Sport for Social Cohesion: Exploring Management and Impacts

by

Katherine Raw

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Abstract

Since the turn of the millennium, the field of sport for development (SFD) has observed an increasing number of organisations turning to sport as a means of addressing social development goals. As a result, there has also been an increase in academic interest into the management and outcomes of SFD. Despite this upsurge in research, few efforts have been made to examine SFD's capacity to impact cohesion even though evidence exists for SFD's programmatic focus on social cohesion. Consequently, initiatives aiming to develop social cohesion are some of the least understood and present a gap in the literature. Building upon previous SFD research and cohesion literature, this study aims to address this gap by exploring how The Huddle, an SFD initiative, may contribute to social cohesion outcomes among its multicultural youth participants in Melbourne, Australia.

The SFD context of the research project is a Melbourne-based initiative known as 'The Huddle'. Founded in partnership with two non-governmental organisations, the initiative aims to develop social cohesion among refugee and culturally and linguistically diverse youth. Over a two-year period, I conducted an ethnographic enquiry, interviewing the initiative's youth (n = 27), staff, stakeholders and volunteers (n = 27). Data were also collected in the form of 102 pages of research observations and reflexive journal entries and 133 organisational documents. Data analysis involved both inductive and deductive thematic coding methods facilitated by the NVivo 11 software program.

Findings indicated that The Huddle contributed to cohesion outcomes at the group level through enhancing youths' sense of belonging and social networks. However, these impacts were limited; as the initiative expanded into two additional locations, programming and social networks deteriorated. In addition, sociocultural boundaries restricted the initiative's capacity to promote cross-cultural learning. Therefore, while The Huddle helped

foster social cohesion at the group level, sociocultural and neoliberal assumptions restricted any outcomes beyond this.

Overall, this research helps to address the lack of empirical evidence at the intersection of SFD and social cohesion. In doing so, this study has extended knowledge of the management of SFD programming in the pursuit of cohesion outcomes. In addition, it has improved understanding around the scope and type of social cohesion outcomes that can be achieved through SFD programming. Further, findings have enhanced awareness of how the interpretation and application of cohesion in the context of an SFD initiative can influence outcomes, assisting in conceptualising social cohesion in the field of SFD.

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You're the best.

SPORT FOR SOCIAL COHESION

Declaration

This declaration is to certify that this work:

1. contains no material that has been accepted for the award to the candidate of any

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Full name: Katherine Raw

Signed: Khaw

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List of Abbreviations

ABS Australian Bureau of Statistics

AFL Australian Football League

CALD Culturally and linguistically diverse

IOR Inter-organisational relationship

M&E Monitoring and evaluation

NGO Non-governmental organisation

NMFC North Melbourne Football Club

NSO National sporting organisation

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

SFD Sport for development

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNRISD United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

VicHealth Victorian Health Promotion Foundation

Chapter One. Introduction

It has the power to inspire, the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sports can create hope, where there was once only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination. Sports is the game of lovers. (Mandela, 2011, p. 378)

1.1 Introduction

This research examines the management of a sport for development (SFD) initiative in association with the development of social cohesion outcomes among multicultural and refugee youth in Melbourne, Australia. This introductory chapter first establishes the background and context of this study by exploring migration trends and implications internationally and in the Australian context. Following this, the concept of SFD is introduced and then examined in relation to multicultural populations, social cohesion and the broader research field. The focus and rationale for this study is then established before outlining the research aim and questions that were used to guide the study. Finally, the longitudinal and ethnographic research design is discussed and an overview of the thesis structure is provided.

1.2 Research Background

1.2.1 International migration. Immigration occurs worldwide and continues to evolve in terms of its impact, scope and intricacy (United Nations [UN], 2017). A report on international migration published by the UN in 2017 indicated that the number of migrants worldwide reached 258 million, increasing from 173 million in 2000. Within this report, Australia's migration rates were the highest of all countries in the Oceania region (UN, 2017). Historically migration patterns

to Australia have fluctuated in response to various global events and, as such, the origins and ancestry of the nation's culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) migrant population have varied over time. For instance, following World War II, immigration patterns indicated that Australia's migrant population primarily originated from North Western and South Eastern European origins (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2013).

More recent trends have indicated that 28 per cent of Australia's population were born overseas, with migrants from China, India, the United Kingdom and New Zealand representing the largest proportion of the overseas-born population (J. Phillips & Simon-Davies, 2017). Victoria represents one of the nation's most multicultural states with 49 per cent of its population originating from CALD backgrounds; that is, they were born overseas or identify as CALD through having at least one parent born overseas (Victorian Multicultural Commission, 2016). This figure is reiterated among the state's youth population, with the second largest CALD representation in the country (30%, compared to 44% in New South Wales) (Multicultural Youth Advocacy Network, 2016). Overseas migration has long underpinned the nation's diverse social landscape and multicultural identity (Caperchione, Kolt, Tennent & Mummery, 2011). As a result, immigration and its associated issues (e.g., refugees, asylum seekers, migration processes and community cohesion) remain key priorities in both public and political arenas.

Within these arenas, there a number of policies, discourses and actions that have underpinned and influenced immigration and refugee resettlement in Australia, resulting in an complex socio-cultural landscape for migrants. For example, from the post-second world war era onward, there were a number of policies and actions that overtly encouraged cultural assimilation (Devetak, 2004). This underlying rhetoric is thought to underpin our national policy which seeks to deter refugees from migrating to Australia; which in turn, has resulted in the outsourcing of

immigration detention centres in overseas locations (e.g., Manus Island and Nauru) (Fleay & Hoffman, 2014). While this has been gradually subdued over time behind notions of integration and multiculturalism, the logic of expecting migrants and refugees to assimilate into Australian culture appears to remain the same today. Collectively, these political actions and philosophies are thought to position migrants and refugees as a source of potential societal division in Australia (Devetak, 2004).

Consequently, within this complex political and socio-cultural landscape, the experience of migrants may vary from one individual to the next and can be influenced by a range of factors, such as an individual's age at the time of migration, their gender, education level, country of origin, country of settlement and motivations for relocation (Ha & Lyras, 2013). In addition, if an individual or group relocates voluntarily for the purposes of work or study, they are more likely to have time to think about their choice and may have even previously visited their new host country (Ha & Lyras, 2013). In contrast, for those who relocate involuntarily, the initial process of migration may involve countries recently affected by war, civil unrest or political instability (UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2014). These types of circumstances have the potential to leave individuals subject to traumatic experiences, such as exposure to violence, loss of family or friends and hazardous escapes from their homes (Caperchione, Kolt & Mummery, 2009).

Following migration to a new country, CALD groups can also face a number of difficulties that leave them vulnerable in society. The challenges are often closely linked with the unique CALD experiences of migration and resettlement, with traumatic asylum seeker or refugee experiences potentially intensifying resettlement issues (O'Driscoll, Banting, Borkoles, Eime & Polman, 2014). Language barriers, adapting to a new host culture and balancing

traditional cultural beliefs with new local values are just some examples that can affect an individual's education, employment and access to community services (Multicultural Youth Advocacy Network, 2016). In addition to these challenges, CALD groups are reported to face increased instances of racism and social exclusion (Caperchione et al., 2011; Forrest & Dunn, 2013; Markus, 2017; Nathan et al., 2010). To address these types of resettlement issues, a range of initiatives focusing on CALD populations have been implemented in Australia (e.g., the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre, Adult Multicultural Education Services and the Multicultural Youth Advocacy Network). With the dual aim of minimising barriers and furthering positive social development, these initiatives typically employ a variety of strategies and services, including housing services, assistance with employment, education, mentoring programs, services through community centres and sporting programs. The following section examines how sporting programs in particular can contribute to social development outcomes.

1.2.2 Sport for development. In recent years, society has become increasingly aware of sport's capacity to foster a wide range of social and developmental goals. Consequently, sport has received increased attention from government agencies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), national sporting organisations (NSOs), sport practitioners and researchers both locally and internationally (Schulenkorf, Sherry & Rowe, 2016). In association with these groups, often referred to as SFD, there has been a proliferation of sport programs and activities that have been designed to deliver predominantly non-sport outcomes to individuals and their communities (Coalter, 2006). Scholars have offered a broad definition of these SFD programs, describing them as:

The use of sport to exert a positive influence on public health, the socialisation of children, youths and adults, the social inclusion of the disadvantaged, the economic

development of regions and states, and on fostering intercultural exchange and conflict resolution. (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011, p. 311)

The growing momentum around SFD appears to stem from sport's capacity to appeal to people across a multitude of cultural contexts and be used as a vehicle to target development goals (Darnell, 2012), such as addressing racism (Coalter, 2012), reducing unemployment and gang violence (Svensson, 2017a), promoting social inclusion (Forde, Lee, Mills & Frisby, 2015), increasing social capital (Spaaij, 2012b; Welty Peachey, Cohen, Borland & Lyras, 2011) and potentially fostering social cohesion (Coalter, 2010b; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; O'Driscoll et al., 2014; UN, 2003a). It is for reasons such as these that governments and advocacy groups are increasingly turning to sport as a social environment in which to foster community outcomes such as the settlement of young people from refugee backgrounds (Spaaij, 2015). The next section examines how these SFD programs engage CALD groups and their subsequent impact.

1.2.3 Sport for culturally and linguistically diverse populations. Through engaging CALD groups in physical activity and sport, SFD programs not only have the opportunity to promote the health and wellbeing of participants (Hamilton, Foster & Richards, 2016) but also have the capacity to play a substantial part in the social lives of young people. Whether through active participation or spectating, sport is something that many people use as a means of keeping busy and socialising (Spaaij, 2015). For individuals, it can provide opportunities to express physical actions, social identities and develop closeness to other people (Spaaij, 2015; Walseth, 2006). Beyond individual outcomes, sport has also been noted for its capacity to teach life lessons, values and build character (e.g., honesty, trust and integrity) (Coalter, 2012; President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, 2006). Further, sport and physical activity participation are accepted as having roles to play in preventing non-communicable diseases (I.-M. Lee et al., 2012)

and improving physical and mental health (Hamilton et al., 2016; Richards & Foster, 2013). Through appropriate partnerships and programming, SFD initiatives have the potential to enhance positive social outcomes as well as assist in alleviating challenges faced by the CALD population (Spaaij, 2015).

Despite the plethora of positive outcomes associated with participation in sport and physical activity, many barriers faced by the CALD community reduce the frequency of their participation (O'Driscoll et al., 2014; Spaaij, 2013). For this reason, physical activity rates among Australia's CALD population—both children and adults—are lower than they are among the broader population (ABS, 2006, 2008; Australian Sports Commission, 2015; Caperchione et al., 2009). Despite efforts to address this issue, certain subgroups in the CALD population display lower levels of participation in sport and physical activity, particularly women, those born in non-English-speaking countries or those with lower levels of education (ABS, 2006). The ABS conducted research into sport and physical activity participation rates among Australia's CALD population, with the latest report published in 2008. Results indicated that individuals from CALD backgrounds born in a primarily English-speaking country had higher participation rates (73%) than those born in a predominantly non–English-speaking country (52%) (ABS, 2008). Similar disparities have been documented between Australian-born women and CALD women born outside Australia, with CALD women being 20 per cent less likely to participate in sport and physical activity (ABS, 2006; Caperchione et al., 2011).

