-more/what-sport-and-development

Taylor, M. (2020). UK games industry census. *UKIE*. Retrieved from https://ukie.org.uk/UK-games-industry-census-2020

Trepte, S., Reinecke, L., & Juechems, K. (2012). The social side of gaming: How playing online computer games creates online and offline social support. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *28*, 832–839.

United Nations. (2019). About the sustainable development goals. *United Nations*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals

Vandenbosch, L., Driesmans, K., Trekels, J., & Eggermont, S. (2017). Sexualized video game avatars and self-objectification in adolescents: The role of gender congruency and activation frequency. *Media Psychology*, *20*(2), 221–239.

Vossen, E. (2018). *On the cultural inaccessibility of gaming: Invading, creating, and reclaiming the cultural clubhouse* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Canada.

Wagg, S., Cooke, L., & Simeonova, B. (2019). Digital inclusion and women's health and well-being in rural communities. In J. S. Yates & E. R. Rice (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of digital technology and society* (pp. 111–135). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wagner, M. (2006). On the scientific relevance of eSports. In *Proceedings of the 2006 International Conference on Internet Computing and Conference on Computer Game Development* (pp. 437–440). Las Vegas, NV: CSREA Press.

Warschauer, M. (2004). *Technology and social inclusion: Rethinking the digital divide*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Women in Games. (2018). Women in eSports. *Women in Games*. Retrieved from http://www.womeningames.org/women-in-eSports

Women in Games. (2019). Women in games. *Women in Games*. Retrieved from http://www.womeningames.org/about

Xue, H., Newman, J. I., & Du, J. (2019). Narratives, identity and community in eSports. *Leisure Studies*, 38(6), 845–861.

About the Authors

Emily Jane Hayday (PhD) is a Sport Business Lecturer at Loughborough University London. Her research specifically focuses on sport mega-events legacies and during her PhD she investigated the sport participation legacy and policy implementation processes undertaken within National Governing Bodies. Emily's additional research priority explores how eSport could be used as a social development tool, by examining eSport communities, its potential as a site for social inclusion, and current practices of corporate social responsibility within the eSport industry.

Holly Collison (PhD) is a Lecturer at Loughborough University London in the Institute for Sport Business. Holly is an Anthropologist in the field of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) and has completed extensive fieldwork in Africa and South East Asia examining post-conflict development, social dysfunction, and violence. Her research explores youth identity, notions of community, sport for prevention interventions, sport and social disruption, and grassroots perspectives and experiences of SDP.

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 209–223
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2750

Article

"Why Can't I Play?": Transdisciplinary Learnings for Children with Disability's Sport Participation

Simon Darcy [1,*], Janice Ollerton [2] and Simone Grabowski [1]

[1] UTS Business School, University of Technology Sydney, Sydney, NSW 2007, Australia;
E-Mails: simon.darcy@uts.edu.au (S.D.), simone.faulkner@uts.edu.au (S.G.)
[2] University of New South Wales, Kensington, NSW 2003, Australia; E-Mail: j.ollerton@unsw.edu.au

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 31 December 2019 | Accepted: 3 June 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract

This article explores the constraints to mainstream sports participation of children with disability in community sports clubs and schools through their lived experiences and the perceptions of parents, teachers, coaches, and club officials. It does so by administering an open-ended survey instrument to a sample of participants recruited from schools, sporting facilities, and disability organizations in New South Wales and Victoria, Australia. The data were analysed through a transdisciplinary conceptual framework which brought together the social model of disability (disability studies) with the leisure constraints framework (leisure studies), which have been encouraged by both academics and practitioners. The findings identified ableist and disablist practices, creating an enabled understanding of the facilitators for social inclusion. Participants perceived that interrelated intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints excluded children from their desired sporting activities. Through applying the social model of disability to the leisure constraints framework, the findings and discussion showed that a great deal of what had been considered intrapersonal constraints of the child with disability could be reinterpreted as interpersonal and structural constraints through enabling socially inclusive practices. The implications are that a social model of disability brings a new social lens to understanding constraints to sport participation for children with disability and can produce effective strategies for inclusion in sport at schools and community sport clubs.

Keywords

children; disability; discrimination; leisure constraints; school; social model of disability; sport

Issue

This article is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

Participation in physical activity can be beneficial on a variety of levels (Son, Kerstetter, & Mowen, 2008). Research on megatrends in sport shows that increasingly, governments, businesses, and communities are recognizing the broader benefits of sport (Hajkowicz, Cook, Wilhelmseder, & Boughen, 2013). Such benefits include improvements to mental and physical health, crime prevention, social development, leadership, social capital, and achieving international cooperation objectives (Darcy, Maxwell, Edwards, Onyx, & Sherker, 2014). However, national and international sport policies (Independent Sport Panel, 2009; Sport England, 2016) identify people with disabilities (PwD), among other marginalized groups, are significantly disadvantaged by national sporting systems. For example, in Australia, some ten years after the Independent Sport

Panel, Australia's 2030 strategy has again identified the marginalized position of PwD as a serious social policy situation requiring new approaches to change the low sport participation by PwD (Sport Australia, 2019). While the Australian ethos and national identity emphasizes the importance of participation in sport for all and a 'level playing field,' many groups including children with disability (CwD) are marginalized from sport participation (Veal, Darcy, & Lynch, 2013).

The aim of this article is to employ a transdisciplinary approach to reconceptualize the constraints to sports participation experienced by CwD. We bring together two different traditions to understanding constraints: the leisure constraints framework and the social model of disability. The specific questions addressed in this article are:

> RQ1: What are the perceived constraints to participation in mainstream sport for CwD, as viewed through the leisure constraints framework?
>
> RQ2: How are these constraints viewed through a social model of disability lens?
>
> RQ3: What implications do the findings have for developing more enabling sports participation practices for CwD?

To address these research questions, this article will firstly examine ableism and the social model of disability as a lens underpinning the United Nations (2006) Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPWD). We then examine the leisure constraints framework as a way of understanding the lived experiences of CwD and the perceptions of other stakeholders towards the inclusion of CwD. The research design is outlined together with the frames of analysis. The findings are then presented together with a discussion of the research questions.

2. Literature Review

An extensive body of research has identified the lower participation rates in sport of PwD (e.g., Lauff, 2011). Other studies have sought to understand the difference between those with disability who participate in sport and those who do not (Darcy, Taylor, Murphy, & Lock, 2011; Sotiriadou & Wicker, 2014). Similarly, there has been a great number of studies reviewing CwD and their involvement in sport (e.g., Shields, Synnot, & Barr, 2012). Yet, there has been little to no change in the participation rates of PwD in sport for the last three decades (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015). This study seeks to explore whether a transdisciplinary approach to understanding leisure constraints through a social model of disability lens can contribute to our understanding. These two areas of literature are now briefly reviewed for their contribution.

2.1. Ableism and the Social Model of Disability

It is widely recognized that people living with disabilities do not experience the freedoms and opportunities in life to which they have a right, or in the same measure as non-disabled people. The United Nations (2006, para. 1) acknowledges this in addressing why it is necessary to have a convention saying:

> Although existing human rights conventions offer considerable potential to promote and protect the rights of persons with disabilities, it became clear that this potential was not being tapped. Indeed, persons with disabilities continued being denied their human rights and were kept on the margins of society in all parts of the world.

This includes being excluded from, or at best, kept in the margins of sport (Darcy & Dowse, 2013; Misener & Darcy, 2014). Such marginalization is because ability is at the centre of sport (Darcy et al., 2011; DePauw & Gavron, 2005). Therefore, the concept of disability and sport for many is a contradiction. Even at the elite Paralympic level, disability sport is perceived by many as inferior to non-disabled sport (Darcy, Frawley, & Adair, 2017; DePauw & Gavron, 2005). The assumption that sport is only for the able-bodied reflects a culture of ableism that is even apparent at pinnacle events like the Olympics, Paralympics, and Commonwealth games (Darcy, 2019). Chouinard (1997, p. 380) defines ableism as "ideas, practices, institutions and social relations that presume ablebodiedness." The presumption of ability consequently privileges people with typical abilities while labelling people with 'impairment' as deficient, and undesirable (Wolbring, 2008). Ableism is different to disablism. Whilst ableism presumes ability, disablism involves deliberate discrimination of people with actual or presumed disabilities and their families, friends, and colleagues (Campbell, 2008).

The social model of disability challenges ableism and the taken-for-granted nature of normalcy, rejecting the dominant bio-medical model understanding of disability promoted in terms of functional deficit. The social model makes a distinction between impairments (which people have) and disability (social barriers faced; see Oliver, 1996). For this reason, whilst recognizing that many disability services and allied health professionals look to the World Health Organization's 2001 International Classification of Functioning, operationalized through the Disability Assessment Schedule (Üstün, Kostanjsek, Chatterji, & Rehm, 2010), the tool assesses and classifies people according to abnormal body structures or loss of function. We find the deficit-focused definition linking disability with impairment is unacceptable. In this article we argue that a social model approach to disability is a more appropriate framework to use. This aligns with the CRPWD that is based on social approaches to disability that focus on the lived experience, identify the barriers

facing people and seek transformative solutions (Oliver, 1996; United Nations, 2006).

2.2. Leisure Constraints

Leisure constraints are those factors impeding an individual's participation in their chosen leisure activities (Jackson, 1991). Leisure constraints have been grouped into three categories: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural (Crawford & Godbey, 1987). Table 1 provides an interpretation of Smith, Austin, Kennedy, Lee, and Hutchison's (2005) three constraint categories in which barriers to recreation for PwD are presented by intrinsic (intrapersonal), communication (interpersonal), and environmental (structural) categories.

It was from this foundational framework established by Smith et al. (2005) that leisure constraints were developed to examine the hierarchical nature and negotia-

Table 1. Leisure constraints for people with disability reinterpreted from Smith et al. (2005).

Category	Constraint	Definition
Intrapersonal/Intrinsic	Cognitive	Lack of knowledge about leisure programs, facilities, resources and other information are required for informed choice
	Social ineffectiveness	Some people with disability may have ineffective social skills
	Health related issues	These may impact upon participation
	Physical and psychological dependency	Some people with disability have physical dependency due to their impairments, while others may have a 'learned' psychological dependency e.g., attendant assistance
	Skill/Challenge gaps	As conceptualized in 'flow' theory, skill/challenge gaps are a major consideration in leisure activity choice
Interpersonal/Communication	Other people	Through socialization skills and dependency, some people do not have others to participate with, support their participation or are unable to interact socially
	Communication	This involves reciprocal interaction between the individual and their social environments. Constraints can arise between the sender, the receiver or both. Some people with disability have impairments that affect communication (e.g., speech, hearing, sight, cognitive function etc.).
Structural/Environmental	Attitudinal	This includes negative behaviour towards individuals (e.g., exclusion, verbal abuse, violence, etc.), paternalism (e.g., treated as childlike, assumed decision-making roles etc.) and apathy (e.g., ignoring existence and, hence, inclusion)
	Architectural	The built environment which includes construction, legislation, design and planning
	Rules and regulations	Rules and legislation enacted which deliberately discriminates against people with disability (e.g., international air carrying regulations)
	Transport	For people with higher support needs, there is a lack of suitable and affordable accessible transport
	Economic	People with disability experience much higher rates of unemployment (from the average to 99% depending upon a range of factors) and, therefore, are economically disadvantaged. Further, many impairments have additional costs that must be met by the individual (e.g., equipment, wheelchairs, personal care consumables, etc.).
	Omission	This includes all those facilities, programs, policies and procedures that do not incorporate inclusive practices for people with disability (e.g., modified rules etc.)

tion of constraints. The hierarchy's assumption of a progression from the intrapersonal to the interpersonal to the structural has been criticized, with the work on constraint negotiations suggesting a more iterative process (Jackson, 1993). Darcy, Lock, and Taylor's (2017) comprehensive review of PwD's sport constraints to participation reviews research conducted in the areas of gender, natural area visitation, elite athletes, and participation of an ageing population. There is scant reference to leisure constraints of children's participation or parents' perceptions of the constraints to their children's leisure (Pule, Drotsky, Toriola, & Kubayi, 2014). There are, however, studies examining factors affecting recreation and leisure participation of children from a medical perspective (King et al., 2003) and factors influencing physically active leisure of children (Thompson, Rehman, & Humbert, 2005). More recently outside of constraints-based research there have been studies examining children with diverse backgrounds in sports clubs (Spaaij et al., 2019), volunteer perception's of inclusion of young people with disability in sports clubs (Jeanes et al., 2018) and children with specific impairments experiences as reported by parents (McMahon, 2019).

In reviewing the leisure constraints studies to date, they have focused on either one specific disability type or compared participation of PwD to those without a disability. Empirical evidence to determine the range of factors that are antecedent to nonparticipation for PwD remains under researched, as does understanding of how the factors that constrain participation for PwD interact to create dynamics of exclusion through ableism and disableism. This study addresses these gaps to examine the perceptions of constraints to children's participation in community clubs and/or school sport. This study crosses transdisciplinary boundaries with the leisure constraints and the social model of disability to reconceptualize our understanding of leisure constraints within a social model understanding.

