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SUMMARY

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Degree:	DPhil (HMS) Option Sport and Recreation Management
Title of Thesis:	Deconstructing the roles and expectations of change agents using sport and recreation in a South African context
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Sport and recreation have the inherent power to bring communities together; to provide a sense of inclusion to people living on the fringes of society and to solve a myriad of social problems such as social inclusion. The current sport and recreation provision system focusing on social inclusion in marginalised communities in South Africa includes a variety of change agents with seemingly contradictory roles and expectations related to the goal of social inclusion. The discrepancy regarding the possible and actual benefits of sport and recreation participation necessitates the deconstruction of roles and expectations of change agents working towards social inclusion through the provision of sport and recreation opportunities. The overall aim of the study was to deconstruct the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community members in social inclusion through sport and recreation provision. Post-structuralism was utilised as a theoretical lens through which change agents' roles and expectations were deconstructed in order to emphasise the role of discourse and power in social reality. The presumption that the social world can be accurately known, and truthfully and objectively represented, is questioned by post-structural theorists. Reality, knowledge and perceptions of the world are therefore perceived as discursive. Post-structuralism emphasises the role of discourse and power in the reproduction of knowledge, social reality and social regulation in society. Discourses informing the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as a vehicle for social inclusion in marginalised communities include the *marginalised community discourse* and the discourse promoting *sport and recreation as solely beneficial*. This study utilised a qualitative ethnographic approach to

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answer the research question: *How does deconstructing the roles and expectations of change agents operating in marginalised communities facilitate social inclusion through sport and recreation?*

Based on abovementioned research question it was postulated that discrepancies exist between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities in the provision of sport and recreation as social inclusion intervention; that discourses construct and maintain current practices in the provision of sport and recreation as vehicle to improve social inclusion; and that notions of power are constructed in the relationship between change agents and marginalised communities within the provision of sport and recreation as vehicle to social inclusion.

Results of the study included the corroboration of two discourses that influence the roles and expectations of change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities related to the goal of social inclusion. The conclusion of the study emphasised that the current sport and recreation provision system in marginalised communities in South Africa is structured in such a way that the *status quo* in these communities is maintained, which contribute to the difficulty in facilitating social inclusion.

The conclusion of the study confirmed that the current sport and recreation provision system in marginalised communities in South Africa is structured in such a way that the *status quo* in these communities is maintained which contribute to the difficulty in facilitating social inclusion. The study concludes with recommending that social inclusion of marginalised communities should be addressed at a structural level in social policy, and that change agents involved in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities be recognised as stakeholders. Implications for further study centre around the repositioning of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities in South Africa; exploring monitoring of grants and funding of sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities in South Africa; the development of a toolkit to assist change agents in measurement and evaluation; and, the development of a toolkit to assist in information-sharing amongst change agents.

Key words: change agents; community**;** discourse; expectations; marginalised communities; post-structuralism; roles; social inclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, AIM, RESEARCH PROBLEM AND SUMMARISED METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Sport and recreation have the potential to bring communities together, to provide a sense of inclusion to people living on the fringes of society and to address a myriad of social problems (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). The notion of using sport and recreation participation as tools to address various social problems has gained popularity over the last few decades, although Müller, Van Zoonen and De Roode (2008) warn that there is a lack of supporting empirical evidence. Case studies and examples of local interventions delivering benefits at local level are in abundance, however, whilst proponents of sport and recreation-based social interventions have long tried to demonstrate the effect of these interventions on social problems, little definitive evidence exists that proves a direct causal relationship between participating in sport and recreation and solving a wider social problem such as social exclusion (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

All communities strive toward social inclusion; however, marginalised communities are especially vulnerable to experiencing exclusion from society. Marginalised communities are therefore often the target for social inclusion interventions, as they present immediate social challenges that cannot be resolved by the community itself. Various role-players are involved in marginalised communities with the overall aim of changing current situations within a community.

Role-players using sport and recreation provision as a tool to facilitate social inclusion are often perceived by marginalised community members in a different way to other agents associated with the social inclusion agenda, such as teachers and social workers. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) propose that sport and recreation providers should be seen

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as cultural intermediaries between marginalised communities and external role-players. Sport and recreation providers can therefore be seen as agents of change, as social inclusion is ultimately a change process. Despite the lack of empirical evidence, numerous change agents – such as government, non-profit organisations (NPOs), religious organisations, tertiary education institutions, volunteers and community-based organisations – maintain and promote the 'sport as panacea for social ills' discourse. The benefits to society and its members attributed to participation in sport and recreation programmes include personal benefits such as self-fulfilment, the development of personal relationships and an enhanced quality of life (SRSA, 2012), physical health (Kelly, Hoehner, Baker, Brennan Ramirez & Brownson, 2006), social benefits such as the strengthening of civic attitudes and social regeneration (Müller *et al.*, 2008), creation of social capital (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008) social integration, developing communities (Sport and Recreation South-Africa, 2012) and social inclusion (Kelly, 2011).

The discrepancy between the possible and actual benefits of sport and recreation participation necessitates deconstructing the roles and expectations of change agents working towards social inclusion by providing sport and recreation opportunities. Within this system, change agents and marginalised community members often have contradictory roles and expectations relating to the goal of social inclusion. When focusing on the collective goal of social inclusion as professed by change agents, it is easy to overlook that change agents in this system are not a homogenous group; they have motivations for involvement related to social inclusion as outcome and these are publicly expressed though an organisation's values, mission and vision statement. Roles in and expectations of involvement are, however, often not publicly expressed. As a result roles played and expectations held by change agents and marginalised communities sustain the change process without achieving the ultimate goal of social inclusion.

Social inclusion is commonly portrayed by change agents as an objective reality. According to Leon-Guerrero (2014: 457), social problems are, however, *"subjectively constructed by religious, political and social leaders who influence our opinions and conceptions of what is a social problem"*. The roles and expectations of change agents

and marginalised communities vary according to how social inclusion is conceptualised by a change agent within the system. Governments tend to use the 'sport and recreation as beneficial to social inclusion' discourse to further an agenda of providing a wholesome activity which has a number of positive attributes that could impact on social problems. Minter (2001) contends that doubt should be cast on claims by politicians regarding the ability to produce radical social improvements by using simple, linear solutions such as participation in sport and recreation. Policies concentrating on widening access to sport and recreation participation are not likely to succeed if they are not integrated with wider, well-researched strategies to combat social exclusion. Faith-based organisations, as change agents, use sport and recreation to include the marginalised and as an opportunity to attempt to convert people to their belief system. Tertiary institutions engage with communities under the banner of community engagement, but also use it as an opportunity to provide students with real-life work-related experience, to promote the name of the institution and as a research opportunity. Being included comes with unspoken rules, as each change agent often has a motive for being involved in the system which invariably influences expectations such an agent has of lower-income marginalised communities. Community members' views of the roles of specific change agents and their expectations of such agents, in turn, contribute to the maintenance of the system's status quo.

Social inclusion is a complex and challenging concept that cannot be reduced to a single approach (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002). The ambiguity pertaining within the system of change agents working towards social inclusion through sport and recreation opportunities enables change agents to enact a different social order in terms of what social inclusion entails (Vermeulen, 2011). Roles and expectations of change agents need to be made explicit to enable the system in which interventions are framed to change and evolve so that social inclusion ultimately becomes possible.

Change agents in South Africa share the global belief that sport and recreation can provide a simple, linear solution to facilitate social inclusion. Change agents use interventions such as *'Let's Play!'* and '*Siyadlala'* to showcase how sport and recreation opportunities can improve social inclusion. Varying roles and expectations held by each

change agent result in a fragmented system in which social inclusion can never become a reality, as each change agent guards their own agenda. Section 3 of the National Sport and Recreation Plan (SRSA, 2012: 64) acknowledges the fragmented state of the system by stating that a need exists for a *"coordinated, integrated and aligned sport and recreation system within which all component parts are aligned with the National Sport and Recreation Plan to be subjected to a regular, objective monitoring and evaluation framework".* The roles and responsibilities that are suggested in the NSRP (SRSA, 2012), however, only pertain to government and sports federations, thereby excluding a great number of relevant change agents within sport and recreation that focus on social inclusion at grassroots level. The NSRP (SRSA, 2012) urges all sectors that provide sport and recreation to buy into, and commit to, the strategic direction that emerged from the National Sport and Recreation Indaba; however, it neglects to acknowledge all potential change agents involved. If important role-players within sport and recreation provision are excluded, a coordinated, integrated and aligned sport and recreation system is unattainable.

Approaching the research problem formulated in this study from a post-structural perspective emphasises the role of discourse and power in social reality (Coakley & Dunning, 2000; Blackshaw & Crawford, 2009). This study argues that the current sport and recreation provision system in marginalised communities in South Africa is structured in such a way that the status quo in these communities is maintained rather than social inclusion being facilitated.

1.2 CLARIFICATION OF TERMINOLOGY

In this study the following concepts need clarification:

Community:
A locality or place such as a neighbourhood that includes relational interaction or social ties that draw people together (Duffy & Wong, 1996). Community, as a collective concept, includes boundary-marking processes such as customs and habits that are vital

features of community membership. Marking processes shape community members' sense of reality, even though the boundaries may be merely an imaginary social construct of both insiders and outsiders (Blackshaw & Crawford, 2009).

Change agents:

Role-players and stakeholders providing sport and recreation opportunities are conceptualised as change agents as they are working towards changing an existing state of exclusion to a future state of inclusion. Change agents in this study include non-profit organisations (NPOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), tertiary education institutions, faith-based organisations (FBOs), government, funding agencies and volunteers.

Discourse:

A discourse is an institutionalised way of thinking and speaking. It sets the limits of what can be spoken and also how something may be spoken about. It is in setting these limits that discourses delineate the actors in a field, their relationship to one another and their subjectivities. Discourses are therefore an expression of power (Allan, 2013).

Functionalist perspective:

Functionalism is a theoretical perspective that examines the functions or consequences of the structure of society. This perspective focuses on how society creates and maintains social order (Leon-Guerrero, 2014). The key feature of society from a functionalist perspective is its uniformity and relative stability in the context of a changing environment (Coakley & Dunning, 2000).

Marginalised community:

Marginalised groups within society can be categorised as groups that exist outside the mainstream of society (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011). Marginalisation refers to the geographical, residential, social and economic isolation of groups of individuals drawn together by parameters constraining their actions (Rose, 1997), as well as their exclusionary status (Leon-Guerrero, 2014).

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Neo-liberalism:

Neo-liberalism has been the dominant economic paradigm in the Western world over recent decades, characterised by freeing-up financial markets, reducing economic regulation and reducing or removing protective barriers such as tariffs (Schirato, Danaher & Webb, 2012).

Post-structuralism:

Post-structuralism is based on the premise that language signifies rather than represents. Language, therefore, does not represent any actual or independent reality, as language is inherently self-referential. Post-structuralism rejects the notion of conceptualising the world or a portion of the world as universal totality, and therefore also denies the possibility of knowing an objective reality. It extends the belief that the human world and knowledge are textual and discursive (Allan, 2013).

Non-profitable Organisation (NPO):

Non-profitable organisations are also known as 'non-profits'. NPOs are usually established for charitable reasons and the funds are used for salaries, expenses and to advance the activities of the organisation. NPOs provide services that meet a need in a community and often rely on the services of volunteers (Hurd, Barcelona & Meldrum, 2008).

Non-governmental Organisation (NGO):

A non-governmental organisation is any non-profit, voluntary citizen's group that is organised on a local, national or international level. NGOs perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, bring citizens' concerns to the notice of government, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through the provision of information and assistance. Some NGOs are organised around specific issues, such as human rights or women in sport (NGO Global Network, 2014).

Social exclusion:

Social exclusion emerged as policy concept in Europe in the 1980s in response to the growing social divides that resulted from new labour-market conditions and the inadequacy of existing welfare provisions to meet the needs of diverse populations

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(Donnelly & Coakley, 2002). Social exclusion is, however, a wider and more dynamic process than poverty. Collins (2004) argues that poverty is at the core of social exclusion. Social exclusion is a process that comprises a lack of access to four basic social systems: democracy, welfare, the labour market, and family and community.

Social inclusion:

Social inclusion can be defined as the social process through which the skills, talents and capacities of individuals are developed in order to give everyone the opportunity to realise their full potential and to fully participate in the social and economic mainstream of society. Social inclusion is therefore not just a response to or the opposite of social exclusion, as it presupposes the basic rights of citizenship including social, economic and individual human rights (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTION

It seems as if the current sport and recreation provision system focusing on social inclusion in South Africa includes a variety of change agents with seemingly divergent roles and expectations. Change agents operating within the current recreation and leisure provision system for marginalised communities in South Africa subscribe to notions of community change and the goal of social inclusion. A widespread belief exists within sport and political thinking that sport and recreation are solely positive activities that could reduce the social problems facing society (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). This belief is based on a generalisation of research and programme outcomes rather than on definitive results. The construction of the discourse in this regard is often fuelled by both the social policy agenda of the government and evidence provided by change agents that use sport and recreation as vehicle for social inclusion (Müller *et al.*, 2008). Interventions and change efforts that appear to be successful on the surface should be scrutinised, since underlying, deep-rooted inequalities are hidden behind outcomes that are manipulated to support the dominant neo-liberal ideology of modern society. Doubt should be cast upon claims of radical improvements, for example social change, achieved by using simple solutions such as sport and recreation opportunities (Minter,

2001), as social inclusion itself constitutes a complex problem overwhelmed by the overlapping agendas maintained by change agents involved. No single theory or single intervention can explain participation or non-participation in societal activities. There is, however, a strong consensus that non-participation results from the combination and interaction of diverse factors, and not merely one or two obstacles that would be easy to overcome. A deeply embedded social problem such as social exclusion can therefore not be solved by a linear approach to change, as is portrayed within the functionalist discourses that inform and motivate sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. To successfully promote social inclusion through sport and recreation participation, common ground must be created where change agents and marginalised community members can collaborate and implement collective action (Frisby & Millar, 2002). Collaboration towards the same goal, in this case social inclusion, is only possible by interrogating the roles and expectations of both change agents and participants and by deconstructing the discourses that fuel interventions and actions.

Social inclusion as an outcome denotes a power differential between 'included' and 'excluded'. It demarcates one group as having the power to either include the excluded or to maintain exclusion. The discourse promoting sport and recreation as beneficial to social inclusion illustrates the functionalist, neo-liberal ideology behind change agents' policies and informs the roles and expectations held by those involved in providing sport and recreation opportunities to the 'excluded'. Working towards social inclusion also signifies the dichotomous relationship between the included and the excluded. An individual is seen to be included if that person is a productive, employed, tax-paying citizen able to contribute to society. The excluded comprise individuals or 'communities' of people who are unemployed; who might be receiving an unemployment grant from the government; and who are not productive tax-paying citizens contributing to society. Following the functionalist approach currently favoured by the South African government, the included are expected to facilitate the excluded becoming part of society. This responsibility is often hidden under the pretence of 'being a good citizen' or as part of one's duty as a religious individual.

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Change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities with social inclusion as the aim have different motivations. Agendas for both change agents and marginalised community participants within the system of provision and participation are not always transparent and clearly communicated. Conflicting agendas are disguised by the diverse roles played by participants and change agents, thereby maintaining the façade of sport and recreation participation as a socially inclusive activity.

Increased participation opportunities may, on the surface, seem to benefit marginalised communities. The expectations of participants who are considered to be excluded may not, however, necessarily be the same as those of the agents who wish to promote sport and recreation participation. This study, therefore, asks the research question:

How does deconstructing the roles and expectations of change agents operating in marginalised communities in South Africa facilitate social inclusion through sport and recreation?

This primary research question gives rise to the following secondary research questions in a South African context:

- Who are the change agents in South Africa?
- What are these change agents' roles and expectations regarding sport and recreation as a tool for social inclusion?
- What are community members' roles and expectations regarding sport and recreation as a tool for social inclusion?
- How do the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community members differ with regard to sport and recreation provision?
- Who benefits from maintaining the status quo of the sport and recreation provision system in marginalised communities?
- Which notions of power exist in the sport and recreation provision system and how do they influence social inclusion through sport and recreation?

The study further postulated that:

- Discrepancies exist between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities in the provision of sport and recreation as social inclusion intervention.
- Discourses construct and maintain current practices in the provision of sport and recreation as vehicle to improve social inclusion.
- Notions of power are constructed in the relationship between change agents and marginalised communities within the provision of sport and recreation as vehicle to social inclusion.

1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Flowing from the stated research questions, the overall aim of the study is to deconstruct the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community members involved in social inclusion through sport and recreation provision in a South African context.

The secondary objectives of the study focus on:

- exploring discourses operating in the field of social inclusion through sport and recreation provision
- analysing how discourses construct and maintain current practices in the provision of sport and recreation as a vehicle to improve social inclusion
- identifying change agents in selected marginalised communities in South Africa focusing on social inclusion through recreation and sport
- deconstructing both transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played, by change agents and marginalised communities in the provision of sport and recreation as a social inclusion intervention
- identifying discrepancies and similarities between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played, by change agents and marginalised communities

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- making recommendations on social policy in order to address social exclusion of marginalised communities at its structural level

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In deconstructing the roles and expectations of change agents and community members focusing on facilitating social inclusion through sport and recreation provision, the following concepts become relevant: social inclusion as change process; change agents and marginalised community members involved in working towards social inclusion; roles and expectations held by change agents; the power relationship within the provision system; and discourses that are used to maintain the status quo in the process of working towards social inclusion. In the following section a brief overview of these theoretical concepts is provided to set the context of the study. The theoretical concepts mentioned are explored in detail in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

In this study post-structuralism is used as a theoretical lens through which the roles and expectations of change agents and communities members are deconstructed. Post-structuralism, often associated with Michel Foucault, moves away from the structuralist notion that, firstly, assumes the existence of relationships between social structures and secondly, asserts that the examination of these relationships can provide an understanding of the system in its entirety (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & O'Garro, 2005). In breaking away from structuralism Foucault argues that no analysis can provide the whole meaning of any system or construct in its entirety, as this will inevitably overlook what was excluded from the system. The basic premise of post-structuralism is that language does not and cannot represent any actual reality. Post-structuralism therefore rejects the idea that text or language has any true meaning. The possibility of knowing an independent truth or objective reality is therefore impossible from a post-structural point of view, as the human world, social reality and knowledge are textual and discursive (Allan, 2013). A function of post-structuralism, according to Foucault, is to explore ways in which theories are bound up in what they construct,

thereby *"helping to constitute the conditions of possibility through which an individual and society is made sense of in a particular way"* (Schirato *et al.*, 2012: xii).

Values and world-views are expressed as discourses through the use of language (Schirato *et al.*, 2012). A discourse is therefore an institutionalised way of thinking and speaking which delineates what can be spoken and how something may be spoken of within a certain context. In setting these limits, discourses delineate the actors in a context as well as the relationship between actors, thereby making discourses an exercise of power (Allan, 2013). Discourse is an important form of social practice that both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations, including power relations, whilst at the same time being shaped by other social practices and structures (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002). Discourse is one of the most powerful analytical concepts created by post-structuralism and the work of Foucault (Allan, 2013). Discourses informing sport and recreation interventions in marginalised communities are informed by a functionalist perspective that holds that all members of a society share the same values, which enables the legitimisation of one reality. Utilising sport and recreation to promote social inclusion in a functionalist approach is regarded as a linear solution to a complex problem. Linear solutions emphasising the values of society dominate community interventions and often result in fragmented and contradicted outcomes. A post-structural perspective excludes a linear explanation of social reality, as social problems exist as complex systems in which diverse variables are at play. According to post-structural thought, reality and narrative are in constant interaction as different change agents act *on* or *with* each other (Gough & Price, 2004), rendering a linear solution invalid.

The discourse promoting sport and recreation as entirely wholesome activities with the power to affect social problems has gained prominence in both social policy agendas and sport and recreation marketing strategies. This particular discourse influences the actions of change agents on a mega-event platform such as the Olympic Games, as well as in sport and recreation provision at local community level (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

The notion of portraying sport and recreation participation as beneficial is not new. Sport participation played a part during the 19th century in creating a healthy, moral and

orderly workforce and in shaping the values and behaviour of working-class youth. This movement was driven by the efforts of the middle class to regulate the role of games, play and sport in socialising youth towards citizenship (Pitter & Andrews, 1997). Many sport and recreation policies still reflect and reinforce the dominant political ideology of neo-liberalism and operate in such a way as to facilitate the creation of a good, productive citizen (Ayo, 2012). Sport and recreation-based social interventions have long wanted to demonstrate their impact on wider social problems; however, definitive evidence of a direct causal relationship between involvement in sport and a reduction in social problems is lacking (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Marginalised communities undoubtedly benefit from sport and recreation opportunities, yet results from case study research cannot be generalised, as the benefits are often small-scale and isolated.

Joassart-Marcelli, Wolch and Salim (2011) emphasise significant differences in access to sport and recreation opportunities between lower- and higher-income communities. Marginalised communities often have a history of limited access to sport and recreation areas and inclusion in programmes. Reid, Panic and Frisby (2002) agree, adding that consistent barriers to regular involvement in community sport and recreation continue to prevent members of lower socio-economic communities from participating. This directly contributes to the perception of social isolation. The experience of social isolation as a barrier to sport and recreation participation is connected to feelings of exclusion and invisibility (Reid *et al.*, 2002). A participant in the study by Reid *et al.* (2002:1) on social inclusion expressed the feeling of social isolation and social exclusion as follows: *"We're not part of society ... We shouldn't have a say because we're not putting anything in the community"*.

Social inclusion as an outcome reflects a pro-active, human development approach to social well-being that calls for more than the removal of barriers. It requires investments and action to bring about conditions conducive to inclusion. Social inclusion has value as both a process and a goal. It is about making sure that everyone is able to participate as valued, respected and contributing members of any given society (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002). Social inclusion is not merely the opposite of exclusion. It is a process of change that attempts to close physical, social and economic gaps that separate people,

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rather than focusing on eliminating boundaries between *'us'* and *'them'* (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002). Social inclusion, as a change process, requires interdependent and long-lasting interventions, but as emphasised by Duffy and Wong (1996), single approaches to intervention seem to dominate in society. Interventions are often planned from an outside perspective based on what the service provider or change agent perceives to be the problem. Solutions are therefore based on a 'problem' that was formulated from an outsider's perspective, which is an example of a top-down approach. Rarely do community-based interventions actually target organisational, community, environmental or policy-level changes, as the complexity of fostering such changes is often overlooked (McLeroy, Norton, Kegler, Burdine & Sumaya, 2003). Simply increasing options and removing superficial barriers to participation in sport and recreation does not necessarily lead to social inclusion. According to Reid *et al.* (2002), community sport and recreation policies and practices can in fact contribute to the experience of social isolation.

Social inclusion, as a change process, suggests that role-players involved in providing sport and recreation can be seen as agents of change. It also signifies a power relation between the excluded and the included, for example in relationships such as that between a coach and players; between a funding agency and the service provider; and between government and marginalised community members.

Community sport and recreation can provide a space for reducing social isolation. Reid *et al.* (2002) suggest that marginalised community members view participation as a means to an end. This includes participation in recreation as a way to improve health, manage chronic pain, reduce stress and meet others in the local communities. Expectations held of recreation participation by community members include a reduction in social isolation. In addition, participants regard community recreation as a strategy for harnessing community capacity and facilitating social action and change. Community sport and recreation therefore present an ideal space for engaging with marginalised communities. Dominant norms within a marginalised community, however, can run counter to initiative goals (Foster-Fishman & Behrens, 2007). Differences in expectations between community members and change agents are not

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always clear and can partially explain why resistance to intervention efforts has emerged. Kelly (2011) underlines the difference in expectations between change agents and community members by emphasising that sport and recreation providers may conceptualise social inclusion as the mere removal of financial barriers, whereas a community may refrain from participation due to cultural or religious barriers.

Marginalised communities have developed strategies to enable their survival based on cultural traditions and local knowledge (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). These survival strategies influence not only expectations of change agents held by community members, but also roles played in participating in interventions. Adopting the role of expert, thereby ignoring existing strategies, may result in a conflicted relationship between change agent and community, as change agents may enforce aims, roles and expectations that emphasise the power differences in the relationship (Frisby & Miller, 2002). Morrison, Howard, Johnson, Navarro, Plachetka and Bell (1997) highlight the importance of clear expectations, support and opportunities for participation in fostering community development. Services are often too poorly designed and structured to meet the needs of members from low-income, multi-cultural communities, and consequently do not contribute to building a socially inclusive society. Coordination of services is often unimportant within the agenda of social services delivery, and services and funding are fragmented in marginalised communities.

Neo-liberal rationality promotes individual responsibility and the freedom to choose. In empowering people to be self-governing, responsible citizens, matters relating to inequalities become a foreseeable outcome as a consequence of an individual's freedom of choice. The role played by government can be equated to that of a concerned, but uninvolved, change agent. Responsibility for differences in inclusion is removed from the conscience of government bodies and placed onto individuals who are accountable for their own actions and circumstances (Ayo, 2012). According to Joassart-Marcelli *et al.* (2011), policy-makers have increasingly turned their attention to improving access to parks and recreation opportunities in underserved communities. Joassart-Marcelli *et al.* (2011) further state that policy initiatives suffer from two shortfalls. The focus on physical attributes such as proximity and acreage ignores the preferences of local

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communities and the social relations reflected in the public space. The second shortfall entails the limited attention given to institutional mechanisms that operate on different scales in the process of shaping urban landscapes through governance that intersect deep-seated social inequity. Policy-makers tend to favour a linear, top-down approach which is reflected in the roles played in the change system, as well as in the expectations they have of the community's experience of being included.

Public policies endorse the notion that sport and recreation bridge social differences and that participation enhances social inclusion. The metaphor of sport and recreation participation as a bridge not only emphasises the connecting potential of sport and recreation, but also displays participation as a means to an end. The functional value of participation in sport and recreation is therefore of importance in guiding community interventions (Vermeulen, 2011). An example of contradicting motives influencing the roles and expectations of change agents and participants in the provision of sport and recreation is provided by Müller *et al.* (2008) in describing the Amsterdam World Cup (AWC) soccer tournament. The Dutch government expressed the hope and expectation that participating in the AWC soccer tournament would bring the culturally diverse urban community together. Members of the various teams, however, saw their participation as a way to improve social conditions for their own communities. Participants therefore expected that participation would enhance social cohesion in their own ethnic community. Spectators, on the other hand, perceived the discourse of the socially integrative effects of the soccer tournament as irrelevant. The spectators attended the event with the expectation of having a good time with members of their own ethnic community. The discursive practice of organising the AWC soccer tournament to increase social inclusion and integration can, however, be supported by visual images of people playing soccer together, people having fun and representing their cultures. The various interpretations of the social effects of participation can therefore lead to social practices and outcomes other than the ones intended by government. The event was organised in ways that government believed would realise sport participation's potential effect on social inclusion and multi-cultural integration. Yet because the roles and expectations of the various change agents in the system were not clarified, the ultimate goal of social inclusion was not realised.

NPOs and NGOs are increasingly called upon to perform tasks traditionally considered to be the responsibility of government. Tasks performed by non-profits include the provision of recreation and sport opportunities. Joassart-Marcelli *et al.* (2011) assert that, although research into active living and public health might support the importance of access to local parks, recreation and sport activities, the mechanisms by which such opportunities are made available within a metropolitan area are often less well understood. Advocates arguing for greater public expenditure often fail to acknowledge the complexity of resource allocation within a decentralised system of role-players. Public policy should be enhanced to include these dynamics to address the obstacles that underlie disparities in the allocation of recreation resources. Sport and recreation opportunities provided by NPOs and FBOs tend to reflect the socio-economic inequalities in resources. According to Joassart-Marcelli *et al.* (2011), even though financially stressed cities with limited local resources are less likely to have active park and recreation non-profits in place, non-provision of sport and recreation opportunities is the direct result of the inability and unwillingness of local populations to provide recreation through non-profits.

In focusing on the *Mass Participation, Opportunity, Access, Development and Growth* (MOD) programme in the Western Cape, Sanders (2011) observes that a common problem in community development programmes seems to be that they aim to meet targets set by funding agencies rather than to achieve actual societal development goals. Targets often become more important than the initial goal of inclusion and access, as the failure to show that targets have been met will result in a reduction of funding. Sanders (2011), for example, refers to the Annual Performance Plan Indicators (APPIs) that apply to the numbers at each MOD centre. Reporting sport and recreation participation statistics tends to be more important than evaluating and monitoring the achievement of social inclusion goals.

Key concepts used by change agents within the sport and recreation provision system include 'community', 'community change', the goal of 'social inclusion' and the 'benefits of sport and recreation'. The use of these concepts often entails a specific set of practices, delineating what is possible and what is impossible in a system, and can

therefore, according to Foucault, be conceptualised as a discourse (Allan, 2013). In delineating what is possible and impossible in a given system, such as sport and recreation provision in a marginalised community, one invariably goes through the process of inclusion and exclusion, thereby rendering social inclusion as a goal of any intervention unattainable. It is in deciding what can and what cannot be, what is real and what is not, that the power of a discourse becomes obvious as it indicates one group exercising power over another.

The majority of sport and recreation providers working towards the goal of social inclusion in marginalised communities see sport and recreation participation as a solely beneficial discourse. Participation in and provision of sport and recreation opportunities are indeed beneficial. This discourse, however, should not be mistakenly assumed to be the only truth or reality, as society and social challenges such as social inclusion are complex phenomena that cannot be expressed in a simple, linear fashion.

A post-structuralist approach provides an alternative understanding from which to expose and deconstruct the discourses that inform the behaviour of change agents and marginalised communities within the welfare sport and recreation provision system. Deconstructing discourses informing actions, behaviour and roles in this system does not negate the inherent benefits that sport and recreation participation holds. It does, however, illustrate that the relationship of power and information within the system is probably not optimally used. Müller *et al.* (2008) argue that any discourse excludes meanings other than the one it enables. It therefore excludes the perspectives and interests of groups such as marginalised communities that are in a position of insufficient power to challenge the content of assumptions and discourses. Once a discourse becomes dominant within a specific social setting, it reproduces itself and constrains any alternative action.

Sport and recreation are ultimately about participation. They are about inclusion and citizenship, bringing individuals and communities together. Sport and recreation provide a platform for learning skills such as discipline, cooperation and respect (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). When the benefits of sport and recreation are emphasised, in theory they provide a powerful vehicle for achieving social benefits, such as the building of bridging

social capital, and consequently result in social inclusion. On examining discourses related to the benefits of sport and recreation, Nicholson and Hoye (2008) report that politicians, academics, sport administrators, policy-makers, journalists and commentators are convinced that sport is a vehicle for the creation, development and maintenance of social capital. The researchers, however, extend this finding by emphasising that the belief in this discourse and subsequent policy declarations are often not supported by a body of research. In addition to a weak evidence base, the positive benefits of sport and recreation participation are often vague and open to subjective interpretation, making the outcomes of sport and recreation as antidote to social problems in marginalised communities open to manipulation by change agents.

Change agents involved in community work may get trapped in the discourse of polarisation. In working towards social inclusion at the community level there are competing interests, expectations and power differentials, with factions believing that they have the monopoly on the truth. Social inclusion becomes harder to achieve when too many voices become excluded from participation in decision-making (Finegold, Holland & Lingham, 2002). The emergence of community sport and recreation as a social inclusion device is seen by Nicholson and Hoye (2008) as an imaginary construction rather than a solution to social problems. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) explain this statement by focusing on the conceptualisation of social problems in the context of romantic imaginings of 'community' as something lost that can be regained. It is from the notion of regaining community that sport and recreation now become valued, not only because they create employment, reduce crime and improve health, but because they bring people together, thus contributing to a socially inclusive society.

Community sport and recreation programmes, although framed and showcased as social inclusion opportunities, are often used as alternative means of organising and realising the potential of socially marginalised communities by engaging them in activities within the context of the consumer society (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Hidden expectations held by followers of this discourse include the adoption of the mainstream vision of the society in which the community is situated. Sport and recreation are therefore used as a way to socialise marginalised community participants into the legitimate rules of the

consumer society in an attempt to generate social order classified as social inclusion (Vermeulen, 2011).

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY SUMMARY

1.6.1 Research design

As a detailed description of the research methodology used in the study is presented in chapter five, only a brief overview is presented at this stage. The study adopted an ethnographic qualitative research design. Qualitative research allows the researcher to explore and understand the meanings that individuals or groups assign to a social problem (Creswell, 2009). Creswell (2013) describes qualitative research as a methodology in which the researcher starts with assumptions and a theoretical framework that informs the study of a research problem. The purpose of qualitative methodology is to describe and understand, rather than to predict and control (MacDonald, 2012). Discourses in sport and recreation provision as social inclusion tool currently represent the dominant actions within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. However, big-picture representations can fail to represent important social phenomena (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011) such as social inclusion in marginalised communities. A proper understanding of the roles and expectations that fuel the dominant discourses can only be achieved through an in-depth examination of how change agents and marginalised community members make sense of the sport and recreation provision system. Qualitative research is especially appropriate for this study, as it not only emphasises in-depth knowledge of the social construct under investigation, but is well suited to the task of representing groups outside the mainstream (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011).

Ethnography is a field-oriented and naturalistic approach and has emerged as a potentially valuable methodological solution to *"the quest for empirical understanding and theoretically informed explanation"* (Dey, 2002: 106). Ethnography is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns

of values and behaviours of a culture-sharing group (Creswell, 2013). As a research approach ethnographic research allows the researcher to be immersed in the chosen setting for a longer period of time, during which the researcher generates a narrative-based interpretation of events and processes that take place within the setting. Ethnography can therefore be seen as an attempt to understand and interpret a cultural system such as a sport and recreation provision system operating in selected marginalised communities in South Africa (Dey, 2002). The main aim in an ethnographic study is to *"produce a systematic narrative of the behaviour and idea systems of the actors in a particular culture"* or system (Dey, 2002: 109), which makes this approach applicable to the study. The objective of the study, however, extends beyond a simple analysis of the experience of change agents in the system: it is an analysis of the underlying discourses that inform the actions and behaviours of actors within the system. A critical approach to the study was therefore needed in order to move beyond a passive description (Dey, 2002; Cresswell, 2009) to revealing hidden agendas, concealed inequalities and the tacit manipulation involved in the complex relationships between change agents in the context of utilising sport and recreation to achieve social inclusion (Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2001). Information for this study was gathered by engaging with change agents and marginalised community members within the actual community setting.

1.6.2 Research population

Long (2007) defines the research population as comprising all the people within a specific category being investigated. The research population for the study consisted of a diversity of stakeholders, change agents, marginalised communities and marginalised community members within South Africa, operating in the recreation and sport provision system with the collective goal of social inclusion. Change agents operating within the marginalised communities of South Africa include national, provincial and local government; research institutions; NPOs; FBOs; funding agencies; and volunteers.

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1.6.3 Research sample

The study used a non-probability, purposive, key informant sample in which participants and documentation were chosen on the basis of the specific experience or knowledge or information possessed (Gratton & Jones, 2010). Cresswell (2009:178) states that *"the idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question".* The sample for this study was purposefully selected from marginalised communities in South Africa in which change agents were using sport and recreation as a tool to facilitate social inclusion. The sample included both change agents and marginalised community members operating and participating within the sport and recreation provision system.

1.6.4 Data collection

Qualitative methods focus on the whole of human experience and the meanings ascribed to it by individuals. Qualitative research integrates the methods and techniques of observing, documenting, analysing and interpreting the characteristics, patterns, attributes and meanings of the human phenomena under study (MacDonald, 2012). Qualitative research typically requires multiple forms of data collection, including examining documents, observing behaviour and interviewing participants (Creswell, 2013). Using ethnography as a research approach inevitably influences the nature of data collection, as the aim is to collect – directly and indirectly – as much detail as possible about the processes through which actors in the system under study constructed meaning (Dey, 2002). The need to collect as much data as possible is therefore crucial in an ethnographic study. In this study the researcher observed, interviewed and studied change agents and marginalised community members in order to gain insight into how change agents and participants perceived their respective roles within the sport and recreation provision system.

1.6.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

Interviewing is an engaging form of enquiry in which a researcher attempts to elicit information from the respondent through direct questioning (MacDonald, 2012). It provides an appropriate method for collecting data on human experiences and perceptions. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences which result in a complex and varied explanation of a social reality. The goal of using a qualitative research design is to provide an opportunity to understand the complexity of views rather than to narrow down meanings to a few categories (Cresswell, 2009). Semi-structured interviews use open-ended response questions to obtain data on how individuals conceive of their world and how they explain and make sense of the important events in their lives. According to Cresswell (2009: 8), *"the more open-ended the questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life settings".* Subjective meanings are socially constructed and are formed through interaction with others within the social world in which an individual or group functions. The semi-structured interview in this study was informed by both participant observation data (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010) and a review of the literature.

A semi-structured interview schedule was developed for this study (Veitch, Bagley, Ball & Salmon, 2006). Open-ended questions were designed to explore, from the perspectives of various change agents and marginalised community members, a range of issues about how each change agent and community member perceived his or her role within the sport and recreation provision system. A second aim was to explore expectations held of other change agents within this system. Themes based on data collected during participant observation and document analysis were selected in advance; however, the sequence and wording of the questions were determined by the interview situation.

1.6.4.2 Critical participant observation

Participant observation is a qualitative research method of inquiry and a rich source of data collection. It provides the researcher with an insider's view of research subjects in a social situation and captures the context of the social setting in which individuals

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function by recording subjective and objective human behaviour (MacDonald, 2012). As participant observer, the researcher becomes part of the process being observed, thereby hearing, seeing and experiencing the reality of the social situation with the participants. Thus, the researcher as a participant observer not only observes activities, participants and the physical aspects of the situation, but also engages in activities appropriate to the social situation (MacDonald, 2012), thereby sharing in the creation of the current reality (Becvar & Becvar, 2000). As result of systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours and activities in the social setting, the researcher attains first-hand knowledge of social behaviour as it unfolds over time (MacDonald, 2012). As a consequence of the process inherent in participant observation, the researcher can obtain a broader view of what is occurring and has the opportunity to describe what is both implicit and explicit in the situation (MacDonald, 2012).