With Australia's CALD population encapsulating a variety of cultures and representing a large percentage of the population (28%) (J. Phillips & Simon-Davies, 2017), it can be difficult to determine physical activity reasons and patterns. However, researchers have investigated a number of different CALD community groups to help understand barriers and enabling factors

that may influence participation in sport and physical activity. Barriers for participation are thought to include language difficulties, socioeconomic factors and trauma related to migration (Caperchione et al., 2009; O'Driscoll et al., 2014). Cultural barriers can also influence whether people engage in physical activity. For instance, a lack of women-only activities or spaces can act as a barrier (Persson, Mahmud, Hansson & Strandberg, 2014; Södergren, Hylander, Törnkvist, Sundquist & Sundquist, 2008). In addition to these constraints, racism and discrimination (in both overt and more subtle forms) are also understood to be obstacles to sport and physical activity participation (Forrest & Dunn, 2013; Spaaij, 2013).

In contrast, the literature focusing on enabling factors has identified program elements that may encourage physical activity. For instance, by providing information in languages other than English, both cultural and language barriers can be addressed (B. J. Smith, Thomas & Batras, 2015). The scheduling of programs has also been found to be a factor that can facilitate participation. If scheduled appropriately, programs can reduce clashes with work or care-giving responsibilities (Södergren et al., 2008) and can enhance feelings of safety before and after activities (Caperchione et al., 2011). Providing safe environments during participation has also been highlighted in the literature as a key enabler (Caperchione et al., 2011). Spaaij (2013) reiterated this, suggesting that to facilitate participation, sporting environments need be safe, comfortable and culturally appropriate. Further, Spaaij (2013) also recommended that the process of settlement by CALD groups into these environments should be understood as a twoway process requiring mutual accommodation by both the host and CALD communities. While there is a broad assortment of factors that have the ability to influence participation (positively or negatively), these factors vary with age, gender and length of time spent in Australia (Spaaij, 2013; Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014). Through increasing understanding around barriers and

enabling factors for physical activity among CALD groups, sport initiatives have the potential to improve participation rates, thereby fostering a range of positive outcomes. The subsequent section now explores how sport might be used as a vehicle to enhance social cohesion.

1.2.4 Sport for social cohesion. As the awareness and popularity of SFD have grown among policymakers, parallels between SFD and policy goals have become more common (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). At the intersection of SFD and policy focusing on CALD populations, a number of themes occur. In addition to improving physical health, there is often a focus on social development outcomes, such as mobility, capital, inclusion cohesion. In a world facing growing rates of immigration, globalisation and refugees fleeing conflict and terrorism, it is no surprise that discussions around societal processes (such as social cohesion) have become commonplace (Jupp, Nieuwenhuysen & Dawson, 2007). Closely correlated with these discussions are concerns about potential threats and dangers to social cohesion (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne & Solomos, 2007). There appears to be a common belief that social cohesion in the current era, in comparison to other (usually unspecified) periods in history, is lacking (Forrest & Kearns, 2001).

Since the mid-1990s, a range of international policy-based initiatives have been developed to address these concerns (e.g., Council of Europe, 2005; Jenson, 2010; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2012; UN, 2015). Through many of these initiatives, sport has been highlighted as a means of promoting social cohesion (Coalter, 2010b; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; O'Driscoll et al., 2014; UN, 2003a). Specifically, in relation the Australian sporting system, a modest number of sport-based social cohesion programs have been developed and implemented. Examples of these include the 'Football United' initiative by the University of New South Wales (Richards, 2015) and 'The Huddle' by the North Melbourne Football Club (NMFC, 2016). While the bulk of the literature agrees that

these types of SFD programs have the potential to contribute to positive societal outcomes such as social cohesion, the evidence to support these affirmations is often lacking (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010).

Much of the information regarding SFD initiatives aiming to promote social cohesion has been published in non-academic literature, or so-called *grey literature*, particularly in reports developed for funders, stakeholders and the SFD programs themselves. For example, in 2001, a research report was published on the Australian Football League's (AFLs) 'Kickstart' program and its impacts. Adopting a primarily qualitative approach, the report indicated that the program assisted in increasing participants' confidence, sense of purpose, wellbeing, awareness of health issues, academic achievement and community cohesion. It also was reported to have reduced vandalism, substance abuse, antisocial behaviour and crime (Walker & Oxenham, 2001). However, in this instance, the term 'community cohesion' was used throughout the report in a manner that lacked formal definition. Further, the broad scope of impacts consistently reported across eight different communities could lead one to query how applicable the impacts were to each of the communities. Similarly, a report by the Department of Sport and Recreation Western Australia in 2006 aimed to explore sport and community cohesion. However, other than the title 'Sport and Community Cohesion in the 21st Century: Understanding Linkages Between Sport, Social Capital and the Community', the bulk of the report was centred on social capital. The report highlights ties between social capital and sport that was noted to have relevance in the context of promoting socially cohesive environments (Atherly, 2006). While this is not an improper approach to take, it does indicate the interchangeable and malleable nature of social cohesion. In 2007, the Institute of Community Cohesion developed a toolkit aimed at promoting the 'power of sport' in the cohesion agenda. Overall, from grassroots to elite sport, links were

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made between sport and its capacity to engage 'hard to reach groups', but 'less information was uncovered with regard to promoting sport as a tool for community cohesion' (Institute of Community Cohesion, 2007, p. 17). While the grey literature has attempted to demonstrate a relationship between social cohesion and sport, understanding of how this association might occur remains deficient.

Examinations of social cohesion and SFD have also been negligible in the academic literature. Among the limited body of research available, rather than specifically focusing on social cohesion, the majority of studies examine concepts, such as belonging, inclusion and social capital. That said, while reviewing the SFD literature, three publications were identified that aimed to explore the relationship between SFD and social cohesion more directly. The first publication took the form of a methodological proposal for future research. If the proposed research took place, it was anticipated to be the first of its kind in evaluating the impacts of an SFD initiative on social cohesion among communities with high levels of refugee settlement (Nathan et al., 2010). However, it is unclear whether this research took place given the absence of published journal articles or reports.

The second publication that explored the relationship between social cohesion and SFD took place in association with a South African initiative (Cubizolles, 2015). Results showed that rather than contributing to the SFD initiative's aim of social cohesion, the program reinforced sociocultural boundaries between participants, as teams were grouped by their nationalities. As a result, the initiative fostered notions of inequality, conflict between participant groups and was harmful to the development of social cohesion (Cubizolles, 2015). The third publication investigated a community sport initiative aiming to promote the development of social cohesion

among youth in an ethnically segregated area of England. However, the initiative was found to be unsuccessful, as youth removed themselves from the program (Meir & Fletcher, 2017).

Despite efforts to examine social cohesion in the SFD literature, few studies have managed to produce tangible results (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010).

B. Kidd (2011) hypothesised that the deficiency of research in this area might be because programs that 'follow an evidence-based logic model of development ... and social cohesion, with appropriate community engagement, monitoring and evaluation, constitute a tiny fraction of programmes overall, and an even smaller fraction of the billions spent on development' (p. 604). To compound this further, social cohesion presents as a concept that is difficult to both define and measure (Markus, 2015; Spoonley, Peace, Butcher & Neill, 2005; Triggs, 2014). In summary, SFD interventions aiming to enrich social cohesion are some of the least understood and hold the greatest scope for future research (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011). The following section examines the current research field.

1.2.5 The sport for development research field. Over the last decade, SFD's growth in programming has been paralleled by an increase in academic interest. Researchers across a wide variety of academic disciplines have undertaken theoretical and empirical investigations into SFD. While SFD programs and research focus on a range of desired outcomes, a variety of themes have been used to organise such work, including education, peace, disability, gender, health, livelihoods and social cohesion (Journal of Sport for Development, 2018; Schulenkorf et al., 2016). The extent to which each of these areas has been examined varies; for example, education is better represented in the literature than is gender, disability (Schulenkorf, et al., 2016) or social cohesion (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010). The locations and activities of these initiatives vary greatly. For instance, after examining 955 SFD organisations, Svensson (2017) concluded that the

majority of SFD organisations operate programs in Africa, but there were hundreds of other initiatives located across North America, Asia, Europe and Latin America. While a total of 32 sports were identified across these programs, one-third focused solely on soccer activities (Svensson, 2017a).

There are a number of research limitations associated with the field of SFD. An integrative literature review conducted by Schulenkorf, Sherry and Rowe (2016) indicated that the limitations most commonly reported by SFD researchers were methodological constraints, including restrictions in sample size or suitability and a lack of transferability to other initiatives or contexts. A study by O'Driscoll et al. (2014) examined sport participation among CALD populations and reiterated a lack of transferability, stating that the 'sheer nature of diversity among cultures and individual experiences makes research in this topic difficult. The context of each individual case varies considerably' (p. 516).

In addition to challenges related to transferability, SFD research often faces time constraints that affect its ability to demonstrate long-term impacts. However, there have been frequent appeals for more longitudinal research (see Camiré & Trudel, 2013; Conroy & Coatsworth, 2006; Harrist & Witt, 2012; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Mandic, Bengoechea, Stevens, Leon de la Barra & Skidmore, 2012; Moreau et al., 2014; Richards & Foster, 2013; Rookwood, 2013; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Sherry, Karg & O'May, 2011; Sherry & O'May, 2013; Vella, Oades & Crowe, 2013; Weiss, Stuntz, Bhalla, Bolter & Price, 2013; Welty Peachey et al., 2011; Zarret, Fay, Carrano, Phelps & Lerner, 2009). By increasing longitudinal enquiries into SFD, research can enhance the modest body of knowledge surrounding the long-term impacts of SFD (Coalter, 2010b; Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015) and the potential to assist in understanding the conditions that contribute to these effects (S. Kidd, 2007). It is for reasons

such as these that interventions aiming to enhance social cohesion hold some of the greatest opportunities for future research (B. Kidd, 2011). In part, this knowledge gap helped form the rationale and focus of this study. A more detailed explanation of this focus and rationale is provided in the following section.

1.3 Study Focus and Rationale

With a preliminary awareness of the aforementioned knowledge gap, an opportunity arose to examine a local SFD organisation, known as 'The Huddle', that targets social cohesion outcomes. This initiative has received substantial government and philanthropic financial support and has a broad reach in a highly multicultural region of Melbourne. During the early stages of this project, managers of The Huddle indicated an interest in exploring research possibilities that led to further investigation of The Huddle as a potential research for the present study. This resulted in a mutually beneficial research opportunity that formed the foundations of this PhD study. The focus of this research enquiry encompasses an SFD initiative based in Melbourne's inner north, known as The Huddle, that aims to engage with the local CALD population and promote social cohesion (see Chapter 3 for further details of this initiative and how it became a part of this research). The research aim was shaped in consultation with managers within the Huddle, resulting in a focus on exploring how an SFD initiative might contribute to social cohesion outcomes in a highly multicultural setting. The rationale behind the research focus is explored in the following two sections.