3. Research Design

The research design was informed by an interpretive social constructionist position (Burr, 1995; Veal & Darcy, 2014). The research is premised on social model (Oliver, 1996) and human rights (Darcy & Taylor, 2009; French & Kayess, 2008) conceptualizations that sport should be accessible to all children. However, as the literature shows, clearly it is not (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2010). The voices of CwD are more difficult to incorporate in formal studies. This research has drawn on the voices of CwD, parents of CwD, parents of nondisabled children, schoolteachers, coaches, and sports club officials regarding their perceptions of what hinders the participation in mainstream sport of CwD. The research was a collaborative effort between a not-for-profit disability service organization which undertook the survey questionnaire design and data collection, and a University data analysis team who were commissioned after the research design and data collection to analyse the results. The organization was interested in understanding what inhibits the participation in mainstream sport of CwD aged between 5–14 years that has been reported anecdotally but required empirical examination.

3.1. Survey Instrument

The survey drew on best practice methods for online research as guided by Dillman (2000). Two online surveys were undertaken using the Survey Monkey platform to distribute a survey instrument for (1) community sport clubs and (2) schools. The questionnaires for each consisted of the same 26 questions, with wording adjusted to address the two contexts. The introductory questions were about respondent category (parent, teacher, coach, PwD, etc.) and depending upon the response, the questionnaire then asked specific questions for that category. For example, parents were asked to respond about their child's sporting engagement, including: characteristics of the child with disability that the parent was responding on behalf of (disability type; age within 5–14 year group; gender; suburb; state; regional/metropolitan); sport played; frequency of participation; whether they would like to play more often; reasons for not playing sport more often; how often they would like to play sport. For the school or community sporting club environment they were asked about the state of inclusion for CwD, the type of sports programs, whether they were accommodating of CwD, reasons for lack of inclusion, a statement of attitude to inclusion, whether disability awareness training had been offered, likelihood of uptake of disability awareness training, demographic questions (age, gender, suburb; state; regional/metropolitan), and open-ended responses as to a person's perception of inclusion in sport or other comments.

The nature of the surveys was considerate of the social constructionist approach taken through the open-ended question where respondents were asked to provide their experience and further comments. The qualitative data provided the rich responses from stakeholders' perceptions of CwD in school and community sport clubs. The open-ended responses were analysed to identify key constraints, and their interpretation through a social model and human rights lens that is the focus of this article.

3.2. Population, Sample Frame, and Sample Size

The survey link was distributed by email through the not-for profit disability service organisation's clients as well as via contact with every state school and local council in the states of New South Wales and Victoria, Australia. The survey period was from December 2013 through February 2014 and generated interest from 880 respondents (429 responses from Schools and 451 responses from Clubs). The qualitative responses came from 170 respondents from the Schools survey and 209

from the Clubs survey. There were an equal number of responses received from metropolitan and regional participants. Responses were received from parents of CwD, teachers, school principals, coaches, officials associated with community-based sporting clubs, and CwD themselves. However, most participants in both surveys (74% Schools and 76% Clubs) were parents of CwD, totalling 483 responses. Twenty-four participants identified as CwD under the age of 18 and another 24 identified as PwD over the age of 18. The most identified disability group was developmental/intellectual (34% Clubs and 31% Schools).

3.3. Data Analysis

The findings present some basic descriptive statistics of the survey respondent characteristics with the remainder of the data analysis being qualitative. In particular, the respondents were asked to detail any other comments relating to children with a disability playing mainstream sport. The question allowed for a written response to the open-ended question. The analysis was undertaken by combining social model (lived experience, barriers faced, and transformative solutions) and leisure constraints frameworks (intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural) as outlined in the background literature (Smith et al., 2005). The data were manually coded separately by each member of the data analysis team to follow the constraints framework and then further analysed into sub themes based on an exhaustive list identified in the literature and emergent themes. The team members came together to reach consensus on the theme and sub-theme categorizations. The themes and sub-themes were then viewed through a social model lens, challenging the dominant world view of medical model conceptualization present in constraints theory and a modified thematic approach to understanding constraints emerged (Veal & Darcy, 2014). A comparison of the constraints findings and the social model lens identified similarities and contrasts consistent with the ontological tensions.

The data analysis presented in the findings is structured differently for intrapersonal constraints as opposed to interpersonal and structural constraints. For intrapersonal constraints (Section 4.1), Table 2 presents each of the themes and sub-themes, an exemplar quotation from the data illustrating the sub-theme and the re-conceptualization of the sub-theme constraint to either interpersonal or structural constraints as viewed through the social model lens. This transdisciplinary combining of leisure constraints and the social model brings a new understanding to the effects of impairment as opposed to the compounding nature of interpersonal or structural disability with the correct supports. The sections on interpersonal (Section 4.2) and structural (Section 4.3) constraints are presented as a narrative under the sub-themes.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

An internal Human Research Ethics review was undertaken by the not-for-profit disability services organization prior to the project commencing. The decision to solicit the views of parents of children with disabilities was an ethical one. The organization recognized in accordance with National Health and Medical Research Council guidelines on research with those from vulnerable populations and made the deliberate decision to limit the research accordingly. Provision was however made to accommodate the voices of CwD, provided that parental permission was given. The university data analysis team was commissioned after the data had been collected by the organization.

3.5. Limitations

The three major limitations of the study include survey design, sample bias, and timeframe. All three limitations are connected. We recognize that the predominantly quantitative survey included open ended qualitative responses that may have been far better addressed through in-depth interviewing. Self-selection is always an issue with sampling where there may be an overrepresentation of some groups (those with negative experiences) and an under representation of other groups. Lastly, all surveys are a limited snapshot of issues covered for a period. This study had a limited timeframe that included the end to the year and summer holiday period: December through to the beginning of February. If resources and budget had allowed the study would have been strengthened if it could have been carried out over a full 12 months.

4. Findings

The original work on barriers and the development of this work into the leisure constraints framework was used to analyse the online qualitative findings. As Table 1 suggests, all levels of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints were present in the study. In using the constraints framework as an interpretive overlay, the findings have identified the key themes under each of those categories.

4.1. Intrapersonal

A child's impairment or condition was sometimes regarded by participants as an inherent constraint, perceived or otherwise, to participation in mainstream sports. A child's capacity to undertake tasks required in mainstream sporting teams, such as following instructions and adhering to the rules of the game, or their physical agility or the relative age appropriateness, was perceived as a constraint identified by some parents. However, participants recognized that, like all children, those with disabilities might be more suited to some sport activities than others.

Table 2. Intrapersonal constraints perceived by parents with children with disability (developed from findings).

Intrapersonal Constraint	Description	Supportive quote	Social Model interpretation
Physical Movement or Agility Issues	Some of the physical conditions include wheelchairs users, low muscle tone and physical body weakness. Depending upon the sport, mainstream inclusion may be prohibited under the rules of the game. Concern regard the safety of the child due to the physicality of sport was discussed. Some children are unable to play sport due to their physical fragility.	"My son might be 13 years old but he only weighs 12 kilograms and is 89 cm in height. Could you imagine him being tackled for a ball?''	All people are constrained by physiology and intellectual capacity to some degree. We cannot all be elite athletes, mathematicians, artists or concert pianists. All people are constrained by their physical body and intellectual capacity as well as their environment. For people with disabilities a lack of alternative sport options suited to their abilities prevents inclusion, e.g., perhaps a child weighing 12 kg is better suited to an activity less rigorous than rugby.
Cognition/ Understanding the rules	Understanding the often complex rules of sport may be an obstacle for children with a developmental or intellectual disability. Parents identified the need for one-on-one training as a key factor in participation.	"Unless the child has everything explained about the rules of a sport over and over, the child will feel angry about being made to feel dumb when he still has no understanding of the game.''	The social model of disability recognises the problem arising from the ableist assumption in sport that one size fits all. Inclusive sport acknowledges a diversity of skills and abilities, recognising sports can be modified to accommodate players (e.g., Tee ball evolved as a modified version of baseball) with different levels of understanding and ability. Lack of accommodation, or the provision of one-on-one training, is a structural constraint.
Sensory Issues	The ability for a child to follow instructions in an often noisy environment was identified as a significant issue for children with autism, sensory impairment or sensitivity issues. Whether the loud background noise inhibited the child's ability to hear and comprehend the instructions or exacerbated their sensitivity through sensory overload the end result was a difficulty to understand instructions and therefore gain skills because of the noisy environment.	"Loud background music…no sensory awareness whatsoever....Unstructured activities, no visual schedule. These are the very basic fundamental requirements [for a person with sensory issues], not to provide these did a lot of damage and caused a huge amount of stress to me and my child.''	A social model interpretation of this issue recognises that it is not the child but the noisy environment or the lack of structure to the activity that is the issue. The parent's comment of "no sensory awareness" also indicates an interpersonal constraint on the part of the teacher/coach running a sporting activity without due consideration for the needs of all players. From a social model perspective this is a structural and interpersonal constraint.

Table 2. (Cont.) Intrapersonal constraints perceived by parents with children with disability (developed from findings).

Intrapersonal Constraint	Description	Supportive quote	Social Model interpretation
Social Ineffectiveness	Team sports require a large degree of compromise and cooperation. Impulsiveness, anti-social and unpredictable behaviour and inattention or daydreaming combines to make participation, especially in team sports, difficult for the participant and the team as a whole.	"My child's local school encourages my son to play school sport however, he has never been chosen for the school teams to play outside of the school as they see his behaviour as 'difficult to manage.'''	A social model interpretation of this issue recognises that it is not the child's behaviour but the inability of the school to manage the situation that is the issue. From a social model perspective this is both an interpersonal and a structural constraint.
Life Threatening Illness	There is a disconnect between allowing a child with life threatening illness to be involved and making teachers and coaches aware of the condition in such a way that the child remains safe. This is particularly important if the child presents with no outward signs of the disability and look physically able.	"With a heart condition...the complication is that the child can be well and seem physically able to do all sports, but at the age of 8 he or his teachers may not be able to fully understand/be aware of the importance of managing his activity to remain inside a safe zone (e.g., non-competitive) but remain involved. This is a hurdle that I face as a parent of not excluding him or of placing panic around his activities but raising a reasonable level of concern.''	A social model interpretation of this issue recognises that it is not the child's frailty but a lack of understanding on the part of the sport facilitator of how to safely include the child in sport. From a social model perspective this is an interpersonal constraint. However, the lack of understanding may stem from an ableist and inadequately designed teacher-training curriculum, making this a structural constraint also.
Health Condition Related Issue	There may be issues directly relating to a child's health condition that make participation very difficult. This can involve temperature control or medication issues and their needs may not be able to be met within a sporting context.	"In a town of over 100 000 people, there is not anywhere my son can go swimming due to incontinence.''	A social model interpretation of this issue recognises that it is not the child's disability (such as incontinence) but the unaccommodating environment that is the issue. From a social model perspective this is a structural constraint.

Issues directly associated with a child's impairment that were identified as providing constraints to mainstream sport participation using the leisure constraints framework are presented with a description of the constraint and demonstrative quote alongside a social model comparison of the same issue in Table 2. The impairment related sub-themes recurrent in the data analysis include limited physical movement, cognition, sensory limitations, social ineffectiveness, life threatening illness, and health related issues.

Some impairments may be significant constraints to participation in particular sports. Yet, as evidenced in the social model comparison, there needs to be careful consideration of whether it is the underlying impairment that is constraining the child or interpersonal or structural constraints that are imposed on top of a child's impairment. It is clear that the 'intrapersonal' or intrinsic constraints presented in Table 2 can be interpreted as extrinsic constraints imposed upon the individual by the social actors involved in sport provision at school and club, and as interdependent and overlapping with interpersonal and structural constraints. For example, 'Cognition—Understanding the Rules' could be interpreted as a lack of provision for children to play in age groups matching their intellectual development rather than their actual age. From a social model perspective, this would be interpreted as a structural constraint of training and support. This important differentiation is philosophically aligned to the CRPWD and social model debate (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 2010). This high-

lights the importance of interpersonal and structural constraints for sports participation and is the focus of the following two sections.

4.2. Interpersonal

Placing a social model lens on interpersonal constraints focuses on communication and interactional issues experienced by some people when relating to PwD. Such issues can be isolating for PwD, as one respondent from the Clubs survey noted "the coach didn't include him as he had no idea how to handle our son and his disability." However, effective communication is a two-way process where sporting organizations also need to communicate to those across the diversity of marginality. For PwD, this may be as simple as providing information in accessible formats or providing training for coaches on interacting and supporting mobility, sensory or cognitive disability. The interpersonal constraints sub-themes recurrent in the data analysis were support for participation; cotton-woolling; communication; and critical mass for participation. These are now briefly discussed.

4.2.1. Support for Participation

All children aged between 5 and 14 are reliant on others to ensure their participation. Their participation is heavily dependent on assistance from their parents, carers, or coach to source, fund, and provide transportation. If there is unwillingness by a third party to facilitate the participation, then their involvement is unlikely. It must be acknowledged that caring for CwD will often be a time consuming and exhausting role for a parent or guardian. Sport may be a luxury rather than a necessity for some children and their families: "I am too tired to advocate for things such as sport, even though I know it is important" (parent response).

4.2.2. Cotton-Woolling

Parents may have a natural tendency to protect their child from perceived and potential discomfort, discrimination, or exclusion (Oulton & Heyman, 2009). Therefore, the child's impairment may be used as a constraint or 'excuse' for not participating. As one sport organization official lamented: "Even if the club welcomes children with a disability, the hard job is getting the children themselves and their parents to have a go and believe they can swim" (Coach response).