In this study the researcher used a critical observer approach in observing change agents and marginalised communities, as both workshop facilitator and participant in opportunities provided by change agents. This approach to data collection provided the researcher with insight into the roles and expectations of both change agents and marginalised community participants. Data collected was recorded as field notes (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011) at the end of each session.

1.6.4.3 Documentary sources

Documentary sources included vision and mission statements; policy documentation; promotional documentation; information on websites; and documented speeches by change agents using sport and recreation to promote social inclusion. The non-reactive nature of documentary sources is useful in researching sensitive issues and providing access to a rich source of data, as it can be categorised as cultural constructions (Clark, Flewitt, Hammersley & Robb, 2014). Documentary sources were used in this study to provide the researcher with insight into the roles and expectations expressed by change agents. Documentary data collected was analysed, compared and triangulated with data collected through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Documentary sources used in this study are available in the public domain and could therefore be consulted without the need to obtain informed consent (Creswell, 2013).

1.6.5 Data analysis

Discourse analysis is an interpretive, descriptive and explanatory approach requiring a systematic methodology (Rogers *et al.*, 2005). A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach was used in this study in order to explore the relationship between the identified discourses and social practice, as CDA moves away from description and interpretation towards an explanation of how discourses systematically construct versions of the social world and social reality (Rogers *et al.*, 2005). CDA studies how discursive practices are institutionalised or moved from a mere linguistic utterance to set conditions for stable relations. It not only attempts to uncover ideologies that contribute to the production and reproduction of power in a specific system, but also explores how a discourse can limit our understanding of the world (Pederson, 2009).

Semi-structured interviews with, and observations of, change agents and marginalised community members involved in sport and recreation were recorded and transcribed verbatim into word-processing files. Systematisation was used within the recording of field notes in order to increase the reliability of the data generated. Documentary sources were analysed and coded in combination with transcribed data. Coding categories included discourse (community discourse and sport and recreation as beneficial discourse); roles and expectations (transparent and non-transparent); and discrepancies.

The starting point for CDA varies and is dependent on where the analyst locates power in the system (Rogers *et al.*, 2005). This study worked from the assumption that power is a complex flow within a set of relationships between change agents within the system of sport and recreation provision (Schirato *et al.*, 2012). There are numerous approaches to CDA; this study used the three-tiered framework outlined by Fairclough (2012). Fairclough's analytical framework consists of three levels: the text; the discursive practice; and the socio-cultural practice. The study of the language structures produced in a discursive event includes the ideational, interpersonal and textual analysis domains. The second level proposed by Fairclough, discursive practice, involves the analysis of the process of the production, interpretation and distribution of a discourse. Analysis of discursive practice determines how people interpret, reproduce or transform text. The framework's third dimension, socio-cultural practice, focuses on issues of power.

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Analysis of socio-cultural practice explores the way in which identified discourses function in society (Rogers *et al.*, 2005).

An inductive-deductive logic process was used in data analysis. Themes were identified after an in-depth review of the relevant literature. Themes and 'codes' were built from the 'bottom up' by organising data inductively into units of information according to Fairclough's three-tier analytical framework. A deductive process was followed with themes and codes being verified against the data (Creswell, 2013). Analysis of transcribed and textual data was categorised into identified themes and codes. Codes were applied to all transcripts using the qualitative software program *Atlas ti*. The consistency and trustworthiness of the data analysis and interpretation were enhanced by using an external validation process; member validation; an audit trail; and reflexivity (Gratton & Jones, 2010).

1.7 FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Chapter one begins with an introduction to the study. It provides an overview of the research problem, a clarification of the terminology used in the study, the identification of aims and objectives that guided the study and an outline of the research methodology.

Chapter two is titled *A post-structural approach to discourse.* The chapter commences by defining the concept of discourse. It provides a background to discourse analysis as related to a post-structural approach. Chapter two concludes by introducing two discourses that inform the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as a vehicle for social inclusion.

Chapter three is titled *Discourses informing social inclusion through sport and recreation opportunities.* It begins by introducing two discourses that inform the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as a vehicle for social inclusion: the marginalised community discourse and the discourse promoting sport and recreation as beneficial. The chapter concludes with a depiction of how sport and recreation are currently used as a vehicle to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities.

Chapter four introduces the change agents involved in providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities, and is titled *Roles and expectations of change agents providing sport and recreation as vehicle for social inclusion*. The chapter begins by identifying the change agents using sport and recreation to attain social inclusion. Change agents involved in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities have differing expectations of the process of social inclusion, which are explored in this chapter. The chapter concludes by looking at possible barriers to the attainment of social inclusion through sport and recreation provision.

Chapter five, *Research methodology*, presents the research design used in the study, the change agents involved in the study and a discussion of the data collection and data analysis approach used. Chapter six, *Analysis and interpretation of results*, summarises the research findings by presenting an analysis and interpretation of data collected through the semi-structured interviews, participant observations and documentary sources. The chapter concludes with a concept map that depicts the results of the study as a diagram. The final chapter, chapter seven, *Conclusion and implications for further research*, presents the important findings, recommendations and suggestions for further research. Chapter seven also outlines the final conclusion of the study.

1.8 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter placed the study in context by providing an introduction to the topic and the theoretical approach, a statement of the research problem, the aims and objectives to be achieved and an overview of the research methodology. The next chapter explores a post-structural approach to the discourses that inform the actions of change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities.

CHAPTER TWO
A POST-STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO DISCOURSE

"The world changes according to the way people see it, and if you can alter, even by a millimeter, the way people look at reality, then you can change the world."

James Baldwin

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter two provides an overview of how discourses are created within society. The chapter starts by defining the concept of discourse, followed by an exploration of a post-structural approach to the use of discourse. Discourse analysis is discussed with a specific focus on CDA. The chapter concludes with a discussion of two discourses that have an impact on the roles and expectations of change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities.

2.2 DISCOURSE DEFINED

A discourse can be defined as a shared, historically derived, structured meaning reproduced on a daily basis through social practices and interactions. These shared meanings form the basis for the construction of social identities and social relations, and consequently of power and authority in any given society (Müller *et al.*, 2008). Discourses shape and constrain perceptions of realities within which people live (Pringle, 2005) as they contribute to the construction of the system of knowledge and meaning (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002) in a continuous and on-going way (Wood & Kroger, 2000). This process is described by Jorgenson and Phillips (2002) as a discursive practice through which texts are produced and consumed and which must be appreciated as an important form of social practice that contributes to the social world and reality in which one lives. A discourse is therefore an institutionalised way of thinking and speaking that delineates what can be spoken and how something may be

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spoken of within a certain context. Values and world-views are expressed as discourses through the use of language (Becvar & Becvar, 2000; Schirato *et al.*, 2012), which reflects and promotes a particular social system's interests, authority and power (Lawson, 2005). In setting these limits, discourses delineate the actors in a context as well as the relationships between actors, thereby making discourses an exercise of power (Allan, 2013). Discourse is an important form of social practice that both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations, including power relations, whilst at the same time being shaped by other social practices and structures (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002). Discourse is one of the most powerful analytical concepts created by post-structuralism and the work of Foucault (Allan, 2013).

Various discursive practices in everyday life contribute to the social and cultural reproduction and change that take place in a social system (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002). It is important to recognise the exclusive nature of discursive practices, as any discourse inevitably excludes other meanings than the one it enables. A discourse might therefore exclude the perspectives, ways of knowing and interests of groups that are in a position of insufficient power to challenge its content (Piggin, Jackson & Lewis, 2009). Once a particular discourse becomes dominant within a specific social setting, it reproduces and legitimates itself by particular social relations through the social realities and identifications that it both enables and constrains (Müller *et al.*, 2008). Discourse shifts attention away from a continued focus on comparison towards adjacency, thereby changing the focus to the ways in which power, knowledge and institutions rely on one another for their intelligibility (Darnell, 2007). Foucault (1982) cited in Luke (2002) defines discourse as systematically recurring statements that occur within. Discourses can therefore both systematically construct human subjects, versions of reality and relations of power and knowledge as well as contribute to their intelligibility within that system.

Dominant discourses become embedded in a social system and are often reproduced in the form of institutional arrangements and policies, even though the legitimacy of the discourse might not have been proven. Motivations behind a discourse may, over time, loose their legitimacy or may no longer be relevant (Dupont & Pearce, 2001).

Thoughtlessly subscribing to discursive practices constitutes a danger to society, as policies and governing structures based on discourses influence the reality in which people live. According to Fairclough (2012), coherent accounts of the relationship between social structures and social events depend upon mediating categories and social practices, which are articulated together to create social fields, institutions and organisations.

2.3 A POST-STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO DISCOURSE

The basic premise of post-structuralism is that language and the spoken word signify rather than represent (Allan, 2013). The presumption that the social world can be accurately known, and truthfully and objectively represented, is questioned by post-structural theorists (Cameron & Gibson, 2005), as post-structuralism denies the possibility of any one person knowing an objective and independent reality. Reality, knowledge and perceptions of the world are therefore discursive (Allan, 2013). Accepting the premise of post-structuralism that denies the notion of one universal reality, the consequent implication must be acknowledged: that there are multiple conceptions of knowledge, each with its own power. Post-structuralism emphasises the role of discourse and power in the reproduction of knowledge, social reality and social regulation in society (Müller *et al.*, 2008). The value and meaning of a discourse does not exist separately from history (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It accumulates and becomes embedded as particular ways of thinking and acting become ratified. The meaning and value of objects and actions are never structured by a single abstract semiotic system. Chains of meanings exist as multiple and overlapping resources and ideologies. The meaning of a particular object or action for a particular individual in a particular context is therefore produced through negotiation between combinations of available discourses (Holt, 1997).

It is suggested by Renard (2006) cited by Nicholson and Hoye (2008) that the broader vision of civil society is largely based on a romanticised sense of communitarianism. The underlying foundation of civil society is based on neo-liberal rationality in which

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the assumption is that inequality is a consequence of choice. Non-participation can therefore be seen to lead to social exclusion, which according to neo-liberal thought is an individual's own choice and responsibility. Neo-liberal thinking allows for a false consciousness which can be seen as the inability to experience and recognise social relations as historical accomplishments that can be transformed. Instead, people falsely experience their lives as products of a certain unchangeable social nature, with an externally imposed external reality. Agger (1991) suggests that people obey and follow discourses and the rules in an organised industrial society because they share certain common values and beliefs, referred to as a 'collective consciousness', which explain the world to them in a rational way. Dominant structures and practices are legitimised by the ideologies of powerful groups within a social system (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). A widespread belief that modest personal betterment can be achieved by complying with social norms, but that large-scale social changes beyond this are impossible, is reinforced in values promoted to ensure societal stability. These values function ideologically to foreshorten people's imagining of what is really possible in an advanced technological society.

In a study by Ayo (2012), the author highlights specifically how existing health promotion policies – which include sport and recreation participation – reflect and reinforce the prevailing political ideology of neo-liberalism, which operates in such a way as to facilitate the making of a *good* and *healthy* citizen. Neo-liberal rationality embraces five key tenets: minimal government intervention; market fundamentalism; risk management; individual responsibility; and inevitable inequality as a consequence of choice. At the core of neo-liberalism is the notion of minimal governmental intervention in which unemployment, poverty and lack of education as social determinants of health are reduced to poor personal choices made by citizens who are free to make better choices. Minimal government intervention facilitates the creation of new markets in areas where these markets may not have existed previously. Ayo (2012) emphasises that the particular strength and effectiveness of using risk as a neo-liberal tool is the imminent harm that it implies. It is not only expected that the responsible citizen will embrace the goods and services offered within created markets, it is also expected that people must embrace them with a sense of urgency as part of their duty of

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citizenship to the state. Personal responsibility is therefore not only a matter of economic efficiency, but is also an obligatory duty of citizenship. Social issues become personal issues, thereby lifting a great burden off the state.

Rose (1996) cited in Ayo (2012) explains the political rationality of neo-liberalism as a kind of intellectual machinery that concentrates reality in such a way that it is amenable to political programming. Neo-liberalism can therefore be explained as a system of thought and beliefs in which the government takes a step back from directly intervening in social affairs whilst simultaneously yielding to the creation of new markets in domains where they may not have existed previously. The expectation is therefore that the responsible, neo-liberal citizen will buy into the goods and services offered through the free market. It is believed that placing the burden of responsibility onto the consciousness of individual citizens will benefit not only the individual, but also society as a whole. These beliefs are pervasive, as the corresponding discourses directly shape the ways in which society is governed and expected to conduct itself.

Finegold *et al.* (2002) caution against the uncritical following of any given discourse and emphasise the danger of becoming trapped in a discourse of polarisation. Competing interests, power differentials and hidden motivations in a community can lead to excluding participants from participation in the very decisions that may affect them. Post-structuralism, as opposed to neo-liberalism, accepts that knowledge is contextualised and that a universal social science is therefore impossible. Differential experiences of the world are framed by the various discourses that create the experience, thereby rendering any given social reality as an accounting of social experiences (Agger, 1991). Post-structuralism emphasises the importance of the unsaid and the unwritten in any given discourse. The silent and the absent can have a powerful effect (Luke, 2002) and must therefore be acknowledged.

Western society is structured by a variety of pervasive distinctions such as 'included' or 'excluded'. Rather than interpreting these distinctions as reflecting the inherent characteristics of reality, post-structuralism describes them as social constructions that are situated in a system of interpersonal relationships, cultural institutions, economic interests, power and gender relationships. These distinctions provide conditions of

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intelligibility that regulate how society may be rationally organised and which social differences should be regarded as meaningful and appropriate. Correspondingly, social institutions implement systems of cultural meanings and discourses through policies, laws, knowledge statements and technologies that shape and transform the nature of social life (Thompson & Hirschman, 1995). Discourses are supported by institutions, and together with various technologies they constitute a historically determined rationality (Pederson, 2009). Discursive knowledge is influenced by other forms of knowledge which do not collaborate to result in coherent policies and practices. According to Foucault (Piggin *et al.*, 2009) the dissonance between various forms of knowledge and knowing may be due to the nature of discourses, as discourses may appear unified and linear even though they might lack internal coherence and may contain contradicting understandings.

2.4 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis is a probing method of interrogating the conditions of knowledge. The work of Foucault (2012) has served to shift the analytical focus from the discovery of any metaphysical truth towards a focus on the conditions necessary for the construction and intelligibility of all knowledge (Darnell, 2007). Discourse analysis studies discourse as text and the spoken word in social practices. It evolved from linguistic studies, literary criticism and semiotics (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). Language is not treated as an abstract entity but rather as a medium for interaction, a social practice and a way of doing things. Analysis of discourse is therefore an analysis of what people do, how they do it and why. Discourse analysts believe that language and words, as a system of signs, are essentially meaningless as it is only through the shared, mutually agreed-on use of language that meaning can be created. Language serves a dual function according to discourse analysis, as it both mediates and constructs our understanding of reality. Language also defines the social roles that are available to individuals and serves as the primary means through which an individual can enact his or her identity (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). Discourse analysis treats discourses as

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data and involves both theoretical and meta-theoretical ways of thinking about discourse (Wood & Kroger, 2000).

The aim of discourse analysis is to reveal the ontological and epistemological premises that are embedded in language and translate into social practice. It leads the critical theorist to the study of institutions, disciplines and activities as sites, processes and subjects through which the boundaries of intelligibility in a social system are formed (Darnell, 2007). Discourse analysis therefore investigates whether it is possible to establish any regularity in the objects discussed; in the subjects designated as actors; in the causal relations claimed to exist between objects and subjects; in the expected outcome of subjects trying to influence objects; the goal of the action; and finally the time dimension by which these relations are framed (Pederson, 2009). Discourse analysis involves tracing the historical evolution of language practices within a given society and examines how language shapes and reflects cultural, social and political practices (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007).

Various approaches to discourse analysis exist; however this chapter focuses on CDA due to its association with post-structuralism and a critical approach to the deconstruction of discourses.

2.4.1 Critical discourse analysis

CDA constitutes a method for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002). A generalised description of CDA portrays the approach as an orchestrated and recursive analytical movement between text and context. The differentiating factor that distinguishes CDA from previous attempts at socially-based linguistics is that it does not work from liberal and neo-liberal, structural-functionalist and symbolic-interactionist social theory. CDA moves away from discourse analysis and socio-linguistic analysis in its movement from description and interpretation to explanation of how discourse systematically constructs versions of the social world (Rogers *et al.*, 2005). Critical discourse analysts set out to capture the dynamic relationships between discourse and society, between the micro-politics of everyday text and the macro-political landscape of

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ideological forces and power relations, capital exchange, and material historical conditions (Luke, 2002).

CDA originated from three overlapping intellectual traditions: discourse studies, feminist post-structuralism and critical linguistics. CDA focuses on how language as a cultural tool mediates relationships of power and privilege in social interactions, institutions and bodies of knowledge. Rogers *et al.* (2005) emphasise that because language is a social practice, and because not all social practices are treated equally, the analysis of language is inherently critical. Within the CDA tradition, discourse has been defined as language use as social practice. The word 'discourse' comes from the Latin *discursus,* which translates as 'to run to and fro'. Discourse, therefore, moves back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world. Language therefore cannot be considered neutral, because it is caught up in political, social, racial, economic, religious and cultural formations. CDA is what Fairclough (2012) has referred to as a textually oriented form of discourse analysis.

The methodological approach used in CDA is to move back and forth from the analysis of the text to the analysis of social formations and institutions (Luke, 2002). CDA requires the analyst to work in a trans-disciplinary way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories (Fairclough, 2012), as its basic premise holds that any text can only be made sense of if power, political relations, and material and historical change have been sufficiently theorised (Luke, 2002). CDA starts with understanding and uncovering conditions of inequality. Critical discourse analysts locate power in the arena of language as a social practice. Power, according to CDA, can take on both liberating and oppressive forms (Rogers *et al.*, 2005). CDA moves beyond textual analysis to the critical analysis of the visible practices of text interpretation and use. CDA therefore moves between a normative reading of texts and a normative reading of the social world (Luke, 2002).

In CDA a distinction is made between discourse and institutions as two different types of social phenomenon. It studies how discourse and institutions interact in the constitution of social roles and how discursive practices are institutionalised to set conditions for social relations (Pederson, 2009). CDA requires a connection between a

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social theory and a discourse in order to explain the social contexts, competence, possibilities and consequences of any given text or discourse (Luke, 2002) as well as to investigate how a discourse can limit our understanding of the world and reality (Pederson, 2009). Luke (2002) emphasises that what texts 'do' in the world cannot be explained solely through text analysis. The actual power of the text, its material and discourse consequences, can therefore only be described by reference to broader social theoretic models (Luke, 2002).

Rogers *et al.* (2005) outline the following common tenets of discourse according to CDA:

- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse is situated and historical.
- Power relations are partially discursive.
- Mediation of power relations necessitates a socio-cognitive approach.
- CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm that addresses social problems.
- Discourse analysis is interpretive, descriptive and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology.
- The role of the analyst is to study the relationships between texts and social practices.

This study uses the CDA approach suggested by Fairclough (2012). He identifies discourse as both a communicative act and a social practice. Discourses constitute social phenomena, but are also constituted by social phenomena in the form of social or political practice. Any use of language therefore consists of a discursive practice where discourses are produced or consumed (Pederson, 2009). Pederson (2009) argues that all human social systems are unities that can be identified by the ways in which the members of the system describe the world, as well as by the ways in which the members themselves are described. Social systems are therefore dynamic systems that survive and reproduce discursively in social environments which they mutually specify, and which are specified by the social domain of language (Graham & McKenna, 2000).

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An important component in the approach to CDA presented by Fairclough (2012) is the semiotic dimension of the articulated networks of social practices. The semiotic dimension, according to Fairclough (2012), can be used in an extended way to include not only written documents as text, but also interviews and meetings. Social practices and social events are articulations of diverse social elements and may include the following elements: activities; social relations; objects and instruments; time and place; social subjects with beliefs, knowledge and values; and semiosis. These elements are dialectically related and even though they are different elements they are not discrete or fully separate.

Broadly, semiosis figures in social practices and social events in three ways. First, it figures as part of the social activity and as part of both the action and the interaction. Second, it figures in representations. Social actors acting within any field or organisation produce representations of other practices as well as representations of their own practices in the course of their activity. Social actors will represent practices differently according to how they are positioned within fields or organisations. Third, semiosis figures in ways of being and in the constitution of identities (Fairclough, 2012).

2.5 DISCOURSES INFORMING THE PROVISION OF SPORT AND RECREATION OPPORTUNITIES AS SOCIAL INCLUSION

Discourses informing the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as a vehicle for social inclusion in marginalised communities include the community discourse in marginalised communities and the discourse promoting sport and recreation as solely beneficial. Both discourses are partial to the functionalist perspective, which holds that all members of a society share the same values and this enables the legitimisation of one reality.

Fairclough (2012) emphasises that a discourse is conditional upon it being incorporated into a successful strategy. Change agents involved in marginalised communities have developed different strategies that might lead to the possibility of change. Strategies

include discourses that project new forms of social life and narratives that portray a more-or-less coherent and plausible relationship between, for example, participation and the outcome of participation. Strategies and discourses which are perceived to succeed become hegemonic, and consequently become operationalised into practice. A discourse can, however, only work in so far as it is accepted within the reality it selectively represents (Fairclough, 2012). The two discourses that are discussed below have been operationalised into practice and are maintained through the roles played and expectations held by change agents involved.

2.5.1 Community discourse in marginalised communities

The community discourse in marginalised communities has been created around community as a social construct. According to McLeroy *et al.,* (2003), the term 'community' has a wide range of meanings. In service delivery initiatives and change interventions, the concept of community frequently refers to marginalised communities and therefore focuses on the community as setting and as target, excluding the community as agent and resource. Communities are marked by ties between people that often involve a high degree of personal intimacy, continuity over time and social cohesion. A sense of community originates from the human need to create and maintain social bonds, to develop a sense of belonging and to develop an identity for the self. This identity-formation process is a fundamental element of sport and recreation and of marginalised communities (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2006).

In identifying target groups to include in sport and recreation provision, the concept of community usually represents under-represented, under-participating people living on low incomes, unskilled individuals without qualifications, ex-offenders, older adults and disaffected youth (Minter, 2001). It therefore represents the excluded and marginalised in society. The popularisation and use of labels such as 'marginalised', 'lower socio-economic' and 'at-risk' communities have contributed to the division in recreation and sport provision (Pitter & Andrews, 1997). Marginalised communities are often the systems targeted in community work (McLeroy *et al.*, 2003), with 'community work' used as a collective label for working in marginalised communities. Pitter and Andrews (1997) posit that sport and recreation-based social problem initiatives may actually

exacerbate the social and racial divisions responsible for the very conditions that the initiatives are aiming to improve.

Within the neo-liberal consumerist society sport and recreation opportunities are used as a way of achieving social benefits, with 'those who have' taking responsibility for 'those who don't have' (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). The community discourse has placed an emphasis on social capital and communitarian ideals, which encourages 'us' as change agents to determine what is suitable for 'them' – indicating a dialectic relationship. Despite the rhetoric of community development in which there is collaboration between change agents and lower socio-economic communities, the power relation between the providers and the receivers of sport and recreation opportunities cannot be ignored. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) challenge the social inclusion expectations of change agents by questioning to what extent experts and providers are willing to give up some of their power to enable the intended beneficiaries of the interventions to become involved in the planning, design and implementation of programmes. One of the complexities of the dialectics of discourse is the process by which what begins as self-conscious rhetorical deployment becomes ownership. An important factor in the community discourse is therefore how people within the discourse become positioned within it (Fairclough, 2012). Change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities are often positioned in the discourse as dominant and powerful, whereas community members may be positioned as submissive.

Social relations within the community discourse are established through the connection of two causal powers, namely the power of social practices and the power of social agents. Social agents produce events and opportunities in occasioned and situated ways; however they are dependent on social structures and social practices to do so. Social inclusion as an outcome can only be achieved in a social structure perceived to be excluded. The causal powers of change agents are mediated by those of social structures and social practices, and vice versa. Change agents draw upon social structures and practices in producing texts and have to actively work to sustain them (Fairclough, 2012).

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2.5.2 Discourse promoting sport and recreation participation as beneficial

The discourse promoting sport and recreation participation as beneficial is emphasised in policy documentation, for example in the Millennium Development Program of the United Nations and in the sport policy document *Time for Sport* of the Dutch government (Müller *et al.*, 2008). The adoption of Resolution 58/5 by the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 2003 provided the motivation to elevate sport to the development strategies of international funding and development agencies. The discourse of sport as beneficial fuelled investments by governments, donors and funding agencies aiming to change the lives of individuals through sport participation (Burnett, 2010). The White Paper on Sport and Recreation developed by Sport and Recreation South Africa (Sport and Recreation South Africa, 2012) represents the vision of how sport and recreation activities contribute to the general welfare of all South Africans. It emphasises building communities through active and structured participation. It does not, however, acknowledge that sport and recreation are only one element in what is needed to build an inclusive community. Reid (2001) warns that public participation is not a one-time event focused on a single issue or social problem and that social inclusion can only be achieved as a sustained process.

Urban parks, recreation and sport opportunities have traditionally been provided by local government. The increase in financial responsibilities placed on municipalities has, however, decreased the ability of local government to provide these opportunities (Joassart-Marcelli *et al.*, 2011). Whilst sport and recreation opportunities are recognised as vital in building active and inclusive communities, priority is given to education, safety and basic infrastructure. Government faces various problems at the local level in providing sport and recreation opportunities to marginalised communities. One of the main problems experienced is the funding of services in order to meet the obligation of equity and accessibility (Harper, 2011). Local governments have not been immune to offloading services as a way of dealing with economic pressure, resulting in a transfer of responsibility for the provision and maintenance of programmes and services to volunteers and NPOs. Expectations of policy-makers and government that sport and

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recreation are tools to facilitate social inclusion are therefore transferred to volunteers, NPOs and FBOs.

2.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Chapter two provided an overview of the theoretical assumptions used as foundation for the study. It introduced discourse as an analytical concept and identified discourse theory and critical discourse analysis as two of the main analytical approaches used in the analysis of discourse. Chapter two concluded by introducing two discourses that inform the actions of change agents providing sport and recreation in marginalised communities as a vehicle for social change. The next chapter explores in more detail the marginalised community discourse and the discourse promoting sport and recreation as solely beneficial.

CHAPTER THREE

DISCOURSES INFORMING SOCIAL INCLUSION THROUGH SPORT AND RECREATION OPPORTUNITIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter two presented the theoretical and analytical framework that informs the study. Two discourses that influence the actions, roles and expectations of change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities as a vehicle to attain social inclusion were briefly identified and introduced. Research studies evaluating the assumptions that serve as foundation for the strong belief in the power of sport and recreation to affect a variety of both social and health problems at community level are indecisive and fragmented. This chapter explores in more depth the history and creation as well as the maintenance of both the community discourse in marginalised communities and the discourse that promotes sport and recreation as solely beneficial.

3.2 MARGINALISED COMMUNITY DISCOURSE

The culmination of the marginalised community as discourse constitutes a number of notions that directly influence the roles and actions of change agents involved in sport and recreation provision that are perceived by society as appropriate. Community, as a collective sociological concept, embraces a variety of definitions, but often has a positive connotation as something that should be regained (Blackshaw & Crawford, 2009). Marginalised community development has a long history that includes a multiplicity of approaches, ranging from top-down approaches to community development and community empowerment initiatives. Two noticeable components of community discourse informing the roles and expectations of change agents in the provision of sport and recreation in marginalised communities are communitarianism and the subsequent promotion of the 'active citizen'. The marginalised community discourse stems from a neo-liberal, functionalist approach that contributes to the maintenance of current practices in sport and recreation provision in marginalised

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communities due to change agents' belief in the responsibility of citizens to include the excluded.

3.2.1 Community defined

The *2010 Healthy People* report (Dzewaltowski, Estabrooks, Klesges, Bull, S. & Glasgow, 2004: 236) defines a community as a specific group of people, often living in a defined geographical area, who share a common culture, values and norms, and who are arranged in social structures according to relationships that the community has developed over a period of time. Dzewaltowski *et al.* (2004) caution that this simplified definition suggests that community-based initiatives can be implemented in the major social structures of society and that these structures will provide channels to reach and influence specified populations. Identified social structures include a variety of public facilities, local government agencies, social and family services, FBOs and civic organisations.

The concept of 'community' is often ambiguous and used as an umbrella term, as described by Head (2007: 441), who states that community is "*often a euphemistic term that glosses over the social, economic and cultural differentiation of localities or peoples. It often implies a false and misleading sense of identity, harmony, cooperation and inclusiveness*". The traditional view, according to Burkett (2001), represents community as a place of warmth, intimacy and social cohesion, which facilitates a misleading 'a-political' conception of problems and change.

Community is undoubtedly a paradoxical concept that is as much about difference as it is about unity; it embraces conflict and harmony, selfishness and mutuality, separateness and wholeness. By including only one aspect of community in operationalising the concept, the opposite aspect is excluded, thereby denying any possibility of tension between aspects. Burkett (2001) expresses the opinion that for many people community is an understandable dream, as social closeness and mutual identification can be seen as inherently human. Community as a dream state, or heterotopia, is problematic, however, as people motivated to achieve this vision will suppress differences within the identified community in order to meet their goal. Community change and transformation cannot become a reality in a discourse based on fixed, romanticised ideas about community.

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Defining community as social unity with shared objects, spaces and characteristics denies the complexity of the concept. Liepins (2000) addresses the issue of simplifying this complex concept by emphasising that the term 'community' is often used as shorthand to describe and analyse the significance of a social space. Notions of fixity, objectivity and universalism are discernible in modern interpretations, in which community is described as something that can be lost; something that can be created; or something that can be destroyed. It is therefore an object that can be manipulated as a goal or a process. Post-modernist thought, in contrast, encourages an interpretation that represents community as an act of creating meaning, and not as a neutral object. According to this approach community becomes a verb; an activity indicating action, process and change. Approaching community as a verb rather than a noun reflects the notion that community is an ongoing process rather than a fixed description (Burkett, 2001).

Young (1990) cited in Liepins (2000) has also criticised the simplifying notion of the use of 'community' as a description of complex social systems. According to Young (1990) the use of 'community' as a fixed concept often signifies an overlooked power relation in which community becomes the subject of human agency and intervention. Change agents actively create and recreate the meanings of community, in which the interpretation of community cannot exist as singular and external frameworks of universal truth. Community must be expressed and interpreted as being continuously constructed in different ways and in different contexts. Burkett (2001) comments on the continuously changing nature of community by stating that the exploration of community should not be merely an academic exercise of examining a sociological construct, but rather an immersion in and practical expression of how people experience living in a particular social reality or realities over a period of time. Community consequently becomes an experience as well as an expression of subjective, everyday practices.

Regardless of whether community is described as a geographic location, a social group or an action, the inherent power relationship in the construct cannot be denied. This relationship has however, not been adequately reflected in existing theoretical and

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educational explorations of community and community development (Burkett, 2001). Liepins (2000) underlines the need to recognise both the political and discursive contexts in which community occurs and suggests that as social construct, community should be reinvestigated as a key social category. The framework suggested by Liepins (2000) includes community contexts; communities of people; exploring meanings of community; identifying practices of community; and mapping spaces and structures of community. The community context is explained as a social construct concerning human connection that involves cultural, material and political dimensions. This construct will have different forms depending on the time and place in which it is created. It is therefore the specific terrains of power and social-cultural discourses that shape any one understanding of community. Communities must be recognised as a social construct, one that is created and enacted by people. Within this framework people are depicted inside the community; yet one must recognise the constitutive capacity of others external to any given community who may nevertheless name and construct notions about community which could either enable or constrain such collectives. Liepins (2000) provides the example of policy-makers who are positioned externally to communities to illustrate how people outside a community may structure the roles and expectations of communities through statements and policies. Traditional notions of community, in which the term 'community' was used to represent and communicate meanings about widely held beliefs, shared interests and social connections, must be revised in order to reflect the actual diversities, gaps and marginalisation that simultaneously occur even though some communitarians may still believe that a shared set of understandings and relations is held within a community. Romanticised visions of the goodness of community have been reinforced in recent times with the embracing of communitarian and neo-liberal political discourses (Burkett, 2001).

3.2.2 Construction of marginalised community discourse in community development

The construction of the marginalised community discourse and the roles and expectations that accompany this discourse have a long history that originated in response to the needs of marginalised communities. A pilot project funded by the Ford

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Foundation in October 1948 in the Etawah District of Uttar Pradesh, India, initiated and established the chain of events that brought community practice and community development initiatives into the post-colonial era. The Etawah project achieved impressive results by using a self-help approach. The Indian government adopted the concept provided by the pilot project as the basis of a major national rural development effort; however, it failed to adopt the thorough approach needed to respond to bottom-up initiatives that was vital to the Etawah project's success (Korten, 1980).

Similar programmes aimed at empowering citizens were initiated in more than 60 nations spread over Africa, Asia and Latin America during the 1950s. During this period, the traditional top-down approach used in community development was replaced by an approach in which citizens were included in planning and implementing programmes. This decade was labelled the 'community development's decade of prominence'. Although promising, some programmes had already started to fail in the early 1960s and most were terminated or drastically reduced by 1965. Proponents of the community development approach were disappointed by an approach that promised much but delivered little. Changes in national governments led to the adoption of more powerful developmental approaches by new leaders, with a specific focus on programmes embracing central economic planning that subsequently contributed to immediate economic growth (Green, 2006). Various factors contributed to the decline of community development initiatives and community practice; one of the main barriers was the unrealistic expectations that change agents involved in the process had of achieving significant results in the reduction of poverty and social exclusion within a short period (Korten, 1980). Power structures characteristic of a top-down management approach came into being and were accepted as a given by both the marginalised community members and the change agents working towards poverty alleviation and social inclusion. Participants aligned themselves according to the benefits offered by programmes. The conflicts of interest inherent in the resulting stratified social structure were not recognised in programmes and initiatives, and the responsibility for implementing community development and social inclusion was shifted from government to administratively separate ministries and agencies that paralleled the established line agencies of government. Attempts at bringing parallel agencies under

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the control of a unified community development agency to improve coordination failed, as this resulted in bureaucratic conflict that led to the demise of community development efforts (Korten, 1980).

Change agents resorted to implementing centrally mandated activities in which programmes, targets and outcomes were centrally formulated with little regard for the ability of community members to respond. Very little real participation was involved and change agents fell into the easier pattern of directing local-level programmes. Genuine community development initiatives struggled, as they did not deliver short-term results and required the more difficult approach of involving community participants in the empowerment process. The model provided by the successful Etawah pilot project, which stressed the development of organisational processes focused on being responsive to community-identified needs, fell by the wayside as community development initiatives failed to build independent member-controlled local organisations that were able to solve local problems. Marginalised communities were categorised as self-contained development units, resulting in marginalised communities becoming even more excluded from larger, more economically viable regional units (Korten, 1980). Developing communities therefore became a top-down, externally controlled process with solutions imposed on marginalised communities.

A revival of community development emerged during the 1970s and 1980s. Change agents working in marginalised communities realised that a top-down approach without community input could not result in community empowerment and social inclusion, and consequently moved away from the 1960s single-issue approach initiatives (Florin & Wandersman, 1984) to a community practice approach defined by Ohmer and Korr (2006:69) as *"an intervention process used by professionals to help individuals, groups and collectives of people around a collective interest or from the same geographic area to deal with social problems and to enhance social well-being through planned collective action".* In the 1990s social phenomena were broadened and social lexicons were adapted to apply to the changes within the community development structure. Community competence and capacity gave way to the term 'social inclusion', and

community participation and development became known as social inclusion (Labonte, 2004).

Community practice interventions have multiplied since the early 1990s in response to an increase in concentrations of poverty in marginalised communities (Ohmer & Korr, 2006). New variants of community programmes and community engagement approaches continue to multiply (Head, 2007), with the community discourse fuelled by government, politicians, policy-makers, tertiary education institutions and social organisations working at grassroots level including FBOs, NPOs, NGOs and volunteers (Tomison & Wise, 1999). Head (2007) emphasises this shift away from a managerial, top-down approach towards a revitalised emphasis on building institutional bridges between governmental leaders and citizens, which includes participatory approaches over which citizens have more control. In analysing community engagement, it is apparent that it is also a well-disguised tactic used by government to shift the responsibility for complex social issues such as social inclusion onto organisations such as NGOs, NPOs, FBOs, volunteers and the marginalised or excluded citizens of a country. Burkett (2001) also warns against being over-optimistic about possible positive outcomes, as the contemporary context of community practice and community development initiatives remains theoretically under-developed. Developed societies were the model to be followed, which – coupled with a strong emphasis on the ideology of progress – determined the aspirations and goals of development interventions (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Differences in the conceptualisation of community and community development are apparent in the way that both community and community problems are defined and approached, and also in how programme and initiative success is determined (Shiell & Hawe, 1996). The divide between individual and social, and system, approaches to community development still exists, for example when a large-scale intervention adopts the rhetoric of community development but remains firmly invested in the individual as the focus of analysis.

Currently the success of community intervention is principally determined by participation numbers and the proportion of individuals who change their behaviour in the desired direction. Behavioural theories drive such programmes with policy-level

variables acting to reinforce this approach. A system-level approach, in contrast to the individualist approach, regards community as an interconnected ecological social system. It therefore recognises that community relations are a feature of individual identity and well-being, but that community development and empowerment cannot be achieved by focusing on a simple aggregation of individual outcomes. The intrinsic rather than the instrumental value of social relationships is therefore emphasised (Shiell & Hawe, 1996). According to the systems approach to community development, community means more than association or shared location. Context plays an important role in defining the issues to be addressed in community development, as well as the boundaries of possible action and change in a community (Meister & Guernsey de Zapien, 2005).