1.3.1 Theoretical justification. The theoretical rationale for this study is derived from a need to generate knowledge in the currently under-researched area that intersect between SFD and social cohesion (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010). To achieve this, the theoretical foundations of this research into social cohesion were drawn from a range of academic

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disciplines (e.g., sociology and psychology), with a focus on seminal work by Bernard (1999) and Jenson (1998). This work was used to address limitations associated with disciplinary boundaries that have isolated definitions and limited the extent to which the multidisciplinary nature of the concept of social cohesion could be understood (Bruhn, 2009). Further, a disconnect between academic research and policy considerations has been identified as a challenge in the area of social cohesion (Chan, To & Chan, 2006; Norton & de Haan, 2013; Rajulton, Ravanera & Beaujot, 2007). Consequently, these limitations are addressed through incorporating considerations from the grey literature as well as reviewing the literature from a range of other academic disciplines. As a result, this study draws on a cross-disciplinary theoretical foundation to enhance knowledge of social cohesion outcomes in association with SFD practice.

In addition, through examining a range of methodological limitations faced by many researchers, opportunities were identified to increase understanding in the field of SFD.

Specifically, this research was designed to deepen the quality of information derived through adopting a ethnographic research design (as recommended by Casey et al., 2013; Guest, 2013; Sherry & Strybosch, 2012; Siefken, Schofield & Schulenkorf, 2014; Ziakas & Costa, 2010) and a longitudinal approach (as suggested by Camiré & Trudel, 2013; Conroy & Coatsworth, 2006; Harrist & Witt, 2012; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Mandic et al., 2012; Moreau et al., 2014; Richards & Foster, 2013; Rookwood, 2013; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Sherry et al., 2011; Sherry & O'May, 2013; Vella et al., 2013; Weiss et al., 2013; Welty Peachey et al., 2011; Zarret et al., 2009). Therefore, this research offers methodological insights into the use of ethnographic and longitudinal approaches to researching SFD. In addition, this research provides understanding about the management of SFD initiatives over time and their associated impacts and participant experiences.

1.3.2 Practical justification. The present study also offers a number of practical contributions, the first of which relates to social cohesion, as it represents a key priority for governments both locally (Australian Government, 2015; Jupp et al., 2007; Markus, 2017; Triggs, 2014) and internationally (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; European Commission, 2001; Green, Preston & Sabates, 2003; van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014; OECD, 1997; UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1996). This prioritisation appears to have emerged in response to an apparent deficiency of cohesion in society (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Putnam, 2007) and a number of societal factors that threaten to diminish this further, such as migration (Bruhn, 2009; Jupp et al., 2007; Markus, 2017; van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Likewise, the SFD sector has observed an emphasis on social cohesion (e.g., Atherly, 2006; Coalter, 2010b, 2010a; Institute of Community Cohesion, 2007; Kremer-Sadlik & Kim, 2007; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Nathan et al., 2010; UN, 2003b, 2003a). As a result, a variety of governmental and NGO groups may benefit from extending knowledge around factors that may help foster or constrain the development of social cohesion. The next section examines the research aim and questions that were used to help guide this PhD study.

1.4 Research Aim and Questions

Overall, the aim of this thesis is to explore how The Huddle, an SFD initiative, may contribute to social cohesion outcomes among its CALD and refugee youth participants in Melbourne, Australia. Three research questions were developed to guide this study towards achieving its research aim and addressing the relevant literature gaps. While a small number of researchers have attempted to explore social cohesion in the context of SFD, few academic studies have produced empirical results (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010). Consequently, research opportunities exist to increase understanding around the management of

SFD in the pursuit of social cohesion outcomes and improving knowledge of the social cohesion outcomes that can be realistically achieved through SFD. The first and second research questions were developed to target this knowledge gap:

- 1. How was The Huddle managed in the delivery of SFD programming?
- 2. What perceived outcomes do youth participants report in association with their engagement with The Huddle?

While previous research has explored socio-environmental factors in relation to traditional forms of sport and team or task cohesion (e.g., Morela et al., 2013; Onağ & Tepeci, 2014), limited understanding exists around how SFD might be able to assist in promoting social cohesion (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010). More broadly, the SFD discourse has indicated that more research is needed to understand how conditions in initiatives assist in leveraging and achieving program outcomes (Coalter, 2010b; Hancock, Lyras & Jae-Pil, 2013; Welty Peachey et al., 2015). Instead of attributing positive impacts to 'sport's almost magical properties' (Coalter, 2010b, p. 311), researchers should instead develop an understanding of the social processes and mechanisms that might play a part in achieving these desired impacts (Coalter, 2010b; Pawson, 2006). The third research question was developed with the intent of increasing theoretical and practical knowledge of how SFD program management and impacts might be able to foster social cohesion:

3. How do findings in relation to questions one and two align with The Huddle's aim of social cohesion?

With little research published around the nexus of SFD and social cohesion, a detailed representation of participant experiences, program management, design and conditions was an important component of this research. Hence, a qualitative methodology with reference to an

interpretivist paradigm was deemed most the appropriate approach for this research. The research aim and questions were developed in light of the established SFD literature with the intent of qualitative exploration and description rather than quantitative testing or measurement. The research design employed in this study is outlined in the following section of this chapter.

1.5 Research Design

A core aim of the research was to undertake an in-depth examination of social cohesion in association with an SFD initiative. This research focus emerged as a result of two relatively concurrent occurrences. First, the identification of a lack of knowledge around social cohesion and SFD and second, The Huddle's self nomination as an SFD initiative that was willing to be a part of a research project. Due to the multifaceted nature of both the research problem and research context, a range of cross-disciplinary theories associated with SFD and social cohesion were used throughout this study. My personal philosophical positioning in relation to this study also provided a framework throughout the research process. Specifically, a constructivist—interpretive paradigm underpinned the nature of the realities examined and supported the generation of patterns and meanings derived from the data (Creswell, 2014).

Given the various intricate understandings and applications associated with social cohesion and SFD, a longitudinal ethnographic approach was deemed the most appropriate research design for this study. Although only accounting for a relatively small portion of SFD research approaches, scholars have encouraged the use of ethnographic enquiries (Casey et al., 2013; Guest, 2013; Sherry & Strybosch, 2012; Siefken et al., 2014; Ziakas & Costa, 2010) and longitudinal approaches (Bullough, Davies & Barrett, 2015; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Moreau et al., 2014; Sherry et al., 2011; Sherry & O'May, 2013; Welty Peachey et al., 2011). Alongside the use of longitudinal and ethnographic methods, an iterative research approach was

taken. This particular decision was made in response to the recommendations made by SFD researchers who highlighted the importance of clearly identifying objectives associated with methodologies (Hancock et al., 2013; Levermore, 2011a) while maintaining the ability to adjust to program needs (Levermore, 2011b; Nathan et al., 2010, 2013).

Overall, I was embedded in the initiative, part-time, for a period of two years (April 2015–May 2017). Initially, data collection occurred through research observations and reflexive journalling, as I was situated in the office and watched program delivery in the field. During this preliminary phase, reflexive journalling was particularly valuable, as it helped to account for my role and positioning in this inquiry (Yin, 2014). Given the ethnographic nature of the research, first-person language has been used throughout this thesis when presenting content that relates to my own worldview, observations and actions as a researcher.

Following this phase, staff who accompanied me as participants were informed of the research and official documents were provided confirming the research purpose and ethical approval. In total, there were three phases of semi-structured interviews that occurred alongside ongoing research observations, reflexive journalling, fieldwork and document analysis. The first phase of semi-structured interviews occurred with staff, stakeholders and volunteers of The Huddle. This was followed by a second phase of semi-structured interviews with youth participants of The Huddle. Finally, a third phase of follow-up interviews was completed with all participant groups. In total, 102 pages of research observations and reflexive notes were made, 72 semi-structured interviews with 54 participants (27 youth and 27 staff, stakeholders and volunteers) were conducted and 133 organisational documents from The Huddle were compiled. Data were examined using a combination of inductive and deductive coding procedures through the use of NVivo 11 software. The findings and discussion have been framed around the three

research questions, forming the basis for the chapter structure developed, as outlined in the following section.

1.6 Thesis Overview

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the research background, study focus and rationale, as well as the research aims and questions. Following this, Chapter 2 explores the theories and critically examines SFD, social cohesion and associated concepts in greater detail. Chapter 3 then describes the research design and methods employed in this PhD study, focusing on an ethnographic and longitudinal approach. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the findings and discussion addressing each of the three research questions, focusing on The Huddle's program management (see Chapter 4), program impacts (see Chapter 5) and contributions to social cohesion (see Chapter 6). Finally, Chapter 7 presents a summary of the research findings as well as the practical, methodological and theoretical contributions of this research before concluding statements are made. To summarise, the order of these seven chapters are as follows:

- Chapter 1. Introduction
- Chapter 2. Literature Review
- Chapter 3. Methodology
- Chapter 4. Management of The Huddle's Programming
- Chapter 5. Impacts of The Huddle's Programming
- Chapter 6. The Huddle and Social Cohesion
- Chapter 7. Conclusion

1.7 Summary

In Chapter 1, an overview of this thesis was provided, with a focus on establishing the research background as well as the overarching aim and three research questions that were developed to help guide this study. In addition, the theoretical and practical justifications for this research have been discussed before introducing the ethnographic and longitudinal research approach. Finally, the thesis structure was outlined. Chapter 2 now turns to present a review of SFD, social cohesion and the associated literature that has formed the theoretical foundations of this study.

Chapter Two. Literature Review

Can citizens' identities be both varied and multiple, without threatening social cohesion, or is adherence to a single national vision necessary? (Jenson, 1998,

p. 36)

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter of this thesis established the background information for this research, explained the research focus and rationale, presented the research aim and questions and outlined the ethnographic and longitudinal research design adopted in the present study. Building on this, in Chapter 2 a range of literature is reviewed and the theoretical foundations of this study are established. Specifically, the SFD literature has been examined and provides insights into the origins, evolution and management of SFD, both theoretically and practically. In addition, the social cohesion literature has been reviewed from a range of academic disciplines and policy discourses. Further, social capital and social inclusion are also examined in relation to cohesion, as the literature frequently demonstrates links between the three concepts.

2.2 Sport for Development

2.2.1 Origins and evolution.

Historically, the use of sport as a means for achieving development outcomes can be traced back to the use of informal sport-based programming by humanitarian agencies in international development work throughout the mid-1900s (Kidd, 2008). Over time, more structured forms of programming emerged, and the prevalence of organisations dedicated to SFD grew (Svensson & Seifried, 2017). A number of UN policy announcements at the turn of the millennium played a significant role in fueling this growth of sport for development. For

instance, in 2001, the UN officially recognised sport's capacity to act as a mechanism through which community, national and global developmental goals could be fostered (Beutler, 2008). Following this recognition, a 2003 report by the UN functioned as a key catalyst behind the SFD movement. This report highlighted the role of sport in relation to achieving its millennium development goals, stating that:

Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or 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 and how to manage victory, as well as defeat. (UN, 2003a, p. v)

Within the 2003 report, the priority development goals included improvements to social cohesion, gender and social equality, intercultural dialogue, reconciling groups, personal development and economic development (UN, 2003b). The UN's efforts to promote sport were amplified again in 2005 with the International Year for Sport and Physical Education (Beutler, 2008; Coalter, 2010b; B. Kidd, 2008; Parnes & Hashemi, 2007; Spaaij, 2009). Closely linked to the increase in momentum around SFD was the establishment of one of SFD's earliest and most recognisable organisations, 'Right to Play'. Initially founded in 1994 as 'Olympic Aid' in association with the International Olympic Committee and then later renamed (Coalter, 2010a; B. Kidd, 2008), Right to Play remains one of the more prominent SFD programs. With developmental professionals and volunteers in over 20 countries, the initiative aims to 'use play to educate and empower children and youth to overcome the effects of poverty, conflict and disease in disadvantaged communities' (Right to Play, 2016, para. 3).