This 'cotton-woolling' of children from participation or perceived failure occurs in nondisabled children as well but in a disability context can lead to the child not experiencing what parents may consider too risky. Parents can constrain their child's opportunity to try new activities and choice to be challenged in the activities of their choosing. Parents of CwD can accept what has been termed 'challenge by choice' in the outdoor recreation literature (Carlson & Cook, 2007), where with skill development CwD can take on the increasingly difficult challenges within a sporting context.

4.2.3. Communication

Many parents had children with cognitive or multiple disabilities that had complex social considerations requiring sophisticated approaches to communication between the child and those they interact with. As one parent response suggested: "I have a seven-year-old with ADHD, OCD, and ASD [types of behavioural impairments]. He needs help on the social side and communication side of things more than needing special equipment. Training in these areas would be great."

Parents described a multitude of specific needs for training and education to assist in developing communication with coaches to ensure skill building and inclusion. A fundamental necessity in skill building is the ability to communicate with the child and the child to communicate back to coaches, referees, and officials. Other parents who had children with different types of disability identified different communication facilitation issues from speech challenges, children who are Deaf or hearing impaired (e.g., Auslan interpretation), or those who require easy English. These communication issues also have a structural dimension as they require economic resources for provision or training of volunteers.

4.2.4. Critical Mass for Sport Competition

Where a child and parent make the decision to play in a sporting team for PwD, the situation arises where there may not be enough children to make up teams to allow for competition or participation. Quite simply, CwD often lack other CwD for sport participation purposes (e.g., wheelchair basketball). In this sense, the issue is interpersonal in that a team sport requires other team members to play with. While this can be an issue for children without disability in different geographic areas, it is far more critical of an issue for CwD when one considers disability type and level of support needs further reduces the likelihood of having other appropriate people to play with or against as the following quote suggests:

> There used to be one team that was entirely made up of, those with disabilities, but they played against teams that were younger. This was a bit unfair for both sides. They haven't had enough players this last season and so haven't played. Otherwise the children coming through have to compete on a normal [sic] child's level. (Parent response)

Critical mass also has a structural element and overlaps with a significant structural constraint discussed in the following section. For example, when this is overlaid with the number of sports that an individual might want to play then having a disability specific competition is a significant logistical consideration.

4.3. Structural

Respondents identified a wide range of structural constraints specifically relating to their child's needs and access considerations. By far this category produced the largest number of responses. The structural constraints sub-themes recurrent in the data analysis included the built environment, skill development, training, awareness, geographical location, economic barriers, competition structure, age appropriateness, attitudes, and omission. These are discussed below.

4.3.1. Architectural and Built Environment

Parents of children with mobility impairments identified that they faced numerous physical barriers to the built environment, sport facilities, and outdoor areas. At their most basic level, these barriers included accessibility to buildings, wider access corridors, door openings, ramps, and toilet/change areas. As one respondent explained "for my son in a wheelchair…it is physical accessibility—ramps, accessible change rooms etc. In larger venues (and newer) venues this is often covered but can be a problem in other locations" (parent response). Mainstreaming of the school environment has produced a gradual improvement in educational accessibility of classrooms and toilet/change rooms. However, barriers remain within the educational sporting environment and improving accessibility may not be a high priority. Sporting clubs are similarly variable depending upon the age and relative updating/retrofitting of facilities.

4.3.2. Skill Development off a Low Base

Whilst the physical component of the disability can be an obvious participation barrier, the emotional issues that are intrinsically tied to children will require significant support and understanding to ensure that they are not an obstacle to involvement in mainstream sport. As one respondent explained, "so far all the different sporting groups we have tried just cause her anxiety as she cannot keep the pace of the others" (parent response).

This is linked to the child's self-esteem and confidence. It was clear from the responses that some parents perceived their children to feel self-conscious and embarrassed about the extent of their disability or their attempts in trying new activities. This may lead to the child refusing to play sport because they do not want to be seen by their peers as 'stupid' or 'unco,' leading to a lack of self-confidence and demotivation to participate in a sport. Some parents were wary of involving their child in sporting teams for the fear of further affecting their child's self-confidence, where it may be a combination of the individual's impairment, skill, and challenge development (outlined in DePauw & Gavron, 2005), and the support of appropriately trained coaches and support workers in assisting the child to gain skill and confidence in a sporting context.

4.3.3. Awareness and Training

Just as children cannot be expected to engage in sport without appropriate skill training, so too teachers, coaches, and physical educators need the skills, experience, and educational training to be able to adapt and accommodate people with differing skills and abilities. Martin and Speer (2011) have noted that physical educators often receive no training or experience working with 'adapted students.' This was born out in our data with one teacher-respondent admitting "teachers often receive training on how to cater for students with disabilities in their classrooms, but don't usually receive training on how to include CwD in sport at school." This gap in undergraduate teacher training represents a structural constraint that hinders the participation of CwD in school sport. Parents recognized the lack of awareness or knowledge that teachers and coaches have about disability and sport: "It could make a significant difference if at least one person in the club was skilled and knowledgeable to act as a contact to modify or adapt current sporting models/activities to suit the ability/knowledge/experience of children with a disability" (Club response).

4.3.4. Attitude of Others

Given the social stigma associated with disability, it was not surprising that negative attitudes of people towards CwD and their parents was identified as a significant deterrent to participation in mainstream sport. These were attitudes of other parents, non-disabled children, coaches, teachers, or school administration. Parents and CwD can quite often be the target of direct and indirect discrimination by other stakeholders. While it might be possible to 'get in the door' it might be far harder to be 'accepted' and included in the 'sporting family' by others. The effect on the child or parent of negative attitudes of others can range from non-participation through to a feeling of despair and worthlessness. One respondent with disability noted "the attitude of other students towards me having a disability has affected my attitude towards participating in sport. Staff have been supportive, however students have not always been" (CwD response).

Parent and children respondents also noted that other parents contribute to negative attitudes. Parents can be judgemental about their own child's ability or, if they are a parent of a child without disability, critical of the inclusion of CwD in any sense. As one parent from the Clubs survey explained: "They are not capable of doing the same things as normal kids. So, I think they should play with other disabled children."

4.3.5. Awareness of Sporting Activities

Some parents of CwD felt that they lacked knowledge and awareness of just what sports were available for their children: "As a parent it can be hard to know what

clubs offer and if they are willing to teach children with a disability." Given the capacity issues of sports clubs, this omission of providing information to the community about inclusion of CwD within club activities may be understandable. However, it also demonstrates the unchallenged, ableist culture that privileges those without disabilities and ignores those with disabilities. Such omissions within the school environment are unacceptable. Parents should be able to expect to be informed of wider, inclusive, or mainstream sport opportunities for their children. Yet, often they are just told that their child cannot be catered for.

4.3.6. Geographic Location of Activities and Transport

The geographical location of the sport in relation to where the family lives was cited as an issue for parents of CwD:

> At present in [withheld for anonymity] region of Melbourne there is nothing offered for my children who have Autism and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder. It is sad because they are very active kids and must miss out because [they] do not fit mainstream clubs. (Parent response)

Whether the child resides in a large capital city or regional/country town, the issue of geographical accessibility to the participant raised a number of spin off issues, including transportation, cost, and travel time. The issue is compounded by the fact that there is so little mainstream sport on offer and a lack of information as to what is available.

4.3.7. Economic Barriers

As with other constraint-based studies, a significant limiting factor in children's participation is the issue of affordability and the cost of activities and transportation. Disability can impose extra cost on a family and the extra financial impositions of a child with a disability in accommodation, personal care, and equipment will have an impact on the family. This may mean that the 'luxury' of a sporting activity involving membership and/or equipment costs is simply not possible: "It always comes back to a user pays system. Unfortunately, families with kids who have disabilities don't have anything left to pay with" (parent response). Sports clubs often run on a very tight budget and the cost of equipment may be prohibitive:

> Cost is the biggest impediment; specialized equipment can be expensive. Adequate training for club members is not always available; online training is not always suitable/adequate. Volunteers and carers at the club need to be flexible with their time to make our Inclusive Participation Program work. (Coach response)

4.3.8. Flexibility

An ableist lack of flexibility in modifying sport to accommodate ability differences was identified as a structural constraint to participation of CwD in sport. The data showed that there was a lack of flexibility in sporting programs to accommodate and adapt to the abilities of CwD. Without such adaptations, many children are excluded from sport:

> The sport that my son has been involved in has been as a result of me pushing for his inclusion and supporting him to do so. The school seems unable to see past regular sports to adapting sports for all children. (Parent response)

4.3.9. Sport Competition Structure

A key emerging theme was the issue of team sports and their competitive nature. An ableist priority placing competition and winning before fun and participation was raised alongside negative attitudes towards CwD. From parents to coaches, there was a general acknowledgement that up until the junior adapted game rules change to a competition, the focus was on participation and fun. A distinct shift in the mind-set of parents, coaches and participants results in sporting teams moving the emphasis from fun and participation to winning and competitiveness: "The main concern is that younger children are fine in competitions but as the mainstream children get older they get more competitive so it is an issue having children with a disability in their team when they want to win" (parent response).

Some parents expressed that their children felt less able, comfortable, and confident or accepted in the team when the sole outcome is to win rather than participate. Parents also expressed that they felt uncomfortable with the children playing in a mainstream sporting team as they may feel like they are 'letting the team down' competitively. One suggestion offered by a sporting organization was the need for a second tier of competition that was fun, social and allowed for skill building: "All sporting leagues should be encouraged to offer 'social' competition for juniors....They just want to play a game each week" (Coach response).

This has appeal to not only CwD but also other children that are not interested in intense training and the competitive nature of many sporting pursuits. This would mean more children were able to compete and the issue of 'supply' for individual teams and competitions increased. Kanagasabai, Mulligan, Hale, and Mirfin-Veitch (2018) similarly argue non-competitive, adaptive sports for CwD could improve sport participation experiences.

4.3.10. Age Appropriate Structure

CwD are sometimes faced with participating in activities that might not be age-appropriate because of their physi-

cal or intellectual abilities. This can create issues within a sporting context as it does for some contact sports where children mature at different rates. Age appropriate structure within mainstream sport may benefit those for example, with an intellectual disability, to compete on a level where their development age rather than their actual age is taken into consideration. The problem however can evolve when the child's physical size becomes an issue within a team both in terms of safety and acceptance by their peers and other parents:

> When my child was younger, we had permission for him to stay in a younger age group to compete as he got older and reached early teens he was too old and tall to still compete at the younger age level. Since then he has missed out on competitive sporting activities. (Parent response)

4.3.11. Omission

Amongst parents there was a belief that it was often too hard for sports clubs to include their children. Omission, whether intentional or otherwise is a major constraint to participation: "There is no appeared effort on inclusion. Sports clubs are not welcoming of CwD out of fear or presumed cost and effort" (parent response). Parents acknowledged that clubs were run by volunteers and that even with the best intentions of a club or organization the volunteers are time poor and over stretched. An ableist fact is that including CwD is not even thought of and when parents approach clubs and schools they are often greeted with a blank look that it just has not even been considered.

5. Discussion

Three research questions were posed in the introduction to this article. This section looks to address these questions and poses some implications for sports participation by CwD.

> RQ1: What are the perceived constraints to participation in mainstream sport for CwD?

The findings presented in this article demonstrate the applicability of the constraints framework outlined in Smith et al. (2005). However, based on the findings the authors have transposed the hierarchical order of the framework. Clearly, there is a variety of constraints hindering the participation of CwD in mainstream sport. Yet, it is external constraints (Structural and Interpersonal) that present disabling barriers to sport participation for CwD. The three core components of leisure constraints can be concentrated into just two (Structural and Interpersonal) when the spotlight is turned away from the child and onto the environment within which they live. The overlap and interaction of the constraints is also an important finding, demonstrating the complexity of the issue.

> RQ2: How are these constraints viewed through a social model of disability?

The second theoretical lens that was employed in the data analysis was the social model of disability. Complementary to leisure constraints, social model understandings focus on the lived experience of PwD, identify the barriers, and seek transformative solutions. The findings have shown that the constraints are disabling for CwD and therefore the concept of equality is not straightforward. To treat everyone equally, according to a formal equality model has limitations because it disregards difference (Kayess & French, 2008). Treating PwD equally may require special considerations, accommodation, and therefore different treatment. Substantive equality is an approach that remedies the imbalance caused by difference. Substantive equality compensates for historical disadvantage and takes steps to eliminate conditions that perpetuate discrimination. Substantive equality measures include the implementation of institutional system changes—such as designated quotas or affirmative action for minority groups to increase their participation in employment or education (French & Kayess, 2008). The introduction of substantive equality measures has been recognized by the United Nations Human Rights Committee as a pre-condition for achieving equality for PwD (United Nations, 2006). An understanding of substantive equality should inform the discussion of how to facilitate access for CwD into mainstream sporting activities.

> RQ3: What implications do the findings have for developing more enabling sports participation practices for CwD?