The classical organisational development approach also applies to community development, and is often based on two assumptions. Firstly, communities are usually – and preferably – in one state or another. This notion is best expressed in Kurt Lewin's famous 'unfreeze-change-freeze' model, which implied that the change process requires change agents to somehow 'shake' the community out of its current equilibrium so that it can be changed while it is unstable, after which it can settle into a new state of equilibrium closer to an external ideal. The second belief asserts that change agents can manipulate and change communities and guarantee an outcome by effectively analysing, planning and implementing appropriate actions (Seel, 2000). Community interventions using this approach have little lasting radical effect on social problems in marginalised communities. Community development initiatives that recognise local representations and ways of life are, on the other hand, more likely to be relevant and to generate sustainable and successful interventions. There are a number of lessons to be learned from the experience of context and the way this experience produces knowledge, expertise and practices that emerge from, and at the same time respond to, the concrete conditions under which a group of people live. Marginalised communities possess a long tradition of coping and inventing resources to counterbalance the chronic absence of information, government support and prosperity. Community and development workers have to recognise that marginalised communities have developed strategies of survival based on their cultural traditions and local knowledge to enable them to respond to the

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urgent needs that they face (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000).

3.2.3 Community discourse informing sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities

The community discourse that informs the roles and expectations of change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation in marginalised communities is influenced by communitarianism and by recognition of the need for active citizens to facilitate social inclusion.

3.2.3.1 Communitarianism

Communitarianism stresses both collective rights and the important role of the public sector in fostering citizen well-being. Communitarians stress the importance of community, social capital and a strong civil society as core components of an inclusive society (Jarvie, 2003). Pedlar (1996) cited in Frisby (2007) contrasts communitarianism with the individual ethic associated with neo-liberalism that favours the market and individual rights. According to Frisby (2007) the rise of individualism over communitarianism contributes to social problems that include social isolation, fragmentation and a growing sense of social disorder, especially for those living in impoverished and marginalised conditions. The suggestion is made that a return to communitarianism should involve identifying with others different from oneself, fostering interdependent social ties, and ultimately working together towards both the individual and the public good. Even though communitarianism is contrasted with neo-liberal individualism, the underlying connection that it shares in terms of shifted responsibility and an individualist approach to evaluation cannot be ignored.

In recent times, community has become known as an all-inclusive social construct that essentially describes an action or activity in a marginalised community. Communitarianism is an approach embraced by a variety of people and professional fields, including change agents using sport and recreation opportunities to facilitate social inclusion. The notions of communitarianism and community are, according to Jarvie (2003), likely to remain active within not only contemporary social thought and political practice, but also in sport and recreation. Sport and recreation practices have

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long served as the carriers of liberal civilisation, articulating class and ethnic relationships. Research has shown how government and other agencies positioned sport and recreation as an acculturating and disciplinary practice designed to produce good citizens (Law, 2001).

AmeriCorps, a project initiated by the Clinton administration in the United States, is an example of a government attempt to participate in the social problem industry, even though its focus was to motivate non-governmental Americans to save other Americans from various social ills by encouraging them to develop solutions to social problems that would attract, and later be sustained by, private funding or additional non-Federal public funding. The project required applicants to show their proposed programme's relevance to one of four national priorities: education, public safety, human needs and the environment (Pitter & Andrews, 1997). AmeriCorps is an example of a top-down, neo-liberal intervention in which government passes on its responsibility to citizens. It demonstrates an exploitation of communitarianism, as citizens were required to compete for funding, thereby introducing both a competitive and a power relation between change agents and also between change agents and marginalised communities. Regardless of previous goals set, change agents had to adapt their goals and outcomes in order to have access to funding.

The revitalisation of the community development approach to sport and recreation, even though it is fraught with challenges, tensions and contradictions, is regarded by Frisby (2007) as an encouraging strategy for beginning to redress some of the exclusionary policies and practices manifested in sport and recreation departments in government.

3.2.3.2 Active citizens as component in the community discourse

Active citizens are a permanent fixture of society and play an important role in communitarianism. Most communities and neighbourhoods benefit from some form of community-based active citizen-helping network. This network includes a range of local professional and non-professional support systems that people can turn to. The active citizen is the member of the community who, often without pressure, provides support to others. Tomison and Wise (1999) describe the active citizen as driven by a special

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concern or cause; an altruistic desire to help others; the possession of skills or expertise that they wish to apply to help others; and a conviction of the obligation of citizens to be part of a community.

The active citizen has long been championed by the reformist and developmental orientations within democratic and neo-liberal theory. This proposed active citizen is active in a range of policy, institutional and community settings and is seen as having a measure of control over the society in which he or she lives. The realist orientation, however, highlights the inherent elitism and inevitable power relations created by organisations and representative governance structures, and emphasises that the structural inevitability of the democratic deficit – the gap between democratic ideals and managerial realities – should be recognised (Head, 2007).

Active citizens, regardless of their motivation, often take on the responsibility of trying to solve social problems in marginalised communities. Sport and recreation provision presents the ideal vehicle to include the excluded, as it tends to overcome limitations that cannot be resolved by other helping professions. Skinner *et al.* (2006) describe the development of community identity and community belonging as a non-tangible benefit of participation in sport and recreation. The inclusion of marginalised community members is often closely associated with concepts of 'social transformation' and the development of citizenship (Burnett, 2010). Pitter and Andrews (1997) however express their concern that many sport-and-recreation-based social initiatives may exacerbate the social and racial divisions responsible for the very conditions that the initiatives are trying to improve. The authors emphasise that the tactics used by change agents to bring sport and recreation to marginalised communities are insufficient to sustain this provision in the long term. Programmes such as midnight basketball are examples of targeted benefits and specially tailored public and quasi-public social services benefits. Covering social inclusion programmes under the blanket of welfare and communitarianism hides the fact that they are not done just for the benefit of the marginalised. Mainstream society also benefits from inclusion programmes, as a variety of problems are approached under the inclusion blanket, for example teenage pregnancy, domestic problems, crime and gang violence.

The hidden function of sport and recreation provision is to guide marginalised community members to the ideal of the dominant consumer society. Active citizens believe that marginalised communities, in following their example, will become active within the community. Marginalised community members are therefore motivated to 'fit in' with the dominant society, with sport and recreation as the bridge. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) confirm this view by stating that appropriate community sport and recreation programmes do offer the potential for an alternative way of realising the potential of socially marginalised community members through engaging them in a similar orientation towards action within the consumer society. The danger, however, is that community sport and recreation might be more easily recognised as a product or vision of the mainstream rather than of the marginalised, thereby being a way of educating the flawed consumers into 'our way of doing things'. In this context sport and recreation might be seen to emphasise the legitimate rules of consumer society, which has often proved to be beyond the community or social worker (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

3.2.4 Power relationships within the community discourse

The marginalised community discourse stems from a neo-liberal, functionalist approach in which 'those who have' tend to perceive an obligation to help 'those who don't have' in order to include 'them'. Regardless of the approach used in empowering and including a marginalised community, the underlying power dimension inherent in the relationship between the change agents and the community participants cannot be refuted.

Power in modern society is characterised by techniques that discipline and socialise individuals indirectly through the process of what Foucault, a proponent of post-structuralism, defines as governmentality (Svender, Larsson & Redelius, 2012). Power is deployed through the process of normalisation produced by discourses and established messages of what the norm might be for various social contexts and categories. According to Foucault power is imminent in all relations (Wearing & McDonald, 2002) and is exercised – not possessed. The exercise of power is determined by the knowledge that change agents within a relationship have. Power is produced from within systems

and subsystems of social relationships that inform the practices of everyday life (Pringle, 2005). Unequal power relations within a sport and recreation provision system can result in negotiating multiple and often conflicting agendas amongst change agents (Frisby & Millar, 2002). Roles and expectations held by change agents are, however, adapted to fit into the system's status quo, with power structures accepted as a given with no attempt to change them. Discursive practices are therefore maintained by various power relations, including the powers of discourse, order and objectification.

3.2.4.1 Power of discourse

The dichotomous nature of discourses is emphasised by Allan (2013: 292) in his assertion that even though discourses are perceived as institutionalised *"ways of talking about something"* they are also much more, as discourses set the boundaries of what is possible and impossible. In setting the limits of what can be spoken of, and also how something may be spoken of, discourses delineate the actors in a field as well as their relationship to one another. Discourses are therefore inherently an exercise of power (Allan, 2013) through the categorisation of hierarchical and subjective positions in what Michel Foucault calls 'dividing practices' (Schirato *et al.*, 2012). Relations of power are often not transparent, thereby rendering an analysis of power at the conscious level superfluous. Foucault (Piggin *et al.*, 2009) suggests that analysing how things work at the level of ongoing suppression governing everyday gestures and behaviour is better suited to providing an understanding of the relationships between truth, knowledge and power.

3.2.4.2 Power of order

Community empowerment interventions have a dual dimension of communities challenging those who exert 'power over' them and expanding their own base of 'power with' others to promote change. According to Wallerstein (1999) there has been much discussion in the literature on whether community empowerment is a development approach in which some role-players have to give up power for others to take it; or whether empowerment is an approach in which all parties gain, thereby expanding the quantity of power.

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According to Foucault, power is a relational concept that works through the actions of people. Power is produced from within systems and subsystems of social relations, in the interactions and in the micro-structures that inform the practices of everyday life. Power relations exist within all human relations (Pringle, 2005) and are correspondingly an inherent part of the relationships that exist in community development. Power as described by Foucault (Schirato *et al.*, 2012; Shogun, 2002) can, however not be possessed by one group or by any one individual, as it is both a complex flow and a set of relations between different groups and areas of society that change over time (Fox, 2000). Schirato *et al.* (2012: xxv) explain that *"power produces what we are and what we can do, and determines how we see ourselves and the world."* Discourses held in community practice can be used to both unfairly dominate and reduce the dominating effects upon individuals and groups (Piggin *et al.*, 2009). Related to the fluidity of power in social relations as promoted by Foucault, the dichotomous nature of discourses therefore indicates that power in society can be just as much bottom-up as top-down. Role-players external to a marginalised community may therefore seem to have power over a community in terms of decisions made and resources and services provided or withheld; however the community does still have power in the relationship as its participation in and goodwill towards a programme are needed for the intervention to continue.

The power of order may furtively impact on community development as change agents often struggle to set and work towards a shared goal (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002). Inequitable power relations contribute (Pringle, 2005) to reinforcing the social order, disempowering and excluding the very participants who were meant to be included and empowered.

3.2.4.3 Power of objectification

Foucault emphasises the existence of hidden power embedded in both individual and collective identities as well as in the underlying conditions for expectations and interpretations to be understood as rational in any given society. Foucault explains the construction of subjectivity and of the relationship between change agents and a marginalised community, for example, as the productivity of power. Power is therefore

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the ability to affect the behaviour of others, but also the creative force by which both change agent and marginalised community are constructed with each having its own set of interests, roles, expectations and interpretations of reality (Pederson, 2009).

3.3 DISCOURSE PROMOTING SPORT AND RECREATION AS BENEFICIAL

"Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else can. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair" (SRSA, 2012: 1). This well-known quote by Nelson Mandela provides a strong foundation for the discourse that promotes sport and recreation as solely beneficial. Advocates of this discourse often portray the benefits of sport and recreation as so powerful that it is assumed, either explicitly or implicitly, that there is a general need to participate and that everyone will participate if given the opportunity (Misener & Mason, 2006). Benefits provided by sport and recreation opportunities cannot be denied and participation can result in a variety of advantages to and impacts on communities. Proponents of this discourse, however, tend to perceive sport and recreation as a simple, linear and one-size-fits-all solution. The flypaper quality of sport and recreation, which are able to attract more participants than other approaches, is used to address social problems such as social exclusion, disregarding the reality that sport and recreation participation should be used as part of a multi-dimensional approach (Coalter, 2007). Despite the lack of supporting empirical evidence, the linear belief that sport and recreation participation can address a wide range of social problems remains popular (Müller *et al*, 2008).

Change agents using sport and recreation as a vehicle to achieve social inclusion often subscribe to this discourse, in which sport and recreation are perceived as solely beneficial. Sport and recreation participation is believed to provide the ideal training ground for active community life, as it enables marginalised community members to learn to take responsibility, to follow rules, to accept one another, to look for consensus and to take on democracy (Jarvie, 2003). Sport and recreation participation serves as a catalyst for a number of social issues, which becomes evident when the more ambitious

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claims by proponents of this discourse concerning sport and recreation's institutional contribution to the developmental aspects of civil society are examined (Coalter, 2010a). As result of the promotion of this discourse, current practices of change agents in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as a tool for the attainment of social inclusion are reproduced and maintained.

3.3.1 History of sport and recreation as beneficial discourse

The notion that sport and recreation participation can be used as a tool for social intervention has gained widespread popularity over the last few decades. This perspective builds on late 19th- and 20th-century belief systems that saw sport and recreation participation as essential for the reproducing societal norms, values and institutions. This progressively instrumental approach to sport and recreation, however, is also directly related to neo-liberal socio-economic development and policy changes. The social disintegration that accompanied the economic restructuring and reduction of what was known as the 'welfare state' produced the need for cost-effective governance strategies and social interventions. Recreation and sport are but one of the social interventions of choice used to encourage individual civic attitudes and social regeneration (Müller, 2008). The belief in the benefits inherent in sport and recreation was shared by many funders and sport-for-development organisations, which gave rise to a wider diversity of organisations and change agents involved in what has been labelled the 'sport for development and peace movement' (Coalter, 2010b).

3.3.1.1 Playground history

The belief that sport and recreation have certain wider social functions beyond the game itself is not new. Social development through sport has a long history, with its origins going back to the 'rational recreation' interventions in the late 19th century, the playground movement of the early 20th century, and the confessional and workers' sport movements of the interwar period (Spaaij, 2009). Sport and recreation have been used by physical education and recreation professionals to build character, create model citizens and deter people from using their free time to engage in destructive pursuits from as early as the turn of the century (Pitter & Andrews, 1997). This movement,

known as assimilated reform, was driven by the efforts of the middle class to regulate the role of games, play and sport in socialising youth in order to create the ideal citizen. It also brought play out of the private sphere and into the public arena by linking play to national integration and public order. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) explain that middle-class reformers recognised the needs of urban youth and in response began to develop parks and playgrounds for their recreation. Working-class parents vigorously petitioned for recreation and sport provision for their children, but such provision was only made to benefit the self-interest of the middle and upper classes. Working-class parents paid the price of social control in order to achieve the possibility of sport and recreation opportunities for their children.

Assimilated reform was not unique to the United States, but was also prevalent in other Western democracies. In the United Kingdom and Canada, public support for recreation and sport activities escalated to a point where arguments for the universal social provision of such activities were strong (Pitter & Andrews, 1997). The development of urban recreation, specifically in the case of parks, playgrounds and recreation programmes, was implemented with the instrumental goals of assimilation and social control as deliberate outcomes (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002). Organised modern sport owes its existence to attempts to influence and shape attitudes within British public schools through the concept of 'Muscular Christianity'. The foundations of using sport as a vehicle to influence and manipulate the societal hierarchy were already cemented during the 19th century, as sport played a major part in the creation of a healthy, moral and orderly workforce, and in shaping the values and behaviour of working-class youth (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

In the United States, however, assimilated reform was imposed on two fronts. Firstly, Americans found it increasingly difficult to yield to the small-town nostalgia and paternalism of assimilated reform in the 1920s. Secondly, the 'puritan', self-righteous middle-class was being replaced by a consumption-driven middle class. In combination, these factors contributed to the powerlessness of arguments for universal social provision of sport and recreation in the United States.

Even though attempts at assimilated reform failed, the trend of promoting serving the underserved through sport and recreation opportunities designed to cure social ills stuck in the minds of change agents and reformists. The belief in the inherent benefits of sport and recreation participation is visible in the rapid explosion of the agencies and organisations that became involved in it, and the extent to which it has been championed by the United Nations and other significant international governing bodies. As part of this process, the understanding that sport and recreation programmes must be consciously and carefully designed for social benefits to accrue (Spaaij, 2009) has been acknowledged; however, a systematic and clear process to achieve social benefits is yet to be realised.

3.3.1.2 Sport and recreation as a human right

Sport was recognised as a fundamental human right by the international community as early as 1959 in the Declaration on the Rights of the Child (Beutler, 2008). This period was characterised by a concern for human rights, with the first declarations of access to sport and physical activity as a human right developed as *'the right to participate'* in the 1970s. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) assert that European nations were particularly influenced by the 1975 *European Sport for All Charter,* of which the first Article stated that "*Every individual shall have the right to participate in sport*" (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002: 8). This was followed in November 1978 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, which described sport and physical education as a '*fundamental right for all'* (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002: 8). The "*right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child*" was recognised in 1990 by the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002: 8). A number of international legal and policy instruments were introduced during this period to support the human right to participate in sport and physical education. The outcome document of the special session of the General Assembly on children, entitled *A world fit for children*, is of particular importance to sport, recreation and physical education professionals as it stressed that education must be directed to the development of children's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest

potential. These policy documents however, have generally been given limited weight and the rights to play, participate in sport and physical education have often been described as forgotten rights (Beutler, 2008).

Social inclusion became one of the key elements in Tony Blair's New Labour administration in the United Kingdom, from 1997 to 2007, with a commitment that extended to physical recreation and sport. It was noted by White and Rowe (2000) cited in Donnelly and Coakley, (2002: 13) that:

> *The commitment of the government to sport as a means to achieve wider social policy objectives has never been so focused and received such a high profile. The Policy Action Team on Sport and the Arts concluded that ' … participation in the odds and sport as beneficial social impact. Arts and sport are inclusive and can contribute to neighbourhood renewal. They can build confidence and encouraged strong community groups … And make a real difference to health, crime, employment, and education in deprived communities'. The outcome … is an action plan … to ensure that sport and the arts maximise their contribution towards reducing social exclusion and contributing towards neighbourhood renewal. All the initiatives of socially inclusion aim to redress current in equities in sports participation.*

Even though the initial focus of legal and policy documentation was essentially on the right of children to participate, the wide-ranging contribution ascribed to sport and recreation eventually included the whole population, as was stated by the United Nations:

> *The world of sport presents a natural partnership for the United Nations system. By its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural and ethnic divides. Sport provides a forum to learn skills such as discipline, confidence and leadership and it teaches core principles such as tolerance, cooperation and respect. Sport teaches the value of effort on how to manage victory, as well as defeat. When these positive aspects of*

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sports are emphasised, sport becomes a powerful vehicle to reach the United Nations can work towards achieving its goals (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008: 40).

In 2001 the United Nations formally recognised the ability to use sport in combination with existing social efforts at the individual, community, national and global levels as a mechanism to achieve specific targets including poverty reduction, the achievement of universal education, promotion of gender equity and social inclusion. Kofi Annan, former United Nations Secretary-General, appointed Adolf Ogi, former president of Switzerland, as his Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace with the aim of encouraging the use of sport as a way to promote development and peace in a more systematic and articulated manner. A United Nations Inter-agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace was convened in July 2002 with the specific task of reviewing activities involving sport within the United Nations system. The Task Force aimed to promote a more systematic and coherent use of sport in development and peace activities, particularly at the community level, and intended to generate greater support for such activities among governments and sport-related organisations. The Task Force was also tasked with establishing an inventory of sport for development programmes; identifying instructive examples; and encouraging the United Nations system to incorporate sport into its activities and work towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Task Force brought together various agencies with significant experience in using sport as a developmental tool in order to determine how sport could be used to assist in achieving the MDGs (Beutler, 2008). The agencies included the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Volunteers (UNV), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UNICEF, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). The resultant report of the Task Force, *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals,* was published in 2003 and took into account a number of steps taken in preceding years whereby sport had been used as a vehicle to support development and peace initiatives (Beutler, 2008).

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The report found that well-designed sport-based initiatives are practical and cost-effective tools to achieve objectives in development and peace. Sport was hailed as a powerful vehicle that should be increasingly considered by the United Nations as complementary to its existing activities.

The report called upon United Nations agencies to:

- Develop a strategic approach within the United Nations to foster sport for development and peace partnerships;
- Mainstream sport into the work of the United Nations;
- Incorporate sport in United Nations coordination mechanisms to better integrate it into United Nations strategic planning instruments;
- Look for ways to use sport for communication and social mobilisation purposes (Beutler, 2008).

The United Nations could not afford to disregard what is seen as a low-cost, high-impact tool to help achieve development goals and has, as result, taken numerous steps to consolidate and coordinate the role of sport in achieving the goals and objectives of the United Nations. The growing acceptance by the international community of the right to sport and physical education and the role of sport in development and peace were recognised on 3 November 2003 with the United Nations General Assembly's adoption of resolution 58/5, entitled *Sport as a Means to Promote Education, Health, Development and Peace.* This resolution recognised the significant role that sport can play in accelerating progress towards the achievement of the MDGs and declared the year 2005 the *International Year of Sport and Physical Education* (IYSPE, 2005). The resolution called on all governments, international sports bodies and sport-related organisations to use sport and physical education to promote education, health, development and peace (Beutler, 2008). This resulted in the design and implementation of sport programmes and initiatives by numerous stakeholders that operated at all levels of society attempting to contribute meaningfully to achieving the MDGs (Burnett, 2010).

Funding for sport and recreation development initiatives included not only governments, but also huge corporations such as Nike which invested huge amounts in community-

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based sport initiatives worldwide, aiming at changing the lives of individuals through *"sport participation, building a healthy community and leveraged change"* (Burnett, 2010: 29). Burnett (2010) adds that a number of stakeholders such as the Commonwealth, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), Football for Hope, UNICEF and other foundations capitalised on the sportification of social investment. Strategic partnerships were formed to collectively deliver to and profit from the sport-for-development arena. International events for global networks such as the Streetfootball World Cup held in Germany in 2006 and the Homeless World Cup held in Copenhagen in 2007 attracted worldwide media attention and showcased the partners as caring and altruistic (Burnett, 2010), even though true altruism would not have required the amount of media attention that the partners received.

The relatively new emphasis on sport-for-development and the rather vague and ambitious claims for its potential contribution to development may be understood within the context of this new aid paradigm, in which stakeholders with an agenda different to that of government are involved. The broad shift from linear emphasis on top-down economic aid from government to an increased emphasis on aspects of civil society and bottom-up community development – from economic capital to social capital – permitted sport-for-development activists to argue for sport's utilitarian contributions (Coalter, 2010a). The major limitation of this perspective on the social impact of sport, however, is that it tends to ignore the fact that social benefits that may be derived from sport and recreation participation cannot simply be imposed artificially by political victory or social engineering (Spaaij, 2009).

3.3.1.3 International Year of Sport and Physical Education (IYSPE 2005)

In declaring IYSPE 2005, the United Nations strove to achieve a better understanding of the value of sport and physical education for human development as well as a more systematic use of sport in development programmes. IYSPE 2005 aimed to present undeniable proof that sport and physical education have a role to play in the achievement of global development goals and in improving the lives of people living with poverty, disease or conflict. It also aimed to facilitate better knowledge-sharing

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among various key stakeholders; to raise general awareness; and create the right conditions for the implementation of new, and the strengthening of existing, sport-based development programmes and projects. IYSPE 2005 sought to emphasise the role of sport and physical education as tools to assist in the overall efforts to achieve the MDGs and economic and social development, and to improve public health and peace at both the national and global levels. The identified priorities continually striven for following IYSPE 2005, as listed by Beutler (2008) are to:

- Encourage governments to promote the role of sport for all when furthering their development programmes and policies in order to advance health awareness; the spread of achievement and cultural bridging to entrench collective values. IYSPE 2005 aimed to raise awareness of the 'sport for all' concept to stakeholders. Sport should be accessible to all, not only to elite athletes, and not only as a luxury in today's society.

- Ensure that sport and physical education are mainstreamed into development programmes as tools to contribute to achieving the internationally agreed development goals, including the MDGs and the aims of development and peace.

- Sensitise politicians and the public that sport and physical activity are human needs and human rights.

- Promote sport and physical education-based opportunities for solidarity and cooperation in order to promote a culture of peace and social and gender equality and to advocate dialogue and harmony.

- Promote recognition of the contribution that sport and physical education can make to economic and social development, and encourage the building and restoration of sports infrastructures.

- Encourage sport and physical education to be used, on the basis of locally assessed needs, as a means of promoting education, health, peace, and social and cultural development.

- Strengthen cooperation, coherence and partnerships between all stakeholders including sport organisations, athletes, multilateral organisations and the United Nations system, bilateral development agencies, governments across all sectors,

the Armed Forces, NGOs, the private sector, the sports industry, research institutions and the media.

- Disseminate scientific evidence about the value of sport and physical education for development and peace in order to mainstream sport intergovernmental development policies.

IYSPE 2005 provided a unique opportunity to focus the attention of the international community on the importance of sport and physical education in society. The efforts undertaken at all levels of society to implement concrete projects, to improve the lives of individuals throughout every continent, and to develop policy guidelines have not been in vain, as there is now greater awareness of the role of sport and physical education in promoting education, health, development and peace amongst all change agents (Beutler, 2008). At the second Magglingen Conference on Sport and Development (Coalter, 2010b) held in Switzerland in December 2005, the different stakeholders were called upon to contribute to sport and development by taking the following actions:

- *Sports organisations:* Integrate and implement sustainable development principles into their policies, programmes and projects.

- *Athletes:* Act as role models and actively use their influence and experience to advocate development and peace.

- *Multilateral organisations and the United Nations system:* Take a lead role in policy dialogue at strategic and global levels; raise the awareness of international actors and other partners; strengthen networks and enhance coordination; and carry out and evaluate projects and programmes.

- *Bilateral development agencies:* Integrate Sport in Development Corporation policies and programmes; and implement and evaluate projects and programmes.

- *Governments across all sectors:* Promote the ideal of sport for all; develop inclusive and coherent sports policies; involve all stakeholders in their coordination and implementation; strengthen and invest in sport and physical education in schools and educational systems; and integrate sport, physical activity and play in public health and other relevant policies.

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- *NGOs:* Realise projects that demonstrate the potential of sport for development and peace; transfer experience and knowledge; and engage and members of civil society.

- *Private sector and the sports industry:* Take an active role in addressing social and environmental impacts in business operations and the cross-supply chains, and support and invest in sport-based development activities.

- *Research institutions:* Develop collaborative research agendas including the documentation, analysis and validation of experiences, and develop monitoring and evaluation methods and instruments.

- *Media:* Adopt editorial strategies that ensure the coverage of social and political aspects of sport; train journalists; and raise awareness of the possibilities of sport for development and peace.

As a result of IYSPE 2005 the United Nations member states and its agencies will continue to draw on the value of sport as a tool to strengthen national unity and solidarity between regions and population groups, and on its peace-building potential (Beutler, 2008). This will thus contribute to the discourse that portrays the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as solely beneficial.

In 2013 the 5th International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical Education (MINEPS V) took place in Berlin and marked an important milestone for the recognition of the role that sport can play in serving as a vehicle for social inclusion. The Berlin Declaration that resulted from the conference states as its 4th resolution that it recognises the unique potential of sport to foster social inclusion (UNESCO, 2013)

3.3.2 Perceived benefits of sport and recreation

For decades, evidence of the beneficial characteristics of sport and recreation participation has been presented by change agents using sport and recreation opportunities as a vehicle for change. According to Beutler (2008) and Donnelly and Coakley (2002), the literature indicates the consistency of findings across cultures, regarding benefits in the areas of childhood and lifelong health; learning and academic

achievement; citizenship and democratic access; and leadership and motivation. Through physical sport and recreation activities, for example, children can learn valuable skills related to quality of life; intrapersonal and interpersonal communications; determination; perseverance; confidence; leadership; citizenship; goal orientation; motivation; and personal satisfaction. The benefits of participation in physical activities are also linked to economic reasons. In a presentation at the World Summit on Physical Education, Kidd (1999) cited in Donnelly and Coakley (2008) noted that failure to provide physical education was significantly more costly for society and governments than providing it, and pointed out the foolishness of failing to provide such opportunities.

The challenges that the world faces are greater than they have ever been. Sport and recreation have been identified as innovative instruments to meet these challenges, as sport may act as a bridge that can mediate cultural differences and can also help to create an atmosphere of tolerance. For this reason sport and recreation have been used for many years by humanitarian aid workers around the world to improve the living conditions and quality of life of victims of conflict and marginalised communities (Beutler, 2008).

By using the benefits provided by sport and recreation opportunities, marginalised communities could experience equality, freedom and a dignifying approach to empowerment. Reid *et al.* (2002) specify that community sport and recreation provide diverse benefits, including health benefits such as increased fitness, self-esteem and self-efficacy, decreased anxiety and stress, and increased social cohesion. Additional benefits of sport and physical activity include:

- positive impact on public health and disease prevention;
- cohesive and sustainable community development;
- tackling antisocial behaviour and crime;
- ensuring young people get the best possible start in life;
- economic vitality and workforce development;
- contribution to sustainable development;

- increased educational standards as an integral component of quality education;

- individual empowerment, especially of women and girls (and the excluded);

- promotion of gender equality;

- combatting discrimination;

- social integration and the development of social capital;

- conflict prevention/resolution and peace-building;

- communication and social mobilisation;

- protection of human rights

Proponents of the 'sport and recreation as solely beneficial' discourse have argued that sport and recreation participation generates positive social benefits. Sport and recreation participation is therefore regarded as a vehicle for social inclusion and community revitalisation (Misener & Mason, 2006).

3.3.3 Construction and maintenance of discourse promoting sport and recreation as solely beneficial

Sport and recreation participation is often credited, implicitly as well as explicitly, with features and qualities that focus on its ability to bring about personal development, healthy living and social cohesion. This discourse has a linear focus that only reflects sport and recreation participation as inherently good for people and as a positive force that can solve all social ills (Svender *et al*, 2012). Nicholson and Hoye (2008) emphasise that even a cursory examination of public discourses that relate to sport and recreation reveals that politicians, academics, sport administrators, policy-makers, journalists and volunteers are convinced that sport and recreation is a vehicle for the creation, development and maintenance of social capital. Often these propositions and related policy declarations are not supported by a significant body of research. This tendency to regard sport and recreation as solely positive and wholesome remains, however, widespread even though evidence is vague and fragmented.

The lack of scientific support for the assumed social effects of participation in sport and recreation raises questions as to why this belief remains so persistent, and why the number of sport and recreation interventions with social change-motivated goals is

increasing. In reflecting on this, Nicholson and Hoye (2008) pose the following questions: What particular assumptions constitute this belief in sport and recreation participation; and how does it influence the roles and expectations of change agents involved in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities? A question that could be added is: Who benefits by asserting these perceived benefits? Labonte (2004) emphasises that it is not possible to include people and groups in a structured system that has systemically excluded them in the first place.

Social considerations of sport and recreation participation tend to be framed by a neo-liberal functionalist perspective emphasising what sport does *to* people and *for* society (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Sport and recreation participation thereby becomes an ideological chameleon that can be socially constructed in an infinite variety of ways depending on the particular situation. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) suggest that sport and physical activities have been used to support the most divisive and regressive forms of nationalism, as seen in major sports events such as the FIFA World Cup, and also the most humanitarian forms of internationalism, for example the Special Olympics that are held every two years for people with mental disabilities. Sport and recreation can also involve the most disciplined forms of collective and mechanical action, for example mass gymnaestradas, and the most creative forms of individual action, for example dance and art. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) emphasise that sport and recreation's ability to carry such diverse meanings and values resulted in the political uses of sport and physical recreation in education, the military and industry, as well as for purposes such as the promotion of nationalism and national identity.

The discourse emphasising the power of sport and recreation to do social good is becoming increasingly important on both social policy agendas and sports management and marketing strategies. By using the spill-over effects of mega-sport events combined with the need to socially include marginalised communities, change agents are provided with an ideal forum to promote and sustain the belief in the wider benefits of sport and recreation (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Despite the fact that programmes motivated by social control, for example those with crime prevention as outcome, are by no means ideal, it is believed that these programmes and initiatives may be a necessary starting

point for some populations, and that some children may benefit in significant ways (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002). According to Long and Sanderson (2001) cited in Nicholson & Hoye (2008), there is sufficient cause to believe that community benefits can be obtained from sport and leisure initiatives. Nicholson and Hoye (2008), however, recognise that benefits may be small-scale, exclusionary and isolated. In this regard Duggan (1999) also concedes that local sport and recreation interventions have delivered benefits at a local level that would probably not have been possible in the absence of such opportunities, but agrees with Long and Sanderson (2001) that it must be acknowledged that evaluations of local interventions and examples of good practice that fuel the discourse, fall short of an overall confirmation of the effectiveness of the interventions in reducing the incidence or risk of social exclusion. Duggan (1999) suggests that the lack of confirmation of success reflects limitations to local interventions that stem from the construction of poverty and social exclusion.

Formal images of sport and recreation are often regulated through societal expectations which stress its wholesome and socially cohesive nature. According to Nicholson and Hoye (2008), however, it is precisely sport's legitimation of deviance which is often most compelling. A tackle in rugby, for example, is seen as part of the game, although it would be classed as deviant behaviour outside a sporting context. The authors warn that sport activity itself does not necessarily offer the most appropriate means for challenging socially disruptive behaviour. Games quickly lose their charm when forced into the service of education, character development or social improvement (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

Sport and recreation should not be regarded as inherently wholesome and socially cohesive, or as exclusively and automatically generating beneficial outcomes. Change represents a process that may have either positive or negative consequences depending on how it is perceived by those affected by it. Sport and recreation consequently have the potential to produce both positively and negatively perceived outcomes, and can deflect or reinforce social inequalities. A major challenge, therefore, is to consider the social impact of sport and recreation opportunities from the perspective of social and

cultural diversity, and from the perspective of localised processes of social inclusion and exclusion (Spaaij, 2009).

3.4 SOCIAL INCLUSION AS RESULT OF SPORT AND RECREATION PROVISION IN MARGINALISED COMMUNITIES

Sport and recreation participation is believed to be an important facilitator of social inclusion in marginalised communities. It is perceived to provide a social space that not only brings people together but provides them with the necessary skills to fit into the dominant society. Social inclusion is not just a response to exclusion (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002) and cannot merely be defined as the direct opposite of social exclusion. Social exclusion is a vague concept whose precise relationship to poverty is not clear. Attempts to define it as the opposite of social inclusion have resulted in social inclusion being absorbed into discourses that prioritise the dichotomy between those in work and those out of work, and those who have and those who don't have, while ignoring the deep inequalities between different categories of people. Social exclusion has therefore tended to be interpreted as labour market exclusion. Related to that, and again reflecting the tendency to collapse the concept of social exclusion into that of labour market exclusion, measures to combat social exclusion have prioritised labour market interventions (Duggan, 1999).

Social exclusion, however, is a cumulative marginalisation (Duggan, 1999) process that can be described as a lack of access to four basic social systems: democracy, welfare, the labour market, and family and community (Collins, 2004). Reid *et al.* (2002) also describe social exclusion as a process by which people are denied the opportunity to participate in civil society; an acceptable supply of goods and services; and the ability to contribute to society, and are thus unable to acquire the normal commodities expected by citizens. Regardless of the source of exclusion, which might include racism or fear of differences, the consequences are the same: a lack of recognition and acceptance; powerlessness; economic vulnerability; and diminished life experiences and limited life prospects. The social exclusion of individuals and groups can become a major threat to

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social cohesion and economic prosperity for any given society (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

The construction of social exclusion within policy documents often emphasises the factors that keep poor people poor, or excluded people excluded, for example unemployment, lack of motivation, lack of skills and poor health, rather than focusing on the underlying factors – for example the advancements in technology that render people redundant in the workplace and the increase in living costs – that cause certain social classes and groups to experience poverty and exclusion in the first place (Duggan, 1999). According to Donnelly and Coakley (2002) it would be imprecise to define social inclusion in opposition to social exclusion. If social exclusion refers to an action by a majority on a minority, or by a dominant group on a subordinate group, then inclusion may carry the same implication. Being excluded presumes that someone or something, for example the structural features of society, is causing the excluding (Collins, 2004). Social inclusion is consequently something done by a majority for a minority, or by a dominant group for a subordinate group. Accordingly, social inclusion will become an impossible task as it not only has some patronising implications, it also excludes the minority or subordinate group from owning the intervention and from playing a part in determining the forms, content and meanings of their 'inclusion'. Often such a lack of agency is unintended, and various social inclusion definitions specifically include the notion of agency. Exclusion is, however, implicit in the term if one asks 'who is including whom?' Labonte (2004) emphasises that 'success' in including one group is not success if it is done at the expense of another, and that change agents are at risk of redistributing poverty and marginalisation rather than redistributing wealth and opportunity.

Social inclusion is a complex and perplexing process that requires a pro-active approach to social well-being. The process is multi-dimensional and the mere removal of risks or barriers cannot successfully create the conditions required for sustained inclusion. Social inclusion cannot, therefore, be reduced to a one-dimensional meaning. Five critical dimensions, or cornerstones, of social inclusion identified by Donnelly and Coakley (2002) are:

- **Valued recognition:** conferring recognition and respect on individuals and groups.

- **Human development:** nurturing the talents, skills, capacities and choices of people to live a life they value and to make a contribution both they and others find worthwhile.

- **Involvement and engagement:** having the right and the necessary support to make or be involved in decisions affecting oneself, one's family and community, and to be engaged in community life.

- **Proximity:** sharing physical and social spaces to provide opportunities for interactions, and to reduce social distances between people.

- **Material well-being:** having some material resources to allow community members to participate fully in community life. This includes being safely and securely housed and having an adequate income.