Given the collaborative roots of SFD, it is no surprise that as the field has matured, there has been a plethora of stakeholders and organisations becoming increasingly involved in supporting and delivering initiatives (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). In doing so, SFD initiatives and organisations function across a number of sectors, including governmental (e.g., the Commonwealth Youth Sport for Development and Peace Working Group), NGO or not-for-profit organisations (e.g., NGOs involved with SFD projects such as Street Football World), private sector institutions and donors (e.g., large organisations that fund SFD activity such as Vodafone) and campaign groups and social movements (e.g., sport-focused NGOs or campaign movements such as the Australian 'Racism. It Stops with Me' campaign) (Guillanoti, 2014). Researchers suggest that these collaborative IORs have developed in response to limited funding opportunities that have left many organisations vulnerable (Balduck, Lucidarme, Marlier & Willem, 2015; Giulianotti, 2011b; Jones, Edwards, Bocarro, Bunds & Smith, 2017). It is for this reason that many SFD initiatives often search for opportunities to collaborate with others to draw on potential resources available through IORs.

2.2.2 Inter-organisational relationships and hybridity. IORs offer SFD initiatives opportunities for greater resourcing, assistance in program design and delivery and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) (Kay, 2012; Sherry & Schulenkorf, 2016; Welty Peachey et al., 2017; Welty Peachey & Cohen, 2016). In addition, SFD partnerships play a vital role in local capacity building (M. B. Edwards, 2015) and fostering program sustainability (Svensson & Hambrick, 2016). Further, IORs are thought to enhance an SFD organisation's capacity to address societal issues and achieve goals that would otherwise be unattainable as a sole entity (Welty Peachey et al., 2017; Woodland & Hutton, 2012). As a result, various forms of IORs and hybrid organisations have emerged in response to opportunities for organisations and stakeholder groups to work together to

achieve community development outcomes through sport (Svensson & Seifried, 2017). These organisational arrangements have resulted in a variety of institutional forms and practices that challenge traditional organisational structures and enable the coexistence of values and paradigms from multiple sectoral logics (Doherty, Haugh & Lyon, 2014).

When comparing the efforts and prevalence of programs in various organisational sectors, NGOs play a major part in SFD efforts. Among these NGOs, a variety of multifaceted outcomes are targeted through the use of sport, including education and youth development (e.g., 'Magic Bus'), peace building (e.g., 'PeacePlayers International'), disaster response (e.g., 'Pl4y International'), economic development (e.g., 'Alive and Kicking'), social inclusion (e.g., 'PlayAble'), social equality (e.g., 'Moving the Goal Posts') and health education and promotion (e.g., 'Kicking AIDs Out'). In addition to NGOs, NSOs and professional sport teams have also become increasingly invested in sport participation with social development goals (Rowe, Karg & Sherry, 2018). For instance, Australian NSOs have implemented multiple SFD initiatives across 18 countries in the Asia–Pacific region (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018). Within Australia, NSOs are also involved in the delivery of SFD programs, examples of which include the 'Learn Earn Legend' program with Tennis Australia, 'One Netball' strategy with Netball Australia and 'Rugby Connect' with Australian Rugby (see Appendix A for further detail about these programs).

Insights into these professional sport contexts and SFD are of particular relevance to this research. This is because The Huddle, as the research site for the study, was first developed and established in part by a professional AFL team known as the NMFC. Rowe and colleagues (2018) examined the community-focused activities of 70 professional sport teams. The authors

proposed the term *community-oriented practice* as a means of capturing the hybrid nature of the community-focused work of professional sport teams, offering the following working definition:

The range of discretionary and externally-focused activities delivered by (or in partnership with) professional sport teams that have specific, targeted, positive impacts on community stakeholders. Such benefits may span, but are not limited to, the focus areas of education, health, social cohesion, disability, gender, livelihoods, peace and sport participation. (Rowe et al., 2018, p. 14)

Through this work, the authors found that these professional sport teams often provided funding support, offered their brand or image to a cause or program and delivered programs (Rowe at al., 2018). Through these community-focused activities, professional sport teams are thought to be searching for ways to engage with community stakeholders while simultaneously giving back to communities and contributing to social development agendas (Hamil & Morrow, 2011; Lacey & Kennett-Hensel, 2016).

However, navigating such complex organisational structures and varying goals can be challenging for SFD initiatives. For instance, SFD initiatives can be challenged by the need to respond to multiple institutional priorities and logics. For example, despite being founded on social development missions, many non-profit organisations are involved in IORs in which there is an increased expectation to be more business-like (Dees & Anderson, 2017). For some, acclimatising to these business logics is a necessity that offers a more sustainable future. For others, such business logics are too focused on financial priorities and counteract the social development logics and practices that inherently underpin community development (Dees & Anderson, 2017). If managed ineffectively, these hybrid structures can result in tensions that impact organisational activities, workforce composition, organisational design and culture

(Svensson & Seifried, 2017). In addition, these IORs can challenge SFD initiatives with implementation issues, competition for resources, power imbalances and mission drift (Welty Peachey et al., 2017). Similarly, M&E efforts are not immune to the influence of IORs. In particular, the pressure to secure funding has caused some SFD practitioners to view M&E as a means to justify agendas rather than a means of encouraging participant input and assisting program development (Coalter, 2010b). Navigating such organisational environments is becoming increasingly complicated for SFD leaders (Giulianotti, 2011b).

SFD research offers insights into the strategies that initiatives can employ to effectively manage IORs, including maintaining a focus on core missions, starting small before diversifying or upscaling, communicating benefits to partners and involving partners while also treating the arrangement as a business relationship (Welty Peachey et al., 2017). Further, if managed appropriately, these IORs not only have the ability to improve SFD effectiveness and sustainability, but can also be navigated and leveraged in a way that facilitates opportunities and development pathways for participants (Schulenkorf, 2012; Svensson, Hancock & Hums, 2016). In addition, relevant and appropriate M&E of program impacts should be integrated into programs as a means of program development rather than simply justifying agendas for IORs (Coalter, 2010b; B. Kidd, 2011; Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008; UN Development Programme [UNDP], 2009). While it is important to acknowledge that one size does not necessarily fit all, these strategies can be adapted and customised to the majority of SFD initiatives to, ideally, enhance their chances of promoting positive outcomes. Given that there were multiple IORs associated with The Huddle over the course of this research, management of these collaborative arrangements presented as a potential issue to consider.

2.2.3 Managing sport for development. In addition to IORs, the management and delivery of SFD programming can have a significant impact on outcomes and, as such, it is important to recognise that positive impacts are not always guaranteed (D Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group Secretariat [SDPIWG], 2007). It is for this reason that SFD researchers have developed a range of approaches to managing SFD programming. For instance, promoting local program ownership has been a fundamental recommendation in the SFD literature that has been reinforced by numerous authors (Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008; Spaaij, 2009, 2012b; Vail, 2007). It has been suggested that this can be achieved through the support of relevant (potentially non-sporting) initiatives and networks (B. Kidd, 2011; Skinner et al., 2008) that promote staff education and local capacity building (M. B. Edwards, 2015). The primary rationale behind this suggestion has been to encourage SFD practitioners' awareness of local contexts, needs and opinions while reducing potential colonialist views and practices (Darnell, 2013; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Skinner et al., 2008). In doing so, management responsibilities and power should be moved away from external or non-local SFD stakeholders and instead shifted towards local communities as a means of empowering them as independent owners of programs (M. B. Edwards, 2015; Schulenkorf, 2010b, 2012, 2016).

Alongside these recommendations, scholars have warned that if local input is disregarded in favour of top–down management, programs can become irrelevant, impacting the quality of outcomes that may (or may not) eventuate (B. Kidd, 2011). As such, SFD programs with informal structures and minimal strategic direction have also been criticised (Beutler, 2008; B. Kidd, 2008; UN, 2003a), as these arrangements can lead to unwanted outcomes. Further, if undeterred, such unwanted outcomes can progress to the point at which programs become

counteractive to their original purpose. For example, an investigation into an Australian community sport club that aimed to contribute to the social inclusion of Muslim women found that some culturally sensitive practices that intended to promote inclusion resulted in the social exclusion of non-Muslim women (Maxwell, Foley, Taylor & Burton, 2013).

The SFD literature has also highlighted the importance of appropriate physical and social environments in which programs take place. For instance, the location must enhance participants' feelings of safety, enjoyment and personal value (Anaza & McDowell, 2013; Caperchione, Kolt, & Mummery, 2013; B. Kidd, 2011), as well promote social connections, personal empowerment and hope (B. Kidd, 2011). In addition, research focusing on refugees has recommended that settlement must be 'understood as a two-way process of mutual accommodation requiring adaptation on the part of both the migrant and the host society' (Spaaij, 2013, p. 29). Further, for SFD initiatives to enhance inter-group relations between those of a different cultural background, cooperation, equal status, contact and engagement between groups must be a priority (Schulenkorf, Sugden & Sugden, 2016). Therefore, it is vital to be aware of sport's sociocultural boundaries, as it has the potential to discriminate, 'be racist, divisive, and can breed intolerance and misunderstanding' (SDPIWG, 2007, p. 12). Spaaij (2012a) highlighted that the role sport can play in developing social outcomes should be neither exaggerated nor over-generalised. The author's research into Somalis' sport experiences in Australia acknowledged the potential for sport to contribute to discrimination and aggression, reinforcing group boundaries outside sport.

These social paradoxes surrounding sport lay the foundation for many of the debates that concentrate on the causal mechanisms behind SFD. Although sport can contribute to a range of positive outcomes, some have argued that the specific physical act of sport participation may not

necessarily enrich positive development. To explain, some scholars reason that SFD program outcomes may be more heavily influenced by the psychosocial experiences and contexts surrounding sport rather than the physical action of participating in sport (Carreres-Ponsoda, Escartí, Cortell-Tormo, Fuster-Lloret & Andreu-Cabrera, 2012; B. Kidd, 2011). As noted in Chapter 1, while researchers have examined socio-environmental factors that contribute to team cohesion in traditional sport contexts (e.g., Morela et al., 2013; Onağ & Tepeci, 2014), SFD scholars have suggested that more research is needed to better understand how initiatives foster social development outcomes (Coalter, 2010b; Hancock, Lyras & Jae-Pil, 2013; Welty Peachey et al., 2015). The following section now explores the theoretical foundations of SFD research.