Several suggestions for enabling CwD to participate in sport were offered in the findings. These are now discussed. Playing in a sporting team for all children can add to a sense of belonging. Being part of a team for CwD was noted by parents as especially important and viewed as a means of broader acceptance by their peers. The participation in sport enabled participation in new relationships. The spin off effects from playing sport may include improved physical health, emotional well-being, learning/cognition, and self-esteem (McConkey, 2016). In addition to new friendships outside of the sporting arena and ties to the broader community in which the families live, the sense of belonging may also extend beyond the CwD and include their parents and siblings. Disability can be isolating due to the extra work encountered and the consuming nature of care. Developing friendships for the child and the family may, therefore, be more difficult to achieve. A shared pursuit like a sporting team may help to bridge the isolation for all members of the family.

A solution offered from a respondent was the introduction of social sport, a new tier of participation, to the various sporting codes. Recognizing that many adults enjoy playing social sport, the introduction of social sport may provide a framework for ensuring all children can

play. Awareness and training emerged across the three key themes in the findings. Many respondents were unaware of the available sporting facilities and programs. A centralized database or register of what sporting activities were available and an indication of the suitability to particular disabilities would help parents access the relevant information. It would also be a means by which disability service staff and rehabilitation professionals could familiarize themselves, as Martin (2013, p. 2030) has urged, "with local disability friendly exercise facilities and adapted sport programs" to enhance access to sporting opportunities.

Researchers have noted the benefit of multi-dimensional leisure-goal focused interventions with adolescents with disabilities, negotiated in conjunction with family, the adolescent, and recreation professionals (Ahmed et al., 2018; Imms, Mathews, Richmond, Law, & Ullenhag, 2015). For example, Imms et al. (2015) found that rehabilitation professionals are well placed to support people to identify realistic sporting aspirations and plan strategies for achieving such goals through environmental adaptations to improve access, devices to facilitate or enhance participation, and also to advocate where necessary with family or sporting organizations to support young people to achieve their goals.

Cost was cited by parents as a barrier to participation. At the time of writing this article, the New South Wales Government (2018, para. 5) announced the Active Kids initiative, which provides "$100 for every child towards the cost of sports registration, membership expenses and fees for physical activities such as swimming, dance lessons and athletics". In addition to this, many Western nations have adopted individualized funding packages. For example, a National Disability Insurance Scheme (n.d.) where recreation supports including sport are recognized. Specifically identified in NDIS recreation and sport supports are specialized sporting equipment, personalized assistance, assistance to travel to recreation, and assistance for organizations to adjust the specific needs of the individual. Time will tell how these additional structural resources improve the participation of CwD in sport and we look forward to having access to this data when it becomes available. However, a database of relevant grants and financial resources might also prove to be a valuable tool.

Although a strong local knowledge of sporting programs as referral options is valuable, allied health professionals can play an important part in facilitating participation of CwD in sport activities (McConkey, 2016). McConkey (2016) encourages the use of person-centred assessment tools to refocus attention on the CwD's talents and aspirations rather than their deficits. He points to the complementary nature participating in sport has to therapeutic and care practices and calls practitioners to take up the challenge to change current practice by emphasizing processes that will enrich participants' lives. McConkey (2016, p. 296) claims that "a re-appraisal of the training curriculum of health and social care professionals in relation to sports participation is required and a revised understanding of how this might be initiated and sustained."

Training, education, and ongoing support of clubs to help understand how children may be better included in mainstream sport were valuable actions to progress participation rates and retention levels. Further, this training would help to address attitudinal barriers which are still evident in schools and sporting clubs. Research on Special Olympics coaches (MacDonald, Beck, Erickson, & Côté, 2016) confirms the merit of specific training for coaches of athletes with intellectual disabilities. Establishing 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998) and mentoring are recommended for improving skills of coaches working with people with intellectual disabilities, through the sharing of knowledge and experience. We echo the call of Thompson, Fisher, Purcal, Deeming, and Sawrikar (2011) for further research to identify the factors that might generate a positive change in attitude towards the inclusion of CwD in sports and other physical activities.

6. Conclusion

This article has provided an exploratory attempt at examining perceptions of constraints facing CwD in community and school sport. Research shows that PwD participate less in sport generally and substantially less in regular organized sport than the general population. In countries that are signatories to the CRPWD and have anti-discrimination legislation, this article has provided evidence of the substantially disabling sporting environment confronting CwD. Through transdisciplinarity, we have brought together two separate frameworks, both with substantial traditions in their own field, to create a new understanding of how people with impairments can be supported (disability type or level of support need; see Darcy, Lock, et al., 2017) in the sporting environment. What was once thought of as intrapersonal, is reconceptualized as interpersonal and structural to increase the participation of CwD in mainstream sport. With a raised awareness of disabling barriers and armed with local knowledge of financial resources available, campaigns promoting the inclusion of CwD in sport and professional knowledge regarding strategies for adapting sporting programs in schools and clubs should make a positive difference rather than the experiences identified by stakeholders in this study.

Government and sport associations have an important role to play with schools and clubs in the education and training process, of families, sporting organizations, and particularly of coaches. The sooner CwD can participate in sport with their nondisabled peers at school and in their community clubs, the more likely these gaps in participation will lessen. However, if parents are unable or have ongoing difficulty finding inclusive and welcoming sporting opportunities for their children then the participation rates are unlikely to improve in the short to

medium term. As identified, individualized funding packages offer material support for sport that have the potential to address a series of the structural constraints identified. Hopefully, the social model lens has provided a greater understanding that many impairment-related constraints are not internally located with the child but can be challenged through interpersonal support and structural changes within schools and clubs.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank our partner not-for-profit organization and all the children, parents, coaches, and teachers that participated in this study for their support.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Ahmed, B. S., Lamy, M., Cameron, D., Artero, L., Ramdial, S., Leineweber, M., & Andrysek, J. (2018). Factors impacting participation in sports for children with limb absence: A qualitative study. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, *40*(12), 1393–1400.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2015). *General social survey*. Canberra: AGPS.

Barnes, C., Mercer, G., & Shakespeare, T. (2010). *Exploring disability: A sociological introduction*. Malden, MA: Polity.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Campbell, F. K. (2008). Refusing able(ness): A preliminary conversation about ableism. *M/C Journal*, *11*(3). Retrieved from http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/46

Carlson, K. P., & Cook, M. (2007). Challenge by choice: Adventure-based counseling for seriously ill adolescents. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinincs of North America*, *16*(4), 909–919.

Chouinard, V. (1997). Making space for disabling differences: Challenging ableist geographies. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *15*(4), 379–387.

Crawford, D. W., & Godbey, G. (1987). Reconceptualizing barriers to family leisure. *Leisure Sciences*, *9*(2), 119–128.

Darcy, S. (2019). Leisure with impact: Research, human rights, and advocacy in a reflective review of a research career. *Annals of Leisure Research*, *22*(3), 273–285.

Darcy, S., & Dowse, L. (2013). In search of a level playing field: The constraints and benefits of sport participation for people with intellectual disability. *Disability & Society*, *28*(3), 393–407.

Darcy, S., & Taylor, T. (2009). Disability citizenship: An Australian human rights analysis of the cultural industries. *Leisure Studies*, *28*(4), 419–441.

Darcy, S., Frawley, S., & Adair, D. (Eds.). (2017). *Managing the paralympics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Darcy, S., Lock, D., & Taylor, T. (2017). Enabling inclusive sport participation: Effects of disability and support needs on constraints to sport participation. *Leisure Sciences*, *39*(1), 20–41.

Darcy, S., Maxwell, H., Edwards, M., Onyx, J., & Sherker, S. (2014). More than a sport and volunteer organisation: Investigating social capital development in a sporting organisation. *Sport Management Review*, *17*(4), 395–406.

Darcy, S., Taylor, T., Murphy, A., & Lock, D. (2011). *Getting involved in sport: The participation and non-participation of people with disability in sport and active recreation*. Canberra: Australian Sport Commission.

DePauw, K. P., & Gavron, S. J. (2005). *Disability and sport* (8th ed.). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Dillman, D. A. (2000). *Mail and internet surveys: The tailored design method*. New York, NY: John Wiley.

French, P., & Kayess, R. (2008). Deadly currents beneath calm waters: Persons with disability and the right to life in Australia. In L. Clements & J. Read (Eds.), *Disabled people and the right to life: The protection and violation of disabled people's most basic human rights* (pp. 57–84). London: Routledge.

Goodley, D., & Runswick-Cole, K. (2010). Emancipating play: Dis/abled children, development and deconstruction. *Disability & Society*, *25*(4), 499–512. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687591003755914

Hajkowicz, S., Cook, H., Wilhelmseder, L., & Boughen, N. (2013). *The future of Australian sport: Megatrends shaping the sport sector over coming decades*. Canberra: CSIRO.

Imms, C., Mathews, S., Richmond, K. N., Law, M., & Ullenhag, A. (2015). Optimising leisure participation: A pilot intervention study for adolescents with physical impairments. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, *38*(10), 963–971.

Independent Sport Panel. (2009). *The future of sport in Australia (The Crawford report)*. Canberra: ASC.

Jackson, E. L. (1991). Leisure constraints/constrained leisure: Special issue introduction. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *23*(4), 279–285.

Jackson, E. L. (1993). Recognizing patterns of leisure constraints: Results from alternative analyses. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *25*(2), 129–149.

Jeanes, R., Spaaij, R., Magee, J., Farquharson, K., Gorman, S., & Lusher, D. (2018). "Yes we are inclusive": Examining provision for young people with disabilities in community sport clubs. *Sport Management Review*, *21*(1), 38–50.

Kanagasabai, P. S., Mulligan, H., Hale, L. A., & Mirfin-Veitch, B. (2018). "I do like the activities which I can do…" Leisure participation experiences of children with movement impairments. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, *40*(14), 1630–1638.

Kayess, R., & French, P. (2008). Out of darkness into

light? Introducing the Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities. *Human Rights Law Review*, *8*(1), 1–34.

King, G., Lawm, M., King, S., Rosenbaum, P., Kertoy, M. K., & Young, N. L. (2003). A conceptual model of the factors affecting the recreation and leisure participation of children with disabilities. *Physical & Occupational Therapy in Pediatrics*, *23*(1), 63–90.

Lauff, J. (2011). Participation rates of developing countries in international disability sport: A summary and the importance of statistics for understanding and planning. *Sport in Society*, *14*(9), 1280–1284.

MacDonald, D. J., Beck, K., Erickson, K., & Côté, J. (2016). Understanding sources of knowledge for coaches of athletes with intellectual disabilities. *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, *29*(3), 242–249.

Martin, J. J. (2013). Benefits and barriers to physical activity for individuals with disabilities: A social-relational model of disability perspective. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, *35*(24), 2030–2037.

Martin, M. R., & Speer, L. (2011). Leveling the playing field: Strategies for inclusion. *Strategies*, *24*(5), 24–27.

McConkey, R. (2016). Sports and intellectual disability: A clash of cultures? *Advances in Mental Health and Intellectual Disabilities*, *10*(5), 293–298.

Misener, L., & Darcy, S. (2014). Managing disability sport: From athletes with disabilities to inclusive organisational perspective. *Sport Management Review*, *17*(1), 1–7.

National Disability Insurance Scheme. (n.d.). *NDIS operational guidelines*. Canberra: Australian Department of Human Services.

New South Wales Government. (2018). Active kids: $100 for every child to play sport. *New South Wales Government*. Retrieved from https://www.nsw.gov.au/your-government/the-premier/media-releases-from-the-premier/active-kids-100-for-every-child-to-play-sport

Oliver, M. (1996). *Understanding disability: From theory to practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Oulton, K., & Heyman, B. (2009). Devoted protection: How parents of children with severe learning disabilities manage risks. *Health, Risk & Society*, *11*(4), 303–319.

Pule, R. E. J., Drotsky, G. A. P., Toriola, A. L., & Kubayi, N. A. (2014). Barriers to sport participation among learners at public township schools in Tshwane, South Africa. *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, *20*(4), 1414–1423.

Shields, N., Synnot, A. J., & Barr, M. (2012). Perceived barriers and facilitators to physical activity for children with disability: A systematic review. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, *46*(14), 989–997.

Smith, R. W., Austin, D. R., Kennedy, D. W., Lee, Y., & Hutchison, P. (2005). *Inclusive and special recreation: Opportunities for persons with disabilities*. New York, NY: Sagemore.

Son, J. S., Kerstetter, D. L., & Mowen, A. J. (2008). Do age and gender matter in the constraint negotiation of physically active leisure? *Journal of Leisure Research*, *40*(2), 267–289.

Sotiriadou, K., & Wicker, P. (2014). Examining the participation patterns of an ageing population with disabilities in Australia. *Sport Management Review*, *17*(1), 35–48.

Spaaij, R., Lusher, D., Jeanes, R., Farquharson, K., Gorman, S., & Magee, J. (2019). Participation-performance tension and gender affect recreational sports clubs' engagement with children and young people with diverse backgrounds and abilities. *PloS one*, *14*(4). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0214537

Sport Australia. (2019). *Sport 2030: Participation, performance, integrity, industry*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Health. Retrieved from https://www.sportaus.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/677894/Sport_2030_-_National_Sport_Plan_-_2018.pdf

Sport England. (2016). *Towards an active nation: Strategy 2016–2021*. London: Sport England.

Thompson, A. M., Rehman, L. A., & Humbert, M. L. (2005). Factors influencing the physically active leisure of children and youth: A qualitative study. *Leisure Sciences*, *27*(5), 421–438.