Social inclusion as an outcome of participation in sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities plays an essential role in both the discourses discussed above. The power of sport and recreation to deliver social benefits is well documented. There are examples in abundance of sport and recreation programmes successfully impacting on social problems in communities, for example on alcohol and drug abuse; gang and violent behaviour; and teenage pregnancy and social exclusion (Pringle, 2009). With the understanding and strong belief that sport and recreation opportunities can affect a pervasive social problem such as the social exclusion of marginalised communities, the question arises: 'Why can sport and recreation programmes not be replicated in all marginalised communities in order to provide social inclusion on a wider scale?'

Sport and recreation participation is often presented as a solution to social exclusion by various change agents using sport and recreation as a vehicle for change. Community sport and recreation are used in conceptualising the problem of marginalised communities within the context of the romantic imaginings of 'community' – as something that has been lost and can be regained – by a linear solution, such as having the opportunity to participate in sport and recreation (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Social

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inclusion is, however, more than just an access issue. Inclusion cannot be assumed from quantitative measures such as participant numbers.

Social inclusion through sport and recreation usually forms part of a set of goals (Kidd, 2008) with an emphasis on the benefits of participation. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) warn that the proposed benefits of participation are not an automatic consequence and emphasise that it is imperative that change agents delineate the circumstances under which social inclusion might be promoted by sport and recreation interventions. An understanding of the way in which meanings and values are developed and attached to social inclusion and sport and recreation programmes must therefore be the starting point for advocating the role of sport and recreation in the promotion of social inclusion.

Interventions aimed at achieving social goals are often aimed at a younger target group. Vermeulen (2011) provides an example of such a programme, which was initiated by the Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe. Enter, a sport-based development programme, was initiated to develop youth policy responses to exclusion, discrimination and violence affecting young people in multi-cultural disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Soccer, as one of the most popular sports around the world, is regarded as a powerful social intervention instrument, which is evident from its widespread use in interventions and the array of problems to which it is applied. Soccer matches and participation opportunities have been used to impact issues ranging from youth delinquency to racism, multi-cultural integration, xenophobia and the emancipation of women (Müller *et al.*, 2008).

Levermore and Beacom (2009) cited in Spaaij (2009) identified the values of potential exclusion within international development through sport. The first layer identified relates to sports, communities and regions that currently lie outside the parameters of the sport-for-development focus. The second layer of exclusion relates more specifically to the unequal power relations in sport and recreation. While sport can be viewed as a form of resistance that might occasionally challenge dominant systems and processes, what is prevalent is the largely one-way communication process whereby Northern governments, development agencies, foreign NGOs and sport associations provide support, information and advice and a set of sport programmes in the Global South. This

is inevitably a problem that is concerning from dependency and post-colonial perspectives, especially when programmes and policies are initiated with excessive influence and unrealistic goals from powerful institutions and actors. Related to this, as emphasised by Spaaij (2009), is exclusion in terms of stereotyping and representation of the disadvantaged that takes place through the representation of sport. Sport and recreation essentially act as a symbol of social exclusivity, a cultural distinctiveness of the dominant classes. They operate as a method of social control and dominance over the marginalised; though they are represented as sources of escape and mobility, they articulate the status distinctions that exist within the larger groupings of social class (Collins, 2004).

The exclusionary function of sport and recreation participation is clearly illustrated in the history of South Africa, as the politically-driven system of apartheid resulted in gross inequities in sport and recreation provision along racial lines. White citizens were privileged by having superior sports facilities and opportunities, while citizens of colour were systematically discriminated against, and excluded from participation, in this unjust process. The majority of South Africans did not have adequate access to sport and recreation, and even though policies have changed in the new democratic dispensation, sport and recreation inequities continue to exist across the country (Sanders, 2011). There is, as a result, an urgent need to address issues of inclusion and equality to ensure a level playing field for all South Africans.

Sport and recreation can contribute to the process of social inclusion if positioned as part of a multi-faceted approach. Lawson and Anderson-Butcher (2000) cited in Donnelly and Coakley (2002: 13) have taken a novel, policy-oriented approach to the issue of accessible recreation and sport, with its potential for promoting social inclusion, by advocating the incorporation of related service provision fields such as social work. The authors note that *"the social work of sport is of paramount importance in today's world … We argue that sport leaders have much to gain by understanding and incorporating the profession of social work's perspectives and action theories; and that sport leaders need to collaborate more effectively with social workers"*.

The concept 'social inclusion' comprises several theoretical constructs, including social capital, social cohesion (Long & Sanderson, 2001 as cited in Nicholson & Hoye, 2008), assimilation (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002), citizenship (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002), collective identity (Vermeulen, 2011) and community capacity (Long & Sanderson, 2001 as cited in Nicholson & Hoye, 2008) according to which social inclusion interventions through sport and recreation can best be illustrated. The following discussion focuses on how sport and recreation is currently used by change agents as a vehicle to enable social inclusion.

3.4.1 Social capital

The concept of social capital has its roots in sociology and political science and comprises aspects of social cohesion and associational life. Coalter (2010) provides a useful definition of social capital as referring to social networks based on social and group norms which enable people to trust and cooperate with each other and through which individuals or groups can obtain certain types of advantage. Social inclusion requires the accomplishment of both social participation and social integration into communities, whereby participants may achieve power over the present and the future. Skinner *et al.* (2006) add that the definitions of both community development and social inclusion emphasise people, social processes and various ways to enhance the capacity of communities that will consequently contribute to the development of social capital. Social capital is a crucial concept to social inclusion as it is seen as a way of expanding environment and community development initiatives in order to contribute to an improved civil society.

Sport and recreation interventions are widely recognised as a way to build positive social capital, with some studies reporting that sport activities at the grassroots level have the potential to motivate, inspire and forge a community spirit in the face of social problems. Sport and recreation may assist in building a sense of community and of belonging. The associational nature of sport and recreation may generate social capital and may build social associations that cross class, religious and ethnic barriers. The power of sport and recreation to contribute to social capital is not restricted to participants only. It extends to volunteers, managers and spectators. Sport and recreation

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opportunities therefore supply connections among diverse groups and social networks (Skinner *et al.*, 2006).

Skinner *et al.* (2006) acknowledge that there is little evidence that sport and recreation directly contribute to social capital through the development of social inclusion and community development, but insist that participation opportunities do have substantial social value as they provide a supportive environment that can assist marginalised community members in their social and skills development and in connecting to related programmes and services.

Three main proponents of social capital are two sociologists, Coleman and Bourdieau, and Putnam, a political scientist. The basic definition of social capital is accepted by all three, but there are significant differences in their assumptions about the nature of society, human motivation, social relationships and social networking (Coalter, 2010b).

According to Coalter (2010b) Coleman is rarely quoted in discussions relating to social capital and the use of sport and recreation in development. However, his interest in the relationship between social capital and the development of human capital through education, employment skills and expertise, makes his conceptualisation of social capital relevant to the use of sport and recreation in social inclusion interventions. Coleman identifies three aspects of social capital: (1) obligations, expectations and trustworthiness of structures; (2) information channels; and (3) norms and effective sanctions, which will facilitate the closure of networks and ensure that obligations are met and 'freeloaders' are expelled. The importance of such sanctions and norms lies in the expectation of reciprocity and the fact that an individual's 'investment', for example time, effort and helping others, is made in the strong expectation that it will pay future dividends. Social capital, according to Coleman, therefore comprises the neutral aspects of social structure and social relationships in society that consequently facilitate and necessitate conscious actions by individuals (Misener & Mason, 2006). For change agents involved in sport and recreation interventions, an important aspect of Coleman's portrayal of social capital is the expectation of reciprocity. This aspect has, not received much attention in social capital studies.

Putnam defines social capital as shared or communal capital that comprises shared values; social control and order; reduced financial inequalities; trust in and support from friends and neighbours; confidence in institutions and leaders in society; and participation in political, social and cultural networks, including participation in sport and belonging to sports clubs. Whereas Coleman's theory of social capital can be applied to sport and recreation interventions, Putnam directly refers to sport as an important factor that can contribute to social capital by functioning as 'social glue' (Collins, 2004).

Putnam describes social capital from a functionalist viewpoint as a set of actions, outcomes or social networks that allow people and associations to operate more effectively when they act together. In operationalising the concepts he distinguishes between two types of social capital, namely bonding and bridging. Many sport-as-development organisations promote the positive aspects of bonding social capital, but Nicholson and Hoye (2008) warn that it is dangerous to equate social capital with resources acquired, as local-level cooperation alone cannot overcome macro-structural obstacles faced by marginalised communities. Bonding social capital can play an important role in local social regeneration, for example as an essential first step towards building collective confidence, cohesion and cooperation within groups; however, it cannot contribute to wider policies of social and economic regeneration. Concerns have also been expressed about the social and cultural aspects of bonding social capital, which can act to impose conformity, and downward levelling, thereby excluding outsiders and providing the basis for anti-social activities. It is possible that, while such capital can assist in community bonding, it may in fact lead to defensive communities; it thereby links disadvantaged individuals, but effectively excludes them from the wider society and restricts routes out of poverty and exclusion. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) similarly refer to bonding social capital as a double-edged sword, with strong group loyalties and collective enforced obligations potentially serving to isolate members from information about employment opportunities; foster a climate of ridicule towards efforts to study and work hard; or drain off hard-won assets through the enforcement of collective obligations.

Bonding social capital refers to networks based on strong social ties between people who feel affiliated to one another, with relationships, reciprocity and trust based on ties of familiarity. Putnam refers to bridging social capital as a type of sociological superglue whose function it is to maintain a strong in-group loyalty and reinforce specific identities. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) identify this concept as a rather romanticised communitarian perspective, as social capital is equated with local clubs, associations and civic groups and is viewed as inherently good. Bonding social capital does not, however, always have a positive effect on the welfare of a community. It must be acknowledged that for many people living in marginalised communities, such networks are a key resource that functions as an important means of survival. Marginalised community members do not necessarily cooperate with and participate in social clubs, networks and programmes due to a sense of affiliation, trust and strong in-group loyalty. Participation may serve as a means to an end, resulting in some form of reward.

The communitarian vision inherent in Putnam's depiction of social capital reinforces many of the assertions about sport-for-development. Putnam's description of social capital highlights the role of vague statements within the policy rhetoric of sport-for-development (Coalter, 2010a). Putnam's approach to social capital appeals to policy-makers because he is clearly interested in the role of organised voluntary associations and collective outcomes. From his perspective social capital can be regarded as a public good, an essentially neutral resource that is the property of the collective. Blackshaw and Long (2005) cited in Nicholson and Hoye (2008), however argue that the greater part of what Putnam offers is more an imaginary construction than a solution to social problems.

Whereas Putnam's understanding of social capital can be categorised as functional, the treatment of social capital by Bourdieu is instrumental. Social capital is reinforced by economic capital and Bourdieu alleges that the focus must be on privilege rather than disadvantage (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Other forms of capital are therefore, according to Bourdieu, accessed through social capital which allows an upwards movement on the social ladder (Skinner *et al.*, 2006). Sport, recreation and other aspects of culture must be included in the conceptualisation of social capital, as it forms part of a person's

ability to participate fully in all aspects of society (Collins, 2004). Bourdieu provides a succinct definition of social capital as: "*the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which is linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition*" (Bourdieu, 1986: 249 cited in Skinner *et al.*, 2006).

Bourdieu has identified three main forms of capital: first, economic capital related to money and institutionalised in forms of property rights; second, cultural capital that is often institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications; and, third, and most important, social capital (Skinner *et al.*, 2006). Bourdieu describes social capital as based on the social connections that people have developed and maintain. An important aspect of Bourdieu's view of social capital is his belief that privileged groups in society have the potential to maintain their privileges through the intergenerational transfer of social and cultural capital, along with economic capital (Skinner *et al.*, 2006). This questions the notion that social capital holds the promise of a bottom-up alternative to the top-down policies promoted by international financial organisations, as roles played by change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities inevitably result in a system where some members of a community are privileged and others are not (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

3.4.2 Social cohesion and collective identity

Sport and recreation are frequently advocated as the glue that holds communities together (Skinner *et al.*, 2006) and are increasingly promoted as a powerful tool for increasing social cohesion in urban areas (Vermeulen, 2011). Long and Sanderson (2001) cited in Vermeulen (2011) have found that social cohesion is one of the most commonly claimed social benefits of sport and recreation in public policies. The recurring metaphor of a bridge is regularly used when expressing these claims of community building and social cohesion. The following quote from the Millennium Development Program of the United Nations (2003) illustrates this point: "*by its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural and ethnic divides.*" This notion is elaborated in the sport policy document *Time for*

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Sport by the Dutch government, which states: *"sport functions as a meeting place for many. Differences between citizens with respect to education, religion, political affiliation, sexual preference or colour will be bridged in sport."* The National Sport and Recreation Plan of South Africa (SRSA, 2012) agrees with sport and recreation's potential for social cohesion by stating that sport and recreation *"play a pivotal role in improving the health and well-being of an individual, creating liveable communities and promoting social cohesion."*

A sense of community arises out of the fundamental human need to create and maintain social bonds, and to develop a sense of belonging. This need to belong to and to identify with a broader collective seems to get stronger in a world where everything else is changing and shifting. Sport and recreation can contribute to this identity formation process by providing a safe, non-judgemental environment characterised by trust (Skinner *et al.*, 2006) Trust is an essential part of social inclusion and social capital interventions, and is also a key element in social cohesion. Trust within a social network must first be established before cultural and physical boundaries can be challenged (Sanders, 2011). Sport and recreation opportunities can assist in building positive levels of trust and reciprocity amongst members of a community (Skinner *et al.*, 2006).

3.5.3 Social networking and community capacity

Community-based sport and recreation provision offers significant potential as a site for community development, health promotion and social justice, especially when community-based partnerships with change agents both within and outside the community serve as models for renewing relationships between marginalised communities and society (Reid *et al.*, 2002).

Sport and recreation opportunities give people the opportunity to become engaged in a non-threatening social group or social action, which consequently reduces social isolation and provides an important source of social interaction. Skinner *et al.* (2006) assert that community sport and recreation programmes and interventions offer one of the few potential sites where marginalised community members can take advantage of the physical, mental and social health benefits of active involvement in both the

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participation and decision-making aspects. Inclusiveness of participation, according to Head (2007), is seen in terms of community interests and viewpoints that are mediated through groups and associations, rather than solely in terms of direct and comprehensive citizen involvement.

In a study by Frisby and Millar (2002) it was found that marginalised women perceive participation in sport and recreation as contributing to a reduced sense of social inclusion. The authors conclude that community sport and recreation opportunities are an ideal approach for enabling marginalised communities to come together and enjoy the social benefits inherent in participation. Reid *et al.* (2002) agree that community sport and recreation is a site for reducing social isolation; but they add that their capacity to contribute to community action and social change can be enhanced through collaboration and interaction with social networks. Sport and recreation opportunities can contribute to the rebuilding of community structures, including rebuilding and strengthening families and social connections (Morrison *et al.*, 1997). A lack of connectedness, a decrease in social support and non-involvement in the community can have serious social consequences such as alienation, intolerance of others and a lack of motivation to change (Tomison & Wise, 1999).

According to Donnelly and Coakley (2002) the benefits of socially inclusive sport and recreation programmes are maximised if they are organised to provide participants with a safe environment; opportunities to develop and display competence; social networks; moral and economic support; autonomy and control in the structures in which the experiences occur; and hope for the future.

To successfully launch community development initiatives to reduce social inequalities and to increase social networking opportunities, a common ground must be created in which those who control local resources and the marginalised community share a concern about a social problem. This requires a partnership between community members and change agents, even though the two groups may have very different social locations and reasons for becoming involved in such initiatives (Frisby & Millar, 2002). Participation in the decision-making process will support and strengthen development initiatives and partnerships (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

3.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Chapter Three provided an investigation into the construction of two discourses that influence the roles and expectations of change agents involved in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. Social inclusion as a concept was explored in relation to the discourse that promotes sport and recreation as solely beneficial. Chapter Four identifies and describes the change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities. It also illustrates how the roles and expectations of change agents maintain both discourses. The chapter concludes by identifying possible barriers to the facilitation of social inclusion through sport and recreation provision.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROLES AND EXPECTATIONS OF CHANGE AGENTS PROVIDING SPORT AND RECREATION AS A VEHICLE FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever does."

Margaret Mead

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three introduced and discussed two of the key discourses informing the roles and expectations of change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities. This chapter identifies and describes the change agents involved in utilising sport and recreation as a tool to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities, and explores the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised communities. Roles and expectations are not always transparent, and this lack of transparency coupled with the blind following of discursive practices presents a variety of barriers to achieving social inclusion through sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities. The chapter concludes by probing possible barriers to social inclusion through sport and recreation in marginalised communities.

4.2 CHANGE AGENTS USING SPORT AND RECREATION PROVISION TO ATTAIN SOCIAL INCLUSION

The belief in the potential of sport and recreation to contribute to a more equal, socially cohesive and peaceful society is not only widespread, but is followed and employed by an expanding range of change agents, including government at national, local and provincial level; private organisations at both international and national level forming public-private partnerships; funding agencies; NGOs and NPOs; researchers and tertiary education institutions; FBOs and marginalised community members. Spaaij (2009)

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emphasises that it has become increasingly common for various change agents to herald social development through sport and recreation participation as the new social movement.

Change agents involved in providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities operate at various levels of service provision. Involvement ranges from funding sport and recreation opportunities to the actual provision of opportunities at community level. The following section identifies and briefly describes the variety of change agents involved.

4.2.1 Government

Government consists of political institutions that collectively comprise a system of order that claims control over exercising coercive power and authority binding on all those living in a prescribed territory (Pluye, Potvin & Denis, 2004). There has, however, been a movement away from the previous top-down approach employed by governments towards a participatory approach, in which the government emphasises building institutional bridges between itself and the citizens of a country. Head (2007) suggests a degree of scepticism about the intentions of governments within this community engagement process; it implies that government still has control over the process, but that the responsibility for the outcome is now shared between the government and the citizens. New approaches to community engagement dominant in democratic countries include greater citizen engagement; public consultation in a variety of social, political and programme contexts; and strengthening institutional relations between government and non-government sectors. Head (2007) emphasises that the formal process of institutionalised democracy in the form of representative government is no longer regarded as sufficient by many groups of citizens and leaders of non-governmental and private development organisations. The new approach to engaging with communities emphasises processes that need to include the broader population, and specifically the disadvantaged and marginalised communities. This change has brought about a renewed focus on the need for dialogue between government and citizens, as well as deliberation amongst stakeholders and change agents over the process of deciding on priorities and actions. Institutional relationships between government and various non-government

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sectors are mediated through organisations and institutional forums, resulting in the maintenance of the status quo.

Craig (2007) cited in Skinner *et al.* (2006) agrees with Head (2007) by describing government-based initiatives and involvements as being top-down, and not clearly dealing with the real issues in these localities. Craig (2007) continues by describing government initiatives and policies as being ideologically driven, promoting current social inequalities and thereby perpetuating the status quo within any given society. The construction of social exclusion within policy documents thereby emphasises the factors that keep marginalised citizens excluded rather than changing the focus to the underlying factors that cause certain social classes and communities to experience exclusion in the first place (Duggan, 1999). Reid *et al.* (2002) suggest that a possible reason for the lack of success of government-initiated programmes in marginalised communities may be that policy-makers are eager to ensure the economic viability of their initiatives and therefore essentially ignore the issues and concerns of marginalised community members. Policies that appear to attempt to confront social issues tend to cloak the reality of the underlying stability of social exclusion, as radical transformations are depicted on the surface; however, underlying deep-rooted inequalities remain even though they may be different in appearance (Minter, 2001). Piggin *et al.* (2009) emphasise that state institutions that govern sport and recreation funding and sport and recreation policy have access to a significant amount of power. By using positivistic measures that enable the legitimisation of policy statements, governmental organisations construct relations of power and thereby marginalise certain forms of knowledge, for example knowledge held by community members.

National frameworks within which national strategies to combat poverty and social problems such as social exclusion are embedded are crucial in the support of local interventions. Such a framework that does not negate bottom-up data as inconsequential will ensure that innovation from localised interventions is transferred to the national context. Refuting the importance of a coherent, embracing national framework means that the proliferation of actions and results from structures at the local level are in danger of being inaccurately positioned as effective national policy. Duggan (1999) argues that

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the failure of government to establish national frameworks that support local interventions is not the only weak link in the relationship between local interventions and national policy. A more serious discontinuity exists in policy at the national and local level between anti-poverty and exclusion discourses. There is the potential for contradiction between national efficiency and local equity, as national policies attempt to pursue and strengthen economic growth and promote capitalist accumulation, whilst local policies seek to maintain mass loyalty to the system. Duggan (1999) emphasises that the more intense this contradiction becomes, the more local approaches will assume an ideological and discursive role in relation to the political management of social exclusion rather than a practical role in its eradication. It must therefore be recognised that local interventions, and the policies that establish these interventions, co-exist within a broader aspect of national policy which is constantly under pressure from external agendas.

Despite the fact that local interventions are constrained by limitations and are inadequate to meet the needs of disadvantaged and marginalised communities, the identification of specific issues and appropriate responses to them can only occur at the local level. Local-level approaches are recognised as facilitating the involvement of various non-governmental actors, the emergence of more integrated approaches, and more effective interfaces between national agencies and specific groups (Duggan, 1999). Brownrigg (2006) concurs that the most challenging and important area of policy work occurs at the municipal level, where most of the on-the-ground activity takes place. Problems and issues faced by local governments in the delivery of sport and recreation services are many and varied. Local governments have not been immune to offloading services onto other service providers. In recent years, local government has shifted from a direct delivery model to an enabler model as a means to deal with economic pressures. Various strategies have been adopted by local governments in response to financial constraints, including dismantling programmes, subcontracting and privatisation, increases in fees, intergovernmental arrangements and partnerships with non-profits (Joassart *et al.*, 2011). Some of these strategies resulted in a transfer of responsibility to NGOs, NPOs, FBOs and volunteers to maintain sport and recreation programmes, facilities and services, thereby strengthening the perception that local government is a less important provider

of parks and recreation services (Harper, 2011). An additional challenge faced by municipalities is the fact that bureaucratic institutions are slow to change. Municipalities have a variety of roles and mandates passed on from the provincial governmental level, with specified delivery systems to achieve their mandates, which make service provision complex and cumbersome.

Morrison (1997) emphasises the inadequacy of municipal support by stating that services provided are not designed to meet the needs of youths and families from low-income, multi-cultural communities. These services serve a maintenance function in marginalised communities and make little contribution to building an inclusive neighbourhood structure. Services and funding to service providers are fragmented, thereby reducing efforts to build a supportive structure. There are insufficient incentives in place to reduce this fragmentation and encourage coordination between government and local change agents providing sport and recreation.

4.2.2 International and national funding agencies

International agencies are becoming increasingly involved in sport-for-development work, as sport and recreation participation is seen as a crucial element in addressing socio-political, health and cultural issues in marginalised communities in need of development (Burnett, 2008). Concern has, however, been expressed about the possible consequences of external aid to civil society sport and recreation organisations. There has been a proliferation of external NGOs due to the financial crises in many African societies (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008), including South Africa. The influx of external NGOs and funds from developed Western countries has led to strategies and expectations of what is possible to formulate in the West superimposed on Africa. Functionalist views of the power of sport are often unrealistically high and extremely vague. NGOs applying for funding frequently have to include objectives and programme elements in their applications that are not part of their actual objectives, as this may be the only way to receive the needed aid. Roles played by NGOs are influenced by the need to prove that additional objectives such as diversity and skill development have been met. The constant pressure of upward reporting to funding agencies within restricted time limits tends to result in change agents becoming distanced from the day-

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to-day realities of working within a marginalised community (Irvine, Chambers & Eyben, 2004). Drafting reports from funding agencies often takes up a substantial amount of time, leaving the staff less time to actually work towards the expected goals of sport and recreation contributing to social inclusion. Change agents might be aware of the problem, but cannot communicate it to the funding agency as it may result in termination of funding.

Funding agencies often focus on the investment returns of the programmes or initiatives that they financially support which results in a loss of focus on the active engagement, capacity-building and transfer of ownership characteristic of sustainable development. Change agents responsible for providing sport and recreation opportunities at community level are able to operate while they are funded; however, Burnett (2008) cautions that without a needs-based and people-focused programme, sustainability is compromised and funding agents remain responsible for providing resources, governance, and taking responsibility for monitoring, evaluation and impact assessments.

4.2.3 Non-governmental and voluntary organisations

NPOs, NGOs and voluntary organisations are responsible for many of the recreation and sport opportunities provided in marginalised communities (Vermeulen, 2011). The community sector consists of a shifting range of well-organised stakeholder organisations, partially organised groups and unorganised individuals (Head, 2007). According to Joassart *et al.* (2011), NGOs are increasingly called upon to perform tasks traditionally considered to be the responsibility of government. While supporters of this trend acknowledge the flexibility and resilience of the non-profit and voluntary sectors, the lack of involuntary resources, limited accountability and inherent inequity of a system of service provision that relies primarily on local contributions cannot be ignored. NGOs often provide inclusive sport and recreation development programmes and opportunities, thereby enabling communities to access opportunities and resources that they would not otherwise have had (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

Regardless of the shift in responsibility, NGOs do not operate in a vacuum and the relationship between the NGO sector, government, funding agencies and the community can result in either success or failure of an initiative. NGOs rely on a variety of strategies to raise the revenue needed to finance their activities. There is a general perception that non-profits rely primarily on philanthropy or private donations to survive; however, funding from governmental grants and a variety of both national and international funding agencies are essential to NGO sustainability. Government intervention can improve the activity levels of NGOs either directly by raising local expenditure on parks, sport and recreation or indirectly through grants to non-profits. Without government support, many non-profits would not be able to operate and inequalities in society would be even larger (Joassart-Marchelli *et al.*, 2011). The relationship between NGOs and marginalised community members, although different to the relationship between NGOs, government and funding agencies, is just as important to achieve an NGO's objectives. Sport and recreation provision is often used as a strategy for harnessing community capacity, thereby contributing to social action and community change (Reid *et al.*, 2002). Sport and recreation participation opportunities present an ideal site for engaging with marginalised communities to collaboratively explore strategies for social change within a community. Despite the significant barriers that marginalised communities face, sport and recreation are used by NGOs as a means to reduce their social isolation, thereby increasing the perception of social inclusion. Accessible recreation and sport opportunities are seen as a positive means of social integration and becoming involved in the community (Reid *et al.*, 2002). According to Head (2007) there are sound reasons for NGOs to keep in close contact with programme participants, as a programme without participants cannot achieve its objectives. The capacity for and interest in engaging with the community and with each other, however, varies widely and depends on the organisational structure of the NGO. An important issue in community engagement is the legitimacy of an NGO as representative of its membership. As a result of the representation of members, governments often rely heavily on the scope and involvement of NGOs in government-initiated consultation processes (Head, 2007).

Community sport and recreation workers are often perceived by community members as different to many of the other agents associated with the social inclusion agenda such as teachers, probation officers, and youth and social workers. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) suggest that a possible reason for this phenomenon may be that sport and recreation change agents who function at community level seek to understand people within a community on their terms through reference to more personal experience rather than engaging in policy-led language games.

Joassart-Marchelli *et al.* (2011) raise a number of concerns regarding the involvement of NGOs in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities. First, knowledge about the relative role of NGOs is limited compared to national and local governments in financing sport and recreation activities, and the types of resource available to the voluntary sector for such purposes. There is an ambiguity between the two sectors since NGOs are at least partially financed by public funds. NGOs could provide services where governments fail to do so and perhaps lead the way to a new type of urban governance in which civic organisations play a role in organising governmental resources and building partnerships with other change agents. Reliance on local voluntary organisations for the operation and management of sport and recreation programmes may, however, be perceived as a withdrawal by the public sector, potentially resulting in lower levels of services or more exclusive delivery. Non-profitisation becomes a step toward privatisation which, due to financial constraints, ultimately necessitates exclusion (Labonte, 2004). Second, there is inadequate research on the type of public space and sport and recreation programme that are supported by the non-profit sector and whether they best meet the demands or serve the needs of the community as a whole. Sport and recreation activities provided by NPOs often take place in public areas, yet such activities may or may not be accessible to low-income residents if participation requires membership fees, serious time commitment or aspects limited to marginalised community members. Third, concerns about racial equity in the distribution of non-profit resources must be acknowledged. While evidence suggests that urban sport and recreation programme opportunities are unevenly distributed within metropolitan regions, it is not known whether the non-profit sector contributes to this pattern or instead mediates some of these disparities in access. Unless there is

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considerable redistribution from higher levels of government, it is unlikely that non-profits will be able to address the needs of local residents. Left on their own, voluntary organisations are likely to serve the interests of specific groups and indirectly exclude others, contributing to rather than reducing inequities and exclusion. The role of the non-profit sector could vary between communities, acting as an inclusive force in some communities while being a potentially exclusive agent in other areas.

4.2.4 Volunteers

The United Nations stresses the centrality of volunteering in sport and argues that it contributes to social welfare, community participation, generation of trust and reciprocity and the broadening of social interaction through new networks (Coalter, 2010a). Consequently, volunteerism creates bridging social capital, helping to build and consolidate social cohesion and stability. While the concept of social capital is not explicitly stated, it is clearly implied by the statement that:

> *Local development through sport particularly benefits from an integrated partnership approach to sport-for-development involving the full spectrum of actors in field-based community development including all levels of and various sectors of government, sports organisations, NGOs and the private sector. Strategic sport-based partnerships can be created within a common framework providing a structured environment allowing for coordination, knowledge and expertise sharing and cost effectiveness* (Coalter, 2010a: 1376).

A volunteer is usually perceived as an individual engaging in behaviour that is not bio-socially determined nor economically necessitated nor socio-politically compelled, but rather that is essentially motivated by the expectation of psychic benefits of some kind (Fried, 2010). Participation in voluntary associations therefore results from motivations other than physical needs, coercion or direct pay (Wandersman, Florin, Friedman & Meier, 1987). Volunteers play an essential role in community development. With increasing financial constraints limiting the work and reach of NGOs, the volunteer is at the centre of the sustainability of many sport and recreation organisations and programmes (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

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4.2.5 Faith-based organisations

FBOs are more concentrated in their service offerings than their secular counterparts, according to Graddy and Ye (2006). It must however be emphasised that FBOs play an important role through their emphasis on transitional assistance, their multi-service orientation, and their reliance on interventions that use their unique strengths. Even though secular non-profit and public providers offer a much more comprehensive set of services, the results of the study by Graddy and Ye (2006) suggest that FBOs have a focused role that complements the efforts of secular providers.

FBOs have a long history of participating in social service delivery that ranges from the provision of necessities such as food and shelter to the provision of sport and recreation opportunities. Graddy and Ye (2006) assert that the unique organisational structure of FBOs may offer the advantages of both efficiency and effectiveness over secular service providers. First, FBOs may be more efficient at delivering some social services, with avenues for such an advantage including the role of churches and volunteers in communities. FBOs are the most common institutions in many local communities (Chavis, 2001). As such, they have existing infrastructure and network relationships – buildings, human resources, community connections – that can be used for the delivery of social services. FBOs are well positioned to address the multi-service needs of the marginalised, as they commonly have strong community connections and access to volunteers. This low-cost labour may enable FBOs to offer more services or to allot more time to each beneficiary than other service providers. Second, FBOs' reliance on faith may make them more effective, either by leading them to employ different methods of service delivery, or to employ the same methods with more intensity than secular service providers. FBOs often perceive their work as part of their ministry, resulting in a difference in roles played and expectations held. Graddy and Ye (2006) identified three differences between the service delivery of FBOs and other change agents. The first difference concerns the FBOs' sense of mission, which makes these organisations more willing to make a long-term commitment to service recipients, continuing to provide services until changes occur. The second difference centres around the likelihood that FBOs will rely on mentoring and one-to-one relationships. The last difference is that

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FBOs are more adaptive and more willing to conform and adapt services to the needs of the community, in contrast to governmental programmes that insist that all participants conform to the programme. Chavis (2001) does not agree with Graddy and Ye (2006) and stress that FBOs do not tend to be involved in more than fleeting personal contact with needy and marginalised people. The authors also found that the services of FBOs do not entail a particularly holistic approach to crosscutting needs in marginalised communities.

4.2.6 Research and tertiary education institutions

The rapid expansion in the use of sport and recreation in community development work has been accompanied by an associated increase in research-based evaluation and monitoring. This has thrown researchers into an area of activity in which the already complex issues surrounding assessment of the social impact of sport and recreation exponentially increase (Kay, 2009). Adding to the complexity of community development research is the well-recognised gap that exists between research findings and the implementation of evidence-based prevention strategies in community settings. Interventions based on research findings may be too complex, difficult or costly to integrate with existing local activities. Part of the problem may be researchers' attempts to find the most efficient programme rather than a programme that could be implemented and delivered with limited resources to many people (Dzewaltowski *et al.*, 2004).

Universities often initiate programmes as part of related research or service-delivery projects with research and monitoring activities as separate components of the project. Traditional research approaches have been criticised for their failure to effectively engage valuable community assets such as knowledge of community values, leadership, social networks and experience in the process of designing and implementing interventions. According to Schultz, Krieger & Galea (2002), these approaches tend to decontextualise information and fail to engage those community members who would be most effective in the process of understanding and developing solutions to the social concerns faced by a particular community. Participatory approaches arose to address the shortcomings of traditional approaches and to ensure a two-way relationship between the

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researcher and the researched. Community members' awareness of the social processes that influence their communities, and possible ways to influence these processes, are not always readily apparent to community members themselves or to researchers and practitioners. This covert knowledge can, however, be critical to the success of an intervention. The complexity of the social processes that influence social inclusion requires participation by people with a wide range of skills, bringing diverse resources, influence and knowledge to both research and intervention (Schultz *et al.*, 2002) which does not necessarily exclude community members themselves. Wallerstein (1999) draws attention to the need for researchers to recognise the difficulty of engaging community members as partners on an 'equal power' basis. If researchers are interested in community empowerment then it is crucial for them to first understand their own personal biographies of race, educational or social status, gender and other identities; how these characteristics inform our ability to speak and interpret the world; and how they inform power dynamics within the research relationship itself. Once researchers recognise that there are many realities in the phenomena under study, which include hidden voices that may never be known, then it can be recognised that there are many realities in the research relationship.

Researchers often select programme components of intervention based on existing knowledge. Although researchers work with community members to gain support for and implement certain programme components, researchers largely design the manner in which the interventions are implemented (Tsai Roussos & Fawcett, 2000). In order to bring about change in a community, the relationship between the researcher, community members and practitioners should include the ability to listen to the other parties in the partnership. Communication between practitioners on the ground, community participants and theoreticians or researchers in universities is crucial, as a lack of communication could influence evaluation and monitoring data, which in turn could directly influence service delivery (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Partnerships take time to develop and require mutual trust between members. Meister and Guernsey de Zapien (2005) stress that the researchers' goal must be to be a partner in the fullest sense; not merely providing technical assistance, advice and evaluation, but being an integral part of learning, decision-making and action. An important condition in this

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relationship is that the researcher should not inadvertently assume the leadership role in the community coalition. It is the actions taken by all of the partners that result in the kind of impact needed on the lives of the community.

4.2.7 Marginalised communities

Marginalised communities are often characterised by socially segregated homogenous social units; social problems such as high levels of crime, vandalism and addiction separated from infrastructure and provision of services; and a resigned detachment from society in general. An accumulated effect occurs with a high incidence of people living in the same area sharing the same characteristics, which increases the likelihood of the repetition of the cycle of poverty and disadvantage that is passed on from one generation to the next. The process of poverty, disadvantage and associated social exclusion is maintained by various factors such as persistent inter-generational educational disadvantage resulting in relatively low levels of educational achievement; high drop-out rates in schools and high levels of illiteracy; being excluded from contacting the outside world due to a lack of transportation; concentrated unemployment; and a high level of welfare dependency. Feelings of marginalisation and exclusion are further compounded by community members' perception that their needs are ignored by a society whose existing structures are unable to respond to these needs (Duggan, 1999).

Dependence on welfare grants from government and ad hoc services provided by NGOs results in a skewed power relationship in which community members in marginalised communities often do not see their own actions as capable of changing the conditions in which they live. Divine intervention or luck is often seen as the only way out. A sense of powerlessness presents a further barrier to social inclusion, as people who perceive themselves to lack the power to shape their life chances and life course are less likely to believe that they can take control of their lives (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000; Morrison *et al.*, 1997).

According to Frisby and Millar (2002) it is noteworthy that residents living in lower socio-economic communities who do not have disposable income will rely on programmes provided by FBOs, NGOs and change agents within the community.

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Important factors influencing participation rates in marginalised communities include availability of and access to facilities, distance to facilities, and awareness and knowledge of activities. Reid *et al.* (2002) caution that participation does not necessarily relate to community change, as community members often see recreation and sport programmes as a means to an end: for example if participation allows participants to collect a food parcel or receive a meal at the end of a session.

4.3 ROLES AND EXPECTATIONS OF CHANGE AGENTS INVOLVED IN SPORT AND RECREATION PROVISION IN MARGINALISED COMMUNITIES

Change agents using sport and recreation participation as a tool have differing expectations of and motivations for being involved in the social inclusion agenda. Radmilovic (2005) clarifies that this difference in expectations and motivations is due to the rules that people have for how they live their lives. The rules, world-views and paradigms that inform a person's actions, which can be implicit or explicit, are a product of the person's values, beliefs and experiences. Expectations of and motivations for involvement in providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities could either influence, or be influenced by, the community discourse and the discourse depicting sport and recreation participation as solely beneficial.

The importance of clearly expressed roles and expectations within the system of sport and recreation provision cannot be over-emphasised. Vaguely expressed roles and expectations constitute a major barrier, which constrains not only achieving the goals constructed within institutional relationships but also bringing about the much-needed change necessary for social inclusion to become a reality. The change agents involved have individual differences, even though they might all be working towards the broader outcome of social inclusion. Change efforts are influenced by content, contextual and process issues as well as the differences that exist among the change agents and the marginalised community (Walker, Armenakis & Berneth, 2007).