- 2.2.4 Theoretical underpinnings. From a theoretical perspective, SFD models and theories seek to understand and explain how sport can be used in efforts to develop individuals, groups, neighbourhoods and society as a whole (Bowers & Green, 2016). One of the more well-known SFD theories is a classification system developed by Coalter (2006) that describes three groups into which programs can be divided: 'plus sport', 'sport' and 'sport plus' (see Figure 2.1). While in reality these programs exist on a continuum, this system categorises initiatives based on their emphasis on sport or developmental outcomes:
 - Plus sport, in which sport is used in a supplementary manner to developmental
 initiatives to attract youth to the program, with a minimal focus on systematic sport
 development.
 - Sport, in its traditional form, with the assumed notion that sport has fundamental development properties for participants.
 - *Sport plus*, in which sports are adjusted (and at times conducted in parallel with other programs) to achieve broader developmental goals (Coalter, 2006).



Figure 2.1. Plus sport, sport and sport plus.

Note. Adapted from *Sport In-Development: A monitoring and Evaluation Manual* (pp. 1–2), by F. Coalter, 2006.

Green (2008) also developed a categorisation system for SFD initiatives encapsulating three categories: 'sport for social inclusion', 'sport as a diversion' and 'sport as a hook'. 'Sport for social inclusion' initiatives are most commonly targeted at providing access to sport (and its associated benefits) to individuals who lack access to sport programs. Initiatives that adopt 'sport as a diversion' largely offer access to programs as a means of substituting antisocial behaviours (Green, 2008). 'Sport as a hook' initiatives tend to use sport to attract participants but aim to then provide benefits and services beyond sport, such as tutoring and educational support. In this instance, sport is secondary with the broader developmental goals acting as the priority (Bowers, Chalip & Green, 2010; Green, 2008). Out of these two classification systems, the SFD initiative of focus for this PhD study initially aligned with the 'plus sport' and 'sport for inclusion' categories. However, this changed over time, as the initiative would eventually evolve to use a 'sport as a hook' approach to SFD (see Chapter 4).

Beyond classifying SFD programs as a whole, some SFD researchers have developed methods of examining specific elements in programs. Coalter (2006) encouraged the use a system called the 'logic model' in the SFD sector. Originally pioneered by Chen (1994) and Weiss (1995), the model was adapted by Coalter (2006) with the intent of illustrating the presumed relationships between programs, activities, outputs and outcomes. Through the use of this model, it is thought that programs can demonstrate the nature of presumed correlations between elements of initiatives and outcomes, provide an initial frame of reference for

monitoring and evaluation and give a preliminary basis for identifying program conditions and structures (Coalter, 2006). The Coalter (2006) model was adapted in Figure 2.2 to give an example of how this model works. Further, this model was also adapted for use in relation to The Huddle in Chapter 3.

Aims and Objectives	Inputs 1	Inputs 2 → Outputs 1	Outputs 2	Sporting Inclusion	Sporting Outcomes	Individual Outcomes 1	Individual Outcomes 2
Philosophy	Resources	Developing People	Programs	Participants	Sport	Personal Development	Knowledge Behaviour
Sporting aims and objectives Non-sport aims and objectives Targets	Equip/facilities Transport Links to community Environme ntal factors Sporting infrastructure School/out-of-school	Peer leaders/coa ches/educat ors Training: Content, quality, theory Clear aims/object ives Gender	Theory? Integrated/didactic Medical/m oral Sport for all/talent dev Leader/pup il ratio Participant involvemen t Incentives	Target groups Gender Frequency Substantial teams Non-participants Beyond programs	 Physical literacy Sporting skills Rules Talent dev Physical self-efficacy Inclusivity gender 	Self-esteem Social efficacy Gender rels. Education Citizenship Behaviour Leadership Social capital	Health knowledge Health behaviours

Figure 2.2. Sport in development programs: A logic model.

Note. Adapted from Sport In-Development: A Monitoring and Evaluation Manual (p. 32), by F. Coalter, 2006.

In addition to this model, Sugden's (2014) 'ripple effect' model helped inform the theoretical foundations of this PhD study. This model was developed based on the idea that SFD programs have the potential to impact individual program participants as well as groups, communities and societies. Within the centre of the model lies a community intervention from which a number of 'ripples' dissipate. Each ripple represents a different entity that may or may not be impacted by the influence of the intervention at the centre. Sugden (2014) hypothesised that program impacts are more likely to be felt and measured at the centre of this model and that this impact would dissipate as it moves toward the entities located outside the model. This has been visually represented in Figure 2.3.

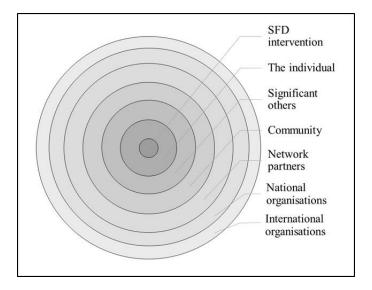


Figure 2.3. The ripple effect model.

Note. Adapted from *The Ripple Effect: Critical Pragmatism, Conflict Resolution and Peace Building Through Sport in Deeply Divided Societies* (p. 92), by J. Sugden, 2014, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Collectively, these SFD frameworks have contributed to the theoretical foundations of this study. Specfically, Coalter's (2006) and Green's (2008) classification systems have provided typologies and definitions from which to interpret The Huddle's SFD model and evolutions over time. In addition, Coalter's (2006) logic model has functioned as a framework from which The Huddle's structures could be examined and data analysis procedures could be enhanced (see Chapter 3 for further details). Finally, Sugden's (2014) 'ripple effect' model offers a theoretical lens through which to examine the scope of program impacts. The following section now turns to review the literature focusing on social cohesion, as this was the core mission for The Huddle. As such, theory from a range of academic and non-academic disciplines have been examined to explore what the concept might have meant to the SFD initiative, its programs and participants.

2.3 Social Cohesion and Associated Concepts

In a similar manner to that of SFD, social cohesion has been theoretically linked to a range of academic disciplines and policy discourses. Although a broad variety of interpretations and definitions exist, they generally have three elements in common: the perception that social cohesion involves shared values and vision, that it is a property of a community or group and that it is an ongoing process, not an outcome (Markus, 2017). While social cohesion can be considered in isolation, it is a dynamic process that can be better understood in association with its relevant concepts. Hence, this thesis has drawn upon the literature from a range of academic disciplines as well as information derived from policy discourse to examine social cohesion. Within these sources, a series of concepts have been linked and discussed in relation to social cohesion. Two key concepts that have been theoretically linked with social cohesion by a number of authors are 1) social capital (e.g., Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; Bruhn, 2009; Cabras & Mount, 2017; Cheong et al., 2007; Dayton-Johnson, 2003; R. Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Jeannotte, 2003; Jenson, 1998, 2010; Letki, 2008; OECD, 2012; Oxoby, 2009) and 2) social inclusion (e.g., Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; Jenson, 1998, 2010; OECD, 2012; Oxoby, 2009; Soroka, Johnston & Banting, 2006; van Staveren & Pervaiz, 2017). While a range of other social concepts and indicators have been explored in association with social cohesion (e.g., social mobility, civic engagement and shared values), these two are some of the most commonly investigated. As such, these concepts will be the point of focus for this section.

When examining social capital relative to social cohesion, a number of variances become apparent. In broad terms, social capital is predominantly centred on the individual and group levels, whereas social cohesion encompasses a view of society that is more holistic (Chan et al., 2006). To differentiate between these two concepts more specifically, social capital can be

considered individual attempts to foster cooperation with others via time, effort or consumption, whereas social cohesion can be considered a trait of communities or groups that varies according to the accumulated quality of social capital (Dayton-Johnson, 2003; Oxoby, 2009). In this way, social capital has a role to play regarding social cohesion, but high levels of social capital do not automatically correlate with high levels of social cohesion (Chan et al., 2006; Cheong et al., 2007). For example, although a cultural or religious group may have high levels of social capital, it may not contribute to broader community solidarity or social cohesion. Hence, the impact of social capital on social cohesion will vary greatly in relation to the broader social, political and cultural environments (Cheong et al., 2007). This notion highlights the importance of interpretation and context when examining concepts such as social capital and social cohesion in relation to one another.

Therefore, in the context of this research, social capital is considered an asset in an individual or group context that, depending on its quality, may or may not contribute to social cohesion. In contrast, social cohesion can be considered in a broader range of social scales, such as group, communal or organisational.

Affiliations between social inclusion and social cohesion are also apparent throughout academic discourses. Some authors have implicitly suggested that in certain instances it can be appropriate to adopt social inclusion *as* social cohesion, either in part (i.e., terminology or indicators) or in full (Jenson, 2010; Norton & de Haan, 2013; OECD, 2012; Soroka et al., 2006). For example, Jenson (2010) explored social cohesion *as* social inclusion. The rationale behind this approach was that social cohesion has been mobilised as a quasi-concept by those who aim to sustain and foster social inclusion. In contrast, other literature has characterised social inclusion as a key dimension of social cohesion (Jenson, 1998; Nathan et al., 2010; OECD,

2012). For example, in her earlier work, Jenson (1998) broke social cohesion into five dimensions, one of which included inclusion versus exclusion (with the others consisting of belonging versus isolation, participation versus non-involvement, recognition versus rejection and legitimacy versus illegitimacy). Similarly, the OECD (2012) interprets social inclusion as a key component of social cohesion. Rather than specifically focusing on dimensions or indicators, other authors have highlighted and explored the dynamics of the relationship between the social inclusion and cohesion. Regardless of how social inclusion is interpreted in association with social cohesion, the literature points to a substantial connection between the two concepts (Oxoby, 2009). For the purposes of this PhD study, social inclusion has been considered a concept (in conjunction with a number of others) that can contribute to social cohesion, rather than equating to social cohesion.

While the literature has explored issues of social capital, social inclusion and social cohesion, little research has examined all three concepts together. However, when considering these concepts collectively, it is important to acknowledge their overlapping and interdependent nature. Oxoby (2009) investigated how social inclusion could influence social capital, which could in turn affect social cohesion. The author proposed that greater levels of inclusion could positively affect an individual's investment in social capital, fostering social cohesion. In contrast, social exclusion was thought to reduce one's incentive to invest in social capital, thereby reducing social cohesion (Oxoby, 2009). Others have taken a slightly different approach to interpreting the interactions between these concepts. For instance, Mulunga and Yazdanifard (2014) considered social capital a resource derived from social relations and harnessed for building social inclusion and developing social cohesion. While the specific mechanisms of the relationship between these concepts are not always clearly expressed in the literature, what

remains clear is that fluctuations in one concept are likely to impact the other two concepts. At this point, selecting any of the aforementioned interpretations would be inappropriate and limiting to the present study. To explain further, defining a way in which these three concepts interrelate before data collection and analysis could have substantial consequences for what is measured at The Huddle and potentially alter the results of this study. Rather, this investigation prefers to acknowledge the interrelating nature of these concepts as well as the possibility of all the aforementioned mechanisms of interaction.

2.4 Social Capital

The flexible and contextually dependent nature of social capital has led to some confusion surrounding the concept and, as such, a range of interpretations exist (Kay & Bradbury, 2009; Welty Peachey et al., 2011). Social capital's theoretical origins are tied to the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who described it as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). An additional key source originates from the work of Coleman (1988), who focused on the role of social capital in creating human capital, describing it as entailing some form of social structure that facilitates 'certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure' (p. S98). In essence, for Coleman (1988), social capital was understood as a productive resource to be used by people (actors) to achieve goals or ends that would have been impossible without it. Putnam (1995) also contributed to the early conceptualisation of social capital by providing a still-used definition of social capital as 'features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that can facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (p. 66). More recently, scholars have suggested that social capital exists through social connections and interactions with others. It is through these processes that a 'resource to action' can be fostered for individual and communal benefit (Portes, 1998; Spaaij, Magee & Jeanes, 2012).