Thompson, D., Fisher, K., Purcal, C., Deeming, C., & Sawrikar, P. (2011). *Community attitudes to people with disability: Scoping project*. Sydney: Social Policy Research Centre, Disability Studies and Research Centre, University of New South Wales.

United Nations. (2006). Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities. *United Nations*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities/frequently-asked-questions-regarding-the-convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities.html

Üstün, T. B., Kostanjsek, N., Chatterji, S., & Rehm, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Measuring health and disability: Manual for WHO disability assessment schedule (WHODAS 2.0)*. Geneva: World Health Organization. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/43974/9789241547598_eng.pdf;jsessionid=784905CE6E1CF62D6D4A7FC4E5479CFF?sequence=1

Veal, A. J., & Darcy, S. (2014). *Research methods for sport studies and sport management: A practical guide* (1st ed.). Milton Park: Routledge.

Veal, A. J., Darcy, S., & Lynch, R. (2013). *Australian leisure* (4th ed.). Sydney: Pearson Educational.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wolbring, G. (2008). Is there an end to out-able? Is there an end to the rat race for abilities? *M/C Journal*, *11*(3). Retrieved from http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/index

About the Authors

Simon Darcy is a Professor of Social Inclusion at the Management Department, UTS Business School, University of Technology Sydney. He has published widely in the areas of inclusive organisational practice for diversity groups across many different social contexts.

Janice Ollerton (PhD) has over 30 years experience working in Australia's employment assistance sector, specifically disability employment assistance since 1997, with a keen interest in intersectional disadvantage and barriers to social inclusion. She holds an adjunct Senior Lecturer position with UNSW and undertakes sessional teaching in regional NSW for Charles Sturt University.

Simone Grabowski (Faulkner; PhD) is a Lecturer in Management and International Business at the University of Technology Sydney. She has a PhD and first class Honours degree in Tourism Management and a BA (International Studies). Her research spans volunteerism, sustainability, consumer behaviour, cross-cultural psychology, community, disability, and diversity management.

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 3, Pages 224–235
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i3.2735

Article

Inclusion through Sport: A Critical View on Paralympic Legacy from a Historical Perspective

Sylvain Ferez [1,2,*], Sébastien Ruffié [3], Hélène Joncheray [4], Anne Marcellini [5], Sakis Pappous [6] and Rémi Richard [1]

[1] Health, Education, Situations of Disability Laboratory, University of Montpellier, 34090 Montpellier, France; E-Mails: sylvain.ferez@umontpellier.fr (S.F.), remi.richard@umontpellier.fr (R.R.)
[2] National Centre for Scientific Research, 75016 Paris, France
[3] Adaptations to Tropical Climates, Exercise and Health, University of the West Indies, Pointe-à-Pitre 97157, Guadeloupe; E-Mail: sebastien.ruffie@univ-antilles.fr
[4] INSEP—The National Institute of Sport, Expertise, and Performance, Paris University, 75006 Paris, France; E-Mail: helene.joncheray@insep.fr
[5] Life Course and Inequality Research Centre (LINES), University of Lausanne, 1015 Lausanne, Switzerland; E-Mail: anne.marcellini@unil.ch
[6] School of Sport and Exercise Sciences, University of Kent, Canterbury, CT2 7NZ, UK; E-Mail: a.pappous@kent.ac.uk

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 18 December 2019 | Accepted: 15 June 2020 | Published: 17 August 2020

Abstract
Through its commitment to universalism, the inclusion of disabled people has become an increasingly prominent objective of the Paralympic Games. To achieve this, the organisers rely on the notion of legacy, which refers to the expected effects of major sporting events on host countries. This notion was initially founded on material aspects and then took an interest in certain intangible sides that were spotted within the organiser's goals and studied in literature. Building on the historical literature about the Paralympic movement's institutionalization, this article shows that this institutionalization took place in a context of tension between disabled communities, depending on their proximity to the Olympic model. What is the impact of this historical legacy in terms of inclusion of the greater number? By shedding light on the historical perspective of the obstacles encountered in the creation of an 'all-disabilities' sporting event, this article aims to discuss and challenge the current perspective on the inclusive legacy of the Paralympic Games.

Keywords
disability; inclusion; legacy; Paralympic Games; sport

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Sport for Development: Opening Transdisciplinary and Intersectoral Perspectives" edited by Pascal Delheye (Ghent University, Belgium), Kirsten Verkooijen (Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands), Dan Parnell (University of Liverpool, UK), John Hayton (Northumbria University, UK) and Reinhard Haudenhuyse (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).

© 2020 by the authors; licensee Cogitatio (Lisbon, Portugal). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY).

1. Introduction

For the last 20 years, the organization of mega sport events has been associated with the ambition to leave a legacy (Preuss, 2019). Since the 2012 London Games, having a specific and detailed Paralympic and Olympic legacy plan has become a prerequisite for candidate cities (Leopkey & Parent, 2012). Inclusiveness has therefore become a crucial goal for every organizing committee. Thus, new big events, such as the Paris bid for the 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games, made the inclusion of disabled people a major priority. Tony Estanguet,

President of the Paris 2024 Committee, explained that he wished "to use the Games as part of a project to create an inclusive and humanly connected society, which gives everybody a chance" (Paris 2024, 2019). The 2024 Games must therefore reinforce the actions taken by the French government aiming to "make the practice of sports both inclusive and accessible" (Paris 2024, 2019).

In order for this to happen, four main goals have been defined in line with those promoted for the 2012 London Games and 2016 Rio Games. The first one aims to transform the way in which disabled people are perceived. The second goal concerns the issue of accessibility to all sport equipment and to the entire Olympic and Paralympic village. The third goal is to increase the number of memberships to sports federations by 20%—including those which are specifically oriented toward disabled people—while doubling the offer of timeslots available to disabled people on a national scale. Finally, the fourth goal is to develop a centre of excellence for Paralympic sports in the aftermath of the Games.

How can these ambitions, proclaimed during the bid process, be achieved? How can the research concerning the legacy of previous Games help to conceive and construct an inclusive legacy for the next Paralympic Games? The aim of this article is to review existing literature on this topic anew, by historically analysing the institutionalization of the Paralympic movement. Our research stems from a contradiction: How can we reconcile the Paralympic Games' legacy, which mainly focuses, in a spirit of sporting performance, on the least disabled groups, with the larger goal of including a heterogeneous group? In other words, how can big sporting events promote an inclusive legacy when they focus on a small number of elite athletes?

In order to answer this research question, we propose an integrative review of literature with the aim of combining the different existing perspectives and produce a critical analysis (Snyder, 2019). A non-systematic compendium of research articles, books and book chapters, published in in English or in French, offers the possibility to create a critical qualitative analysis by topic (Torraco, 2005). The goal of this analysis is to highlight the obstacles encountered and subsequently overcome in the creation of major global disability sport events with the aim of gaining a new outlook on the inclusive legacy of the Games. In order to do this, we began by outlining the topics that constitute our literature review: 1) the historical structuring of the sporting movement for disabled people; 2) evaluating the inclusive impact of the Paralympic Games' legacy (1989–2020) through high level performance, representations in the media, and through the effects on promoting access for every type of public to sports clubs.

We will begin here by reviewing the structuring of the Paralympic movement while highlighting the difficulties generated by the bid to take into account disabilities in all their diversity. Far from being a homogenous group, disabled people show a heterogeneity to which the legacy of major sporting events will likely have trouble responding in a uniform manner, particularly if we consider that high level competition naturally produces more exclusion than inclusion. Next, we will focus on the three main objectives of the immaterial legacy in order to grasp the extent to which they can answer the inclusive ambitions they claim to aim for.

2. Access to the Olympics (1960–1989): Difficulties and Politico-Institutional Necessities of Bringing Disabilities Together

The history of the institutionalization of the Paralympic movement is marked by the diverging outlooks of the people involved in its development on both national and international levels (Ruffié, Ferez, & Lantz, 2014). The sport activities in the years 1940 to 1960 as a means of re-education for those with physical impairments (Anderson, 2003), were progressively structured into a competitive practice (Legg & Steadward, 2011). The year 1989 marked a milestone with the recognition of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The IPC grouped together the main sport federations of disabled people. However, this sportivisation, which began in the 1960s, led to many questions during the following decades, concerning notably the multiplicity of disabilities and how they were taken into account. A double perspective for inclusiveness thus came to bear, both in order to allow sport participation for disabled athletes, but also to promote the inclusion of the varied groups of people living daily with physical, sensory and intellectual deficiencies. How can the legacy of high-performance sport, which is selective by nature, be reconciled with the inclusion of a diverse community that can sometimes be very distant from physical excellence?

2.1. From Functional Rehabilitation to Competitive Sports

The development of physical and sport activities for disabled people is organized, both nationally and internationally, from two specific perspectives linked to the profile of those involved: doctors or disabled people. Depending on the country, and the promoters of disabled sports, two competing outlooks were developed and then turned against each other during the early days of the internationalization of the Paralympic movement. In certain countries, such as England, Japan or Italy, doctors took a firm grasp of sport activities which were seen as an additional tool in the rehabilitation process (Goodman, 1986). In other countries, such as France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland or Slovenia, it was disabled people themselves, often wounded at war, who organized themselves in an attempt to escape from this initial rehabilitative perspective, and instead produce a sportivisation of the movement.

The first initiative in this matter was the one carried out by Ludwig Guttmann (Brittain, 2011). As a neurosurgeon, specialized in spinal injuries and working for the Stoke Mandeville hospital, Guttmann created a physical activity program for young war-wounded soldiers. Having been faced with numerous medical complications, but also with high suicide rates linked to depression and posttraumatic stress (Anderson, 2003), Guttmann decided to propose sport games to his patients to rekindle their will to live but also as a rehabilitative process (Gold & Gold, 2007). In this manner, physical activities represented, in Guttmann's mind, a medical device aiming to increase the physical capacities of wheelchair users. In this period of post-war reconstruction, the goal was to re-adapt these individuals to society by finding ways to compensate for their disabilities in order to play once more an active part, notably through work (Anderson, 2003). On 28th July 1948, Guttmann inaugurated the first Stoke Mandeville Games, which progressively became an international event for wheelchair users. These sport events, defined through a medical perspective (Bailey, 2008), were also an opportunity for medical specialists to meet and exchange ideas on the subject of rehabilitation through the use of physical activities.

Other initiatives, carried by individuals touched by disability, emerged during the 1950s. Although the goals of these different initiatives were initially similar, the people concerned and the public aimed at were different. For Guttmann, physical activity should only be rehabilitative, from a medical perspective, and only concerned people in wheelchairs. In this outlook, he was quite representative of the promoters, principally professionals from the medical sector, who made propositions "for others," without being concerned themselves by any form of disability (Laville & Sainsaulieu, 1997). For those who were directly affected by war generated disabilities, the perspective was different. They had to suffer the physical, psychological and social difficulties linked to their disabilities. As both beneficiaries and promoters of physical activity, they immediately took into consideration the benefits of physical activity for every physically disabled person, regardless of the nature of the disability. These two perspectives, typical examples of the various initiatives around the world, confronted each other in the 1960s. The international development of disability sports and the institutionalization of the Paralympic movement, such as they are today, are a result of this confrontation.

The Rome 1960 'Olympic Games for Physically Disabled People,' according to the designation of the time, constituted a turning point in the sportivisation process. The annual competitions set up since 1948 by Guttmann with the Stoke Mandeville hospital were, for the first time, transferred to the same site and the same year as the Olympic Games (Ruffié & Ferez, 2013). These Games provided the opportunity to show wounded bodies in a prestigious Olympic arena. They were also an occasion for assembling all the different international leaders of disabled sports, which led to the creation of an International Working Group on Sports for the Disabled. However, there were disagreements between Guttmann, representing the doctors, and some leaders who were in favour of a sportivisation of the movement. For the former, the rehabilitative orientation should remain central and, if competition were to be introduced, it should only concern those people who used wheelchairs. For the latter, the goal should be to organize international sport competitions which would be open to all types of disability (Ferez, Ruffié, & Bancel, 2016).

Guttmann created the International Stoke Mandeville Game Committee in 1959, which became the International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sport Federation in 1960, in order to organize competitions and to popularize his model. In 1964, for the second edition of the Olympic Games for the Physically Disabled, which took place in Tokyo, the World Veteran Foundation decided to play an active role. It was a way for them to provide support for those wounded during war and to consolidate their implication within sports for the physically disabled, initiated several years earlier through their help in organizing the Stoke Mandeville Games (Ruffié et al., 2014). During the Tokyo Games, the International Working Group on Sports for the Disabled became the International Sport Organization for the Disabled, a federation that represented amputees, visually impaired people, those with cerebral palsy, as well as the 'others' category. Both of its first two chairmen came from the World Veteran Foundation. Although both federations regrouped the same leading people, it was a way for the World Veteran Foundation to put brakes on Guttmann and to introduce a new outlook, one which was in favour of granting access to competitions to any person living with a disability. The first two editions of the Olympic Games for the Physically Disabled were nevertheless tinted by Guttmann's medical and paternalistic perspective (Bailey, 2008). In Rome, the opening of the event took place in the presence of the minister for health, and in Tokyo, the athletes were presented as patients (Frost, 2012).