Individual change agents and marginalised communities involved in sport and recreation provision form part of a complex system that is often bounded by dominant beliefs and assumptions, otherwise known as discourses. Discourses are located in the organisational culture and reflected in the organisational climate where beliefs and practices are incontestable (Sun & Scott, 2005). Within this system change agents interact in a non-linear and adaptive fashion as each change agent responds to other change agents and the environment as a whole. Change agents must therefore continually adapt within the context of relationships with other change agents (Parsons, 2007).

Roles played and expectations held by change agents within the community sector are often driven by civic responsibility fostered and fuelled by public policy for the benefit of individuals, families and communities (Head, 2007), resulting in community interventions and community programmes occurring most often in lower socio-economic and marginalised communities. According to Kidd (2008) there has been a determined effort to re-mobilise sport as a vehicle for broad, sustainable social development in the most disadvantaged countries in the world. An array of change agents – including national and international sport organisations; governments; NGOs and NPOs; and tertiary education organisations – have used sport and recreation programmes in low- and middle-income countries to assist in broad social development.

Sport and recreation programmes and initiatives linked under the banner of 'Sport for Development and Peace' (SDP) form part of what Kidd (2008: 370) describes as *"a rapidly mushrooming phenomenon."* Programmes and initiatives utilising sport and physical activity to advance both sport and broader social development in marginalised communities are, however, disparate and loosely linked, with differing roles and expectations that contribute to the challenge of living up to the idealistic vision characteristic of the SDP movement. The negotiation of multiple and often conflicting agendas and difficulties in equalising power relations within the sport and recreation provision system may be attributed to the vague and non-transparent roles and expectations of change agents and members of marginalised communities (Frisby & Millar, 2002).

Coalter (2010a: 1382) suggests that *"a better understanding of how such organisations actually work might be to adopt a less romanticised, communitarian view of the organisation, and explore the potential range of motivations – from those motivated by civic, democratic, and moral values, to more Coleman-like instrumentalism."* Motivation to participate in sport and recreation provision to effect social inclusion in marginalised communities is often driven by the values of altruism, a sense of belonging and collective responsibility central to the civic values identified by Putnam. Motivation to participate is, however, also accompanied by material and status incentives that are more closely related to the instrumental and self-interest approach favoured by Coleman.

Change agents operating within this system face barriers such as the need for specialisation, narrowly focused funding streams and competition for scarce resources (Morrison, 1997), thereby complicating participation by those concerned with social inequalities. Despite the growing emphasis on participation among change agents involved in social inclusion initiatives, the processes and mechanisms whereby participation and representation occur remain unclear (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). The absence of an understanding of the processes and mechanisms that are assumed to produce particular social impacts and outcomes is identified by Spaaij (2009) as one of the main limitations to the production of evidence for policy-making and practice.

Change agents concerned with altering the trend of social inequalities work at various levels in the sport and recreation provision system, ranging from the level of government to the level of NPOs (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Partnering with other change agents who may already have a relationship with a marginalised community, or who may have access to resources, is an important strategy in working towards social inclusion. Partnerships between organisations working at different levels of this system are therefore encouraged, but are complicated by power differentials accompanying the different levels of operation. Even though partnerships can assist in obtaining resources, diverse skills and building political support for community development initiatives, partners will have not only different social locations but also competing norms and agendas (Frisby & Millar, 2002).

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The United Nations (2003), stresses the importance of promoting partnerships between change agents, as this will allow for resource mobilisation for and through sport as *"effectively designed sports programs ... are a valuable tool to initiate social development and improve social cohesion"* (United Nations, 2003:20).

Essential attributes of partnerships in community development initiatives include power-sharing and mutual respect and understanding amongst partners and coalition members to ensure equal participation in discussions and decision-making (Voyle & Simmons, 1999). Change agents might not share the same understanding of social inclusion and community development, which may further contribute to the complexity of achieving social inclusion.

Targeting a community as socially excluded is often not a description shared by the community participants, although it may directly influence the roles and expectations of the change agents involved. In a study by Minter (2001) an interesting finding showed that none of the young people interviewed viewed themselves as 'socially excluded' even though they might have been identified as such by various change agents. The simple appearance of widening participation is therefore misleading and can prevent change agents from delving more deeply to uncover a more realistic and complex picture. Change agents often believe that marginalised communities are difficult to engage (Skinner *et al.*, 2006). Change agents tend to expect community members to submit to their suggestions for change because the agents have the expertise, thereby excluding local knowledge. This tendency to undermine local knowledge has, according to Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000), been traditionally founded on the belief that development change agents know best. Favouring a top-down approach in which knowledge external to a community as held by change agents is seen as the desirable option necessitates the acknowledgement that a hierarchy of knowledge exists in community development work. These hidden assumptions are frequently found in community interventions and support Foucault's depiction of subjugated and dominant knowledge (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Utilising community participants in collecting information and programme design is not, however, a guarantee that local knowledge will not be dominated. In a study by Cameron and Gibson (2005) it was

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found that community participants who were employed to work on a research project within their community did not perceive the expectations of the researchers as positive. One of the participants described researchers as people *"who's got maybe the power or the intellect to do something but they are not doing anything. All they want to do is research us. Okay, we know these are what the problems are. We are sick and tired of people telling us we're like this"* (Cameron & Gibson, 2005: 316). The involvement of marginalised communities in policy and programme development is an important consideration in public policy development by governmental agencies, as the focus can be moved to finding a solution in which marginalised communities can be held at least partially responsible for their own well-being (Frisby & Millar, 2002).

Change agents are reliant on funding and specific outcomes in order to sustain any given programme, intervention or organisation. Regardless of the approach used by a change agent and despite the lack of consensus on what development and social inclusion entails (Spaaij, 2009), change agents such as NGOs are aware that they need to adapt to funding requirements in order to sustain an initiative or programme. Burnett (2010) describes NGOs as social entrepreneurs that make a living through tapping into global and national funding. NGOs often advocate an 'evangelist' approach, that sport and recreation offerings are antidotes for many of society's ills, including social inclusion. These possibilities presented by NGOs make such organisations an attractive investment for national and international funding agencies, as this will increase the yield of aid and investment (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

An example of adapting the outcome of a programme in order to qualify for funding is provided by Pitter and Andrews (1997), in which a proposal was designed for the AmeriCorps grant. The proposal was designed to provide sport and recreation opportunities for children living in three extremely poor West Tennessee counties. In preparing the proposal, the authors had to link the initiative to the stated national priorities of the AmeriCorps programme. The extent of poverty and the lack of recreation in the area to be served motivated someone to suggest that, of the four AmeriCorps national priorities, human needs was the most relevant. Everyone else, however, agreed that crime prevention was the priority. This priority would increase the

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proposal's chances of success, given that public safety was currently the most favoured of the AmeriCorps priorities according to the Tennessee Public Service Commission.

> *Like many others seeking to bring sport to the underserved, we believed that we could not successfully argue for sport funding if our arguments were based solely on sport's intrinsic value. To receive funding, we felt we had to tie sport onto the coat tails of crime prevention. Like many others, we were caught up in a social and political nexus that begged an important question: if sport provision for the underserved can be funded only when it is an antidote to urban social ills, what impact will these programs have on people who participate in them, on the communities where they take place, and on the groups that support them?* (Pitter & Andrews, 1997: 90).

Renard (2006) cited in Nicholson and Hoye (2008) suggests that there may be a conflict at the heart of the relationships between grassroots change agents, local and international funding agencies and national government, as locally determined poverty reduction and development strategies and externally imposed development goals may skew programmes and may not reflect local issues and needs. Renard (2006) posits two contrasting sets of relationships. One is based on donors and recipients pursuing similar policy objectives, based on consensus and trust. It might be hypothesised that this refers to funding provided in a spirit of relative altruism. The second set is based on the possibility that donors and recipients have differing agendas. As the debt-ridden crisis of many African societies has led to a weakening of the state and institutions of civil society there has been an explosion of external NGOs, giving them effective control of areas such as health, education and welfare provision. It has been argued, according to Nicholson and Hoye (2008), that the rapid growth in influence of locally non-accountable NGOs represents new forces of neo-colonialism, as their main leadership and strategies are formulated in the West. Contrary to the empowerment rhetoric, communities will depend on the services provided by NGOs and voluntary organisations.

The aims, goals and objectives of change agents using sport and recreation as a vehicle for social inclusion include developing sustainable sport and recreation organisations in

order to remove barriers to participation; training and supporting leaders and coaches; and providing opportunities to develop and progress. These aims and objectives are rarely the sole rationale for involvement and are very rarely the basis for investment by aid agencies. The role of sport and recreation in contributing to broader social goals is often emphasised, with sport and recreation being used to address a number of broader social issues, for example social inclusion. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) do, however, suggest that if it is the intention of change agents to use sport and recreation as a means of achieving social benefits in marginalised communities, it would be appropriate to acknowledge the divisive features of consumer society and to find a set of concepts that will assist in understanding the task at hand.

According to Spaaij (2009), mainstream approaches to development through sport and recreation promoting partnerships between governments, international NGOs, transnational corporations and international corporations such as the United Nations are directly at odds with alternative development approaches in the Global South in which local NGOs play a critical role. Alternative development approaches in the Global South are based on the belief that the top-down approach favoured by government is often part of the problem, and alternative development should therefore occur outside governmental structures. Partnerships between governments, international NGOs and international organisations may become problematic as they could mask existing power relations and hierarchical structures between international donors, government, local NGOs and marginalised community participants, thereby creating an additional challenge in a context where organisations are competing for similar sources of funding.

Bridges constructed by sport and recreation depend on the organisations involved and how a programme or intervention is planned and delivered. The actual social bridging work achieved by sport and recreation must be performed through interaction between change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities related to social inclusion (Vermeulen, 2011).

4.4 BARRIERS TO THE ATTAINMENT OF SOCIAL INCLUSION THROUGH THE USE OF SPORT AND RECREATION PROVISION

Most change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities as a tool to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities have experienced the power of sport and recreation interventions to bring people together. Sport and recreation are significant tools to attract and include people in a programme; however, it is not an approach that can guarantee that social inclusion will be achieved. Despite the belief that sport and recreation participation is perceived as an effective way of addressing social inclusion in marginalised communities, relatively few studies have investigated whether these programmes and events actually yield the pro-social effects ascribed to them (Müller *et al.*, 2008). The following paragraphs explore barriers related to social inclusion through sport and recreation provision.

4.4.1 Vague assumptions supporting discourses, roles and expectations of social inclusion attainment through sport and recreation participation

A sense of vagueness surrounds the operationalisation of social inclusion. Social inclusion tends to be defined as the opposite of social exclusion, thereby adding to the complexity of the concept. If exclusion as the direct opposite of inclusion refers to an action by a majority to a minority, then social inclusion must carry the same implication, according to Donnelly and Coakley (2002). Contrasting social inclusion and social exclusion therefore necessitates that something is being done by a majority for a minority, or by a dominant group for a subordinate group. This creates an unavoidable patronising situation in which the minority or marginalised are excluded from agency and from being part of determining the form, content and meaning of their inclusion. A lack of agency may not be intended, and definitions may be specifically fashioned to include the notion of agency; however, exclusion is implicit in the term when the question 'who is including whom?' is asked.

According to Coalter (2007), cited in Nicholson & Hoye (2008), the vague and myth-like nature of the impact of sport and recreation is more evident when the even more ambitious claims for sport and recreation's institutional contribution to the development

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of aspects of civil society are examined. Statements of desired outcomes often stem from traditional and widespread ideologies of sport and recreation. These outcomes are, for example, the development of discipline, confidence, tolerance and respect, which are assumed to contribute to social inclusion. Evidence for such outcomes is, however, limited in terms of individual impacts, community impacts and the associated desired behavioural outcomes. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) emphasise that in addition to the relatively weak generic evidence for the impact of sport and recreation opportunities on social inclusion, change agents within sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities are further faced with a lack of evidence for some of the core claims made for sport and recreation within the emerging policy area.

Labonte (1999) is of the opinion that the use of social capital and sport and recreation participation with reference to the outcome of social inclusion programmes is dangerously ambiguous. The author explains that on the one hand social capital and participation serve as potential tools for critical social theorists, as it is argued that it is only through grassroots participation in strong community-based organisations that socially excluded community participants will gain power to lobby governments to recognise and meet their needs. On the other hand, the concepts 'social capital' and 'participation' can be appropriated by neo-liberal theorists who believe that grassroots organisations and networks have the power to take over many of the functions and responsibilities previously assigned to governments. Labonte's (1999) argument highlights the importance of locating varying conceptualisations of social capital and participation relevant to social inclusion against the backdrop of wider conceptualisations of power within the system of sport and recreation provision.

4.4.2 Contradictory motivations, roles and expectations between and of change agents

A diverse group of change agents forms part of the delivery of sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities in an effort to promote social inclusion. Even though change agents may work towards the same expressed goal, there are diverse motivations, roles and expectations between change agents and between change agents and marginalised communities. FBOs have the motivation to use sport and recreation as

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an inclusionary tool to promote faith-based doctrines (Clarke, 2006), whereas a corporate entity may be involved in a sport and recreation initiative because of corporate social responsibility. Regardless of the motivation for using sport and recreation as a tool for social inclusion, non-transparent and contradictory motivations will influence the roles and expectations of change agents, which could result in the maintenance of a marginalised community's status quo.

Social inclusion is characteristically defined by what it is not, therefore differentiating social inclusion from social exclusion. Through the use of language concepts are polarised, as conceptual boundaries assist change agents to give meaning to both sides of the polarity (Lewis, 2000). Pitter and Andrews (1997) refer to the potential problem of sport and recreation-based social inclusion initiatives exacerbating the social and racial divisions responsible for the very conditions that the initiatives are trying to remove. Expectations held by change agents regarding a marginalised community's perception of social exclusion may anticipate a certain response. Community members may, however, not view themselves as socially excluded. Expectations held by marginalised community members may therefore be in contrast to those held by change agents.

Contradictory expectations may result in tension within the relationship between change agents and marginalised community members. Contradictions in expectations and motivations are cognitively or socially constructed polarities that mask the simultaneity of conflicting truths. Most change agents accentuate contradictions by interpreting data, for example organisational practices, as a simple, dichotomous concept. Such a frame of reference enables change agents to make sense of complex realities; even though once it becomes entrenched it is highly resistant to change (Lewis, 2000).

Increased participation in sport and recreation opportunities, as a successful outcome of social inclusion, may on the surface seem to benefit marginalised communities that are targeted for interventions; however, in studies in the developing world this does not always seem to be the case. Ilon (cited in Minter, 2001) poses the question of whether the interests of those who are deemed to be excluded are the same as those who wish to promote inclusion. The interest and motivation of change agents is not always so much altruistic as it is of benefit to the market interests of investors and producers. As result

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the author warns that one should be cautious in examining the motives behind a desire to increase participation, as improving the lives of the marginalised and fostering market-friendly environments are two separate and distinct goals. Rollero, Tartaglia, De Piccoli & Ceccarini (2009) warn that while the emphasis on participation expands the scope of decision-making, it also introduces the problem of how local communities respond to and make sense of the act of participating. It cannot be supposed that every community will participate in a similar way, as the level of knowledge about, and practices related to, participation vary among communities. It is therefore not sufficient to assume that increased grassroots participation is central to the development of communities, and improved social outcomes such as social inclusion as participation do not necessarily equate to marginalised communities experiencing social inclusion. Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000) are of the opinion that social change through participation can only be understood once the ambiguity and double-edged nature of power is grasped.

Asymmetries between change agents and marginalised communities influence their motivations to participate; expectations held as a result of participation; and roles played in sport and recreation opportunities. The power differential between different change agents and marginalised communities often exemplifies unequal access to the material and symbolic resources needed to facilitate social inclusion. Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000) are of the opinion that the power to act is always limited, not only by material inequalities but also by the recognition that others confer. Participation in conditions where material and symbolic obstacles prevent the possibility of real social change is therefore a hollow exercise that will inevitably legitimise the status quo rather than provide an opportunity for marginalised communities to become included members of society. Frisby and Millar (2002) warn that the complexities of social inclusion interventions are often underestimated and that serious conflicts may arise when change agents have different social locations, aims, motivations, sources of power and operating norms.

4.4.3 Power differential in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities

Social inclusion as an outcome of a sport and recreation intervention in a marginalised community inevitably demarcates a power differential between the change agents involved and community members (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Venkatesh (1997) expresses the view that part of the inability of change agents to affect community-wide change derives from the particular relationship that change agents have created with marginalised communities. Change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities – either in an advisory or technical assistance capacity or through direct receipt of funds – demarcate contact with, and knowledge about, the communities that they represent. Influential positions in communities are held by those change agents and can affect how resources are distributed to different groups and areas. Change agents involved in sport and recreation provision are often the only community representatives that are known and called on by foundations and government when devising and implementing social policies that will affect marginalised communities. The current top-down power structure within the sport and recreation provision system results in less powerful social actors, such as marginalised communities, being subjected to a kind of symbolic violence which not only legitimises the system of meaning constructed in the interests of more powerful change agents, but which also maintains the existing structures of social inequality. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) point out that symbolic violence due to a power differential not only limits the opportunities for social mobility but also naturalises feelings of inadequacy, as the reality and truth as perceived by marginalised community members do not fit into the existing social order.

According to Wallerstein (1999) a lack of power and control is one of the core risk factors in social inclusion initiatives. A lack of mutual respect between change agents and marginalised communities tends to pervade the provision of services to those who are dependent on bureaucratic welfare organisations. Gaining respect in the system of sport and recreation provision is often a case of performing according to certain expectations, as gaining respect within this system becomes a matter of composing the appropriate kind of performance (Sennett, 2003 cited in Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

Behaviour and roles played by both change agents and marginalised community members are therefore influenced by inequalities in power and respect. Success in the form of social inclusion is as result measured by the extent to which the performance of those involved embodies what it takes to generate respect between two communities of people who do not know and do not really want to know each other's subjectivity (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

Nicholson and Hoye (2008) stress that many sport and recreation organisations are confronted with the complexity of power inequalities and have to frequently navigate complex negotiations and relationships within existing power structures. A broader shift in the aid paradigm through the use of partnership, coordination of activities and sharing of knowledge and expertise provides an emphasis on the potential role of sport and recreation to provide an opportunity to bridge the power gap. Frisby and Millar (2002) warn, however, that a shift from a professionally driven top-down approach to a bottom-up community development approach to programme delivery will require a re-conceptualisation of the neo-liberal and traditionally held notions of accountability and responsibility.

According to Donnelly and Coakley (2002) it is important to recognise a power dimension in sport and recreation provision as a vehicle for social inclusion in terms of 'who has to shift' for social inclusion to become a reality. In order to re-balance the power inequity present in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities, the problem of the extent to which experts and professionals might give up some of their power in order for the intended beneficiaries to be involved in the planning, design and implementation must be acknowledged. The traditional tendency to forego the mobilisation of the intelligence and knowledge of marginalised community members as non-experts, often exacerbates social problems and prevents the empowerment process crucial to social inclusion (Loye & Eisler, 1987). Power as phenomenon should however not be seen as intrinsically negative, but should rather be appreciated as a space for possible action, for example as form of empowerment. Power is inextricably linked to the realm where people, in action and speech, participate in the everyday negotiations that bring different representations and identities into dialogue. Power, in this sense, is

deeply intertwined with participation. It refers to having the ability to produce an effect, to construct a reality and to institute a meaning (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000), which is often neglected in social inclusion efforts.

Local knowledge held by marginalised communities must be acknowledged in the social inclusion process, as it equips local members of the community with the ability to cope within a given community. Local knowledge as a resource is expressive of both local traditions and the pragmatics of everyday life, where the dynamics of poverty and exclusion produce their own responses to alleviate hardship. Recognition of these assets held by communities is crucial in order to establish productive alliances between marginalised communities and change agents in sport and recreation provision.

4.4.4 Over-simplification of social inclusion process

According to Coalter (2008), cited in Vermeulen (2011), sport and recreation rarely achieve the spectrum of desired outcomes attributed to them. Coalter (2008) warns against the danger of decontextualised and romanticised generalisations about the value of sport and recreation for achieving social benefits such as social inclusion.

The benefits of sport and recreation participation as promoted by politicians and change agents utilising sport and recreation appear to be so clear and powerful that it is assumed, either explicitly or implicitly, that there is a general need to participate and that everyone will participate if given the opportunity. Participation, as a linear solution to a wide range of problems, however over-simplifies a complex social problem such as social inclusion (Prilliltensky & Nelson, 2000). Participation in sport and recreation opportunities in itself is not, according to Schultz *et al.* (2002), sufficient to alleviate social inequalities. Participation may, in fact, serve to reproduce existing inequalities in society.

Research studies and policies addressing the process of social inclusion often represent this complex social concept as linear, or as a movement from one place to another. Statements such as sport and recreation participation leading to good health, to cohesion and to social inclusion are made on the basis of isolated research results. Whilst

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proponents of the benefits of sport and recreation express their belief in the power of sport to affect social change, the direction of the assumed linear process is kept ambiguous (Vermeulen, 2011). It is suggested that participation will lead to inclusion in society, but in reality it may well be the other way round. Coalter (2007) cited in Vermeulen (2011) argues that participation does not necessarily result in marginalised communities being more socially included. Coalter (2007) changes the direction of the process and proposes that it is the perception of social inclusion that will lead to higher rates of participation in sport and recreation. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) agree with Coalter (2007), stating that attempts to establish a linear relationship between sport and recreation participation and singular outcomes such as social inclusion can be equated to an effort to bang square pegs into round holes. Promoting sport and recreation participation as a solution to complex social problems represents a staged attempt to validate the benefits of sport and recreation programmes, rather than providing a more valid and complete account of what should be involved in the process. Doubt should therefore be cast upon the gap between the claims of politicians – to be able to produce radical improvements by using simple solutions – and the reality of complex social problems that are surrounded by overlapping agendas of change agents involved. A linear, over-simplified solution provides little logic to the kind of integration that could begin to tackle the wider issues raised within the context of the debate on social exclusion. Policies that concentrate on widening access are likely to have limited impact unless they are integrated with wider, multi-disciplinary strategies to combat social exclusion. Minter (2001) is of the opinion that the aims of sport policies tend to be ambivalent. Sport and recreation participation is presented as concerned with voluntary participation and individual expression, but at the same time the organisation of sport and recreation opportunities is a matter of disciplining, social control and order.

Pitter and Andrews (1997: 96) express the view that

> *current sport and recreation based social problems initiatives face an insurmountable challenge when one considers the complexity of the problems they are trying to address with what amounts to a simple solution. This challenge is heightened when these programs use sport and recreation to legitimise our*

ideas about crime, race, and space while simultaneously disguising circumstances that impinge upon the agency and power are of urban communities.

It cannot be denied that sport and recreation do provide benefits; however it cannot be expected that mere participation will alter chronic unemployment, poverty, violent crime, housing decay, and an array of social problems that impact on the life chances of the marginalised. Social inclusion must be approached as a product of changes in factors such as gender, race, age, education, occupation and health status that reinforce exclusion from society (Frisby, 2007).

Simplifying the goal of social inclusion through the use of linear solutions allows change agents to continue to rely on methods that assume a very different reality than the one that is reflected in the settings in which sport and recreation opportunities are presented. Hirsch, Levine and Miller (2007) view the unidirectional models used to draw links between a set of variables and an outcome as inconsistent with what is known about the complexity of the phenomenon under study. By maintaining a linear approach supported by the 'sport and recreation as beneficial' discourse, change agents willingly suspend their disbelief that an uncomplicated and unidirectional approach can result in solving a complex social problem such as social inclusion. The Amsterdam World Cup (AWC), imitating the FIFA World Cup, is an example of how the complexity of social problems can be reduced to a simple linear pathway. Soccer, as one of the most popular sports around the world, is regarded as a powerful instrument for social intervention. It is widely applied as solution to a varied range of problems including youth delinquency, racism, emancipation of women and social problems. The AWC, a one-day tournament, brings together 31 teams consisting of local immigrants of various nationalities in Amsterdam. Teams participate according their nationalities and include some of the larger ethnic communities in the Netherlands such as those from Surinam, Morocco and Turkey, as well as smaller communities such as Ghanaians, Iraqis and Bosnians. Only one team, the Dutch team, contained members of the Dutch white majority. Participants in the tournament did not perceive themselves as socially excluded and reported that the tournament was a great opportunity for the cultures to come together. Consequently, the

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intended outcome of social inclusion and multi-cultural integration was not attained as participants from the various cultural teams did not use the tournament to connect to other cultural groups. The AWC is a manifestation of how sport and recreation opportunities serve as a vehicle for adressing complex social issues as social inclusion and multi-cultural integration whilst achieving the opposite (Müller *et al.*, 2008). Although social exclusion has multiple social, political, economic and cultural influences, interventions are narrowly focused and discipline-bound, leading to inadequate, fragmented responses (Emshoff, Blakely, Gray, Jakes, Brounstein, Coulter & Gardner, 2007).

A simplified approach to social inclusion contributes to the acceptance that standardisation of community interventions are possible. Standardisation is perceived as important factor that will allow the meaningful evaluation of an intervention. Hawe, Shiell and Riley (2004) propose a radical departure from the standardised, large-scale interventions to an approach that will allow interventions to be more responsive to a local context. Contrary to what is commonly believed, non-standardised community interventions may be potentially more effective while still allowing meaningful evaluation in a controlled design.

4.4.5 Neo-liberal approach to and justification of social inclusion

Neo-liberalism has been the dominant economic paradigm in the Western world over recent decades and is characterised by the freeing up of financial markets and reduced economic regulation (Schirato *et al.*, 2012). Coburn (2000) cited in Frisby (2007) argues that rapid economic globalisation fuelled by neo-liberal ideology contributes to social fragmentation because the need for government intervention becomes undermined by the dominance of market forces. Social problems are attributed to the failure of individuals rather than to broader social, economic and political forces. Neo-liberal discourses tend to shift the blame for being socially excluded onto the individual and absolve governments from making public services, including recreation, more accessible to marginalised citizens. Individual responsibility is therefore an important tenet of the neo-liberal state. Personal responsibility is not, however, merely a matter of economic efficiency but is used as an obligatory duty of citizenship. Personal responsibility is

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intended to relieve a great burden on the state as social issues become personal issues. This approach has however been highly ineffectual (Ayo, 2012).

Associated with individual responsibility is the issue of personal choice, with the freedom to choose as another key tenet of neo-liberal rationality. The foundation of neo-liberalism, according to Ayo (2012), is built upon the premise of liberty and freedom of the individual. Within a neo-liberal political, economic and social climate, issues pertaining to inequalities become an inevitable outcome as a consequence of freedom of choice. Responsibilities of government are transferred to citizens in efforts to empower them to become self-governing, enterprising individuals. In this way, responsibility for the differences in equality are removed from governing structures and placed on individuals, who are then made accountable for their own actions and circumstances. Hidden behind the façade of empowerment and freedom of choice lies the expectations of government that individuals will comply with the perceived model of a good, tax-paying citizen.

Traditional delivery of sport and recreation community development programmes is faced with particular challenges under the neo-liberal ideology. According to Skinner *et al.* (2006) interventions in which sport and recreation were employed to affect community outcomes and to deal with social issues flow from neo-liberalist state agendas to assist in fostering social inclusion and building positive social capital in marginalised communities. The individualist mentality is, however, so ingrained in society that change agents rarely question the narrow focus for social interventions. Most interventions cater to individual goals, even though outcomes are presented as collective changes within a community. Prilliltensky and Nelson (2000) state that the problem is not investing in individuals, but in neglecting the social dimension of problems in marginalised communities.

Reid *et al.* (2002) are of the opinion that the individualist ideology used in community sport and recreation interventions accommodates only those who either have disposable incomes enabling them to participate or who are willing to defer to opportunities provided by change agents. Participation in sport and recreation is viewed as an

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individual responsibility, causing social exclusion and social inequalities to be perpetuated and legitimised.

4.4.6 Difficulties in measurement and evaluation

Evidence supporting the beneficial contribution of sport and recreation participation to society, and specifically to inclusion, remains fragmented and case-specific. Researchers specifically involved in sport policy issues remain suspicious of the potential of organised sport in the promotion of social inclusion. An emphasis on competitive success and over-conformity to the norms of the sport ethic as a socially approved goal contribute to making exclusion a normative part of the experience (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

Community practice interventions are complex, consisting of multiple community locations, community members and activities that make outcomes difficult to specify and evaluate (Ohmer & Korr, 2006). Despite the fact that policy-makers, politicians and media agencies may perceive the use of clear, uncomplicated and quantifiable assessments of sport and recreation programme achievements as beneficial, often such an approach to evaluating programmes does not provide the full picture (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). An evaluation and measurement process that could contribute to a better understanding of the reduction of social inequalities is likely to be expensive, and will not, according to Mackenbach and Gunnin-Schepers (1997), be favoured by change agents.

Kruse (2006) cited in Nicholson and Hoye (2008) suggests that one of the reasons for the almost uncritical belief in the positive benefits of sport in development is that the outcomes of interventions are intriguingly vague and open to interpretation. Sport and recreation organisations have overall objectives that provide a vision and direction; however, they may lack intermediate objectives that indicate targets for how and when results are expected. Indicators used in the application for funding are consequently not used for actual monitoring and reporting, as the absence of clear targets makes it difficult to assess performance.

Contemporary sport and recreation practice and policy have raised the profile of sport and recreation in realising social benefits, often expressing very high expectations of the instrumental role that sport and recreation may play. Claimed benefits attributed to sport and recreation participation tend to overreach the research base, as evidence of sport and recreation's social impacts is insufficient. The absence of robust data does not, however, in itself disprove the actual or potential value of sport and recreation. Two issues of measurement and evaluation that must be addressed, according to Kay (2009), are the question of actuality and the question of evidence. Researchers are uncertain not only about the potential social impacts of sport and recreation, but also about the capacity of research to uncover these impacts (Kay, 2009). Many evidently successful sport and recreation programmes have been organised as part of a research project supported by short-term funding and lacking the capacity for before-and-after assessments and long-term monitoring of outcomes. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) emphasise the importance of long-term studies and assessments of sport and recreation programmes, as such studies would assist in developing appropriate and reliable assessment tools for the measurement of social inclusion.

Despite the fact that monitoring and evaluation are supposed to support and strengthen sport and recreation interventions, they often present a major barrier to the success of sport and recreation initiatives. Change agents at grassroots level may, for example, direct their energy and efforts towards achieving quantitative goals set by a funding agency in order to sustain funding for the programme. A sport and recreation initiative operating according to externally set goals may therefore be shown as theoretically successful in the monitoring and evaluation report to a given funder. Sport and recreation interventions often have to meet targets set by funding agencies and policy-makers, rather than achieve actual development goals (Sanders, 2011). Social inclusion and community development is a complicated process and goal, the success of which cannot be measured simply in participation numbers. Meeting funders' targets often becomes more important than the actual sustained impact of the intervention on the community. A focus that is diverted to reporting due to funding agency requirements rather than to genuinely evaluate progress towards the overall goal may prevent the successful achievement of social inclusion outcomes. A great deal of data used to

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formulate recommendations for sport and recreation initiatives is quantitative and is mostly focused on issues of demand and supply. The focus on quantitative data may be a function of the need of sport and recreation practitioners to have what are thought to be solid numbers, and projections based on these data sets, in order to sell or justify costly proposals (Reid, 2001).

A UNICEF application (2006:4) on monitoring and evaluating sport and recreation initiatives states that *"there is a need to assemble proof, to go beyond what is mostly anecdotal evidence to monitor and evaluate the impact of sport in development programs"*. The validity of participation statistics as a measure of social inclusion should be questioned, not only because of potentially unscrupulous administrators who may artificially increase participant counts to secure more funding (Piggin *et al.*, 2009), but also due to the contradictory nature of participant numbers relating to social inclusion as outcome.

Nick Hill, the CEO of Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC), a government-instituted organisation, responded to a question on participation numbers as a valid and reliable measure of the success of a programme by saying:

> *how you measure participation in sport is very hard, and I would place a great deal of scepticism on the numbers because of all the incentives that are based around filling in participation numbers for funding purposes. The other issue of participation is what do you count? It depends on whether a sport is affiliated or not. It gets very hard to agree on numbers, at the end of the day we have to exercise judgement* (Piggin *et al.*, 2009: 93).

Kay (2009) suggests that qualitative methodologies are needed for measuring and evaluating sport and recreation interventions to facilitate the capturing of this complex and multi-faceted process through which individuals experience beneficial social outcomes. Evaluation measures are therefore required that focus on the process as well as on a broader array of outcomes than quantitative measures such as revenues and attendance can measure (Frisby & Millar, 2002). It is important that concern with rigour in sport and recreation for development research does not lead to too narrow a

concentration on positivist methods that deliver the 'hard facts' preferred by policy-makers and funding agencies (Kay, 2009). Indicators that capture the individual benefits of participation, for example reduced social isolation and community capacity building such as the formation of new partnerships, will help accomplish this goal (Frisby & Millar, 2002). More studies that do not focus merely on standardisation would, according to Hawe *et al.* (2004), help to reverse the current evidence imbalance when policy-makers weigh up 'best buys' in interventions and prevention programmes.

Kay (2009: 1188) emphasises the need to reconsider the current approach to sport and recreation intervention measurement in the following statement: *"we need to look critically into what shapes sport-in-development research. On the one hand, what is required of researchers by their funding agencies, and on the other, what is appropriate to the phenomena under study?"*

4.4.7 Inappropriate outcome and impact focus

Change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities tend to use a problem-focused approach directed at the symptoms of social exclusion. The objective of programmes is the prevention of social ills and a reduction in risk, rather than the promotion of positive, life-enhancing strategies with, for example, a focus on interpersonal relationships (Tomison & Wise, 1999). Approaching social interventions with a problem-focused, deficit-based approach alters the relationship between change agents and marginalised community members, as the experts' role is perceived as crucial in both diagnosing the problems and finding the solution. The construction of social exclusion as a social ill to eradicate emphasises the factors that keep people marginalised and excluded, rather than focusing on the underlying factors that cause certain communities to be excluded (Duggan, 1999). Social inclusion should, however, reflect a pro-active, human development approach to social well-being that requires more than the mere removal of barriers and risks. Energy should be focused on investment in people and on actions that will bring about the right conditions for social inclusion. Social inclusion interventions must extend beyond an attempt to bring outsiders in and must change their focus to closing the physical, social and economic distances that separate people (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

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Providing sport and recreation opportunities to facilitate social inclusion in marginalised communities is fraught with challenges that often stem from false assumptions and communication difficulties. There is frequently a gap between knowing what is needed and knowing how to accomplish it (Voyle & Simmons, 1999). Sport and recreation opportunities promoting social inclusion have the tendency to focus on outcomes at the individual, psychological and behavioural levels without adequate attention to community-based processes and community-level outcomes (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). This may be due, in part, to government and funding agencies' failure to develop welfare-related performance targets that are compatible with a community development approach (Frisby & Millar, 2002).

4.4.8 Unstructured approach to social inclusion systems

Sport and recreation programmes directed at achieving development goals tend to be ad hoc, informal and isolated (Beutler, 2008). Despite the display of good intentions, many innovative programmes never move beyond demonstration status as change agents struggle to maintain the elements and procedures that originally made them effective (Hazel & Onaga, 2003).

Barriers to a structured sport and recreation provision system in marginalised communities include a lack of adequate resources; insufficient monitoring and evaluation to gauge the effectiveness of programmes; competition amongst change agents for limited funding; and time limitations on planning (Beutler, 2008). Requirements set by funding agents and local government may force decisions, subsequently limiting the time needed for adequate and holistic planning to build a support network of potential partners and members for a community network. Time limitations result in limited participation in planning by those with less formal training, people outside the dominant sector and members of marginalised communities (Tsai Roussos & Fawcett, 2000); this in turn results in fragmented, top-down programmes that exclude the very participants who are meant to be included.

Sanders (2011) emphasises the importance of holistic planning and organisation by stating that participation in sport and recreation does not automatically produce positive

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results. Sport and recreation should not be perceived as a magic box, but rather as an empty box that has a certain function within a specific context with specific people and specific results. Opportunities should be implemented with care and should therefore follow certain policies and processes in order to achieve social benefits.

According to Sanders (2011) an enormous amount of red tape slows down the implementation of sport and recreation interventions. Bureaucratic procedures are time-consuming, which takes a toll on the working time of staff members. The suggestion is made that bureaucratic system processes be streamlined to facilitate an organised system of sport and recreation service provision.

4.4.9 Collaboration between change agents

A wide spectrum of change agents is involved in utilising sport and recreation opportunities as a vehicle to facilitate social inclusion in marginalised communities. Collaboration between change agents presents a challenge, as goals, roles and expectations inherent in the process are as varied as the number of change agents involved (Sanders, 2011).

Change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities share a common goal of altering and ultimately bettering the lives of the excluded in the process of developing communities. Community development necessitates that change agents work in multi-disciplinary and multi-level collaborations which require considerable investment of time and effort. Borst, Dessauer, Bell, Wilkerson, Lee and Strunk (2002) stress that whilst the benefits of community development collaborations are significant over time, the process of reconciling competing interests and diverse needs within the partnership could burden the change agents involved.

Essential attributes of community development are power-sharing and mutual respect amongst partners to ensure equal participation in discussions and decision-making (Voyle & Simmons, 1999). Challenges that further complicate collaborations between change agents include the numerous interpretations of community development and social inclusion; communication within the collaboration; and a focus on funding.