2.4.1 Sources of social capital. The foundations of social capital are intangible in nature and have posed challenges for researchers when compared to other forms of capital. For instance, economic capital exists in people's bank accounts, human capital occurs in people's minds, whereas social capital is thought to reside in the framework of relationships shared with others (Portes, 1998). Putnam (1995) theorised that social capital could originate from two different forms: bridging and bonding capital. Bridging capital has been understood to occur when one familiarises oneself with other people who may be different (e.g., from another culture). In contrast, bonding capital can be explained as the process in which already established relationships with people similar to oneself are maintained (Putnam, 1995). Not long after its inception, this approach to social capital was expanded on with the addition of 'linking' social capital. This form of social capital refers to increasing bonds with people in unfamiliar social situations, such as groups of people situated outside the local community or from outside institutions (Woolcock, 1998). Collectively, these concepts are thought to exist along a continuum on which networks and friendships can be developed (Putnam, 1995; Walseth, 2008). Despite agreeing with the notion that relationships are key to the sources of social capital, Portes (1998) extended research into this area using a slightly different perspective. Rather than relationships with others existing as the primary source of social capital, it was conceived that the motivations behind investment in these relationships functioned at the centre. Motivations, such as gains in group solidarity, reciprocal exchange and trust, were thought to contribute to investments in membership in networks and other social structures that would secure further social benefits for the actor (Portes, 1998). A number of institutions and social vehicles have been highlighted as contexts that may enhance levels of social capital. Among others, churches (Rodríguez-Pose & Berlepsch, 2014), public libraries (Vårheim, 2009), social media platforms (Ellison, Vitak, Gray & Lampe, 2014), sporting clubs (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Okayasu, Kawahara & Nogawa, 2015) and sporting events (Schulenkorf, Thomson & Schlenker, 2011; Sherry et al., 2011) have all been cited as contexts with the capacity to promote social capital. Regarding sport, Putnam (2000) proposed that sport can act as an institution capable of developing social capital. He stated that 'to build bridging social capital requires that we transcend our social and political and professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves. This is why team sports provide good venues for social capital creation' (p. 411). The SFD literature has reinforced this claim, reporting that those involved in sport can benefit from increased social capital (Storr & Spaaij, 2017). One study explored social capital in Japanese community sport settings with the aim of comparing formal and informal sporting contexts. Self-administered questionnaires were used to examine a range of different factors, including gender, age, length of residency and the type of community sport settings. The data demonstrated that none of the aforementioned factors influenced levels of social capital and that both formal and informal settings fostered social capital (Okayasu et al., 2015). In contrast, Spaaij (2012a) examined experiences of sport, social capital and integration among Somalis in an Australian setting. In a three-year multi-ethnographic study, the results indicated that although sport contributed to both bonding and bridging social capital, the strength of bridging social capital was relatively weak and linking social capital was unequally distributed. Further, it was suggested that negative social encounters such as aggression or discrimination could place further boundaries

between groups. While evidence suggests that sport can positively contribute to social capital, caution should be taken to ensure that impacts are not generalised or embellished (Spaaij, 2012a).

2.4.2 Impacts and indicators of social capital. Social capital can come in many forms, but not all necessarily foster positive impacts. Both 'good' and 'bad' forms of social capital can occur and are thought to either contribute to or detract from social cohesion (Cheong et al., 2007). In association with the good forms of social capital, a number of health and wellbeing outcomes have been observed to occur in association with increased social capital (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Mackenbach et al., 2016). A European investigation into neighbourhood social capital and health revealed that higher levels of social capital were associated with decreased risk of obesity, increased levels of self-rated health as well as improved social networks and social cohesion (Mackenbach et al., 2016). In contrast to these outcomes, a number of negative consequences have also been cited in association with increased social capital. High levels of dedication to a group, such as ethnic or religious communities, can lead to intra-group social and economic benefits from which others may be excluded (Portes, 2014; Waldinger, 1995). Consequently, bonding among specific ethnic factions that were once thought to positively contribute to integration are now viewed as possibly threatening solidarity and social cohesion (Cheong et al., 2007).

To empirically examine social capital (and other social concepts), investigators often need to undertake processes to use and identify important aspects of the concept. Through identifying these aspects, indicators can be determined and methods of measurement can be developed. Forrest and Kearns (2001) developed a set of indicators that have been adapted for use throughout both the social capital and cohesion literature. The authors proposed that in neighbourhoods and communities, social capital could be indicated through a number of social dimensions, including social interaction, civic engagement, easy resolution of collective

problems, empowerment, participation, common purpose, supporting networks, reciprocity, trust, safety, belonging and collective norms and values. Comparable indicators were uncovered through the development of a social capital measurement framework by the ABS (ABS, 2004). Through consultations with a number of government agencies, NGOs and research institutions, the following indicators were developed for application in the Australian context: network qualities, common purpose, network structure, network transactions, sharing knowledge and introductions and network types (ABS, 2004).

With regard to the SFD literature, a range of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies have been used to investigate social capital outcomes. Spaaij (2012b) explored social capital regarding sport and disadvantaged communities. For this investigation, both interviews and surveys were implemented and produced results that varied in their level of detail. Specifically, surveys struggled to generate program insights, whereas semi-structured interviews produced a greater depth of information. In this case, social capital indicators were not applied to the data. Instead, themes were generated through qualitative coding processes, including personal development, enhanced self-esteem or confidence, social connectedness, improved behaviour and attitudes, increased social skills and ability to plan one's future (Spaaij, 2012b). Using a slightly different approach, Schulenkorf (2013) implemented a qualitative framework using interview questions framed around social impacts, relations and behaviour between people and the potential influence on a common spirit or attitudinal changes between people and groups (Schulenkorf, 2013). The broad spectrum in which social outcomes may fall points to the need for closer examination of the actors, social transactions, constructs and contexts associated with social capital's processes (Portes, 1998). Further, the range of methodologies used and

assortment of indicators suggests that research enquiries into social concepts must be designed to reflect the initiative of focus and the circumstance in which it is based.

To summarise, relationships play an integral part in the development of social capital. Through these relationships, social capital can transpire through bridging, bonding (Putnam, 1995) and linking processes (Woolcock, 1998). Further, a variety of social institutions and social vehicles are capable of encouraging the growth of social capital, one of which includes sport. However, researchers need to be wary of exaggerating the role that sport may play in this process (Spaaij, 2012a) and acknowledge that both positive and negative forms of social capital exist (Cheong et al., 2007). For the purposes of this PhD study and as outlined earlier, social capital will continue to be interpreted as an asset in an individual or group context that, depending on its quality, may or may not contribute to social cohesion. The subsequent section now examines social inclusion.

2.5 Social Inclusion

In a comparable manner to that of social capital, a broad range of interpretations exist when it comes to the concept of social inclusion. Typically, social inclusion has been situated at the opposing end of the spectrum to social exclusion, which is a term used to describe circumstances that lead to individuals being prevented from participating in societal activities (Agulnik, 2002; Spaaij et al., 2012). As a result, explanations revolve around improved opportunities for free speech, decision-making and access to various social institutions (Oxoby, 2009).

Historically, the roots of social inclusion have been linked with several European sociologists and trace back as far as Aristotle. Primarily originating in France in the early eighteenth century, initial notions of the concept were closely associated with political and

cultural concerns that focused on 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' (Sen, 2000, p. 24). Lenoir (1974) instigated more contemporary interest in the concept through his focus on 'excluded' groups in the French population (e.g., people with a disability, the elderly, substance abusers, delinquents, abused children, suicidal individuals and single parents). Political dissemination of the concept occurred throughout Europe and the United Kingdom during the 1980s and 1990s, culminating in the Blair government's 'Social Exclusion Unit'. Locally, in Australia, it was first popularised by the South Australian government in 2002 and nationally in 2008 with the establishment of a 'Social Inclusion Board' by the Rudd federal government (Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler & Bereded-Samuel, 2010). The academic discourse surrounding social inclusion followed a similar timeline, with research publications most frequently occurring after the turn of the millennium (Wright & Stickley, 2013). More recently, research around social inclusion has also moved to focus on exploring its sources, impacts and indicators in societal contexts.

2.5.1 Sources of social inclusion. Current research suggests that social inclusion's foundations originate from a dynamic interplay between structural and relational determinants (Ponic & Frisby, 2010; Yanicki, Kushner & Reutter, 2015). However, the manner in which this interaction is interpreted varies from one enquiry to the next. For instance, Yanicki, Kushner and Reutter (2015) explored the processes underlying the dynamic between social inclusion and exclusion, stating that they involved 'just/unjust social relations and social structures enabling or constraining opportunities for participation' (p. 1). Analysis of the literature on social inclusion and exclusion identified three discourses that focused on different facets of these two concepts: recognition, capabilities and equality and citizenship. Through examining these discourses, the authors deduced that to promote inclusion and hinder exclusion, social justice should be developed and social injustice minimised (Yanicki et al., 2015). Using a slightly different approach, another

study explored social inclusion processes in a community-based health promotion project. Through six years of participatory action research, four interdependent facets of social inclusion were identified as organisational, participatory, relational and psychosocial components (Ponic & Frisby, 2010). The organisational component incorporated the structures, standards and practices of the organisation. The participatory factor integrated the opportunities that were available and accessible to individuals. The relational element involved how participants engaged and behaved with one another. The psychosocial component involved the extent to which individuals felt accepted and recognised and this was closely determined in association with the other three factors (Ponic & Frisby, 2010).

SFD research has acknowledged that sport is a vehicle capable of promoting social inclusion (Sherry, 2010; Welty Peachey & Sherry, 2016). One program that has demonstrated success in this area is the Unified Sports program of the Special Olympics. The initiative aims to offer athletes an opportunity to connect with peers and local community through combining players with or without intellectual disabilities. Research into the program was conducted using individual interviews with 200 participants across five countries and determined that the initiative was able to positively contribute to social inclusion (McConkey, Dowling, Hassan & Menke, 2013). Similarly, an investigation into the social inclusion of Muslim women in a community sport context found that the program was positively contributing to social inclusion. However, while the program supported social inclusion among Muslim participants, the findings also indicated that the program served to exclude other non-Muslim participants (Maxwell et al., 2013). The Homeless World Cup organisers also faced difficulties while trying to promote social inclusion among participants. While the initiative largely positively impacted participants (through reduced social isolation and exclusion and increased social capital), challenges arose

when some participants' teams lost games by a large margin. For some of these individuals, self-confidence was reduced and feelings of social exclusion increased (Welty Peachey & Sherry, 2016). These findings reiterate that the way in which sport programs are carried out plays a fundamental role in achieving successful inclusion outcomes (Green, 2008).