2.2. From Games for Paraplegics to Games for "Every Disability"

The 1960s were however a time for the multiplication of national and international competitions, which were the trigger for a sportivisation movement. Competitions began to be accessible to any type of disability, which opened the debate concerning access to the Olympic Games for the Physically Disabled, but also concerning the conditions for a sporting organization enabling an equitable participation for all (Ferez, Ruffié, Issanchou, & Cornaton, 2018). In Tel Aviv (1968), the competitive character of the Games became more prominent. In spite of Guttmann's election as the Head of the International Sport Organization for the Disabled, thus cumulating presidency for the two main international federations of

the time, the sporting orientation was ratified by the participants themselves who were seeking, from then onwards, to prove their excellence through performance. Records were sought after and comparison with non-disabled athletes was no longer feared. Nevertheless, this convergence with competitive sports, following the non-disabled model, questioned the current possibilities for inclusion, and therefore also the legitimacy of the legacy of great Paralympic events. The latter were only finally open to those who were able to engage in a model of physical excellence.

In this context and as early as 1970, the International Sport Organization for the Disabled announced that the 1972 Games would be open to any type of disability (Ferez, Jamain-Samson, Marin-Duval, & Villoing, 2013). However, the negotiations with the International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sport Federation led nowhere. The 1972 Heidelberg Games, to which once again only athletes in wheelchairs participated, were disrupted by amputee athletes asking for their right to participate to be recognized. At the beginning of 1971, the International Sport Organization for the Disabled had made a stand for the 1976 Montreal Games to be open to all. In reality, only visually impaired and amputee athletes participated alongside those in wheelchairs. Athletes with cerebral palsy had to wait until the 1980 Arnhem Games to be integrated. For the members of the 'others' category, integration happened on a case by case basis, as a function of specific classifications being accepted on an international level (Legg & Steadward, 2011).

Throughout the 1970s, the integration of the different publics during the Olympic Games for the Physically Disabled led to a strong debate. It was difficult to imagine sport events which would be specific to each disability without it disrupting the competitive orientation. In this context, national and international competitions were a good opportunity to put classification systems to test, allowing the competitive participation of everyone. Following an initial medical approach, it was a functional orientation which was then favoured in order to allow competitions between athletes with different disabilities but similar levels of functionality within a given sport context (Ferez et al., 2018; Marcellini & Lantz, 2014). The classifications which were adopted however generated dissatisfaction, and those who were the most distant from the sporting model, became dissident. Indeed, these classifications, whilst creating participation conditions for athletes with different types of disability to one same highly competitive event, also ratified the setting aside of lower performing athletes. In this context, how can great sporting events, which are founded on principles such as competition and exclusion, be considered as generating inclusion? In 1978, the Cerebral Palsy International Sport and Recreation Association decided to leave the International Sport Organization for the Disabled. In 1980, the International Blind Sport Association decided to follow suit (Issanchou, Lantz, & Liotard, 2013). Tension punctuated the movement in a context where the desire to get closer to the non-disabled sport movement was only growing stronger. On this point, the IOC was very clear: Exchanges on the topic of a possible recognition would only be possible if the organizations for disabled sports presented a unique spokesman.

In spite of their disagreements, the different international structures for sport for the physically disabled strove to create a single unified organization. In 1982, the International Coordinating Committee Sports for the Disabled in the World was made up of the International Sport Organization for the Disabled, the International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (their new name since 1972), the Cerebral Palsy International Sport and Recreation Association and the International Blind Sport Association. The International Coordinating Committee Sports for the Disabled in the World opened the path to recognition by the non-disabled sports movement. A meeting with the president of the IOC took place in 1983, leading to the instigation of sport demonstrations during the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Games and during the Summer Games in Los Angeles. The evolution of the different classifications remained nevertheless controversial, and the prospect of a single organization was a source of concern, notably on the matter of filiations for strongly diversified groups such as mentally disabled individuals. In 1986, the International Committee of Sports for the Deaf and the International Sports Federation for Persons with Intellectual Disability joined the International Coordinating Committee Sports for the Disabled in the World (Ruffié & Ferez, 2013), which constituted a major opening since, up until then, only organizations for people with motor or perceptive disabilities were concerned. In 1988, during the Seoul Games, a decision was made: The Paralympic Games—the accepted term at the time—would then onwards take place every four years in the same location as the Olympic Games. This only really became systematic following the Atlanta Games of 1996. In September 1989, the IPC was officially created, which provided an official recognition from the IOC.

At the end of the 1980s, the long and slow integration process, initiated during the 1970s and based on the Para-Olympic Games, finally led to the creation of a Paralympic movement federating athletes with different types of disability that presented a strongly heterogeneous front. The creation of the IPC, alongside the organization of Olympic and Paralympic Games in the same location, within the framework of a common organization, constituted crucial steps. It was more or less at the same time that the use of the legacy concept started to develop. At this time, it was neither associated to the inclusion issue, nor even to the Paralympic Games.

3. Evaluating the Inclusive Impact of the Paralympic Games' Legacy (1989–2020)

The concept of the legacy of mega sporting events is linked to an effort to exercise power over the future,

through an attempt to anticipate and master the effects that an event will produce before, during, and after its organization. This concept is different from the one of heritage, which historians use in order to designate a past which is reconstituted from the production of meaningful traces supporting a present identity. The concept of legacy can therefore not be grasped independently from its link with the concepts of governance and sustainability (Leopkey & Parent, 2017). Using this concept, it was the managerial outlook of political and sporting organizations which, from the 1980s onwards, constructed the vision of the social impact of mega sporting events.

After 1984, it was the Olympic movement itself that introduced the prospect of a legacy within the specifications which were distributed to each organizing committee. At the beginning, the concept only related to "tangible" aspects (Gratton & Preuss, 2008). Then, more intangible dimensions progressively made an appearance after the year 2000. An interest for the political, cultural or social legacy of great sporting events emerged at the same time as the reflection concerning the impact of the Paralympic Games began to gain momentum (Mangan & Dyreson, 2010).

Early research concerning the effects of the Paralympic Games, and notably concerning the media coverage of the Paralympic Games (Marcellini & De Léséleuc, 2001; Marcellini, Lefebvre, De Léséleuc, & Bui-Xuan, 2000), did not refer to the concept of legacy, but rather to those of visibility and social integration. In the early 2000s, the concept of legacy was scarcely employed in the related literature. When the term 'legacy' appeared, it was never related to the issue of disabled people's inclusion. It was only after 2010, with the preparation of the 2012 London Games, that it was considered in order to explore the specificities of the Paralympic legacy (Leopkey & Parent, 2012). Although the goal of integrating individuals who are able to prove their physical excellence is operational, what remains of the inclusion of the different disabilities? In this case, the notion of inclusion is clearly distinct from the concept of integration. Integration consists, for a group of individuals, to take part in a new group, while transforming it and creating a new collective whole (Marcellini, 2005). As for inclusion, this supposes setting up a material, human and conceptual environment allowing everyone's participation, without discrimination, and with the expression of human rights (Fougeyrollas, 2010). Using this, can we consider that the legacy of great events such as the Paralympic Games, constructed on the basis of excluding lower performances, can allow inclusion?

Early literature focused upon the tangible legacy, using two indicators: the impact of the organization of the Games on financial investments in favour of Paralympic sports (Darcy & Appleby, 2011) and the extent to which the host city makes its infrastructures (sporting and other) accessible (Legg & Steadward, 2011). As we will see further on, the intangible stakes of the Paralympic legacy were only considered at a later time, and following three main indicators: The development of high-level Paralympic sports, the evolution of the manner in which the media represented Paralympic athletes, and the increase in participation of disabled people. We propose to review the related literature concerning these three aspects of the intangible legacy, and to discuss their effects on inclusion.

3.1. Developing High-Level Paralympics for Inclusion?

Research concerning the trajectories followed by top-level Paralympic athletes reveals strongly diversified paths, with many different social obstacles or facilitating elements. On the subject of these latter factors making high-level practice easier, three main recurring elements were revealed: 1) early sporting socialization thanks to the support of a network on which the athlete can count; 2) the decisive role of coaches in the commitment to high-level practice; and 3) the strength of the affiliation with the 'non-disabled' sport environment.

On a first level, engaging in recreational sporting activities at an early age constitutes an essential basis for later sport success (Castaneda & Sherrill, 1999; Wang & DePauw, 1995). In this manner, for most of the athletes studied by McLoughlin, Weisman, Castaneda, Gwin, and Graber (2017), taking part in competitive events was preceded by the experience of several recreational sporting activities. This early engagement also instigates a family and friend support structure which, in turn, promotes access to high performance sport (McLoughlin et al., 2017; Ruddell & Shinew, 2006). The support provided by friends, peers, teammates, coaches and teachers constitutes an absolute precondition for engaging in high-level sports practice (Hutzler & Bergman, 2011).

On a second level, coaches play a crucial role in initiating and pursuing careers within high-performance sports. They become in turn 'recruiters,' 'mentors,' 'role models' and/or 'personal support' (McLoughlin et al., 2017). However, several studies deplore the lack of specialized coaches able to provide training programs which are adapted to Paralympic athletes (Liow & Hopkins, 1996). Other authors highlighted a stronger emphasis on the medical and rehabilitation character rather than on the athletics and competitive character of sport (Townsend, Cushion, & Smith, 2017). The medico-social approach to adapted physical activity thus conveys a 'non-disabled' ideology that vectors a symbolic violence against these athletes (Townsend, Huntley, Cushion, & Fitzgerald, 2018).

On the third and last level, athletes who engage in a Paralympic career tend to highlight their links with 'non-disabled' peers and with the 'non-disabled' sports community, insisting on the role they played in their sporting commitment (Beldame, Lantz, & Marcellini, 2016; McLoughlin et al., 2017). A number of athletes who were born with a disability lived their first sporting experiences with non-disabled friends, within a recreational framework located outside the boundaries of federal sport

(Castaneda & Sherrill, 1999) or within the 'non-disabled' sporting clubs which made the necessary adjustments in order to be able to welcome them.

On the opposite side, research points to a series of obstacles in accessing high-performance sports for disabled people: 1) injury, to which Paralympic athletes are more often exposed than Olympic ones (Davis & Ferrara, 1995; Martin, 2015; Nyland, Snouse, Anderson, Kelly, & Sterling, 2000); 2) complexity and fluctuations of the classification system (Howe & Jones, 2006; Howe & Kitchin, 2017; Hutzler & Bergman, 2011; Peers, 2009, 2012); 3) cost of practicing high-level sports (McLoughlin et al., 2017; Wheeler et al., 1999); 4) difficulty of finding a sports club and lack of information concerning the sporting offer for disabled people (Taliaferro & Hammond, 2016); and 5) difficulty in accessing sporting infrastructures (Beldame et al., 2016; Burlot, Richard, & Joncheray, 2018).

All in all, the facilitating elements and obstacles evidenced through research weigh differently and have very different ways of expressing themselves depending on the various types of disability (physical, sensory or mental) being considered. Although the legacy of the Paralympic Games aims to improve the participation conditions for the diversity of disabilities, using high-level sports as a basis is questionable. It provides visibility for certain disabled bodies, but can only highlight the multiplicity of the situations experienced depending on the disability with great difficulty. Here, once more, the legacy sought for everybody is limited by a narrow vision of disability and handicap, leaving aside the ideal of an inclusive society while promoting only those individuals who are the closest to the dominant model.

3.2. Sparking Inspiring Representations in the Media

Although media coverage for disabled athletes was almost inexistent before the 1990s, coverage has nowadays become an essential element of the so-called social legacies. It thus becomes important to discuss the role that the portrayal of disability plays in the construction of an event's legacy for the inclusion process. In this context, research has looked into three levels of media coverage: coverage of the sporting event as a whole, coverage of each competition, and coverage of Paralympic athletes. All the information produced concerned visual data, that is to say signs and traces in the form of images that were produced and broadcasted during the event (Terrenoire, 2006), whether these were photos, drawings, paintings or films.

Research in the field of sociology provides evidence of the strong increase in media coverage of the Paralympics after the 1992 Barcelona Games, which was then confirmed with the 1996 Atlanta Games and the 2000 Sydney Games. A larger part of these studies focused on the press coverage of these events (De Léséleuc, Pappous, & Marcellini, 2010; Pappous et al., 2007; Pappous, Marcellini, & De Léséleuc, 2011; Solves, Pappous, Rius, & Kohe, 2018). Studies concerning television coverage were sparser (Paillette, Delforce, & Wille, 2002), in the same way as those looking into the overall media coverage of Paralympic sport (Gilbert & Schantz, 2008; Schantz & Gilbert, 2012). Over time, these various studies showed that the ways in which the Olympics and Paralympics are treated became progressively more similar. It must be said that, although the two events maintained a certain distance from one another, from 1992 onwards, they systematically took place in the same location. The understanding, by the management board, of mega-events and their potential side-effects also contributed to closing the gap in terms of image control. Step by step, the unification of the two events within the same organization promoted their association within the media.

A second series of research concerning representations in the media looked into the appearance of disability sport figures (Marcellini, 2007), resulting in three observations: 1) the growing importance of how techno-scientific advances are depicted; 2) a promotion of the sporting action and of the sporting effort; and 3) the exhibition of constructed bodies in reference to the sporting body, muscled, efficient, controlled and mastered (Lebel, Marcellini, & Pappous, 2010). A turn was initiated in the media coverage of disabled athletes after the year 2000. Whereas images of racing wheelchairs were initially dominant, they soon were eclipsed by Flexfoot running prosthetics, the symbol of the technologisation of human beings (Issanchou, 2014). Oscar Pistorius was the incarnation of the 'supercrip' figure who fascinated the wider public as much as it worried the sporting institution, insofar as it casted a doubt on the origin of the performances produced (Lebel et al., 2010; Silva & Howe, 2012). In an opposite manner, the lack of media coverage of athletes with mental disabilities contributed to concealing the development of high-level sport for those individuals (Bancel, Cornaton, & Marcellini, 2018; Marcellini, 2007).