Community development can be interpreted as justification for offloading service delivery to community groups and voluntary organisations as a cost saving measure by government. Thibault *et al.* (2002) cited in Frisby and Millar (2002: 212) explain that the *"adoption of business practices by the public sector is partially responsible for managerial and political discourses that rationalise the offloading of government services under the guise of community development".*

According to Sanders (2011) communication is a major challenge in collaboration efforts. In describing the MOD programme, the author emphasises that many staff members involved seemed unaware of their colleagues' roles. Sanders (2011) states that staff involved in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities often work on similar projects but that they tend to work in isolation. Communication between change agents working at grassroots level, theoreticians at universities and marginalised communities is vital (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Change agents may become focused on immediate tasks and refrain from sharing information, which could lead to conflict and duplication of activities.

As collaborations assess a range of opportunities for participation, the extent to which participation offers meaningful opportunities to work in partnership must be evaluated and assessed (Schultz *et al.*, 2002). Burnett (2008) states that the development of ownership entails an interactive process of continued engagement amongst change agents. Through this interactive process, change agents working in collaboration can be adequately informed so they can strategically plan and take ownership of sustained sport and recreation programme delivery.

4.4.10 Change of intervention focus due to funding

The founder of the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA), Bob Munro, stated that the best thing that happened to MYSA was that no funding agency was interested in the programme for the first five years. The lack of interest and financial aid permitted the establishment of locally based aims, objectives, principles and processes (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

The ambiguity of benefits obtained through sport and recreation participation allows change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities to alter the focus of any given intervention according to the needs of a particular funder (Vermeulen, 2011). NPOs and grassroots organisations that are wholly dependent on external aid are often influenced by funding organisations' unrealistically high and extremely vague aspirations for the ability of sport and recreation to affect social change. Change agents have to include objectives and programme elements in funding applications which might not otherwise have been contemplated. Objectives and programme elements added to a sport and recreation initiative in order to secure funding may skew the actual work of an organisation and often present difficulties for attempts at monitoring and evaluation (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Adding additional outcomes into a sport and recreation intervention may seem to be feasible, as a variety of benefits is attributed to sport and recreation participation. This could, however, add to the pressures of upward reporting and the management of programmes in a timely and responsible manner. Constant reporting on a variety of different anticipated outcomes results in staff becoming distant from the day-to-day realities of living that confront marginalised communities (Irvine *et al.*, 2004).

Pitter and Andrews (1997) describe the relationship between funders and organisations working at grassroots level as a new brand of social welfare. This has created a social problems industry in which Good Samaritans compete for public grants and private funding within political and bureaucratic structures. Sport and recreation development programmes are often funded by agencies with a vested interest in discovering the benefits of sport and recreation for resolving social problems. In the context of sport and recreation provision, the industry has promoted the multiplying of target-oriented programmes, for example midnight basketball, that many sport and recreation managers feel will only receive public moral and financial support from the middle class if the programmes give a direct benefit to this class. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) affirm that it is widely believed in sport and recreation provision that one of the easiest ways to raise money is to start a programme for those at risk. The reasons lie in the fact that it is much easier and cheaper to occupy the time of young people identified as being at risk than it is to deal with the real problems of poverty, impoverished neighbourhoods, lack

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of role models, education and other social issues. These are funded because they are inexpensive, and perhaps because the middle classes who cannot afford to live in gated communities may sleep better at night knowing that the groups perceived as 'dangerous' are playing basketball.

Richard Krajicek, Wimbledon champion of 1996, created the Richard Krajicek Foundation for coupling sport to social work in urban areas. The aim of the foundation is to provide sports fields in disadvantaged urban areas, where children have few opportunities of doing sport. The foundation anticipated an outcome wherein the playgrounds would stimulate children to participate in sport. The foundation's goals have, however, increasingly changed toward issues of enhancing social cohesion in neighbourhoods and enlarging social capital for youths through the organisation of sport activities on the fields. The extension of the goals originally set by the foundation was in part due to the increasing emphasis in policy discourse on the social impact of sport (Vermeulen, 2011).

4.4.11 Exclusionary nature of sport and recreation inclusion initiatives

In promoting sport and recreation opportunities as vehicles for social inclusion it is easy to overlook the exclusionary nature of sport and recreation social inclusion initiatives. Using social inclusion as an outcome, change agents often neglect to specify what social inclusion as the end product will entail. Decisions about the needs of a marginalised community and how these needs should be met are made from a positivist approach by professional service providers in a top-down fashion for, rather than with, community members (Krause, 2002). Marginalised communities are therefore often excluded from the inclusion intervention even before the start of the intervention (Frisby, 2007).

Sport and recreation interventions have traditionally been conducted in a paternalistic manner for the main purpose of social control. It may therefore be necessary to distinguish those programmes and opportunities intended for social control from those that facilitate community development and involvement. Donnelly and Coakley (2002) caution that it must also be recognised that programmes targeted specifically at marginalised or high-risk children and communities may actually have an exclusionary

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effect, and that an overall policy of sport and recreation accessibility based on need is more likely to have the effect of social inclusion (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

Sport and recreation act as a kind of badge of social exclusivity and cultural distinctiveness for the dominant classes, whilst they operate as a means of control or containment for the marginalised. Sport and recreation opportunities articulate the fractional status distinctions that exist within the ranks of the larger society (Collins, 2004). Organised sport, by its very nature, involves competition. Most organised sports occur in hierarchical and competitive structures. An emphasis on competitive success, over-conformity to the norms of the sport ethic as a basis for identity reaffirmation, and moving up as an individual to the next level, all combine to make exclusion and marginalisation a normative part of the organised sport experience. Sport tends to position one group against another, which may not be the ideal way to promote social inclusion. Sport and recreation programmes therefore serve an ambiguous role as they can both include and exclude members of a community. By including certain members, a programme is essentially excluding others (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

The tendency among policy-makers and change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities are to promote the instrumental and functional value of sort and recreation. Sport and recreation are therefore judged mainly in terms beyond the domain of sport and recreation participation. Sport and recreation are supposed to function as a bridge to civil life, leading to social order and social inclusion. The underlying and often unexpressed aim of sport and recreation-based social interventions in marginalised communities is to supervise youths in their neighbourhoods, thereby generating social order and control. These programmes often arise from assumptions of deficit and an emphasis on the supposed inadequacies of socially excluded communities (Vermeulen, 2011). Voyle and Simmons (1999: 1046) are of the opinion that *the challenge for community development professionals and bureaucrats is to step down from the accustomed dominant and privileged positions and consider how they might complement and reinforce, rather than override, what the community already has available in the form of knowledge, skills and other resources*. Appropriate roles that change agents

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could adopt are those of consultant, advocate, mediator, support and resource (Edginton, Hudson, Dieser & Edginton, 2004; Voyle & Simmons, 1999).

A feature of community development that should be emphasised in sport and recreation initiatives in marginalised communities is the potential for action plans to incorporate a reaffirmation of values and ways that have traditionally empowered people. It is vital that this potential not be eroded by professional or bureaucratic inflexibility. According to Duggan (1999) it must be recognised that devising sport and recreation initiatives and programmes tailored to the needs of specific marginalised communities will occur more effectively at a local level than at any other levels. Change agents should refrain from imposing universal, formulaic responses to the externally diagnosed needs of marginalised communities, as this approach could result in resistance from the community and consequent failure.

Bojer, Kruth & Magner (2006) state that people have an inherent desire to solve their own problems. When universal, formulaic responses are imported into or imposed onto communities, interventions meet resistance. Failure to include community members in problem and needs identification, decision-making and programme implementation could result in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities that may not only be inappropriate in a given context, but will fail to result in social inclusion as a lack of ownership will remain. Sport and recreation opportunities can only contribute to social inclusion if change agents acknowledge that marginalised community members are more resourceful than expected in finding their own answers. The success of implementing interventions addressing social issues often depends more on the ownership and motivation of those involved that on the cleverness of the idea.

4.4.12 Limited access to sport and recreation opportunities

Community sport and recreation opportunities are ideal sites for enabling isolated community members to come together and enjoy the health and social benefits of participation. Benefits obtained from participation in sport and recreation can be enhanced when community members are involved in decision-making in meaningful ways (Reid *et al.*, 2002).

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Various barriers to participation in sport and recreation programmes have been identified, however, lack of access remains one of the main reasons for non-participation in lower socio-economic communities. Social inclusion is at its core an access issue, which brings structural and systemic barriers to the fore as an important element in achieving social inclusion. Marginalised communities face various systemic barriers to accessing traditional market-driven forms of community sport and recreation, including material deprivation; stigmatising policies and practices that label community members as poor; discrimination and stereotyping of community recreation workers; and programmes and services that fail to consider transportation and the need of marginalised community members (Reid, 2002). Donnelly and Coakley (2002) emphasise two elements with regard to structural barriers to access. Firstly, social class seems to be a major variable to consider as a distinct segment but also in relation to other population segments; and secondly, social class is seen as the primary socio-economic determinant that creates substantive inequalities.

4.4.13 Inadequate policy on social inclusion in marginalised communities

Piggin *et al.* (2009:96) rephrases Foucault (1980) in stating that *"it has been a tradition for humanism to assume that once someone gains power he ceases to know. Power makes men mad, and those who govern are blind".* Knowledge of sport and recreation is commonly considered an important aspect of policy-making. It is often believed that external change agents who are knowledgeable about sport and recreation also have knowledge on how to provide sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities as a tool for social inclusion. Knowledge about sport and recreation, however, does not automatically result in an understanding of how it can be used to affect social change. As such, sport and recreation policy-makers are often criticised by citizens for not knowing what the reality and context of a particular social problem are.

Policy focused on sport and recreation's capacity to build bridges between communities and within society remains implicit and vague as to what and who needs to be connected. What is perceived and pre-supposed as disconnected or separated often remains unclear (Vermeulen, 2011). Lack of clarity when organising sport and

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recreation may easily lead to what Coalter (2010a: 1387) considers *"seeking to solve broad-gauge problems via limited focus interventions"*.

Vermeulen (2011) affirms that when policies address what is assumed to be separated, the rhetoric is one of dichotomising individuals and groups beforehand. In sport and recreation seemingly clear-cut oppositions are presented as in need of connections, for example included and excluded, thereby reinforcing the opposition instead of contesting the meaning of these categories. The simplicity of dichotomous separation hardly ever matches the complexity of making contested divisions.

Sport and recreation policy is mostly concerned with social outcomes, which may lead to the neglect of the processes of connecting and separating that are assumed in organised sport. This one-sided concern may explain the dominance of quantitative survey research in evaluating the social impact of sport over a qualitative understanding of 'real life' at sport venues. Although talk of social determinants is often passed around in government documents and speeches, it is questionable to what extent such talks actually move beyond the rhetoric seen in policy documents (Ayo, 2012).

Policy-makers should recognise that policy initiatives have to be targeted appropriately if they are to have an impact. This means first of all recognising that some initiatives are more suited to assisting marginalised communities than others, and also that the circumstances of marginalised community members are diverse. A standardised, one-size-fits-all initiative will therefore not be successful (Aliber, 2003). Public policy must be more closely linked to the lived experiences of marginalised community members, in terms of both actual programmes and the process for arriving at those policies and programmes (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002).

4.5 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an in-depth overview of the complexity of the social inclusion process through the use of sport and recreation interventions. Social inclusion as an outcome is marred by barriers that complicate the roles and expectations of change

agents involved in the process. The next chapter introduces the research methodology used in the study to establish the context for the results of the study.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the research methodology used in this study. Methodology can be described as the overall framework within which research is conducted (Gratton & Jones, 2010). Babbie (2008: 6) takes defining methodology a step further by stating that, as subfield of epistemology, methodology might be called the *"science of finding out".* Research methodology can also be described as the procedures used to collect and analyse data (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010) required to answer the research question posed by the study (Clark *et al.*, 2014).

The primary aim underlying this study was to deconstruct the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community members in social inclusion through sport and recreation provision in a South African context. In deconstructing the roles and expectations of change agents in social inclusion through sport and recreation provision the system within which change agents operate will be clarified thereby making social inclusion as program outcome a possibility. To achieve this aim the study was approached from a qualitative perspective with data collected by using semi-structured interviews, participant observation and document analysis.

The objectives of the study included:

- Identifying change agents in selected marginalised communities in the South-Africa focusing on social inclusion through recreation and sport.
- Deconstructing transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities in the provision of sport and recreation as social inclusion intervention.
- Identifying discrepancies between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities.

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- Analysing how discourses construct and maintain current practices in the provision of recreation and leisure as vehicle to improve social inclusion.
- Exploring how change agents and marginalised communities construct notions of power in their relationship pertaining to the provision of sport and recreation.
- Contributing to social policy in order to address social exclusion of marginalised communities at its structural level.

This chapter includes the research design, data collection and data analysis used in the study. It includes information on the research design, population, sample and sampling techniques, research instruments used in data collection, as well as data analysis procedures.

5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research is a systematic process of collecting and logically analysing data for a specific purpose (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Research design is described by Gratton and Jones (2010: 287) as *"the overall blueprint that guides the researcher in the data collection stages in terms of what data to collect, from whom, and when".* Research design is not only concerned with the production of data required to answer the research question, but are also focused on how the collected data will be processed and analysed in order to generate potential answers and to produce the evidence to proof the validity thereof (Clark *et al.*, 2014).

The study adopted an ethno-methodological qualitative research design. The research design of the study was strongly influenced by its grounding in a post-structural approach. The utilisation of post-structural principles allowed the researcher to illustrate the existing discrepancy between expressed and actual roles and expectations of change agents in social inclusion through sport and recreation provision within the South African context. The basic premise of post-structuralism is that language does not, and cannot represent any actual reality. Post-structuralism rejects the notion that text or language has any true meaning. The possibility of knowing an independent truth or

objective reality is therefore impossible from a post-structural point of view as the human world, social reality and knowledge are textual and discursive (Allan, 2013).

Qualitative research was especially appropriate for this study as it not only emphasised the existence of multiple realities, but because it was well suited for the task of representing groups outside the mainstream (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011). An underlying assumption of the qualitative paradigm involves the relationships between the researcher and the researched. The researcher in qualitative research is not perceived as separate from the researched. Because the researcher is part of the reality under study, neutrality is impossible. The goal for this study was to be aware and conscious of personal biases and prejudices (Babbie, 2008).

An ethno-methodological design was utilised as research design framework as ethnomethodology, as an alternative approach to the study of social life focuses on the discovery of implicit and usually unspoken assumptions and agreements within a social network. Ethno-methodology assumes the position that reality is socially constructed and is therefore not externally imposed on society. This approach offered the researcher the opportunity to look beyond the research participants' perception of their role within the provision of sport and recreation as tool in social inclusion, and to focus on the conversation and the underlying text within the system as object of analysis.

5.2.1 Research population

Long (2007) defines the research population as including all the people within a specific category being investigated. For the purpose of this study the research population refers to a diversity of stakeholders, change agents and marginalised communities within South-Africa operating in the recreation and sport provision system with the collective goal of social inclusion. Change agents operating within the marginalised communities of South-Africa include national, provincial and local government; research and tertiary education institutions; national and international non-profit and non-governmental organisations; faith-based organisations; national and international funding agencies and volunteers.

5.2.2 Research sample

The study made use of a non-probability purposive key informant sample in which participants and documentation were chosen on the basis of the specific experience or knowledge or information possessed (Gratton & Jones, 2010). Cresswell (2009: 178) states that *"the idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question"*. The sample for this study was purposefully selected from marginalised communities as depicted in Table 5.1 below within South-Africa, and included change agents and marginalised community members operating within the sport and recreation provision system.

Table 5.1. Marginalised communities included in the research sample

Province:	**Community:**
Gauteng	Westfort, Pretoria West
	Mamelodi, Pretoria East
	Thembisa, Ekurhuleni
Western-Cape	Khayalitsha, Cape Town
	Mannenburg, Cape Town
	Salt River, Cape Town
	Mbekweni, Paarl
Limpopo	Maruleng, Limpopo
North-West	Winterveldt, Mabopane

5.3 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection can be described as *"an attempt to learn about the world"* (Babbie, 2008) and typically follows from the research question (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Creswell (2013), however, warns against the notion to simplify the process of data collection to the actual types of data as data collection involves various interrelated

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activities that range from the location of research participants, gaining access and establishing rapport, collecting data, exploring field issues and storing collected data.

This study relied on multiple data sources which included semi-structured interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis to explore the transparent and non-transparent roles and expectations held by change agents and marginalised community participants using sport and recreation as vehicle to social inclusion. Data collection occurred between April and September 2014. Stated data collection instruments are qualitative in nature and are consequently compliant to collect data that represent multiple realities. The table below provides an overview of data collection methods that will be discussed in more detail.

Table 5.2. An overview of data collection methods used in the study as related to change agents

Participants		Data collection method
Government	National	Documentary sources in public domain.
	Provincial	Documentary sources in public domain.
	Local	Documentary sources in public domain.
Research institutions		Documentary sources in public domain Semi-structured interviews with researchers involved in evaluating social inclusion interventions utilising sport and recreation.
Faith based organisations		Documentary sources in public domain. Semi-structured interviews with volunteers from faith-based organisations involved in social inclusion interventions utilising sport and recreation. Participant observation of interaction between faith-based organisation and marginalised

	community participants.
Non-profitable organisations and non-governmental organisations	Documentary sources in public domain. Semi-structured interviews with owners of non-profitable and non-governmental organisations involved in social inclusion interventions utilising sport and recreation. Participant observation of interaction between NPOs, NGOs and marginalised community participants.
Funding agencies	Documentary sources in public domain. Semi-structured interviews with funding agencies providing funding to NGOs facilitating social inclusion in marginalised communities utilising sport and recreation.
Volunteers	Semi-structured interviews with volunteers involved in social inclusion interventions utilising sport and recreation.
Marginalised community members	Semi-structured interviews with marginalised community members participating in social inclusion interventions utilising sport and recreation.

5.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

One of the main strategies in qualitative data collection is the interview. This approach can take several forms including a structured-, semi-structured or unstructured interview. This study made use of a semi-structured interview format as it allowed the researcher to gather in-depth data on the roles and expectations of change agents involved in providing sport and recreation opportunities as tool to achieve social inclusion in

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marginalised communities. The semi-structured interview provided a more flexible approach than the structured interview and allowed the researcher to formulate new questions during the interview, where appropriate, in response to answers given by the research participants (Clark *et al.*, 2014). Appointments for semi-structured interviews were made via e-mail and telephone, and were scheduled at a time and venue convenient for the research participant. Semi-structured interviews and participant observation were often done on the same day at the venue specified by the research participant. Research participants were briefed on the purpose of the research before the day of the actual semi-structured interview; however the informed consent form was signed on the day of data collection. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in a conversation-like format during which the researcher established a general direction for the conversation and pursued specific topics raised by the respondent (Babbie, 2008). The informal interaction between the researcher and the research participant allowed the research participant to relax and resulted in more personalised responses which consequently opened up new areas of inquiry that emerged from the participant rather than from the researcher's preconceptions (Clark *et al.*, 2014). The researcher approached the semi-structured interview with the assumption that the research participants possessed specific information. As some of the information that research participants possessed was not transparent, the researcher adopted the role of what Babbie (2008: 317) calls *"the socially acceptable incompetent"* which allowed the researcher to not only be perceived as part of the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities, but to be seen as someone who does not really understand the particular reality from which the research participant operate and therefore needs to be informed.

Topics pursued in the semi-structured interviews included:

- Reason or motivation for involvement in marginalised community development through sport and recreation provision or participation.
- Perception of the concepts "community" and "marginalised community".
- Understanding of social inclusion as outcome of sport and recreation participation in marginalised communities.
- Perception of sport and recreation participation as beneficial in marginalised communities.

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- Perception of the role that sport and recreation provision plays within a marginalised community.

- Perception of the role that change agents (or marginalised community participants) play in the system of sport and recreation provision as tool to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities.

- Expectation of probability of sport and recreation participation realising social inclusion in a marginalised community.

- Goals and objectives set by change agent for participation in sport and recreation opportunities.

- Impact of provided sport and recreation opportunities on achieving proposed goals and objectives in marginalised communities as set out by the change agent.

- Opinion on the possibility of community change and development to occur as result of participation in sport and recreation opportunities.

- Cognisance of changes that have occurred in the community as result of participation in presented sport and recreation program.

- Relationship, communication and collaboration with other change agents.

- Expectations held towards other change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation in marginalised communities, as well as towards marginalised community participants.

5.3.2 Participant observation

Participant observation is a research technique that was first pioneered by social anthropologists in the early 20th century. This technique in which the observer is someone who completes the observations as he or she takes part in activities as a member of the group (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010) is particularly associated with the Polish born anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski who claimed that participant observation will allow people to get to know the researcher better and to consequently become less self-conscious about your presence. Malinowski (as cited in Clark *et al.*, 2014) also argued that it was necessary to view field work as a science and participant observation as a scientific technique through which the researcher can collect and analyse the data and thus make a contribution to scientific knowledge. Participant

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observation as research technique is grounded in the belief that the best informants about a particular way of life or phenomenon are those who lived it. The purpose of participant observation is not to judge what occurs in a particular situation, but rather to understand the logic and reasons behind behaviour, thoughts and actions (Clark *et al.*, 2014).

Access to various sites for observation was facilitated by the fact that the researcher was known to the research participants as being involved in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities. The researcher prepared a brief written statement that specified the goal of the research as well as the construct under observation. Change agents were informed that the focus of the research was on the various roles played, as well as expectations held by change agents and marginalised community participants (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010).

Participant observation enabled the researcher to obtain change agents' and marginalised community members' perceptions of events and processes expressed through their actions and behaviour. The process included both verbal and non-verbal cues, for example facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice and body movements. Research participants' narratives indicated the content of their reality and how they perceive it. The researcher recorded descriptive details focused on the questions of who, what, where, how and why an activity or interaction occurred (McMillan & Schumacher). Observational data were collected over a period of time during which change agents and marginalised community members were systematically observed by the researcher as participant in the process. As participant the researcher was involved in various capacities including observation as volunteer, participant in sport and recreation activities in marginalised communities and in presenting workshops to youth leaders and community participants involved on grass-root level.

5.3.3 Documentation

Documentary data are data that have been produced by others independently of the researcher but are available for analysis. Documents may involve texts and images, or both, and may be public or private (Clark *et al.*, 2014). Documentary data are abundant in organisations and can take many forms. These documents describe functions and

values and how various people define an organisation. Documents used for external communication are those produced for public consumption and include newsletters, reports, public statements, news releases and information available on the internet. Existing documentary data are usually readily available to the researcher (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Documentary data used in this study were available in the public domain and are presented in Table 5.3 on the next page.

Table 5.3. Documentary data sources used in the study

Change agent	Documentary data
National Government	- White Paper on Sport and Recreation (SRSA, 2011a). - National Sport and Recreation Plan (SRSA, 2012). - Sport and Recreation South-Africa Strategic Plan 2011 – 2015 (SRSA, 2011b). - Sport and Recreation South-Africa Strategic Plan 2014 – 2019 (SRSA, 2014a) - Sport for Development and Peace: Governments in Action (Right to Play, 2008). - National Youth Policy 2009 – 2014 (SRSA, 2009). 2014/2015 Ministerial Budget Speech (SRSA, 2104b)
Provincial government	- City of Cape Town Recreation Study Research Report (Wright, 2011). - Vote 11: Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation (Gauteng Department of Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation, 2012) - Report of the Portfolio Committee on Sport and Recreation on Oversight Visit to Mpumalanga, Limpopo, Free State, North West, Western Cape and Northern Cape (2013).
NGOs and NPOs	Documentary data available in marketing material as well as on websites of NGOs and NPOs utilising sport and recreation to facilitate social inclusion.

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Research and tertiary institutions	• Field of Dreams or Despair? South African Social Attitudes Survey (Human Sciences Research Council, 2011).
Funding agencies	• National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (NLDTF) Sport and Recreation Sector: 2014 Targeted Call for Applications (NLDTF, 2013).
	• Republic of South-Africa Country Strategic Paper 2013 – 2017: African Development Bank (Southern Africa Resource Centre, 2012).
	• Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zussammenarbeit (GIZ) in South-Africa: Programmes and Projects (GIZ, 2013).
	• NIKE Giving Policy (NIKE, 2012)
	• Information available on Websites of national and international funding agencies who participated in study.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach was utilised as data analysis approach to investigate the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community members using sport and recreation opportunities as vehicle to social inclusion. Attention was focused on how change agents and marginalised community participants conceptualised and operationalised their roles and expectations within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. Data analysis further focused on exploring the relationship between the identified discourses and social practice in the provision of sport and recreation. CDA as analytical approach moves away from description and interpretation towards an explanation of how discourses systematically construct versions of the social world and social reality (Rogers *et al.*, 2005) and consequently served as the ideal data analysis tool to not only attempt to uncover the ideologies which contribute to the production and reproduction of power in the sport and recreation provision system, but to also explore how the identified discourses can limit intended community change and development (Pederson, 2009).

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Transcribed and textual data were categorised into six identified themes and codes by organising data inductively into units of information according to Fairclough's' three tier-analytical framework. Themes and codes were applied to data using the qualitative software program *Atlas ti*. Central to Fairclough's approach is the assumption that discourse is an important form of social practice which both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations, and at the same time is also shaped by other social practices and structures. Discourse is therefore in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002) which made Fairclough's approach to CDA applicable to this study as the study aimed to indicate the dialectical relationship between the identified discourses and the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised communities involved in sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities. Fairclough's three-tiered framework furthermore extend the term discourse to include semiotic modalities and emphasises that discourse and text are not restricted to language consequently making data collected via participant observation permissible for discourse analysis (Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Fairclough's (2012) framework includes an analysis of texts, discursive- and social practices at local, institutional and societal levels and was applied to the study as follows:

- *Textual level*

    The first analytical focus was the texts as specified in Table 2.1 which were analysed according to the following three categories:

    - Ideational: the analysis focused on the current meta-narratives in society by specifically looking at the processes and verbs that are used in the interactions between change agents and between change agents and marginalised community participants within the system of sport and recreation provision.

    - Interpersonal domain: this domain focused on the meanings of the social relations established between the participants involved in the interactions. The analyses of the mood (whether the sentence is a statement, question or

declaration) and modality (degree of assertiveness in exchange) of the text was an important goal at this stage of the analysis.

- Textual domain: the thematic structure of the text focused on the identified themes within the data which included themes of social inclusion; social exclusion; marginalisation; community development; roles and expectations.

- *Discursive practice*

The second goal was to interpret the formation of discursive practices within the system of sport and recreation provision using social inclusion in marginalised communities. The analysis included a focus on the process of the production, interpretation, distribution and consumption of the two identified discourses, namely the 'marginalised community discourse' as well as the 'sport and recreation participation as solely beneficial discourse'. Data analysis focused on how change agents and marginalised community participants interpret and reproduce or transform discourses as written and verbal texts. Interactions between change agents as well as between change agents and marginalised community participants were highlighted at this level of analysis.

- *Social practices*

The third goal for the analysis of the data focused on the use of description and interpretation of analysed data to offer an explanation to why and how social practices within the system of sport and recreation provision are constituted, changed and transformed. Analysis included an exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society and identified the roles and behaviour of change agents and marginalised community members within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities that maintain the current acceptable social practices.

The consistency and trustworthiness of the data analysis and interpretation were enhanced through the utilisation of member validation and reflexivity. Research participants were provided with a summary of the analysed data and were allowed the opportunity to comment. The researcher utilised the process of critical reflection

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throughout the data collection and data analysis process to ensure that the awareness of the role as researcher do not impact on research findings (Gratton & Jones, 2010).

5.5 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Chapter five provided a comprehensive description of the research process utilised in the study. The research methodology, sampling method, research population as well as data collection method were specified. Critical discourse analysis used as data analysis approach in exploring the relationship between identified discourses, roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community participants was detailed. The next chapter will offer an interpretation of the analysed data.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was stated that the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community members in social inclusion through sport and recreation programs in a South African context need to be deconstructed in order to clarify expressed and unexpressed roles and expectations. The research methodology used to collect data to confirm this statement was discussed in Chapter five. In this chapter the results of the critical discourse analysis will be presented and interpreted. Results will first be presented according to Fairclough's (Janks, 2005) three-tiered analytical framework and will then be interpreted according to the identified aim and objectives as set out in the first chapter of this study.

Qualitative analysis was done utilising the software program Atlas *ti.* Data was transcribed into rich text format and coded according to themes and codes as identified in Chapter five. The use of critical discourse analysis allowed the substantiation of identified discourses and an interpretation of roles and expectations of change agents utilising sport and recreation to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities. Results will first be presented in table format and then interpreted in section 6.2.3.

6.2 RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

The results and interpretation of the data collected in response to the research question posed in Chapter 1 are presented according to the three dimensions of critical discourse analysis as identified by Fairclough (2012). The objective of the approach to critical discourse analysis favoured by Fairclough (2012) is to contribute to the raising of a general consciousness of exploitative social relations through focusing on the use of language (Pederson, 2009; Janks, 2005). Janks (2005: 97) explains that in using language people have to select from options available in the system that include lexical,

grammatical and sequencing choices. This enables people to *"say what they want to say"*. Language has meaning potential and as a result implies that the selection made from the range of lexical, grammatical and sequencing options by change agents determines how this potential is realised. All selections made are motivated and designed to have a particular effect. Janks (2005) emphasises that even more important to selections made is that selections are designed to be believed. A text therefore functions to be both understood and positioned according to the narrator's viewpoint. Linguistic and semiotic choices made by the narrator are designed to produce an effect that will position the recipient. Texts and narratives are as a result used to entice the recipient into the narrator's version of reality.

In this approach to critical discourse analysis analytical dimensions include textual analysis, analysis of discursive practice and an analysis of social practices.

Table 6.1. Levels in critical discourse analysis

Level	Process	Function
Textual level	Text analysis	Description
Discursive practices	Processing analysis	Interpretation
Social practices	Social analysis	Explanation

6.2.1 Textual level of discourse analysis

A fundamental property of language is its ability to enable human beings to build a mental picture of reality and as consequence to make sense of experiences (Janks, 2005). The first level of analysis in this study occurred on a textual level. Analysis of the text used by change agents involved a linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, grammar and semantics which will be categorised into the following three domains: ideational, interpersonal and textual.

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6.2.1.1 Ideational level of text

The aim of the ideational analysis was to identify current meta-narratives that existed in transcribed data. Ideational analysis explored both the processes and verbs that are used in the interactions between change agents and between change agents and marginalised community participants within the system of sport and recreation provision.

The text constituted verbal, visual and written documentation that was transcribed into a rich text format. Narrators in the text included the following change agents: national-, provincial- and local government; international and national funding organisations; non-profit- and non-governmental organisations; faith-based organisations; research and tertiary education institutions; volunteers and marginalised community members. The various functions of change agents in terms of the role they play within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities have been categorized under the following broad categories: facilitator, regulator, policy-maker, funder, provider, supervisor, promoter, implementer, maintenance, link between levels of government, commissioning of research studies, informant, measurement and evaluation, informant and recipient. Results of the ideational analysis are presented in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2. Perceived roles played by change agents

Change agent	Role	Example in text
National government	Facilitator Regulator	*"Sport and Recreation South Africa is fundamentally a **facilitator** and **regulator** working towards the vision of an active and winning nation. The mission of SRSA is to maximize access, development and excellence at all levels of participation in sport and recreation in order to improve social cohesion, nation building and the quality of life of all South Africans"*
	Policy-maker	*"Legislation beyond 1994 impacted on all sectors of society including sport and recreation. This paradigm shift in **policy formulation and articulation** addressed all aspects of political, social, economic*

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		and human rights of all the people of South-Africa. Since 1994, government emphasized social inclusion of all South Africans as imperative for individual and social wellness in South Africa"
	Provider	*"...the Department's main mandate namely to create an enabling environment to ensure that as many South Africans as possible* **have access** *to sport and recreation activities, especially those from disadvantaged communities"*
Provincial government	Provider	*"...through the* **provision** *of world class facilities and programs"* *"Enable communities to have reasonable access to integrated sports, arts and culture programs"*
	Promoter	*"To use sport to foster a South African identity and to* **promote** *a common sense of belonging"*
	Facilitator Coordinator	*"***Facilitating*** and* ***coordinating*** *community participation in all identified programs..."*
	Policy-maker	*"The Department fulfills this responsibility by* **creating an enabling policy** *and a legislative and operational environment in which other role-players such as sporting federations can implement sport development programs"*
	Implementer	*"To enhance the* **implementation** *of sustainable sport...and recreation programs contributing to safe and healthy communities"*
	Supervisor	*"The department has* **observed** *that the municipalities do not take sport seriously...what they are doing is illegal to go and spend Sport and Recreation money*

		on other things"
	Funder	*"The Department will continue to **support** clubs, federations and sport councils through the **grant-in-aid** and bursary program"* *"Support and capacitate organisations, companies and individuals involved in the sport and recreation sector by assisting them to access **financial** and other forms of business **support** to increase opportunities for themselves…"*
	Link between national and local government	*"The Provincial Departments of Sport and Recreation will drive the Provincial Launches… They will also support SRSA National Office in implementing the roll out of registration, capacity building programs and coaching clinics"*
	Commissioning of research studies	*"Recognising the importance of recreation in achieving its vision, the department has **commissioned this research** to inform how we allocate our limited resources in accordance with the needs of our communities"*
	Trainer	*"Capacity building and **training** for coaches…will be conducted. A number of life skills programs for athletes will be held…"*
Local government	Provider	*"…ensure the **provision** of services to communities in a sustainable manner"*
	Maintenance of facilities	*"Municipalities usually own the land on which public sport facilities are developed and would be responsible for the **maintenance** of the facilities"*
	Implementer	*"Municipalities are the **implementing** agents for*

		individual projects"
Funding agencies	Funder	*"Much of the **funding** allocated to from the NLDTF in the area of sport has been invested in leveling the playing field… and between wealthy and under-resourced communities"*
	Measurement and evaluation	*"We are committed to **measuring** the social impact of our community investments, and have sought the counsel of NGOs, academics and other experts in the field"*
	Trainer	*"The Youth Development through Football (YDF) project pursues a mission: It intends to transform coaches into social workers and social workers into coaches to exploit the **educational potential** of sport. To maximize this potential coaches need socio-pedagogic skills…"*
	Promotor of sport	*"Sport brings people together and builds confidence. **Promoting** sport is therefore an important pillar…which is directed to the development of grass-roots sport in developing countries and strengthening civil society structures"*
	Supporter	*"We are there to **support** you in what you do. You know the communities in which you work. We can help by making suggestions"*
NGOs	Provider	*"NGOs work on the ground. We do not just **provide** sport, recreation and physical activity opportunities, but we **provide** information, help and our time"*
	Facilitator	*"Volunteers and NGOs are people who are the **middlemen** to change"* *"They (government and funding agencies) come to us*

		and say that we must get them volunteers and coaches. They will fund a three month project in the community. We then find people who will be able to help"
	Recipient	*"NGOs are the **recipients** of grants, funding from foundations and the department as well as donations from the public"*
	Fundraiser	*"The 'arm' in Germany is about **fundraising** more than anything else. The focus is to raise funds for the programs here in South Africa"*
	Informant	*"but we provide **information**, help and our time"*
FBOs	Provider	*"We use sport and recreation activities as part of our outreach programs in poor communities as these kids don't have the same opportunities as other kids"*
	Link between external- and marginalised communities	*"I think what we do is important. You see, for instance, the bread that I brought today comes from people who don't want to come to the community, but they want to give something. We also get to know people in the community, know their skills **and so we then connect them with the outside world**. And this happens as we play"*
Volunteers	Provider	*"What we **provide** is very important. We are the face that the community sees and with whom they connect. Although we're right at the bottom in terms of decisions made, we play an important role. Together with the non-profits we provide the actual programs"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	Provider	*"We work with two universities who **provides** us with the evidence of our impact in the community"*

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	Influencing policy	*"...as a four-year initiative, the mandate of the SDP IWG is to develop **policy recommendations** to national governments to promote the integration of sport and physical activity into domestic and international development strategies and programs"*
	Evaluator	*"We, as a department, see the role of those in academia as important...and it includes helping to make sure that we are on the right track"*
Marginalised community participants	Recipient	*"I am just grateful that there are people who care enough about us and the children to spend their time with us"*
	Participant	*"Me and my friends love **playing sports**. It doesn't matter what it is: soccer, handball, anything. Sometimes you have to do other things as well, but as long as we play after, we'll come"*

Dichotomy in the text is illustrated in three categories: dichotomy between included and excluded; dichotomy in roles and expectations as perceived by other change agents and the dichotomy related to change agents' perception of the possibility of achieving social inclusion in partnership. The existence of dichotomy in the text between included and excluded indicates that even though change agents work towards social inclusion through the provision of sport and recreation opportunities, people are still excluded from the system. An example of inclusion 'given' by the included to the excluded: *"if South Africa wants to remain a winning and active nation, we should continue to invest in the health and the wellbeing of our people especially on the grassroots level to provide broader access to sport and physical activity to build a healthy nation"* emphasises this dichotomy. In the analysis of the construction of meta-narratives that exist within the text, narrators were grouped as either included or excluded according to the narrative inclusionary 'we' and the exclusionary 'them' or 'they'. Narrative

inclusion and exclusion denoted the power differential that exists within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. The dichotomy illustrated as narrative inclusion and exclusion are presented in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3. Dichotomy illustrated as narrative inclusion and narrative exclusion in text