2.5.2 Impacts and indicators of social inclusion. The international literature commonly recognises that social environments and experiences have the power to influence the health and wellbeing of individuals (Begen & Turner-Cobb, 2015). It is for these reasons that research has hypothesised that at the centre of an individual's social realm is the fundamental human need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and that this need is critical to psychological and physical wellbeing (Begen & Turner-Cobb, 2015). Research into the relationship between inclusion and health has reiterated this correlation, with higher social self-esteem, lower heart rates and decreased negative moods demonstrated among individuals exposed to more inclusive environments (Begen & Turner-Cobb, 2015).

How the effects of social inclusion might be measured depends on the scope of outcomes being investigated and the context in which these might occur. A number of approaches and instruments have been adapted for use throughout inclusion research and, as such, a range of indicators exists. For example, the 'Social Inclusion Questionnaire Experience' was adapted from the 'Poverty and Exclusion Survey' and adopts a 75-item scale, or a 62-item scale 'Social Inclusion Survey' was also adapted for use and was originally developed using recommendations from clinical experts of schizophrenia (Baumgartner & Burns, 2013). Other enquiries have taken alternative approaches aimed at comparing levels of inclusion between different cultures and countries. One study measured inclusion across 27 European countries using four indicators developed from European policy. The indicators were primarily (but not exclusively) based on

economic status and included poverty levels, deprivation of material possessions, employment levels and the percentage of early school leavers (Giambona & Vassallo, 2013). Specifically, in the SFD context, qualitative methods comprise the bulk of approaches (Schulenkorf et al., 2016) and as a result the indicators of social inclusion are often self-reported by participants. For example, the aforementioned study, which focused on the inclusion of Muslim women in community sport, used interviews, focus groups and examination of strategic documents to determine that social inclusion was occurring through increased sense of belonging, social relationships and leadership opportunities (Maxwell et al., 2013). Similarly, in rural communities in Australia, qualitative research methods demonstrated that community football clubs promoted social inclusion by developing trust, reciprocity and social networks (Frost, Lightbody & Halabi, 2013). These findings suggest that social inclusion and other social development indicators can be investigated through a range of methods. Further, they reiterate recommendations of SFD best practice—evaluation efforts should be appropriate and relevant to the initiative being investigated (Coalter, 2010b; B. Kidd, 2011; UNDP, 2009).

To conclude, this study considers the foundations of social inclusion to lie in an interplay of both structural and relational determinants (Ponic & Frisby, 2010; Yanicki et al., 2015). Sport provides context in which a unique mix of these determinants can occur, assisting in promoting social inclusion. Further, this thesis understands social inclusion as a construct capable of contributing to social cohesion rather than equating to social cohesion. The next section now reviews the literature focusing on social cohesion.

2.6 Social Cohesion

Social cohesion in its nature is a multifaceted and multidisciplinary concept and, as such, is best understood as a series of concepts and processes. As the topic has gained attention, the

literature on social cohesion has become increasingly intertwined and complex. At the source of this complexity exists multiple interpretations that have developed in a manner that is simultaneously difficult to merge or delineate (Friedkin, 2004). The concept has been described as demonstrating characteristics similar to that of a hybrid or 'quasi-concept' (Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 2010). As a consequence, this thesis draws on the academic literature from a multitude of disciplines in addition to information derived from policy discourse in shaping its conceptual framework.

Despite examination by theorists and policymakers around the world, there is currently no consensus on a specific definition of social cohesion (Markus, 2017; Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017; Triggs, 2014). Largely, the precise meaning behind social cohesion varies depending on who is involved and the problem of interest (Jenson, 1998). As a result, some of the literature refrains from indicating a specific definition altogether. In a report on social cohesion for the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and Commonwealth Secretariat, Jenson (2010) highlighted that there is a utility in these concepts that remains ambiguous. Bernard (1999) discussed social cohesion's elusiveness and hybrid nature, expressing that:

These constructions have two faces: they are, on the one hand, based, in part and selectively, on an analysis of the data of the situation, which allows them to be relatively realistic and to benefit from the aura of legitimacy conferred by the scientific method; and they maintain, on the other hand, a vagueness that makes them adaptable to various situations, flexible enough to follow the meanderings and necessities of political action from day to day. (Bernard, 1999, p. 2)

Even though this vagueness is often reiterated in definitions of social cohesion through a broad range of intangibles (e.g., belonging or attachment to group) (Markus & Kirpitchenko, 2007), there are three elements that they commonly share. These include:

- 1. the notion that social cohesion requires shared vision and values
- 2. that it is a property of a group or community
- 3. that it is a process that is ongoing, not an outcome (Markus, 2017).

The term is also thought to suggest a process by which people of different cultures or ethnicities come together via the development of a sense of shared values (Cheong et al., 2007; Schuster & Solomos, 2004). It can be understood as not an attribute or state, but instead a process that can vary in strength and scope in relation to a multitude of factors, including leadership, group size and external dangers (Bruhn, 2009; Taylor, Repetti & Seeman, 1997).

2.6.1 Social cohesion: Practical and theoretical discourse. Two distinct discourses exist with regard to social cohesion. The first is associated with academia and has been primarily founded in sociology and social psychology research. The second is a policy-oriented approach (Acket, Borsenberger, Dickes & Sarracino, 2011; Chan et al., 2006) that is more problem driven and seeks to identify solutions to problems of relevance to social cohesion (Chan et al., 2006; Norton & de Haan, 2013). From this perspective, the origins of this concept lie in social policy analyses, serving as a means to express broader concepts in policy discussion (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). Since its emergence in Europe and Canada, social cohesion has received increased interest from policy communities (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). In the mid-1990s, the Canadian government emerged as a key driving force behind the concept of social cohesion when it introduced this concept as an official agenda item with a view to promote multiculturalism. A noteworthy action in this process occurred in 1996, when the Canadian government established the 'Social Cohesion

Network' (Chan et al., 2006). Not long after this point in time, the European Union announced that social cohesion was a main policy goal (Council of Europe, 1998) that was reinforced via the Lisbon Agenda in 2000 (Council of Europe, 2000; Jenson, 2010).

Governments around the world have continued to invest in social cohesion research and policy action. The Commonwealth Secretariat has also funded research into the area of social cohesion, resulting in the 2010 report 'Defining and Measuring Social Cohesion' (Jenson, 2010). On an even broader international level, organisations such as the World Bank and the OECD have advocated the importance of social cohesion in international development activities (Norton & de Haan, 2013; OECD, 2012). These views have been paralleled in Australia's national policies and strategies, with several aiming to build social cohesion (e.g., civics and citizenship education, values, school education, anti-discrimination laws and a focus on social cohesion in local government) (Australian Government, 2015). Developed in 2010, Australia's multicultural policy makes up a significant part of these efforts, stating that it 'aims to strengthen social cohesion through promoting belonging, respecting diversity and fostering engagement with Australian values, identity and citizenship, within the framework of Australian law' (Australian Government, 2014, para. 1). From a practical perspective, the policy aims to promote growth in social cohesion through increasing funding to establish the Australian Multicultural Council, implement a new National Anti-Racism Partnership and Strategy, strengthen existing efforts around access and equity, enhance multicultural festivals and arts and establish a Multicultural Youth Sports Partnership Program aimed at connecting CALD youth with neighbourhood sports and community organisations (Australian Government, 2010). As a result, despite a relatively recent focus in the area, there has been exponential growth in Australian government initiatives towards encouraging social cohesion.

Foundations of the academic discourse surrounding the concept of social cohesion can be traced back to the work of sociologist Emile Durkheim (see Durkheim, 1974). Durkheim's sociological work focused on the contexts of societal transformation with respect to different types of solidarity in primitive societies and advanced capitalist societies (Durkheim, 1974; Norton & de Haan, 2013). Although sociological works have been valuable additions to the body of literature surrounding social cohesion, they have been criticised for lacking definitions of social cohesion (Norton & de Haan, 2013). A tendency to focus on abstract questions, the use of systemic methods of analysis and an absence of empirical data appear to have presented challenges for those investigating social cohesion (Chan et al., 2006). In contrast, social psychology research appears to have made larger advancements towards producing operational definitions and measurements of social cohesion (Chan et al., 2006). For example, Hogg (1992) suggested that cohesiveness be considered an attribute that, along with other processes, operates within and between small groups (Hogg, 1992). Overall, the boundaries between academic disciplines have isolated specific understandings of social cohesion, making investigations into multidimensional facets of the concept difficult (Bruhn, 2009; Pahl, 1991).

2.6.2 Definitions of social cohesion. Between the academic and policy discourses, a plethora of definitions for social cohesion has been accepted for use. Regarding the policy domain, Jenson's (1998) work was fundamental to Canada's early social cohesion policies and has gone on to underpin many modern inquiries into cohesion. As a key theorist, she defined socially cohesive societies as those in which groups feel a sense of inclusion, belonging, recognition, participation and legitimacy (Jenson, 1998). These societies were also described as exhibiting a lack of negative attributes such as exclusion, isolation, rejection and illegitimacy (Jenson, 1998; Spoonley et al., 2005). More recently, Jenson's (2010) worked with the Commonwealth Secretariat and the

UNRISD to produce a publication titled 'Defining and Measuring Social Cohesion'. Within this work, a specific definition was not expressed and a range of definitions were instead discussed (Jenson, 2010). The reasoning behind this ambiguity appeared to stem from the 'utility, if not the necessity, of [these] concepts remaining ambiguous' as a selected definition 'will have a direct consequence for whether the UNRISD–Commonwealth Secretariat project on social policies ... will be able to identify a link between social cohesion and social policy' (p. 3).

In comparison, a slightly more direct approach was taken by the Australian Multicultural Council not long after its establishment (by the federal government) in 2013 (Australian Multicultural Council, 2013). The Council moved to align their interpretation of the concept with the 'Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion' that assesses social cohesion according to five key domains:

Belonging: Shared values, identification to Australia, trust.

Social justice and equity: Evaluation of national policies.

Participation: Voluntary work, political and cooperative involvement.

Acceptance and rejection, legitimacy: Experience of discrimination, attitudes towards minorities and newcomers.

Worth: Life satisfaction and happiness, future expectations. (Markus, 2015, p. 12)

In comparison, some academics have put forward more concrete definitions of social cohesion as a necessary element in their work. Bruhn (2009) explored the concept of social cohesion in different academic domains and noted that its conceptualisation depends on the specific discipline. For example, regarding psychology, cohesiveness relates to how group members share behavioural and emotional characteristics with one another and as a whole (Bruhn, 2009; Deutsch, 1968). Whereas, in public health, cohesiveness is understood as a

component of the social and environmental context of individuals and societies that then affect health risks and protective factors (Bruhn, 2009; Diez Roux, 2004). Oxoby (2009) explored social cohesion from a social economics perspective, stating that it is a 'condition of a group or an economy and as such affects the decision environment faced by the population' (p. 1136). Similarly, Friedkin (2004) incorporated the notion of group conditions in his interpretation, stating that 'groups are cohesive when they possess group-level structural conditions that produce positive membership attitudes and behaviors and when group members' interpersonal interactions maintain these group-level structural conditions' (p. 421).

Following analysis of both the academic and policy literature, some authors proceeded to develop their own definition of social cohesion to incorporate elements from both discourses.

Chan, To and Chan (2006) engaged in this process, resulting in the development of the following operational definition:

Social cohesion is a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterised by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations. (Chan et al., 2006, p. 290).