In the end, although the media provided the opportunity of broadcasting positive images of the sporting disabled body, they remained standardized in reference to the non-disabled sporting body. In this way, a reference to a tibial amputee, standing, will be preferred over the image of the one in a wheelchair, sitting. What is more, the conveyed representations, constructed on powerful muscles or on modern technologies, create a distance between those who are close to an ideal and those who irremediably drift away from it with each of their peers' accomplishments. Indeed, are they even still peers? Although they give another outlook, the produced images only concern those who are the most capable of attaining the non-disabled sporting ideal. The situation of those with mental disabilities reveals here the limits of the expected change in representations.

3.3. Promoting Sport Practice for Disabled People

Many studies have looked into the links existing between the organization of the Olympic and Paralympic

Games and how much a given population engages in sports (Carmichael, Grix, & Marqués, 2013; Giulianotti, Armstrong, Hales, & Hobbs, 2014). Investment in the sectors of physical education and sports for all became a leitmotiv for the hosting towns (Pappous & Jeyacheya, 2011). Nevertheless, the evidence of a correlation between the organization of a mega-event and an increase in grassroots sport is still inconclusive. The single act of hosting such an event does not mechanically increase participation (Weed et al., 2012). The impact of the Paralympic Games on grassroots sport participation is even more questionable than the impact of the Olympics (Misener, Darcy, Legg, & Gilbert, 2013; Smith & Fleming, 2011; Solves et al., 2018).

Although Coward and Legg (2011) claimed that the 2010 Vancouver Paralympic Games increased the level of sport-for-all participation by disabled people, the authors did not provide any objective indicator allowing to verify this assertion. Following the London 2012 Games, the Head of the British Paralympic Association came to the same conclusion using data concerning Paralympic competition. In both cases, the authors did not have any information at their disposition concerning the evolution of grassroots sport participation for disabled people. Any progression was most often explained by an increase in financial support for Paralympic sport (Darcy & Appleby, 2011). For the 2008 Beijing Games, this increase was mainly beneficial for high performance sport—rather than mass sport—and for the urban and richer zones of the country (Sun, Yan, Mao, Chao, & Jing, 2011).

The organizing committee of the 2012 London Games had clearly indicated its ambition to increase sport participation of disabled people and its wish to change the sporting representations of the British population (Mahtani, Protheroe, & Slight, 2013; Weed et al., 2012). However, at the time of the survey, it was still difficult to ascertain whether this goal had been reached. On the one hand, a slight increase could be noted since 2015 (Sport England, 2017). On the other hand, 89% of the sports clubs questioned by the Sport and Recreation Alliance (2013) did not report any evolution in the number of disabled people enrolled and 86% had not registered any increase in applications to join; in addition, 61% of clubs specialized in sports for disabled people declared no visible evolution in their number of license holders since the Games took place. However, an enquiry led by the English Federation of Disability Sport (2013) showed that 79% of disabled people were interested in taking up sports practice.

In fact, after a temporary increase following the 2012 Olympics, the sporting participation of disabled people began to decline within the UK. Brown and Pappous (2018) attributed this decay to several associated factors. Firstly, they pointed out the limits of the near-exclusive reference to the 'demonstration effects' theory. The focus that the organizers of the Games had on this theory led them to minimise the role of social and structural obstacles in limiting the access of disabled people to sporting activities. Indeed, for a number of these latter, identifying with Paralympic athletes was a difficult process because of the perceived disparity between the performances exhibited and the practice of mass sports. Although a certain momentum was generated by the Paralympic Games, it was difficult to focus and maintain because of the lack of information concerning the sporting offer available for disabled people. Finally, Pappous and Brown (2018) also noted that the increase in media coverage of disability sports was mainly true during the time of the Paralympic Games, but it drastically diminished once these were over.

In the end, faced with their inability to provide empiric proof, the studies concerning the levering effect of the Paralympic Games on the sporting participation of disabled people highlighted the limits of the strategies employed in order to create an inclusive legacy. They also evidenced the importance of coordinating the numerous mechanisms that could produce significant and durable evolutions in the access to mass sports for disabled people.

4. Conclusion

The institutionalization of Paralympic sport is a recent event. The sportivisation movement initiated in the 1960s developed to the accompaniment of bitter debates concerning the integration of every type of disability. Structuring the movement through one single organization was finally only possible at the end of the 1980s, at a time when the question of a legacy was emerging within the Olympic movement, as a managerial goal. In view of this history, Paralympic sport can be likened to a complex assemblage. In addition, the specific demands made by the different groups formed by disabled people, as well as the tensions these generated, reveal how much the legacy of the Paralympic Games cannot be grasped using a generic vision of 'disability.'

Applying this socio-historical perspective finally led us to review the concept of intangible legacy of the Olympics from a new angle, focusing on inclusion. Indeed, this new reading shed light on a series of issues which can also be glimpsed within the preoccupations concerning the tangible dimensions of a legacy with an inclusive vocation, notably those linked to making accessible sporting, touristic, and transport infrastructures. Although the ideal of universal accessibility on which the inclusive model is founded is faced here with the multiplicity of disabilities and incapacities (motor, sensory, intellectual), the ambition to ensure an intangible legacy exposes it to the complexity of the sociocultural production of disability. Indeed, the impairments associated to the various disabilities can produce, or not, situations of handicap depending on the tangible and intangible norms inscribed within the sociocultural environments they are associated with (Fougeyrollas et al., 1998).

This is the main observation that emerges from the research which has, up until now, studied the three in-

tangible indicators of the inclusive legacy of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Richard, Marcellini, Pappous, Joncheray, & Ferez, 2019). From the point of view of the leverage effect upon grassroots sport participation and the facilitation for high-level sports careers, the literature shows just how much the barriers to sporting participation can vary depending on the type of disability involved. Regarding the field of media coverage, several studies highlight the extent to which Paralympic performance is not represented in the same way depending on the disability of the athletes. In other words, intellectual disability, sensory impairments or tetraplegia—to cite only these examples—do not generate the same difficulties in accessing sports practice, whether for leisure or for a high-level sporting career. Beyond 'disability' as a simple category of public action and management, the existence of distinct situations and issues depending on the disabilities involved must be taken into consideration.

In this way, although Paralympic performances and their coverage by the media can contribute to long lasting transformations within our societies, evolving towards more inclusive organization methods, it is most probably by taking action and in showing these actions that the various situations of disability can be reduced or even negated. The aim should thus be to construct visibility for the performances and actions of disabled people within inclusive environments, that is to say situations which do not hold obstacles to their social participation (Fougeyrollas, 2010). This visibility of performances could participate in downplaying disability and ability limitations to the benefit of a facilitation and promotion of each and all's social participation.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Anderson, J. (2003). 'Turned into taxpayers': Paraplegia, rehabilitation and sport at Stoke Mandeville, 1944–56. *Journal of Contemporary History*, *38*(3), 461–475.

Bailey, S. (2008). *Athlete first: A history of the Paralympic movement*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Bancel, N., Cornaton, J., & Marcellini, A. (Eds.). (2018). Be disabled, becoming champion [Special issue]. *Sport in Society*, *21*(4), 587–719.

Beldame, Y., Lantz, E., & Marcellini, A. (2016). Expériences et effets biographiques du sport adapté de haut niveau: Étude de trajectoires sportives et professionnelles d'athlètes catégorisés comme ayant une déficience intellectuelle [Experiences and biographic effects of high-level adapted sport: A study of the sporting and professional paths of athletes classified as having intellectual disabilities]. *Alter*, *10*(3), 248–262.

Brittain, I. (2011). South Africa, apartheid and the Paralympic Games. *Sport in Society*, *14*(9), 1165–1181.

Brown, C., & Pappous, A. (2018). 'The legacy element…It just felt more woolly': Exploring the reasons for the decline in people with disabilities' sport participation in England 5 years after the London 2012 Paralympic Games. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *42*(5), 343–368.

Burlot, F., Richard, R., & Joncheray, H. (2018). The life of high-level athletes: The challenge of high performance against time constraints. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *53*(2), 234–249.

Carmichael, F., Grix, J., & Marqués, D. P. (2013). The Olympic legacy and participation in sport: An interim assessment of Sport England's Active People Survey for sports studies research. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *5*(2), 229–244.

Castaneda, L., & Sherrill, C. (1999). Family participation in challenger baseball: Critical theory perspectives. *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly*, *16*(4), 372–388.

Coward, D., & Legg, D. (2011). Vancouver 2010. In D. Legg & K. Gilbert (Eds.), *Paralympic legacies* (pp. 131–142). Champaign, IL: Common Ground Publishing LLC.

Darcy, S., & Appleby, L. (2011). Sydney 2000: Moving from post-hoc legacy to strategic vision and operational partnerships. In D. Legg & K. Gilbert (Eds.), *Paralympic legacies* (pp. 75–98). Champaign, IL: Common Ground Publishing LLC.

Davis, R. W., & Ferrara, M. S. (1995). Sports medicine and athletes with disabilities. In K. P. DePauw & S. J. Gavron (Eds.), *Disability and sport* (pp. 133–149). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

De Léséleuc, E., Pappous, A., & Marcellini, A. (2010). The media coverage of female athletes with disability: Analysis of the daily press of four European countries during the 2000 Sydney Paralympic Games. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *7*(3/4), 283–296.

English Federation of Disability Sport. (2013). Report of the sport and recreation alliance's sports club survey 2013: A baseline understanding of the provision for disabled people among UK sports clubs. Retrieved from http://www.activityalliance.org.uk/how-we-help/research/1909-sport-and-recreation-alliances-sports-club-survey-2013

Ferez, S., Jamain-Samson, S., Marin-Duval, E., & Villoing, G. (2013). La FFSHP: Bases d'une organisation sportive pyramidale et décentralisée (1968–1972) [The FFSHP: Foundations of a pyramidal and decentralised sporting organisation (1968–1972)]. In S. Ruffié & S. Ferez (Eds.), *Corps, sport, handicaps: L'institutionnalisation du mouvement handisport (1954–2008)* [Body, sport, disabilities: The institutionalisation of the handisport movement (1954–2008)] (pp. 73–90). Paris: Téraèdre.

Ferez, S., Ruffié, S., & Bancel, N. (2016). From sport as an instrument in rehabilitation to the adoption of competitive sport. *Sport History Review*, *47*(2), 146–171.

Ferez, S., Ruffié, S., Issanchou, D., & Cornaton, J. (2018). The manager, the doctor and the technician: Political recognition and institutionalization of sport for the physically disabled in France (1968–1973). *Sport in Society*, *21*(4), 622–634.

Fougeyrollas, P. (2010). *Le funambule, le fil et la toile: Transformations réciproques du sens du handicap* [The tightrope walker, the rope and the net: Mutual transformations in the meaning of disability]. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Fougeyrollas, P., Noreau, L., Berberon, H., Cloutier, R., Dion, S.-A., & St-Michel, G. (1998). Social consequences of long-term impairments and disabilities: Conceptual approach and assessment of handicap. *International Journal of Rehabilitation Research*, *21*, 127–141.

Frost, D.-J. (2012). Tokyo's other games: The origins and impact of the 1964 Paralympics. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *29*(4), 619–637.

Gilbert, K., & Schantz, O. (Eds.). (2008). *The Paralympic Games: Empowerment or side show?* New York, NY: Meyer & Meyer Sports.

Giulianotti, R., Armstrong, G., Hales, G., & Hobbs, D. (2014). Sport mega-events and public opposition: A sociological study of the London 2012 Olympics. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723514530565

Gold, J. R., & Gold, M. M. (2007). Access for all: The rise of the Paralympic Games. *The Journal of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health*, *127*(3), 133–141.

Goodman, S. (1986). *The spirit of Stoke Mandeville: The story of Sir Ludwig Guttmann*. London: Collins.

Gratton, C., & Preuss, H. (2008). Maximizing Olympic impacts by building up legacies. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *25*(14), 1922–1938.

Howe, P. D., & Jones, C. (2006). Classification of disabled athletes: (Dis)empowering the Paralympic practice community. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *23*(1), 29–46.

Howe, P. D., & Kitchin, P. J. (2017). Managing Paralympic bodies: The technology of classification and its impact on (dis)abled athletes. In S. Darcy, S. Frawley, & D. Adair (Eds.), *Managing the Paralympics* (pp. 113–131). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hutzler, Y., & Bergman, U. (2011). Facilitators and barriers to participation while pursuing an athletic career: Retrospective accounts of swimmers with disabilities. *Therapeutic Recreation Journal*, *45*(1), 1–16.

Issanchou, D. (2014). *Une indicible monstruosité: Étude de cas de la controverse médiatique autour d'Oscar Pistorius* [An unspeakable monstrosity: Case study of the media controversy surrounding Oscar Pistorius] (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Paris Nanterre University, Paris, France.