Change agent	Narrative inclusion (NI) or Narrative exclusion (NE)		Example in text
National government	'We' 'You'	NE	*"We are imploring you to rise to the challenge by tackling all issues pertaining to…"*
	'Our'	NI	*"to bring comprehensive and inclusive sport to the masses of our people"*
Funding agencies	'We' 'They' 'Our'	NE/ NI	*"Well, we expect that they utilise the funding that we provide to make an impact…that will ensure that we've been successful in our attempts"*
NGOs	'We' 'Our	NI	*"We have to uplift our community"*
	'We' 'Them'' Our' 'They'	NE	*"We train them in our programs and they go back to their community to apply what they have learnt"*
	'They' 'You'	NE	*We have to work on inclusion, but they exclude me as NGO in the community because programs start and stop. What does that do to trust? So what am I going to tell the community after three months? People in the community think you are not committed, but they don't realise that the coach must be paid to be there. If you are unemployed you cannot work for*

			free!"
FBOs	'We'	NI	*"Working together in a community like… **we** can make a difference"*
	'They'	NE	*"It depends on what **they** do with our help…"*
Volunteers	'We'	NI	*"Yes, **we're** all in this together! Me and my players"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	'They'	NE	*"**They** play a crucial role in our program. I just wish that they could get more involved somehow"*
Marginalised community participants	'They'	NE	*"**They** come on different days. We appreciate what they are doing for us"*
	'We'	NI	*"It was so nice. **We** worked together for about three months on this. You should have seen people's faces!"*

The dichotomy in roles and expectations as perceived by change agents towards other change agents within the system of sport and recreation provision are presented in this analysis in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4. Dichotomy in expectations towards other change agents

Change agent	Expectation towards:	Example in text
National government	Local government	*"A municipality's function is to render basic services and not everything else. Public officials from provincial and national spheres of government put unnecessary pressure on ward councilors"*

	Funding agencies	*"...one such a critical challenge is funding. You would have noted the ambitious plans we have set ourselves in achieving our development targets...with the limited resources that we have, some of these targets may just be a pipe dream. We therefore call on all of those with potential to finance some of our projects to come forth and contribute to the noble goals that we have set ourselves"*
	NGOs	*"The objectives are to...increase the number of participants in sport and recreation…"* *"One of the biggest problems for NGOs, let me explain to you, is that you have to submit an audited financial report. Now that's not a problem, because I keep all my receipts. But it cost each NGO R10 000 to R20 000. That is what the Department of Social Development wants. They expect community based NGOs to spend an amount that I could have used to run another program. That is why most NGOs fail. Who is going to do the work on the ground if this continues?"*
	Research and tertiary education institutions	*"It is important for us, as SRSA, to listen to what you say. That is why we are here at this conference"*
	Marginalised community participants	*"through which individuals, communities… become aware of, and make pro-active decisions…"*
Local government	Provincial government	*"Challenges for municipalities were that grant funding was not reaching its destination on time"* *"...municipalities became fiscal dumping sites when MECs found that they could not properly account for under-spending at the end of a financial cycle"*

	NGOs	*"NGOs and volunteers are the natural partners for life skills education…"* *"NGOs will make the difference in stimulating excitement and enthusiasm about the kick-abouts and pitches"*
	Funding agencies	*"…which could be sponsors of sporting events and be involved in funding sport facilities and activities through advertising, branding and corporate social investment"*
Funding agencies	Government	*"…is supporting the country in its efforts to strengthen the public sector at national, provincial and local level…strengthening and promoting good governance is a prerequisite for sustainable development…"*
	NGOs	*"Each activity carried out by the organization must be for the benefit of, or be widely accessible to, the general public at large…the poor and needy"* *"However, labor, administrative costs and travel expenditure cannot be borne"* *"Project items that cannot be funded include consumables, vehicles, computers…labour and administrative costs"*
	Volunteers	*"We equip volunteers with the skills necessary to help empower communities"*
	Marginalised community participants	*"Training took place for a total of 59 community members in how to run development through sport activities and how to link these activities to important life skills and critical issues. Of the 59 trained, 20 are still actively running their own programs…"*
Local NGOs	Government	*"Recreation? What recreation? You try telling the government about recreation. It's all about sport. Use*

		sport to develop kids and teach them some life skills but above all, produce some winners. They say sport and recreation, but it is actually just sport" *"Government funding can be very ad hoc. You need paying customers, another job or a corporate sponsor if you really want your program to be sustainable"* *I don't expect anything from government because I know that nothing is going to happen. Before they have to do something they will rather have another meeting..."*
	Funding agencies	*"Funders think that if they fund your work in the community that they are funding you personally. They think they own you. But all the funding goes into the community. To be in community development you need an extra income"* *"Funding agencies think that NGOs don't run like a normal organisation – you don't need salaries. But they want sustainability. How does that work? They want to control the process, but they only want to pay for half of it"*
	Research and tertiary education institutions	*"A lot of people attending meetings held by government are there for research. They say they are doing research but they are not changing anything. What is the use of us forever hearing what is wrong? There is no change...but they expect us to be there, provide them with information, our coaches have to be there – what we're often not told, is that that researcher is getting paid for the research. We have to be motivated to be a part of the research. Smile and be happy. I don't think so"*
	International NGOs	*"Some international NGOs spend a lot of money on salaries because they have corporate sponsors. We, as local NGOs cannot claim for salaries. Administrative costs may not exceed 10% - most of our money is spent on*

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		the project. I expect that international NGOs are a much better choice for government because they bring their own money with them"
	Marginalised community participants	*"People just don't have money to live on. Most people in the community have loans against their social grants. They look at the NGOs to help, but what can you do? We run sport and recreation programs directed at the younger people in the community because it is hard to get adults to participate. But you would think for the amount of work we put in people will be grateful. Not always. Not always"*
	Volunteers	*"There is a difference between volunteers in communities. International volunteers working in South Africa do not work for free. They get sizeable stipends from their countries which enable them to live like a normal person. We can't expect volunteers from our community to work for free – you just cannot do it"*
International NGOs	Government	*"The big downfall with the government is that they have youth programs, community development programs and social development programs, but they are not aligning them"*
	Funding agencies	*"We receive funding from a German partner to build a facility…We also have quite a good follow-up deal with a South African corporation. Yes, funding for maintaining a program is harder to get, but it is possible"*
	Local NGOs	*"A lot of NGOs are very community based. You need experts to make community change a reality. They are stuck in the same position as the community and they don't have the funding or the network that can provide them with the necessary funding to make their program successful. You find that they have a 'we need more'*

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		approach and will therefore never be successful"
	Research and tertiary education institutions	*"Research forms an integral part of our impact evaluation. It is very important to provide evidence of the work that we do and that it actually works. So we have aligned with various research studies and research institutions, for example with…This provides us with scientific back-up…"*
	Volunteers	*"We don't believe in using volunteers from the community itself. If you cannot pay a person in a community that person cannot be expected to work for free. It is totally unsustainable and unfair to expect people to work for free if they don't have an income"*
	Marginalised community participants	*"It sometimes gets to you. The community thinks you have an unlimited source of resources and funding.*
FBOs	Marginalised community members	*"There is a difference from community participants towards faith-based organisations. Although we use sport and recreation they want more than that. They expect food and additional help in terms of surviving"*
Volunteers	Government	*"Their role is hidden. Yes, I know what it says on paper. But, the only thing government does is to promote sport and recreation by stating that it is a magic cure. Their expectations and actions do not match"*
	Marginalised community participants	*"People in the community tend to go where they can get something. I would probably have done the same. People cannot be expected to participate on an empty stomach. So what we try to do, is to at least bring something with us, because then we have more participants"*
Research and tertiary education	Government	*"Successful policies are based on research. Research has shown that sport and recreation have an impact on social*

institutions		*problems. It is important for government – on all level – to take cognizance of published research"*
	NGOs	*"We can learn a lot from NGOs. I actually think that each NGO must be assigned a researcher. It can be a mutually beneficial relationship"*
	Marginalised community participants	*"Community members do not always want to cooperate. I don't blame them – some researchers use a 'hit-and-run' approach. You have to create a relationship with a community, otherwise you research is meaningless"*
Marginalised community participants	Government	*"The government and everyone who works up there don't know the first thing about us. How would they? It's hard to understand us from a BMW"*
	FBOs	*"I appreciate what the church people do. The kids love their play events and they like the young people who comes with the church. But for some reason people from churches in Pretoria East assume that everyone who lives in a poor community is not a Christian. I can't tell you how many times I've had to be reborn in order to go on a camp"*
	NGOs	*"I rely on ... who runs a program at the sports grounds to provide my kids with the opportunity to be part of a sports team. The kids love going there. If they have a program on a Saturday, the streets are emptier, because all the kids go to play"*
	Research and tertiary education institutions	*"Everyone comes to us. You learned people should just ask what you want to know. They come with all these great ideas and ask how we feel about it. Don't act as if you really care, because you don't"*

The dichotomy in change agents' perception relating to achieving social inclusion in partnership is illustrated in table 6.5.

Table 6.5. Dichotomy in change agents' perception relating to achieving social inclusion in partnership with other change agents

Change agent	Example in text
National government	*"The Department ensures that effective partnerships are in place with other implementers of sport and recreation such as provinces and municipalities as well as the confederation and sport federations. The Department also partners with non-governmental organisations such as LoveLife in the promotion of HIV and AIDS awareness through sport"* *"It also acknowledged the need to strengthen efforts, including multi-stakeholder partnerships, at all levels, to maximise sport's potential to contribute to the achievement of internationally agreed development goals and national peace-building priorities"*
Provincial government	*"We as a department recognise the massive positive effects of working together in partnership with each other…"*
Local government	*"Local government is not only constitutionally responsible for providing and maintaining public sport facilities, but also for promoting social and economic development and encouraging community involvement in governance issues. This calls for partnership arrangements in service delivery…between municipalities, local communities, NGOs supported by public or private sector funding and community involvement"*
Funding organisations	*"The Youth Development through Football (YDF) Program is supporting partnering organisations to use the power of football to achieve social development and behaviour change with children and youth. YDF is a project that is implemented…Its political partner is the Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) and besides working with the Provincial structures of SRSA the project collaborates with the South African Football Association (SAFA), the Sport for Social change Network (SSCN) and the Seriti-Institute…"*
NGOs	*"No! We can't all work together! Government does not even acknowledge*

	us. NGOs and grassroots organisations are only mentioned when you can bring funding to the table or when they want to mention development. Even though we're trying to include communities we, ourselves, are actually excluded"
FBOs	*"It would be great if we can work together, but it will be hard as communities are not open about the involvement of other NGOs, churches and organisations. They might say that you're the only people helping, but I don't think we are aware of how many people are actually involved in one community. And I don't think the people involved know about each other"*
Volunteers	*"To be able to make an impact you need to position yourself with an organisation or a group, otherwise it's very difficult to get involved"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	*"It will not be feasible to share data on the SRSA website as you have to remember that you will need to include the person whose data it is in the article. You have to remember that researchers get funding for their research, so it is not as easy as to just share data…"*
Marginalised community participants	*"Nobody asked me for my opinion. And it's not a problem, but I cannot say I am a partner in changing the community. The people up there have to work together"*

Transitivity of the text refers to the experiential aspects of meaning. It is referred to as the system of transitivity (Janks 2005). Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognised in the language and the structures by which they are expressed. Fairclough have identified six different kinds of transitivity which include material; relational; mental; verbal; physiological and existential processes. Transitivity in text is presented in Table 6.6 below.

Table 6.6. Transitivity in text

Change agent	Transitivity	Example in text
Government	Verbal process	*"The Department will continue to use sport as a mechanism for development by hosting events in*

	Mental process	*"Develop a clear plan for sport and recreation in our country"*
		marginalised areas..."
	Mental process	*"Develop a clear plan for sport and recreation in our country"*
	Material	*"Increase the number of participants in sport and recreation with the emphasis on the disadvantaged and marginalised groups..."*
Funding agencies	Material	*"...supported programs yielding the positive outcomes intended"*
	Mental	*"We have learnt from past failures and successes..."*
NGOs	Material	*"We provide a program where there is nothing"*
	Mental	*"They can't really understand what we're dealing with on a daily basis"*
FBOs	Material process	*"When we go out to a community we provide more than just fun and games"*
Volunteers	Material process	*"I have given up most of my free time..."*
	Behavioural process	*"When I work with them I go down to their level"*
Research institutions	Mental process	*"...and should therefore foresee whether we are moving in the right direction"*
	Material process	*"...with this we can provide other role players with the information they need"*
Marginalised community participants	Relational process – 'being' and 'having'	*"We once had a sports festival in which it felt as if everyone who attended was just like me and you"*

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6.2.1.2 Interpersonal analysis of text

The aim of the interpersonal analysis of the text was to describe the meaning of social relations established between change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities. The interpersonal analysis includes analyses of the mood of the text; cohesion of and contradictions within the text as well as the construction of change agents within the text.

The analyses of the mood of the text focused on whether the textual example is a statement, a question or declaration or a command. Results in this regard are presented in Table 6.7 below.

Table 6.7. Analysis of mood of text

Change agent	Mood of text	Example in text
National government	Statement	*"To maximise access, development and excellence at all levels of participation in sport and recreation in order to improve social cohesion, nation building and the quality of life of all South Africans"*
	Declaration	*"We agreed to ensure equitable access to recreation opportunities ..."*
	Command	*"This conference is tasked to tackle such issues, once and for all. I am resting on your shoulders to bring comprehensive and inclusive sport and recreation to the masses of our people"*
Provincial government	Statement	*"The vision of the Sport, Recreation and Amenities Department of the City of Cape Town is to enhance the quality of life of citizens and visitors through the provision of world class facilities and programs"*

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Local government	Statement	*"Issues of sport and recreation at local government are complex"*
	Command	*"It is your responsibility, as users of our facility, to ensure that the facilities are used"*
Funding agencies	Statement	*"It is widely acknowledged that sport development needs to begin at the grassroots level and that recreational sport – both the active and spectator varieties – holds many social benefits"*
NGOs	Statement	*"We are not a private facility. We are for the community and the community is for us. We're included in the community. For this centre to work, we need the community"*
	Question	*"When will government realise that we are working for the same goal? Why is it so hard to put a system in place where everyone not only understand how they fit in, but where they are respected for what they do?... I'm not a beggar and I will not be treated as such"*
FBOs	Question	*"I ask myself the question: will the people from the community still come to our events if we didn't offer food and food parcels? Do they attend because they really want to?"*
Volunteers	Statement	*"You need to be the change you want to see. With sport and recreation you are not just changing people in the community, you are also changing yourself"*
	Question	*"How can I be motivated if I don't know if I'm going to have a job?"*

Research and tertiary education institutions	Statement	*"Universities and researchers can just do what they do: research and evaluation. It is important that we determine our mandates and act accordingly"*
	Question	*"How can we help the NGOs and people implementing programs in communities if we only get one part of the information? If you only tell us what you think we want to hear?"*
Marginalised community participants	Statement	*"I love Fridays. It used to be just another day, but now I can't wait for the afternoon. It is not just about playing, it's about getting away from who I am for a little while. I feel I am someone, because I also help at the program"*
	Question	*"How can I be included into what you are calling society if I cannot afford it?"*

An analysis of the cohesion of and contradictions within the text focused on how patterns within the text are distributed unequally amongst change agents and therefore illustrated the contradictory nature of roles and expectations amongst change agents. The analysis of the cohesion of and contradictions within the text is supported by an examination of the degrees of uncertainty in the text; the use of pronouns as well as the polarity in the text. Results of these analyses are presented in Tables 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10 respectively.

The degrees of uncertainty within the text are signified by the use of modalities that are created by modals, for example *may* or *might*; adverbs, for example *possibly* or hopefully; as well as the use of questions (Janks, 2005). Degrees of uncertainty are categorised as either a *low*, *medium* or *high* level of uncertainty illustrating contradictions within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities.

Table 6.8. Degree of uncertainty in text

Change agent	Degree of uncertainty	Example in text
National government	Low level of uncertainty	*"Sport has become a world language, a common denominator that breaks down all the walls, all the barriers. It is a worldwide industry whose practices can have a widespread impact"*
	High level of uncertainty	*"However, and sadly so, four years down the line and we are called upon to assemble here and tackle the same issues as raised by the 2008 National Sport Indaba"*
Provincial government	Low level of uncertainty	*"Gauteng – a home of opportunities for sporting, artistic and cultural excellence that contributes to social cohesion and nation building"*
Local government	Moderate level of uncertainty	*"The City of Cape Town views sport and recreation as a 'vital developmental tool to maximize social development through the provision of facilities and programs'. Yet, faced with the reality…what is the best approach for the City to contribute to building active, strong and vibrant communities through sport and recreation?"*
Funding agencies	Low level of uncertainty	*"…develops and improves methods and approaches for teaching life skills, bringing about positive behavioural changes, as well as involving and integrating socially disadvantaged youth in their communities"*
NGOs	Moderate to high level of uncertainty	*"We tend to put a lot onto soccer. The moment that the kids come, and they enjoy it, we say, ok let's use this as something to change the community…the difference between the NGOs actually working in the community and government, is that they frame sport as being inclusive, but they have a win-at-all-cost mentality. And government gets confused with this*

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		because they want sport to provide great citizens, great players, change communities and be a one-size-fits all answer. It is not. It simply isn't"
FBOs	Low level of uncertainty	*"We make a difference not just because of the sport activities, but also because we care about the people in these communities"*
Volunteers	Low level of uncertainty	*"Through our being in the community every day, we are making a difference just by being here"*
	Moderate to low level of certainty	*"Are we successful? I don't know – I hope so. I have to believe it can work. What else will bring me to these people?"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	Low level of uncertainty	*"Research solves problems. Can it impact on social problems in marginalised communities? Yes, I believe it can"*
Marginalised community participants	Low level of uncertainty	*"I feel good when we have sport in our community. It makes people happy"*

The use of pronouns in the text underlines the dichotomy in the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. Within the text the use of pronouns are seen to indicate the hierarchy within the system of providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities. Three patterns of utilising pronouns were found in the text and included what is known as the *inclusive we*; *exclusive you* and *othering* pronouns (Janks, 2005).

Table 6.9. Use of pronouns in text

Pronoun	**Example in text**
Inclusive we	*"I have a belief that we're all one. If you're hungry, I'm hungry. The world works like that for me"*

	"Together we can make a difference"
Exclusive you	*"You have to take on this challenge. We cannot do everything. We have a plan in place and it is now up to you to get involved"*
Othering pronouns	*"That's why I prefer to work with black kids. They don't nag you for water and for this and that. They are grateful for everything that you do"*

Polarity in the text was analysed by exploring change agents' perception of whether sport could lead to social inclusion. Polarity of text is tied to the use of tense which indicates the definiteness of a statement. Differences in polarity indicated that change agents do not necessarily share the belief in the power of sport and recreation in the achievement of social inclusion in marginalised communities.

Table 6.10. Polarity in text

Change agent	**Polarity**	**Example in text**
National government	Negative polarity	*"Appropriate wellness behaviour reflects healthy and responsible lifestyles, responsible citizenship…that **could** result in improved quality of life and optimal levels of functioning, performance and effectiveness of all South Africans.*
Provincial government	Positive polarity	*"Sport and recreation also **has** the ability to contribute to social inclusion and to combat anti-social behaviour"*
Funding agencies	Negative polarity	*"The …project pursues a mission: It **intends** to…"*
	Positive polarity	*"It **is** implemented by…"*
NGOs	Negative polarity	*"Sport alone **will** not change a community"*
	Positive polarity	*"It doesn't matter how hard it is. We **are** running*

		these programs even if it means I have to walk there"
FBOs	Negative polarity	*"We **will** try to incorporate more people next year"*
	Positive polarity	*"We **have** change and impacted on so many lives. And I have to be honest, our impact has increased since we've introduced games"*
Volunteers	Polarity not definite	*"Sport and recreation initiatives can change a community, but it is not yet a reality in South Africa"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	Positive polarity	*"The impact assessment procedures **are** in place. And I think it is working"*
Marginalised community participants	Positive polarity	*"The kids **are** now getting along. It used to be a problem within our community…but **now**, they play together"*
	Negative polarity	*"It **will** be nice if we can also **maybe** participate outside the community next year. Maybe against other communities as well?"*

The process of constructing the roles and expectations of change agents are done through the use of either an active or a passive voice. The use of an active voice indicates that a change agent is dominant within the system of sport and recreation provision whereas a passive voice allows for the disempowerment of a change agent.

Table 6.11. Construction of change agents in text

Change agent	Voice	Example in text
Government	Active voice	*"The SA government understands the important socio-economic and developmental challenges of society and those of recreation and wellness in particular. Our*

		government identified sport and recreation as a fundamental sector to be utilized for unity and cohesion. We agreed to ensure equitable access to recreation opportunities to facilitate holistic wellness"
Funding agencies	Active voice	"We fund sport and recreation initiatives that fit in with our vision and brand"
NGOs	Active voice	"We are leaving a legacy – sport and recreation changes and is changing our communities!"
	Passive voice	"I don't understand why funding agencies and the government say that they need us, but they don't want to hear what we're saying. They have their own ideas and they expect us to just blindly follow that"
Volunteers	Active voice	"We are running the programs and I know sport works. It brings kids together, it gets them motivated"
	Passive voice	"Most of you guys are not on the fields. You don't know what's going on. But we have to implement all your plans and ideas even though some of them do not work"
Research and tertiary education institutions	Active voice	"We have great pockets of excellence… we can make a change if we can get all the stakeholders to pull together"
Marginalised community participants	Passive voice	"We will participate in whatever is available. I appreciate people giving us the chance to also take part"

6.2.1.3 Textual analysis of text

The aim of the textual analysis of the text was to identify themes in the data. The thematic structure of the text focused on the identified themes within the data which included *change agents' understanding of social inclusion as outcome of sport and recreation in marginalised communities*; *change agents' perception of the function of sport and recreation participation in marginalised communities in terms of social inclusion*; *the probability of sport and recreation participation realising social inclusion in marginalised communities as perceived by change agents* as well as *goals and objectives as set by change agents for sport and recreation to achieve social inclusion and barriers to the achievement of social inclusion through sport and recreation as identified by change agents*. Change agents' understanding of social inclusion as outcome of sport and recreation participation was explored within the text and is demonstrated in table 6.12.

Table 6.12. Social inclusion as outcome of sport and recreation in marginalised communities

Change agent	Example in text of social inclusion
National government	*"...social inclusion is about ensuring that all South Africans have access and opportunity to participate in recreation as valued, respected and contributing members of our society. Social inclusion therefore reflects a proactive, human development approach to social wellness that calls for more than the removal of barriers of risks and recreation participation. It requires focused investments in human power in the form of trained recreation leadership and actions and policies to bring about the conditions for social inclusion"*
Funding organisations	*"Our aim is to include as many children into our programs with the resources available"*
NGOs	*"So even here, in the community, we've got another program with the co-operative training working with the unemployed, especially the woman. Education is important. Sport alone will not change a community…For the funding agencies like… it is all about the numbers game. 3000 kids did this. 5000 did that. That is not inclusion"*

FBOs	*"Sport and recreation draws people in a community closer, but, it is up to the people delivering the service to keep them close. We can't include everyone"*
Volunteers	*"Social inclusion is tied to other social and community problems, for example health, housing and education. It does not stand alone, and it cannot be solved alone. It is often used as an umbrella to cover everything that we can do with sport"*
Marginalised community participants	*"I don't think I'm excluded. Who said I'm excluded? Yes, I may not be seen as a good citizen because I'm not paying taxes and playing sports will not change that"*
Volunteers	*"Sport and recreation can only lead to social inclusion if it's about more than just sport and recreation. Sport and recreation will bring people closer together but when they participate they want to talk to you about things. If you can assist them with information about real-life issues then only can you say your program can contribute to social inclusion"*

Change agents' *perception* of the function of sport and recreation participation in marginalised communities was analysed according to the constructs that are associated with social inclusion which included social capital, social cohesion, citizenship, social networking and community capacity. Results are presented in Table 6.13 below.

Table 6.13. Function of sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities in terms of social inclusion

Change agent	Function	Example in text
National government	Social capital	*"Recreation provides opportunities for forming social networks that in turn develop social capital, a prerequisite for social wellness"*
	Social cohesion	*"Our government identified sport and recreation as a fundamental sector to be utilised for unity and cohesion"*
	Citizenship	*"...with the relevant outcomes of Government of*

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		fostering inclusive citizenship, physical wellbeing, skills development and economic growth…"
	Social networking	*"Facilitating social networks as support systems are especially important among participants who regularly face conflict and adversity in their everyday lives"*
Provincial government	Social cohesion Citizenship	*"To promote social cohesion and nation building which results in an empowered, involved, just and inclusive citizenship"*
Local government	Social capital	*"…it enables us to give the communities the facilities and programs they want and need…into a physically active and healthy city"*
Funding organisations	Social capital	*"Promote community ownership of project benefits…"*
	Community capacity	*"Provide opportunities for capacity building, skills transfer and other measures to address obstacles that prevent or limit community participation and self-initiative"*
	Social networking	*"Proposing relevant partnerships with other parties on the basis of clearly defined competencies and roles…"*
NGOs	Social cohesion	*"Sport and recreation programs can bring them back on board into the community, to have a normal life and to be accepted. You don't need to be good to play. It's about the people that you are with"*
	Community development	*"Sport can assist in changing a community, however we combine it with an educational program in order to not only bring superficial change but to help rebuild a community"*

	Social capital	*"We have had several of our coaches who started with us go off and get a job. What is great is that they bring skills back with them. People can never believe that such a change started with sport!"*
FBOs	Social cohesion	*"What else than recreation and games could have brought us all together today? We have kids from the community, kids from Pretoria East, youth leaders and volunteers together. It would have been so much harder if we said hey, come to church!"*
Volunteers	Social cohesion	*"If you participate in sport and recreation – especially in a team – people from various backgrounds will come together. To then work towards the same communal goal you need cooperation. People will accept each other and that will lead to social inclusion"*
Marginalised community participants	Social networking	*"When they started the soccer program I wasn't really interested. But after a while it sounded like fun and I went to have a look. It wasn't just soccer – there was more than one activity going on. What was different was that nobody minded that some of us just watched. It was only later that I got involved and one of the volunteers told me about a possible job. I now supervise the car parking area at a garage. No one in my family ever though I could do something like that"*
	Social capital	*"It is through sport and recreation that a person can realise that you are more than you thought you can be. I'm more than what I have. I'm better than what people give me credit for. I have skills that can be used in the community. It might not change everything, but participating is a step in the right direction"*

The *probability of sport and recreation opportunities realising social inclusion in marginalised communities* was analysed according to change agents' perceptions within the text. Categories of analysis include an expectation of high, average and low probability. Results are presented in Table 6.14 below.

Table 6.14. Probability of sport and recreation participation realising social inclusion in marginalised communities as perceived by change agents

Change agent	Probability	Example in text
National government	High	*"This is especially important in the case of participants who are marginalised in society and have to survive everyday threats to their physical and psychological wellness"*
Funding organisations	High	*"We are part of many projects in Africa. You cannot deny the power of sport"*
NGOs	High	*"Sport and recreation can do many things. It can teach kids about HIV and AIDS, it can teach them about history, help with education. Give them skills – that together will ensure that they are included in our society"*
FBOs	Average	*"I don't think the changes we've seen is just because of using sport activities and games. Remember, we also bring values into communities"*
Volunteers	High	*"I can't give you scientific reasons. But I know we change these kids little by little. I have seen some of them stay away from drugs and the wrong crowd. That is the start of becoming included as citizen"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	Average to high	*"We have seen what sport can do. We now need to find how it can be done for more people"*

Marginalised community participants	Average to low	*"My children go to the project every day. And I'm grateful. But if you are asking me whether that can change everything I have to say I don't think so. The people at the project work very hard but they cannot change the fact that there are no jobs. They cannot change the truth that this community is not safe"*

Goals and objectives as set by change agents for the achievement of social inclusion in marginalised communities through the use of sport and recreation are illustrated in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15 Goals and objectives as set by change agents for sport and recreation participation

Change agent	**Examples in text**
National government	*"...social inclusion is all about ensuring that all South Africans have access and opportunity to participate in recreation as valued, respected and contributing members of our society"* *"The inclusivity and non-competitiveness of recreation opportunities allow all participants to engage on levels where subjective competence can be experienced and be converted into individual wellness and self-worth"* *"Our government identified sport and recreation as a fundamental sector to be utilised for unity and cohesion. We agreed to ensure equitable access..."*
Provincial government	*"Create safe spaces and facilities for sport and recreation participation...Establish social networks"*
Local government	*"It is our mandate to provide facilities to enable communities to have access to spaces in which to participate"*
Funding organisations	*"The role we play in bringing sport, recreation and development activities to communities is to identify the role players who are already doing this, assist them with funding. But we are more*

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	involved than just funding. Through reports we also help to make suggestions and to give guidance"
NGOs	*"Social inclusion is about participation numbers. The more people you include, the more participants you have. When you see your numbers going down, you have a problem. That's when you have to rethink your project. When did people stop participating? Why? What can you do to get them back?"*
FBOs	*"If you don't see social inclusion as result of your program you need to go back and plan again. Your program must build a community from victims to victors – for this to happen you need social inclusion. The moment that you realise you are just focused on certain members of a community you cannot claim that your program is socially inclusive anymore"*
Volunteers	*"As volunteer I assist NGOs and communities by being there. By being available. My goal for this? To bring happiness to as many people as I possibly can"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	*"Evaluation of current interventions as well as informing people within sport and recreation provision will contribute to better long term results"*
Marginalised community participants	*"Playing makes me feel good. If I can be good at sport I might one day play for Bafana"*

Barriers to the achievement of social inclusion through sport and recreation as perceived by change agents are varied and illustrate the contradictory nature of the roles and expectations between change agents as reflected in Table 6.16 below.

Table 6.16 Barriers to the achievement of social inclusion through sport and recreation

Barrier	Text
Vague assumptions supporting discourses, roles and expectations of social inclusion through sport and recreation	*"We have seen what sport can do. Look at the kids playing and tell me that sport and recreation cannot bring different people together"*

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Contradictory motivations, roles and expectations between and towards change agents	*"I'm not sure what the governments' role is in all of this. Most people see the government as negative. It may be that we just don't know what they are doing. It's not as if they ask for our help is it?"*
Power differential	*"For some reason people think community development work is not work. It is something that should be done as volunteer. How can you include unemployed community members and ask them to volunteer? It's easy to volunteer if you have an alternative income, but not if you are unemployed"*
Over-simplification of social inclusion process	*"Sport and recreation can bring people together no matter their race, gender, culture or religion. It can include people who have nothing…"*
Neo-liberal approach and justification of social inclusion	*"…the opportunity is there. If people don't want to take it, it's their own choice. I can't make you change and be a better South African citizen"*
Difficulties in measurement and evaluation	*"Everything is so over-evaluated that you never really have time to change anything. You live from evaluation to evaluation. Everything is an evaluation opportunity"*
Inappropriate outcome and impact focus	*"Training. Their focus is on training and more training. I know training and skill development is important, but there comes a point when that cannot be the focus anymore. You can only work towards including people if you start thinking about how you are going to employ these trained people. Most of the money is spent on training and evaluation and not on actually making a difference in the community"*
Unstructured approach to social inclusion	*"Target dates are forever changed. Then everything goes back to planning. We never really get out of the blocks"*
Collaboration between change agents	*"What we do in communities are like a competition. You can't work with another NGO because who will get the funding? We don't really know who else is involved in the same community, because it's better not to ask"*

Change of intervention focus due to funding	*"In sport we have the problem that all funders only want to give money to HIV programs…"*
Exclusionary nature of sport and recreation opportunities	*"We tend to give attention to those who pay attention to us. We subconsciously favour some over others. We have to be aware of this tendency, because just by doing this, you are excluding others that might actually need you more"*
Limited access to sport and recreation opportunities	*"They have now decided to use the hall and area that we've been using for years for weddings and meetings. The community did not have a lot of opportunities but now this is also gone"*
Inadequate policy on social inclusion in marginalised communities	*"...these have resulted in a lack of coordination and cohesion in delivering recreation…there is a need to rationalise and have one governance model of recreation in South Africa"*
Red tape	*"I'm so overwhelmed with this. Writing a report on this. A report on that. Reports, reports, reports. I wish I can go back to being on the field with the kids. But no, I have to do more reports"*
Focus on sport	*"The NSRP is raising concerns into our unfortunate neglect of the recreation and wellness part of our mission especially the pillar of building an 'active and healthy nation'"*
Funding limitations	*"Program funding can be used for the provision of facilities and equipment only and cannot be used to fund the upkeep of facilities or to deliver the training and educational activities. Yet, the delivery of these activities is crucial…"*
Maintenance of facilities	*"The village has a challenge of water shortage, and they make use of long drop toilets for ablution…"*
Communication	*"We need to listen. Really listen. We're so stuck in what we want that we don't listen to others"*
Overemphasis on planning without action	*"We can run our program for a year on one of their breakfasts where they are always planning. Planning to plan to plan on when to start planning. Always coming up with more objectives*

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	and goals. New visions when the previous ones have not been implemented…"
Ideological boundaries to provision	*"Building on our shared and common vision as a people means we have to tear down the real and artificial boundaries and wall that kept, and still keep, many of our people outside sports because of their race, religion, gender, geography, class and cast"*
Resource limitation	*"With the limited resources that we are having, some of these targets may just be a pipe dream…"*
Lack of respect	*"It boils down to respect. We lack respect from and towards one another. We tend to undermine each other. Look at what just happened – nobody really listened to what she just said, because we don't think she's important enough"*
Partnerships	*"The international NGOs that goes into a community, they don't want the community to be part of the project – firstly because they don't want them on the board, and secondly, because they don't want to share their finances – they don't want the community to know about their finances. So who are we including? We are including people who are already included in society"*
Lack of commitment	*"People make promises to these kids. You have to remember, they believe you. If you make a promise you have to keep it"*

6.2.2 Discursive practice as level of discourse analysis

The second goal of the critical discourse analysis was to interpret the formation of discursive practices within the system of sport and recreation provision using social inclusion in marginalised communities. The discursive practice dimension of the text were analysed according to the inter-textuality of the text. Inter-textual analysis required looking for traces of the discourses in the text (Pederson, 2009). Whereas the textual analysis is more descriptive in nature, inter-textual analysis is more interpretative.

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The analysis included a focus on the *process of the production*, *interpretation*, *distribution* and *consumption* of the marginalised community discourse as well as the sport and recreation participation as solely beneficial discourse. Data analysis focused on how change agents and marginalised community participants interpret and reproduce or transform discourses as written and verbal texts. Interactions between change agents as well as between change agents and marginalised community participants were studied and highlighted at this level of analysis and included a focus on patterns within the text that can be used to confirm the existence of identified discourses as well as the inter-textuality of the text (Janks, 2005).

Patterns that can be used to confirm the existence of identified discourses (Janks, 2005; Pederson, 2009) were identified in the text and are presented according to each discourse. Patterns identifying the *production*, *interpretation*, *distribution* and *consumption* of the marginalised community discourse were analysed according to change agents' perception and interpretation of the concept *community* as well as to change agents' *motivation* for involvement in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities illustrated in Table 6.17 and 6.18.

Table 6.17 Change agents' perception of the concept 'community'

Change agent	Perception of *Community*	Example in text
Government	Marginalised Disadvantaged Rural	*"Increase the number of sport and recreation participants in sport and recreation with the emphasis on the **disadvantaged** and **marginalised**…living in **rural** areas"* *"…provide social benefits such as…developing community"*
Funding organisations	Disadvantaged	*"…that uses the enthusiasm for football shown by many socially **disadvantaged** boys and girls…"*
	'Townships'	*"I've picked up since I've been here that everyone refers to community as the **townships**. Am I right in*

		that?"
NGOs	Excluded	*"Our community work focus on people who are **excluded** from society, whether that be because of socio-economic status or social problems…that is really where you find community in South-Africa. Because the people need each other and they are kind of stuck in a situation that makes it easier to understand them as a community"*
	Squatter camps	*"and the kids from the community all come from **squatter camps**…"*
FBOs	Poor	*"the kids and their moms that we work with are some of the poorest of the **poor**"*
Volunteers	Poor	*"Before I got involved with communities I use to think I live in a suburb, but now I am more inclined to say that I live in a community…people who knows me, know that when I say I'm going to the community I'm going to run a program in a **poor** area"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	Marginalised Disempowered	*"We focus on what I would call **marginalised** communities. Communities who are disempowered?"*
Marginalised community participants	Community	*"People funding the projects do not see themselves as part of the **community**. They look at us as different somehow. But it is often the people staying in the suburbs that are missing out"*

Table 6.18 Change agents' motivation for involvement in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities

Motivation for involvement	**Text**
Personal benefit	*"Community work is like a magnet. A magnet has a positive side and a negative side. For sport and recreation to help a community*

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	you must bring something positive to the negative. But you have to remember that you can also be the negative moving towards the positive – anybody working within a community needs the community as much as the community needs them. If not more"
Altruism	*"For us it's not about the money. It's about forgetting about who you are and giving back to those who have so much less than what you have. And I don't mean just having less money. They have fewer opportunities, less of everything. It could have been any one of us"*
Active citizen	*"My organisation does a number of community projects. It has a community part that is involved in community projects where we help them with what is needed"*
Religious motivation	*"Helping others is my calling. As a Christian it is my duty to help those who can't help themselves"*
Communitarianism	*"We are for the community and the community are for us"*
Legacy	*"I do what I do because I can make a difference with this program. And this will forever change the community"*
Self-identity	*"...we all want to look good within our society. It's hard to admit, but it's the truth...that is why change agents do not communicate with each other, because it is a competition"*

Patterns identifying the *production*, *interpretation*, *distribution* and *consumption* of the sport and recreation participation as solely beneficial discourse were analysed according to whether change agents promoted sport and recreation as solely beneficial. Results are provided in Table 6.19 below.