Issanchou, D., Lantz, E., & Liotard, P. (2013). La dynamique internationale (1977–1989): L'imposition progressive d'un modèle sportif unique pour les personnes handicapées [International dynamics (1977–1989): The progressive instigation of a single sporting model for disabled people]. In S. Ruffié & S. Ferez (Eds.), *Corps, sport, handicaps: L'institutionnalisation du mouvement handisport (1954–2008)* [Body, sport, disabilities: The institutionalisation of the handisport movement] (pp. 133–148). Paris: Téraèdre.

Laville, J.-L., & Sainsaulieu, R. (Eds.). (1997). *Sociologie de l'association: Des organisations à l'épreuve du changement social* [Sociology of associations: Organisations immune to social change]. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.

Lebel, E., Marcellini, A., & Pappous, S. (2010). Regards croisés sur une photographie sportive. Photojournalisme sportif et athlètes handicapés: Mise en scène du corps et production de sens [Comparative perspectives on sports photography. Sports photojournalism and disabled athletes: Showcasing the body and producing meaning]. *Alter, European Journal of Disability Research*, *4*(1), 18–33.

Legg, D., & Steadward, R. (2011). The Paralympic Games and 60 years of change (1948–2008): Unification and restructuring from a disability and medical model to sport-based competition. *Sport in Society*, *14*(9), 1099–1115.

Leopkey, B., & Parent, M. M. (2012). Olympic Games legacy: From general benefits to sustainable long-term legacy. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *29*(6), 924–943.

Leopkey, B., & Parent, M. M. (2017). The governance of Olympic legacy: Process, actors and mechanisms. *Leisure Studies*, *36*(3), 438–451.

Liow, D. K., & Hopkins, W. G. (1996). Training practices of athletes with disabilities. *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly*, *13*, 372–381.

Mahtani, K. R., Protheroe, J., & Slight, S. P. (2013). Can the London 2012 Olympics 'inspire a generation' to do more physical or sporting activities? An overview of systematic review. *British Medical Journal Open*, *3*(1), 1–9.

Mangan, J. A., & Dyreson, M. (2010). *Olympic legacies: Intended and unintended: Political, cultural, economic and educational*. Routledge: London.

Marcellini, A. (2005). *Des vies en fauteuil: Usages du sport dans les processus de déstigmatisation et d'intrégation sociale* [Lives spent in a chair: Use of sport in the de-stigmatising and social integration processes]. Paris: CTNERHI.

Marcellini, A. (2007). Nouvelles figures du handicap ? Catégorisations sociales et dynamique des processus de stigmatisation/déstigmatisation [New figures of disability? Social categorisation and dynamics within the stigmatising/de-stigmatising process]. In G. Boetsch, C. Hervé, & J. Rozenberg (Eds.), *Corps normalisé, corps stigmatisé, corps racialisé* [Standardised body, stigmatised body, racialised body] (pp. 201–219). Paris: De Boeck.

Marcellini, A., & De Léséleuc, E. (2001). *Les Jeux Paralympiques vus par la presse: Analyse différentielle*

entre l'Espagne, la France et l'Angleterre [The Paralympic Games as seen by the press: Differential analysis between Spain, France and England]. Paper presented at the 4th Olympic Forum "Adapted Sports: Competition and Paralympic Games," Barcelona, Spain.

Marcellini, A., & Lantz, E. (2014). Compétition et classification paralympique: Une nouvelle conception de l'équité sportive? [Competition and paralympic classification: A new conception of sporting equity?]. In A. Marcellini & G. Villoing (Eds.), *Corps, sport, handicaps: Le mouvement handisport au 21e siècle. Lectures sociologiques* [Body, sport, disabilities: The handisport movement in the 21st century. Sociological readings] (pp. 61–74). Paris: Téraèdre.

Marcellini, A., Lefebvre, N., De Léséleuc, E., & Bui-Xuan, G. (2000). D'une minorité à l'autre: Pratique sportive, visibilité et intégration sociale de groupes stigmatisés [From one minority to another: Sport practice, visibility and social integration of stigmatised groups]. *Loisir & Société/Society and Leisure*, *23*(1), 251–272.

Martin, J. J. (2015). Determinants of elite disability sport performance. *Kinesiology Review*, *4*(1), 91–98.

McLoughlin, G., Weisman, F. C., Castaneda, Y., Gwin, C., & Graber., K. (2017). Sport participation for elite athletes with physical disabilities: Motivations, barriers, and facilitators. *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly*, *34*(4), 421–441.

Misener, L., Darcy, S., Legg, D., & Gilbert, K. (2013). Beyond Olympic legacy: Understanding Paralympic legacy through a thematic analysis. *Journal of Sport Management*, *27*(4), 329–341.

Nyland, J., Snouse, S. L., Anderson, M., Kelly, T., & Sterling, J. C. (2000). Soft tissue injuries to USA paralympians at the 1996 summer games. *Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation*, *81*(3), 368–373.

Paillette, S., Delforce, B., & Wille, F. (2002). La médiatisation des jeux Paralympiques à la télévision français [Media coverage of the Paralympic Games on French television]. *Les Cahiers du Journalisme*, *11*, 184–199.

Pappous, A., & Brown, C. (2018). Paralympic legacies: A critical perspective. In I. Brittain & A. Beacom (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Paralympic studies* (pp. 647–664). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pappous, A., Cruz, F., De Léséleuc, E., Marcellini, A., Recours, R., & Schmidt, J. (2007). La visibilidad de la deportista paralimpica en la prensa espanola [Visibility of Paralympic athletes in the Spanish press]. *Revista de Ciencias del Ejercicio Fisico*, *3*(2), 12–32.

Pappous, A., & Jeyacheya, J. (2011). The 2012 cultural Olympiad and Paralympic Games: An opportunity to challenge the archetypal, stereotypes of disability for good? *International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education*. Retrieved from https://www.icsspe.org/content/no-61-cd-rom

Pappous, A., Marcellini, A., & De Léséleuc, E. (2011). From Sydney to Beijing: The evolution of the photographic coverage of Paralympic Games in five European countries. *Sport in Society*, *14*(3), 345–354.

Paris 2024. (2019). *Génération 2024. Des jeux pour durer* [Generation 2024. Games that last]. Paris: Paris 2024. Retrieved from https://www.paris2024.org/app/uploads/2019/04/generation2024_web.pdf

Peers, D. (2009). (Dis)empowering Paralympic histories: Absent athletes and disabling discourses. *Disability & Society*, *24*(5), 653–665.

Peers, D. (2012). Patients, athletes, freaks: Paralympism and the reproduction of disability. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *36*(3), 295–316.

Preuss, H. (2019). Event legacy framework and measurement. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *11*(1), 103–118.

Richard, R., Marcellini, A., Pappous, A. S., Joncheray, H., & Ferez, S. (2019). Construire et assurer l'héritage des Jeux olympiques et paralympiques: Pour une inclusion sportive durable des personnes vivant des situations de handicap [Constructing and ensuring the legacy of the Olympic and Paralympic Games: For a durable sporting inclusion of people living in disabled situations]. *Movement & Sport Sciences*. https://doi.org/10.1051/sm/2019031

Ruddell, J. L., & Shinew, K. J. (2006). The socialization process for women with physical disabilities: The impact of agents and agencies in the introduction to an elite sport. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *38*(3), 421–444.

Ruffié, S., & Ferez, S. (Ed.). (2013). *Corps, sport, handicaps: L'institutionnalisation du mouvement handisport (1954–2008)* [Body, sport, disabilities: The institutionalisation of the handisport movement (1954–2008)]. Paris: Téraèdre.

Ruffié, S., Ferez, S., & Lantz, E. (2014). From the institutionalization of "all disabilities" to comprehensive sports integration: The enrolment of France in the Paralympic movement (1954–2012). *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *31*(17), 2245–2265.

Schantz, O., & Gilbert, K. (Eds.). (2012). *Heroes or zero's: The medias perceptions of Paralympic sport*. Champaign, IL: Common Ground Publishing LLC.

Silva, C. F., & Howe, D. (2012). The (in)validity of supercrip representation of Paralympian athletes. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *36*(2), 174–194.

Smith, P., & Fleming, S. (2011). Paralympic legacy in physical activity and health: A UK perspective. In D. Legg & K. Gilbert (Eds.), *Paralympic legacies* (pp. 199–212). Champaign, IL: Common Ground Publishing LLC.

Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research*, *104*, 333–339.

Solves, J., Pappous, A., Rius, I., & Kohe, G. (2018). Framing the Paralympic Games: A mixed-methods analysis of Spanish media coverage of the Beijing 2008 and London 2012 Paralympic Games. *Communication & Sport*. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479518808237

Sport and Recreation Alliance. (2013). *Olympic and Par-*

alympic Games legacy survey*. London: Sport and Recreation Alliance.

Sport England. (2017). Active people interactive: Analyse the date. *Sport England*. Retrieved from http://activepeople.sportengland.org/Result#Id=135337&OutputType=1&Table.Id=135337&Table.SelectedTabs[0]=1&Table.TabDimension=3&Table.ColDimension=4&Table.RowDimension=0&Table.ValueMode=0&Chart.Id=135337&Chart.SelectedTabs[0]=1&Chart.TabDimension=3&Chart.ColDimension=4&Chart.RowDimension=0&Chart.ValueMode=0

Sun, S., Yan, R., Mao, A., Chao, L., & Jing, T. (2011). China and the development of sport for persons with a disability, 1978–2008: A review. *Sport in Society*, *14*(9), 1192–1210.

Taliaferro, A. R., & Hammond, L. (2016). 'I don't have time': Barriers and facilitators to physical activity for adults with intellectual disabilities. *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly*, *33*(2), 113–133.

Terrenoire, J.-P. (2006). Sociologie visuelle [Visual sociology]. *Communications*, *80*, 121–143.

Torraco, R.-J. (2005). Writing integrative literature reviews: Guidelines and examples. *Human Resource Development Review*, *4*(3), 356–367.

Townsend, R. C., Cushion, C. J., & Smith, B. (2017). A social relational analysis of an impairment-specific mode of disability coach education. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *10*(3), 346–361.

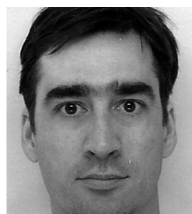
Townsend, R. C., Huntley, T., Cushion, C. J., & Fitzgerald, H. (2018). 'It's not about disability, I want to win as many medals as possible': The social construction of disability in high-performance coaching. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690218797526

Wang, W., & DePauw, K. P. (1995). Early sport socialization of elite Chinese athletes with physical and sensory disabilities. *Palaestra*, *11*(2), 40–46.

Weed, M., Coren, E., Fiore, J., Wellard, I., Mansfield, L., Chatziefstathiou, D., & Dowse, S. (2012). Developing a physical activity legacy from the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games: A policy-led systematic review. *Perspectives in Public Health*, *132*(2), 75–80.

Wheeler, G. D., Steadward, R. D., Legg, D., Hutzler, Y., Campbell, E., & Johnson, A. (1999). Personal investment in disability sport careers: An international study. *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly*, *16*, 219–237.

About the Authors



Sylvain Ferez is a Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Sports Science and Physical Education of the University of Montpellier (France) and Director of the Health, Education, Situations of Disability laboratory. His research work develops a socio-historical reading of the issues related to access to physical and sports activities for people with disabilities and/or living with a chronic disease.

Sébastien Ruffié is a Senior Lecturer at the University of the West Indies in Guadeloupe (France). His work focuses on the effects of physical and sports activities for people with disabilities. He is the author, with Sylvain Ferez, of a book entitled *Body, Sport, Disabilities: The Institutionalisation of the Handisport Movement (1954–2008)* in 2013, published by Téraèdre, and of several articles on the subject.

Hélène Joncheray is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Paris. Since 2017, she has been on secondment as a researcher at the French Institute of Sport (INSEP). She is interested in the role of social factors in sport performance. She is responsible of one of the three themes of the Sport, Expertise and Performance laboratory, 'Life-Balance of Elite Athletes and Their Staff.' She is one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Sociology of Sport Association (ISSA).

Anne Marcellini is a Sport Sociologist specialized in adapted physical activities and health. She is Professor at the Faculty of Social and Politic Sciences at Lausanne University (Switzerland). Her research focuses on the social participation of people with disabilities in connection with issues linking the body uses, identity, stigma and social integration process. She is a specialist in qualitative and visual sociology.

Sakis Pappous is the Founding Director of the Sports Legacies and Society research group at the University of Kent (UK) and his main research interest is on the social legacies of sport mega events and sport participation. Pappous enjoys teaching in different languages and conducting interdisciplinary research. He has been involved either as a researcher or as a consultant in different editions of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (2004 Athens, 2012 London, 2016 Rio and 2020 Tokyo).

Rémi Richard is an Associate Professor at the University of Montpellier, sociologist at the Health, Education, Situations of Disability laboratory. His research focuses on disability, gender and technology issues in the field of sport.

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183-2803)

Social Inclusion is a peer-reviewed open access journal which provides academics and policy-makers with a forum to discuss and promote a more socially inclusive society.

The journal encourages researchers to publish their results on topics concerning social and cultural cohesiveness, marginalized social groups, social stratification, minority-majority interaction, cultural diversity, national identity, and core-periphery relations, while making significant contributions to the understanding and enhancement of social inclusion worldwide.

www.cogitatiopress.com/socialinclusion

COGITATIO