Table 6.19 Promotion of sport and recreation as solely beneficial discourse

Change agent	Agreement?	Text
National government	Yes	*"Sport and recreation is important for more than just reasons of national pride, or even as a way of building a fitter, more vibrant nation. Sport and Recreation*

		reaches across our society in ways which are not always apparent, and involves even those who profess no love of sport"
Provincial government	Yes	*"Sport and recreation provide an alternative to the social issues that plague many communities in the Western Cape"*
Local government	Yes	*"...is to enhance the quality of life of citizens and visitors through the provision of world class facilities and programs. Recognising the importance of recreation…to make an effective contribution towards enhancing the quality of life of our people"*
	No	*"The municipality does not put sport as a priority but there is a budget of R18m"*
Funding organisations	Yes	*"...they are also having far deeper impact and positive spin offs than we had expected"* *"Playing sport in a structured environment with good mentors also has the power to develop life skills such as teamwork, leadership, communication and decision making"*
NGOs	Yes	*"Those who knew me before I became involved in sport will be able to tell you…I was quiet…but since my life with sport it has changed me a lot. It really made a big impact on me, and that is why I want to take the baton and pass it on in my work with kids. It changed my life and it will change theirs. I know it because I've lived it"*
	No	*"Sometimes I just don't know. I believe in sport and recreation and physical activity. But when we've had the funders here for a few days they make it all seem trivial and worthless. Then I doubt everything we're doing"*

FBOs	Yes	*"The kids love the sport and play activities. If you give them a soccer ball with a Bible verse on, chances are that they will keep it. It means that through sport we can reach our goal!"*
	No	*"Sport and recreation must be tied to something bigger that will bring hope to a community. Participation alone is not enough"*
Volunteers	Yes	*"We change lives through sport and recreation. When the kids play, they know they are part of something bigger"*
	No	*"Sometimes I feel yes, sport can change people. But when I look at the needs in the community around me, I don't know if it is always enough"*
Research and tertiary education institutions	Yes	*"Although results are somewhat conflicting, I believe if used correctly and in combination with evaluation procedures, it can definitely bring about change"*
Marginalised community participants	Yes	*"They learn a lot at the sports field. They learn cricket, rugby, running and also a game where they throw the ball to score a goal. Sport is good. Sport is good"*
	No	*"They don't want us to be there. They want the kids. Everyone is not welcome to play"*

The inter-textuality of the text was analysed according to the presence of other texts within the analysed text. The inter-textuality of a text can be recognised through manifested inter-textuality which is marked by the use of quotation marks indicating the presence of other texts (Pederson, 2009) or constitutive inter-textuality in which elements of a discourse are present within the text. The results are presented in Table 6.20.

Table 6.20 Inter-textuality of text

Change agent	Inter-textuality	Text
Government	Manifest	*"South Africa's delegate recalled that during the World Cup, her country 'was the stage and Africa was the theatre' that had furthered social cohesion continent-wide. Underscoring the fact…she quoted Nelson Mandela: 'Sport has the power to change the world, to inspire, the power to unite people in a way that little else can'"*
	Constitutive	*"…it will harness the benefits of sport to…ultimately contribute towards an empowered, fair and inclusive citizenship"*
Funding agencies	Manifest	*"Many people know football as the beautiful game, but the sport means much more to South African footballer Keneilwe Mathibela. 'Football gives young people hope for the future' she says. The former national team player supports a GIZ project…"*
	Constitutive	*"We believe that sport and in some ways recreation, contribute to a healthier community. To a community that can work together and that can grow"*
NGOs	Constitutive	*"That is why we are at this meeting. Sport and recreation play a very important role in the work we do. It is important in building this community"*
	Constitutive	*"Sport and recreation participation can lead to healthier individuals, better family relationships, happier communities, kids can learn better…"*
Volunteers	Manifest	*"Madiba said that 'sport can unite us in a way that nothing else can. It can bring hope where there was only despair'. I don't know if I've got the quote right but that is what I believe"*

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Marginalised community participants	Constitutive	*"If I participate I will feel better about myself. Our coach have explained how important it is to keep on participating"*

6.2.3 Social practice as level of discourse analysis

The third goal for the analysis of the data focused on the use of description and interpretation of analysed data to offer an explanation of why and how social practices within the system of sport and recreation provision are constituted, changed and transformed as they are at present. Analysis included an exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society and identified the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community members within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities that maintain the current acceptable social practices. For Fairclough (Janks, 2005) analysis in this dimension pertains to three aspects of the socio-cultural context of a text, namely the *economic*; *political* and *cultural* aspects.

The economic aspect of a system is an important determinant of its practices and texts. The system under analysis has a product to sell namely sport and recreation as solution to the social ills within society. In an answer to the question concerning who has ownership of this product, the analysis has shown that the dominant and active voices within the system of provision include the following change agents: the government; funding agencies; NGOs; FBOs; volunteers; as well as research and tertiary education institutions. An interesting finding, however, was that local NGOs do not always perceive themselves as included within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities as they feel that they are excluded from the decision-making process by government, funding agencies and research and tertiary education institutions.

The political aspect of this analysis pertains to the power and ideology embedded in the text. Power within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities is deployed through the process of normalisation produced by discourses

and established messages of what the norm, roles and expectations of change agents in the system should be. In this context, for example, marginalised participants are constructed so as to show that they are unable to act except as with the help of change agents who are the active voice in inclusion. Change agents within a position of power can therefore determine the rules within the system of provision and can ensure that other change agents remain powerless. As members of a social system change agents are constituted in and by discourses available to them (Pederson, 2009).

The cultural aspect of the analysis focused on the issues of values within the social system. In this study the focus was specifically on how various change agents are valued within the system of sport and recreation. The hegemonic aspect of the analysis focused on relations of domination amongst change agents based on consent rather than coercion. This involved the naturalisation of practices and accompanied social relations and plays an important role in ensuring the status quo of the current sport and recreation provision system in marginalised communities. Domination as result of consent, for example, is illustrated in what an NGO said: *"at least they provide us with equipment"*. From an analysis of the text one can see that change agents can also be portrayed as agents of hegemony, as different levels of domination is visible within the current system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities.

The following section will provide an interpretation of the critical discourse analysis according to the stated objectives of the study.

6.2.3.1 Transparent expectations held and roles played by change agents and marginalised community participants in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as vehicle to achieve social inclusion

The textual analysis included the identification of meta-narratives that exist in the data. Meta-narratives were explored by identifying the various narrators involved in the text followed by depicting the functions of change agents as expressed by both change agents and marginalised community members (see Table 6.2). Roles identified are transparent as it was expressed by the various change agents. Roles ranged from facilitator, provider, policy-maker, implementer, funder, supervisor to recipient. Several change

agents' roles were categorised under provider, however, the level of provision differed. Flowing from the analysis of change agents' perceived roles within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities it became evident that even though change agents are working towards a similar outcome their functions within the system not only differ, but are hierarchical in nature. A breach exists within the system that split change agents into two groups as illustrated in figure 6.1. This breach confirmed a collective meta-narrative that exist within the system of sport and recreation provision, namely the acceptance of a hierarchical structure in which NGOs, FBOs and volunteers implement the decisions made by change agents responsible for decision-making and are virtually without a voice within this system.
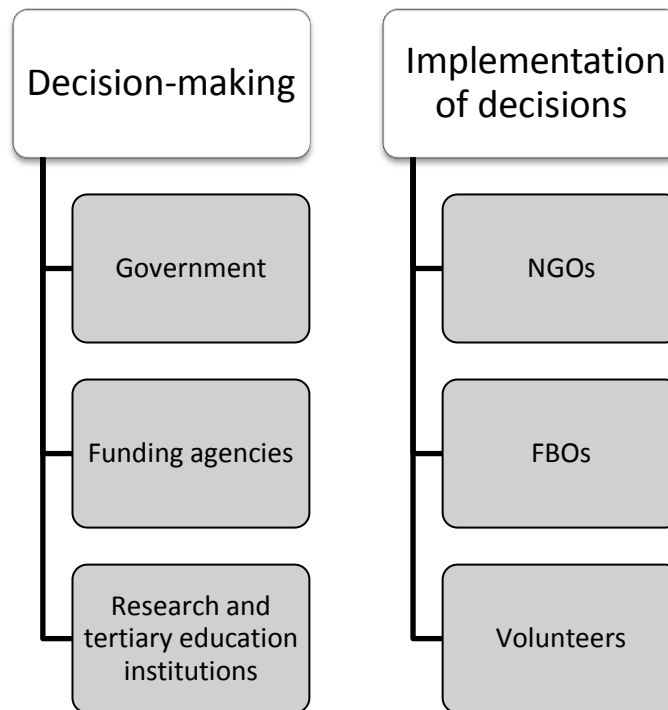
Figure 6.1. Categorisation of change agents

Table 6.13 summarised the expectations that change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities hold towards the function of sport and recreation. Functions in relation to social inclusion include sport and recreation participation contributing to social capital; social cohesion; citizenship; social networking and community capacity. Change agents perceive the probability of realising sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities as high, and therefore have

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the expectation that sport and recreation opportunities can indeed impact on social inclusion in marginalised communities. Marginalised community participants, however, even though expressing their appreciation for available opportunities, hold the expectation towards the probability of sport and recreation realising social inclusion as average to low (Tables 6.14 and 6.15). It is evident from change agents' expectations towards the probability of sport and recreation resulting in social inclusion; as well as from the goals set by change agents for achieving social inclusion through sport and recreation; that even though change agents and marginalised community members may not share the same reality in terms of perceiving sport and recreation opportunities, their roles and expectations are indeed influenced by the *sport and recreation as solely beneficial discourse*.

Motivation of change agents for involvement within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities are summarised in table 6.18 and ranged from participation for personal benefit; altruism; as function of active citizenship; religious motivation; communitarianism; leaving a legacy to self-identity.

6.2.3.2 Discrepancies between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised community participants in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as vehicle to achieve social inclusion

The dichotomy in the text illustrated the existence of a division within the system of sport and recreation provision amongst change agents that relates to roles and expectations towards other change agents as well as change agents' contrasting expectations of whether social inclusion can be achieved in partnership with other change agents. Change agents seem to disagree on whether sport and recreation participation in marginalised communities can in actual fact result in social inclusion. The analysis of the mood of the text (Table 6.7) emphasised the exclusionary nature of the sport and recreation provision system in marginalised communities as a difference can be seen between the mood of text between government and funding agencies as opposed to other change agents within the system. The use of questions by research and tertiary education institutions, FBOs, NGOs, volunteers and marginalised community members indicate a level of uncertainty in the solely positive role played by sport and

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recreation participation in marginalised communities. The degree of uncertainty (Table 6.8) as well as the polarity within the text (Table 6.10 and 6.12) relating to the effectiveness of sport and recreation participation towards achieving social inclusion varies and strongly indicates the existence of the *sport and recreation as solely beneficial discourse*. Despite the fact that change agents do express doubt in the system of sport and recreation provision and in the sole use of sport and recreation as tool to achieve social inclusion, all change agents do believe that sport and recreation is a positive and beneficial tool to use within marginalised communities.

Table 6.4 illustrates change agents' expectations towards other change agents in the system of sport and recreation provision. Expectations held towards other change agents can be used to identify non-transparent roles of change agents within the system. Contrasting expectations are observable, for example in national governments' expectation of NGOs it is expressed that NGOs are expected to submit an audited financial report whereas NGOs express the expectation that government funding should be more consistent as it is currently *"very ad hoc".* Funding agencies holds the expectation towards NGOs and volunteers that if they, as funders, equip NGOs with training and funding for projects that communities will be empowered, however, local NGOs express a dissatisfaction with funding agencies in that the expectation of funding agencies towards NGOs are very high in the absence of rewarding NGOs for the work that they do. An important contrast within expectations amongst change agents is the expectation held towards marginalised community participants. National government expects that marginalised community participants will learn how to make pro-active decisions through sport and recreation participation; NGOs expect marginalised community participants to participate in presented programs, however acknowledge that there are barriers to participation; volunteers expect marginalised community participants to participate in the presence of food or reward whereas marginalised communities express the expectation to be included in the system of service provision.

In Table 6.5 the text was analysed in order to explore change agents' perceptions relating to whether social inclusion can be achieved through sport and recreation in marginalised communities in partnership with other change agents. The National

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government are of the opinion that partnerships are indeed important in order to achieve social goals such as social inclusion, and identified partners that they view as important. Provincial departments, municipalities as well as the Confederation and Sport Federations are mentioned, however only one NGO was mentioned as an important partner and this is done in relation to HIV and AIDS awareness. Various change agents who form a crucial part of service provision are not mentioned and include research and tertiary education institutions (although mentioned in another context); NGOs; FBOs; volunteers and marginalised community participants. Local NGOs vehemently denies the possibility of working in partnership in the current service provision system as they experience a strong sense of exclusion: *"even though we're trying to include communities, we, ourselves, are actually excluded"*. Research and tertiary education institutions warn that partnerships with other change agents will have to be entered into with caution as ownership of data can be disputed.

The dichotomy in the roles or functions played as well as the expectations held by change agents illustrate that the current system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities are not cohesive and that roles and expectations are not expressed and communicated. In table 6.6 the analysis of the transitivity of the text specifies the types of processes by which change agents are constructed within the text.

Change agents mostly agreed on whether they perceive themselves and other change agents within the system of sport and recreation provision to promote sport as beneficial. An important exception was raised by an NGO in which the person stated that: *"I believe in sport and recreation and physical activity. But when we've had funders here for a few days they make it all seem trivial and worthless…"*. Funding organisations expressed their belief in the power of sport and recreation, and therefore in the discourse of *sport and recreation participation as solely beneficial*. In their relationship NGOs for which they provide the funding, the NGOs, however, expressed the perception that funders are in reality doubtful of whether sport and recreation can achieve social inclusion.

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6.2.3.3 Construction of and maintenance of current discursive practices in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities

Discourses comprise the underlying conditions that enable the roles and expectations of change agents to be interpreted as both meaningful and rational (Pederson, 2009). Social systems are unities that are identified by the way that members of that system describe the world and indeed by the way that the members themselves are described. Any social system therefore survives and reproduces discursively within the social environment that are mutually specified by the members of that system, and which are specified in the social domain of language (Graham & McKenna, 2000). Ideology is at its most powerful when it is invisible, when discourses have been naturalised and have become part of our everyday common sense (Janks, 2005). The combination of ideology and the naturalisation of identified discourses resulted in change agents using both the *marginalised community discourse* as well as the *sport and recreation participation as solely beneficial discourse* both consciously and unconsciously. The identified discourses constitute the identities and the construction of the world as perceived by change agents, merely by being available. The hybridity of the analysed text illustrated that different texts privilege different discourses which fun enable particular interests and directly influence the roles and expectations of change agents.

The analysis of the inter-textuality of the text indicated that the majority of change agents subscribe to the *sport and recreation as solely beneficial* discourse as they make use of either manifest or constitutive textuality (Table 6.20). An example of manifest inter-textuality is the use of Nelson Mandela's famous quote: *"Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else can. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair"* in the National Sport and Recreation Plan (SRSA, 2012). This quote seems to play a dominant role in change agents' believe in the power of sport and recreation as several change agents used this quote to illustrate that sport and recreation is beneficial. Change agents strongly believe in the power of sport and recreation but do however doubt the

current system from which sport and recreation is provided in marginalised communities. Table 6.16 provides a summary of barriers as identified by change agents.

Within the analysed text there is a great deal of hybridity in the lexicalisation (Janks, 2005) relating to community which confirms the context within which sport and recreation participation is used. Community as construct within the South-African context are portrayed as marginalised, disadvantaged, rural, township, excluded, squatter camps, and as poor (Table 6.17). In this portrayal of community, change agents designate marginalised communities to the role of the excluded, and as an entity that must be saved or regained. Community is constructed as a unity in which the excluded are grouped together. Burkett (2001) confirms that community is a paradoxical concept which is often portrayed as a dream state, however, it is clear from this study that working towards social inclusion is as much about difference as it is about unity (Liepins, 2000) making the version of community as expressed by change agents an unattainable dream. The existence of the *marginalised community discourse* is confirmed in the data analysis through the construction of change agents as well as through the exploration of how change agents perceive the concept of community within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. Polarisation within the text serves as further confirmation of the influence of the marginalised community discourse on the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community participants. This polarity is expressed by a marginalised community participant as: *They come on different days. We appreciate what they are doing for us''*. In interpreting this statement from a *marginalised community discourse* perspective 'they' refer to the change agents providing the sport and recreation opportunities and the pronouns 'we' and 'us' refer to the marginalised community.

6.2.3.4 Construction of notions of power in the relationship between change agents and marginalised communities pertaining to the provision of sport and recreation

The construction of notions of power in the relationship between change agents and marginalised community participants is evident from the analysis of narrative inclusion versus narrative exclusion through which change agents as well as marginalised

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communities are divided into either being socially included or socially excluded. Narrative inclusion and narrative exclusion represent the power differential that exists within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. The power relationship accepted amongst change agents relating to the perception of being socially included indicate that change agents in the position of power are excluding not only marginalised community participants, but also change agents who are reliant on funding and decisions made by those in power. Notions of power indirectly impacts on the roles and expectations of change agents and marginalised community participants as change agents who perceive themselves as powerless within the system tend to adapt to expectations held by change agents who are perceived to be in power. An interesting finding that came from the analysis was that even though NGOs perceive themselves to be socially included as service providers, they perceive themselves to be excluded from the system change agents involved in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 illustrate this phenomenon.
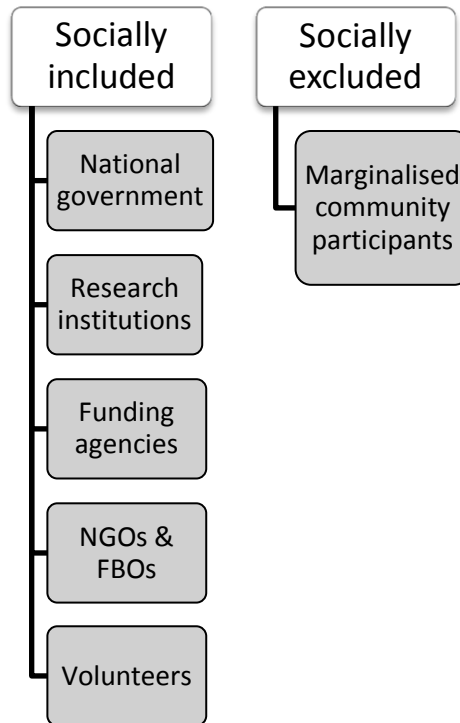
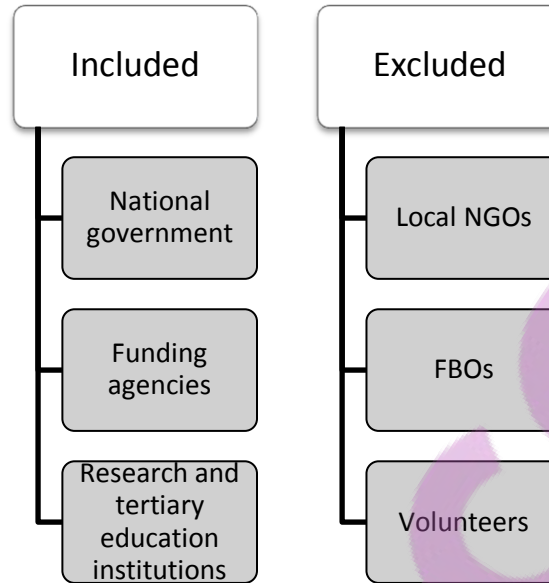Figure 6.2 Social inclusion versus social exclusion

Figure 6.3. Perception of inclusion within system of change agents providing sport and recreation opportunities

In a system working towards social inclusion as outcome of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities it is interesting to observe the exclusionary processes within the system of service provision with differences being set up through lexicalisation such as the use narrative inclusion and exclusion (Table 6.3); pronouns (Table 6.9) and polarity (Table 6.10).

Marginalised community participants are predominantly constructed in the text with the relational processes of 'being' and 'having', whereas change agents are constructed with very few relational processes (Janks, 2005). Change agents are constructed through mental, material and behavioural processes as dominant within the system of sport and recreation provision. The construction of change agents can further be illustrated through the use of active or passive voice. A summary of how change agents are positioned in the text are provided in Table 6.11 in which the same phenomenon as the division of included versus excluded change agents as illustrated in Figure 6.2 and 6.3 are evident.
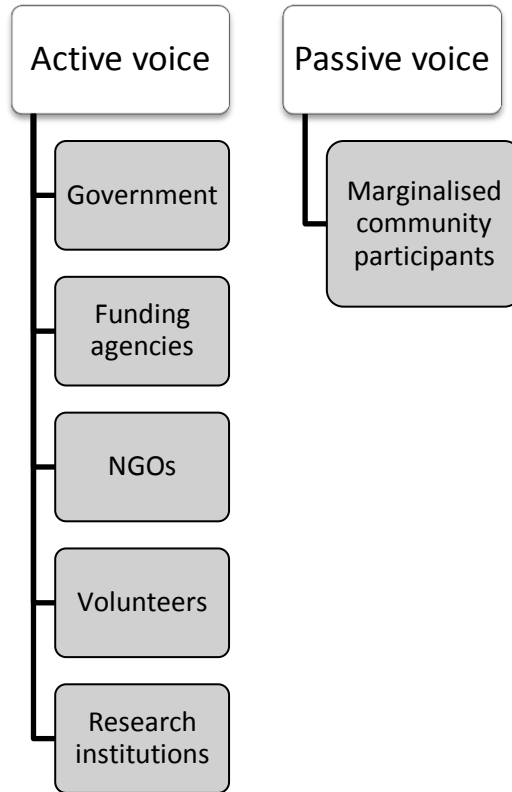
Figure 6.4 Construction of change agents through use of active and passive voice

Figure 6.5 Perception of change agents of position within the provision of sport and recreation system

6.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In this chapter results were presented as critical discourse analysis. From a systematic analysis of the data it became apparent that both the *marginalised community discourse* and the *sport and recreation as solely beneficial discourse* do indeed influence the roles and expectations of change agents within the system of sport and recreation provision as tool to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities. Despite the fact that change agents' transparent roles and expectations seem to portray a shared reality in terms of sport and recreation provision, the non-transparent roles and expectations as seen through the various dichotomies within the text demonstrated a lack of coherence in the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. This study will conclude in the following chapter with conclusions and recommendations for further study based on the critical discourse analysis as presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One it was posited that change agents in South-Africa who are involved in the provision of sport and recreation in marginalised communities share the belief that sport and recreation can provide a simple, linear solution to attain social inclusion. It was further postulated that even though change agents share the believe in the power of sport and recreation to achieve social inclusion the varying roles and expectations of change agents within this system currently result in a fragmented system of provision from which social inclusion cannot be achieved. The discrepancy between the proposed and actual roles and expectations held by change agents relating to social inclusion necessitates the deconstruction not only roles and expectations held by change agents, but also of the discourses that inform change agents' roles and expectation. The research question for this study was formulated as:

How does deconstructing the roles and expectations of change agents operating in marginalised communities facilitate social inclusion through sport and recreation?

Based upon the abovementioned research question, it was postulated that:

- Discrepancies exist between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities in the provision of sport and recreation as social inclusion intervention.
- Discourses construct and maintain current practices in the provision of sport and recreation as vehicle to improve social inclusion.

- Notions of power are constructed in the relationship between change agents and marginalised communities within the provision of sport and recreation as vehicle to social inclusion.

Postulations were confirmed and presented in the interpretation of results. Change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation as tool to attain social inclusion in marginalised communities were identified and included National government, Provincial government, local government, NGOs, FBOs, funding agencies, volunteers, research and tertiary education institutions as well as marginalised community participants. Critical Discourse Analysis was utilised as data analysis approach in which data from semi-structured interviews, participant observation and documentation were analysed and interpreted. *Atlas ti* was used as analytical software and provided a data trail resulting in increasing the reliability and validity of the analysis.

In Chapter One the objectives of the study were formulated as:

- To identify change agents in selected marginalised communities in South-Africa focusing on social inclusion through recreation and sport.
- To deconstruct transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities in the provision of sport and recreation as social inclusion intervention.
- To identify discrepancies between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities.
- To analyse how discourses construct and maintain current practices in the provision of sport and recreation as vehicle to improve social inclusion.
- To explore how change agents and marginalised communities construct notions of power in their relationship pertaining to the provision of sport and recreation.
- To contribute to social policy in order to address social exclusion of marginalised communities at its structural level.

Conclusions and recommendations will consequently be presented according to the above six objectives.

7.2 CONCLUSIONS

7.2.1 Overall Conclusion

Results of the study confirmed that discrepancies exist between transparent and non-transparent expectations held and roles played by change agents and marginalised community participants. Results further confirmed that the two identified discourses, namely the *marginalised community discourse* as well as the *sport and recreation as solely beneficial discourse* construct and maintain current practices, roles and expectations of change agents. The results also established that notions of power are constructed between change agents and marginalised communities within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities to attain social inclusion. Corroboration of abovementioned results is verified by the conclusions below.

7.2.2 Objective specific conclusion

Objective specific conclusions will be presented below according to the stated objectives of the study.

7.2.2.1 Change agents in selected marginalised communities in South Africa focusing on social inclusion through recreation and sport

Change agents identified in the study include:

- Government: national-; provincial and local level.
- Funding agencies.
- Research and tertiary education institutions.
- Non-governmental organisations.
- Faith-based organisations.
- Volunteers.
- Marginalised community members.

7.2.2.2 Transparent expectations held and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as social inclusion intervention

- National government perceives its role within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities to be that of facilitator, provider and regulator of opportunities and funding. It further emphasises its involvement in policy-making as it pertains to social inclusion.

- Provincial governments' roles are similar to that of national government with the difference that the focus is on the provision of facilities and the facilitation of programs on a provincial level. The role of provincial government includes policy-making based within the province are linked to expectations as set out by national government and consequently acts as link between national and local government. Provincial government are further responsible for implementing sustainable sport and recreation programs; supervising municipalities' offerings in terms of sport and recreation facilities and programs; supporting clubs, federations and sport councils and sport organisations through funding as well as commissioning research in order to evaluate the allocation of funding.

- As the lowest tier in government involved in sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities, local governments' roles are that of providing services and facilities; maintaining sport and recreation facilities and implementing projects within the local community.

- Funding agencies are perceived as an important change agent by government; research and tertiary education institutions; NGOs and volunteers. The roles of funding agencies include funding of identified sport and recreation programs; measurement and evaluation of program outcomes; training of volunteers; providing support to government, research and tertiary education institutions,

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volunteers and NGOs. Funders also play a role in the promotion of sport as tool that can facilitate social inclusion in society.

- NGOs perceive their role to be that of provider of sport and recreation opportunities and facilitator of communication between funding agencies, government and marginalised community participants. Even though they express recipient of funds as part of their role in the system it is also acknowledged that the role of receiver have to be extended to include that of fundraiser as funding from grants and funding organisations do not cover all costs incurred. The role of NGOs are not restricted to sport and recreation provision, but also include the role of informant within the marginalised community as it is recognised that information to the 'outside world' is a necessary part of social inclusion.

- FBOs admit that they use sport and recreation to bring people within marginalised communities together. They perceive their role to be that of provider of sport and recreation opportunities as well as linking marginalised communities to communities outside of the community.

- Volunteers expressed their role within the sport and recreation provision system as provider. Even though provider is a role shared by various change agents, volunteers see the service that they provide as crucial due to the fact that they directly work with marginalised community participants. Sustainability of sport and recreation opportunities therefore forms an integral part of the role that they play in facilitating social inclusion.

- Research and tertiary education institutions regard their role as a combination of provision and evaluation which ultimately result in influencing policy.

- Marginalised community participants identify the role that they play as that of participant in presented opportunities and recipient of what is presented. Marginalised community participants are the only change agent within the

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system that does not perceive themselves to be involved in provision of sport and recreation opportunities.

7.2.2.3 Discrepancies between transparent and non-transparent expectations held, and roles played by change agents and marginalised communities

- National government agrees with local government and funding agencies regarding transparent roles as perceived by them but express a greater need for funding agencies to support governments' development targets and to align funded programs with policy objectives. National government further emphasise the expectation that NGOs should focus on increasing participant numbers whilst ensuring that financial reports are audited. This is an example of a hidden expectation as it is expected that NGOs are active within the community to increase participant numbers whilst having the responsibility to submit audited financial reports. NGOs expressed the hidden expectation towards government and funding organisations of them taking on the administrative responsibility. NGOs do not shy away from being accountable, however, express the view that government and big organisations are better equipped to manage and pay for audited financial reports. National government agrees with marginalised community participants on their role of the participant and expect marginalised community participants to participate in provided sport and recreation opportunities as a way to achieve social inclusion.

- Local government expects NGOs to not only provide sport and recreation opportunities within marginalised communities, but also to stimulate excitement in communities for sport facilities. NGOs, however, expect local government to provide and maintain sport and recreation facilities but emphasise that they have learnt to expect that sport and recreation facilities in marginalised communities are often ill-maintained and unavailable to marginalised community participants.

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- Funding agencies agree with national and local governments' transparent roles and expectations. Their role as training provider is, however, negated by NGOs, volunteers and marginalised community members as it is expressed that funding organisations over-emphasise training and disregard funding people who implement their programs.

- Local NGOs disagree with the transparent roles stated by all levels of government. NGOs believe that government do not play an active role in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities apart from setting policy and frameworks. A hidden role of government as expressed by NGOs is that of planning with the expectation that planning will not go over to action. Local NGOs expect funding agencies to support their work within the community but state that the high expectations of funding organisation relating to administration and number of participants contradict itself.

- International NGOs do not agree with local NGOs and express the belief that it is possible to work with government and that expectations and roles of funding agencies, government and marginalised communities should just be aligned in order for the system to achieve social inclusion. They do however express that governments' expressed role of provision will not become a reality unless programs and departments are aligned.

- Research and tertiary education institutions agree with governments' expectation of researchers impacting on social policy. Although local NGOs express the view that research and tertiary education institutions' expectations of NGOs are to gather information in order to receive funding and to increase their status as researcher, research and tertiary education institutions express the expectation to learning from NGOs and perceive their role as being in partnership with NGOs.

- Marginalised community members perceive government to be unattainable. Expectations held by government of 'working for the people' are therefore negated by Marginalised community participants. Marginalised community participants also expose various hidden expectations that they perceive change agents have towards them, including expectations held by FBOs in terms of 'saving' communities as well as the exploitative role played by research and tertiary education institutions in utilising marginalised community members as research participants without effecting change.

- Contradictions exist in change agents' expectations of working in partnership as government and funding agencies expect that partnerships are feasible whereas NGOs, FBOs, volunteers, research and tertiary education institutions and marginalised communities do not perceive it as possible.

7.2.2.4 Construction and maintenance of current discursive practices in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities as vehicle to achieve social inclusion in marginalised communities

- Current discourses construct and maintain current practices within sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities as it both enables current rules and behaviour within the system of sport and recreation whilst disabling alternative courses of action.

- Current discourses are active in constructing ways of knowing through research studies in which results may be fragmented or based on a small sample, but which emphasise both the importance of community as well as the solely beneficial role played by sport and recreation.

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- The *marginalised community discourse* constitute a number of notions that directly influences the roles and actions of change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation to achieve social inclusion. This discourse constructs and maintains itself through its functionalist, neo-liberal approach which emphasises the important role of communitarianism and the active citizen. Actions taken by citizens to reach out to marginalised communities and offer their time, money and skill are lauded as desirable behaviour within society.

- Active citizens, as contributor to the marginalised community discourse, is an example of how discourses influence behaviour, as it is in actuality neo-liberalism and individualism being 'dressed up' as communitarianism. Through the discourse of marginalised community the active citizen is given the responsibility of trying to solve social problems through messages such as: *"we are imploring you to rise to the challenge by tackling all issues pertaining to…"* (see Table 6.3).

- Change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation in marginalised communities believe the function of sport and recreation to be contributing to social cohesion, social capital, social networking, citizenship and community capacity. This belief is transferred from international to governmental level to the level of change agents working within communities.

- Change agents distinguish themselves from what they portray as marginalised through the use of language and actions that are deemed appropriate within the system. The marginalised community discourse, however, functions to maintain the current status quo of marginalisation as it legitimises the roles and expectations of change agents within the system.

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- Belief in the *sport and recreation as solely positive discourse* is constructed and maintained through the use of language, for example through the use of modalities. It was shown in the results that the majority of change agents belief in the power of sport and recreation to achieve social inclusion (see Table 6.8). Discursive practices are maintained by unequal power relations within a system including the power of discourse, power of order and the power of objectification.

7.2.2.5 Construction of notions of power in the relationship between change agents and marginalised communities pertaining to the provision of sport and recreation

- Discourses are inherently an expression of power through the categorisation of hierarchical and subjective positions within a social system. The power of discourse maintains and constructs current relations of power as it sets the boundaries of what is possible and what is not. Relations of power is not always transparent but became visible through the deconstruction of roles and expectations held by change agents.

- Power is produced through the actions of people, and therefore through the roles that change agents play within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities. The power of order impact on efforts to achieve social inclusion as identified discourses reinforce the current social order whilst change agents are trying to achieve the contradictory outcome of social inclusion.

- The power of objectification also contributes to the maintenance of current notions of power in the relationships amongst change agents as it is the power to affect the behaviour of others. Within the current system NGOs, volunteers and marginalised community participants experience a sense of disempowerment as they are not included in decision-making; they are not included in information-sharing and they have to fulfil the expectations of government, research and

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tertiary education institutions and funding organisations in order to be involved in the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities.

- Power inherent in the relationship between change agents is evident in the use of language within the analysed text. Narrative inclusion and exclusion as well as the use of pronouns denote and maintain the power differential that exists within the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities.

- Transitivity in the text further emphasises the current power differential that exists in the relationship between change agents, and specifically towards marginalised community participants, as they are the only change agents using the relational process of 'being' and 'having' that indicates their perceived position within the system.

- The expectations held, and roles played by change agents indicate the current top-down power structure in place within the system of sport and recreation provision. Even though roles played by change agents may coincide, the way in which the roles and expectations are expressed and conceptualised clearly indicates the notion of power inherent in the relationship amongst change agents.

- Notions of power are also constructed in the use of active and passive voice as marginalised community participant positioned as recipients in this system perceive themselves passive within the text, thereby confirming their position.

- Barriers to achieving social inclusion were identified and included vague assumptions supporting the discourses, roles and expectations of social inclusion through sport and recreation; contradictory motivations, roles and expectations amongst change agents; a power differential; the over-simplification of the social inclusion process; a neo-liberal approach and justification of social inclusion; difficulties in measurement and evaluation; inappropriate outcome and impact

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focus; an unstructured approach to social inclusion; problems in collaboration between change agents; limited access to sport and recreation opportunities as well as barriers such as resource limitations. Barriers are, however, perceived to be due to external factors and not because of sport and recreation being anything but beneficial.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL POLICY RELATING TO SOCIAL INCLUSION

Consistent with the aims of the study the following recommendations regarding social policy are proposed to address the social exclusion of marginalised communities at a structural level:

- The role that change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation opportunities in marginalised communities play must be recognised in policy relating to social inclusion. The recognition of a limited number of change agents in policy efforts should be replaced by a more encompassing vision that takes into account the contributions of all change agents who interact with marginalised community members.

- Social inclusion as concept should be broken down into constituent domains in order to facilitate a movement from planning to implementation. Domains must be operationalised so as to interact with interventions across multiple levels of intervention. Single-strand policies will not facilitate social inclusion.

- In order for the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities to become less fragmented and more coherent change agents at all levels of service provision should be provided with meaningful information where they have the opportunity to be involved in decision-making as it relates to their work within the community. This will allow change agents to meaningfully and constructively address barriers within the system of sport and recreation provision.

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- The Sport and Recreation South-Africa Conference (SASRECON) should invite and involve all change agents involved in sport and recreation provision including change agents working to attain social inclusion in marginalised communities.

- Roles and expectations must be transparent and linked to the different levels of service provision. Change agents should be involved in discussions relating to roles played and expectations held in a safe environment in which change agents can spontaneously express their concerns. Policy should be informed by not only research and tertiary education institutions, but also by change agents who work directly with marginalised communities.

- Current policy enforces dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion through the use of language. Policy and documentation should be altered as to be inclusive of change agents working within the system as well as marginalised community participants participating in provided programs.

- Divisive features of neo-liberal society must be acknowledged in order to empower marginalised communities. Current sport and recreation opportunities associated with social inclusion emphasise individual responsibility resulting in an emphasis of an *us* versus *them* approach despite the proposed community based approach.

- Policy relating to social inclusion should embrace new and innovative suggestions that embrace a holistic approach to sport and recreation provision. Sport and recreation play an important role in facilitating social inclusion in marginalised communities, however, it must be recognised that a complex social problem such as social inclusion cannot be achieved by the linear solution of sport and recreation alone.

- Measurement and evaluation processes should shift focus from participant numbers to more inclusive evaluative measures.

- Policy should allow for multi-sectoral investment, grants and funding in order to enhance current stipends paid to volunteers from marginalised communities, as well as to allow NGOs to operate as professional organisations. This should facilitate the maintenance of quality programs and community involvement. Policy must ensure that interventions that are funded allocate a proportionate percentage to salaries.

7.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The findings of this study raised several questions regarding the system of sport and recreation provision in marginalised communities and presented the following opportunities for further research:

- Investigate how the sport and recreation provision system can be repositioned in order for change agents to effectively participate in decision-making and feedback.
- Explore how grants and funding can be monitored to prevent fragmentation of sport and recreation opportunities.
- Develop a toolkit in collaboration with change agents involved in sport and recreation provision that can assist in measurement and evaluation.
- Determine the effectiveness of constant training programs of change agents involved on community level service provision.
- Develop a communication tool that will assist in sharing information amongst change agents and facilitate the development of partnerships.

7.5 FINAL STUDY CONCLUSION

This study attempted to deconstruct roles and expectations as held by change agents involved in the provision of sport and recreation to attain social inclusion in marginalised communities and provided insight into the current sport and recreation provision system. It must be emphasised that this study did not attempt to deny the power of sport and recreation as tool to attain social inclusion in marginalised communities, but rather attempted to clarify the current process in order to facilitate optimal social inclusion.

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