While this interpretation may not be the most applicable for the purposes of this thesis, it does highlight the potential value in incorporating elements from both policy and academic understanding of social cohesion.

Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, two explanations (one from each discourse) have informed a preliminary understanding of social cohesion. It is now necessary to highlight that the combination of these two interpretations has not specifically been adopted for measuring social cohesion, but instead to clarify and underpin interpreting the concept in this thesis.

Therefore, the first description of social cohesion originates from the academic literature. It can be understood as not an attribute or state, but instead a process that can vary in strength and scope in relation to a multitude of factors, including leadership, group size and external dangers (Bruhn, 2009; Taylor et al., 1997). Second, from the policy literature, social cohesion has been understood as a process with multiple aims that incorporates elements from belonging, social justice and equity, participation, acceptance and rejection, legitimacy and worth (Australian Multicultural Council, 2013; Markus, 2015, 2017). It is important to note that this second conceptualisation will be particularly pertinent to this research, as it underpins one of The Huddle's key organisational partner's interpretations of social cohesion. Further details and discussion of this have been included in Chapters 4 and 6.

2.6.3 Social cohesion in Australia. Historically, with no revolution since 1788, high standards of living, stable institutions and geographic isolation from conflict zones has seen Australia become one of the most harmonious and socially cohesive societies on earth (Jupp, 2007). Further, relative to other societies, Australia has been fortunate in being subject to minimal corruption from government agencies and law enforcement. However, Australia's history around social cohesion has not come without its challenges. For example, its colonialist involvement in Papua New Guinea and a general lack of equality for Australia's Indigenous people have had flow-on effects that remain prevalent today (Jupp, 2007). As a concept, social cohesion has played an important role in the conversations surrounding harmony and conflict in Australia since the mid-1990s. The initial increase in momentum around social cohesion first became apparent amid concerns relating to the potential effects of globalisation, economic instability and 'the war on terror' (Markus, 2015). In association with these concerns, there has been increased recognition of the importance of immigration and cultural diversity to Australia's modern-day sociocultural

landscape (Bouma, 2015). Consequently, efforts have been made to improve understanding around social cohesion in Australia.

Among some of the more prevalent enquiries, the Scanlon Foundation (which is also an IOR partner of The Huddle), in partnership with the Australian Multicultural Foundation and Monash University, has conducted research into social cohesion in Australia. Conducted annually since 2007, this was the first of its kind in Australian social research. As such, it has provided major insights into how social cohesion may be enacted throughout the nation. A survey, which draws on the work of Jenson (1998) and Bernard (1999), was developed to gauge five domains in social cohesion: belonging, social justice and equity, participation, acceptance and rejection, legitimacy and worth. Following the baseline measures collected in 2007, the average of these domains over time has indicated an overall downward trend. That said, in 2017, high levels of support (83–86%) from survey respondents (n = 1500) were expressed towards the notion that multiculturalism had been positive for Australia (Markus, 2017). The OECD conducted similar research across the Asia-Pacific region to compare social cohesion levels across nations. Published in 2014, the report indicated that Australia ranked well above average in all sub-indicators for three out of the five measured dimensions. These included life satisfaction, tolerance and confidence in voting systems. The dimensions and the relevant subindicator in which Australia scored below average were confidence in institutions (specifically national governments) and trust and safety (particularly walking alone at night) (OECD, 2014).

So, in a society that already appears among some of the most cohesive and harmonious in the world, why then has there been so much concern about social cohesion? While some argue that a crisis of cohesion is the primary rationale for this focus (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Putnam, 2007), others have debated that even without a direct threat or decline in social cohesion, the

benefit to sustaining or developing it beyond its current levels are enough justification for its popularity in millennial policy (European Commission, 2001; Green et al., 2003; OECD, 1997; UNESCO, 1996). It is anticipated that through the advancement of social cohesion, societies can benefit from a range of positive social and economic outcomes—labour markets can expand, skills can be enhanced and diversity can be embraced (Triggs, 2014). Therefore, pursuing methods of fostering the social cohesiveness of communities and mitigating problems appears worthy of efforts by both policy and academic groups alike (Seo & Chiu, 2013).

2.6.4 Threats to social cohesion. In recent years, there has been robust debate and concern around cultural diversity, immigration and community cohesion around the world. At the heart of these concerns lie groups that are commonly considered disadvantaged or vulnerable and are often represented by fluxes in immigration and ethnic diversity (Cheong et al., 2007). These groups are thought to experience a reduction in qualities and elements that generate social cohesion and may become increasingly excluded from their host or adopted society (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Cantle (2008) conceptualised cohesion as a process that could be undermined on two levels. On the individual or group level, it has the potential to be weakened through social exclusion of social class or economic position. At the community level, social cohesion may be destabilised through disadvantage, discrimination or disaffection (Cantle, 2008). There are many dynamics in a society that are thought to have the potential to hinder social cohesion among these groups. Some of these may include issues connected with growing inequality and social fragmentation, a less prevalent middle class, a perceived decline in shared moral values, rising crime rates, unemployment

(Forrest & Kearns, 2001) and reduced access to services, citizenship or voting rights (Nieuwenhuysen, 2007).

Ethnic diversity is one factor that has been frequently discussed as a potential obstacle to social cohesion (Bianco & Bal, 2016; van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Despite a relatively nonviolent and cohesive society in Australia (Jupp, 2007; Markus, 2015, 2017), the notion that cohesion may be threatened by ethnic diversity appears to have been reinforced by the fear of terrorism, war and other worst-case scenarios (Jupp, 2007). Although efforts have been made to understand the relationship between diversity and cohesion by academics from a variety of backgrounds (e.g., economics, sociology and political science), there is little agreement on how this relationship may function (van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). In 1998, Jenson (1998) began to provoke thought in this area through her research by asking, 'Can citizens' identities be both varied and multiple, without threatening social cohesion, or is adherence to a single national vision necessary?' (p. 36). This was further explored four years later in an updated report that highlighted how some researchers and institutions hold the view that societal diversity can potentially undermine social cohesion. The institutions that were particularly likely to hold this view were UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the governments of Australia and Canada (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). Putnam (2007) prompted further debate on this with a lecture reporting that ethnically diverse environments were detrimental to interpersonal trust and may impede social connections within and between ethnic groups (Putnam, 2007). He proposed that residents of diverse neighbourhoods are more likely to 'hunker down' and withdraw from social life (Putnam, 2007, p. 149). In response to these claims, a plethora of scholars moved to further examine indicators of social cohesion across a broad range of contexts (van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Mixed results were gathered, with some studies confirming that diversity can erode

cohesion, some refuting the claim (van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014) and other analysts extending the approach to argue that the key to cohesion is the active engagement of ethnically diverse groups (Soroka et al., 2006).

Letki (2008) conducted an empirical investigation into the impact of ethnic diversity and its potential to undermine social cohesion. Following examination of various indicators in British communities, the results indicated that low socioeconomic status was a key factor undermining cohesion and that ethnic diversity had a limited impact (Letki, 2008). Similarly, Gesthuizen, van der Meer and Scheepers (2009) examined determinants of interpersonal trust and social capital among 27,000 European survey respondents and found that ethnic groups had no major impact on any measure of social capital (Gesthuizen, van der Meer & Scheepers, 2009). More recently, Portes and Vickstrom (2011) completed a literature review on ethno-racial diversity and its effects on public trust and cohesion. Through this analysis, claims that diversity can undermine trust and cohesion were found to be questionable and it was suggested that these concerns likely originated from deep historical processes associated with culture and immigration (Portes & Vickstrom, 2011). Another literature review was conducted into this area by van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) and again concluded that ethnic diversity does not equate to less inter-ethnic social cohesion. Further, they found that claims that aligned with Putnam's (2007) idea of individuals withdrawing from social life in highly diverse neighbourhoods were more common in the United States than in other countries (van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). While diversity may not necessarily diminish community cohesion, it is certainly a factor that should be considered contextually when examining social cohesion.

Paradoxically, certain features of highly cohesive communities are thought to potentially hinder the development of social cohesion as a broader whole. Jenson (1998) discussed this,

stating that 'cohesive communities can suffer from too much "bonding". One can be made aware that they are "not from the neighbourhood" and therefore an object of suspicion, that one is not "from the old gang" and therefore an outsider (p. 36). Socially cohesive environments can promote the pursuit of group goals at the expense of an individual; they can also instil feelings of guilt or doubt among those who contemplate parting from the group (Bruhn, 2009). Further, strong social ties can foster group cohesiveness and sustainability while also hindering efforts to further collective resources—in these instances, individuals may begin to feel isolated (Bruhn, 2009). Hence, there is value in understanding that certain forms and elements of social cohesion can have a downside.

In contrast to diversity and social cohesion, concerns have also been raised about the impacts of discrimination and racism on social cohesion (Bianco & Bal, 2016; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015). Research has shown that despite not necessarily occurring frequently or in an overt manner, experiences of racism and discrimination among refugee populations increase barriers to involvement and engagement with local communities, hampering social cohesion (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015). Through his research into social cohesion in Australia, Markus (2015) explored the incidence of discrimination due to skin colour, ethnic background or religion at the individual level. Of the 1500 survey respondents, 14.5 per cent reported that they had experienced discrimination in the last 12 months and this occurred most frequently among those aged 25–34 (24%), 18–22 (21%) and 35–44 (21%). The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) reiterated these trends and noted that racism occurs in the realm of everyday life and for some it happens consistently throughout daily interactions (AHRC, 2015). The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) conveyed similar findings in their 2013 research report on race-based discrimination. In this instance, over one-third (34%) of survey respondents had

witnessed racism in the last 12 months, either in their place of work, sport club or among family and friends. Within this group, youth (18–34 years) were far more likely to have witnessed racism (59%) in comparison to those aged 55 years and over (18%) (Russell, Pennay, Webster & Paradines, 2013). In conclusion, while Australia somewhat embraces its identity as a multicultural nation, there remains much work to be done in combating racism and discrimination. In contrast to threats to social cohesion, the ensuing section discusses potential sources of social cohesion.

2.7 Sources of Social Cohesion

According to social cohesion's malleable nature, a specific formula for achieving community cohesion has not been established. Despite this, some environmental factors and social contexts have been commonly discussed and associated with cohesion. In most cases, there appears to be common consensus when it comes to linking social cohesion with strategy and policy. That is, with increased globalisation comes greater diversity and through policy, both negative and positive consequences that can be moderated (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). Further, although the terminology may vary, research has discussed the relationship between group processes and their manifestations in neighbourhoods and communities (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). The reasoning behind this focus relates to the fact that social and physical environments play a substantial part in whether social relationships are developed or destabilised (Bruhn, 2009; Taylor et al., 1997). So, if social and physical environments can impact social relationships and cohesion, then how might communities become *socially cohesive*? The following section explores this question through interpreting the literature around causal directions and contexts thought to potentially contribute to social cohesion.

2.7.1 Causal directions. Similar to the ambiguous nature of definitions of social cohesion, no consensus has been reached regarding whether social cohesion is a cause or consequence of other facets of social, political or economic life (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). In other words, among the various dialogues occurring, there is no common position regarding the treatment of social cohesion as a dependent or independent variable (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; Jenson, 1998, 2010). Figure 2.4 illustrates two approaches to social cohesion and patterns of causation.

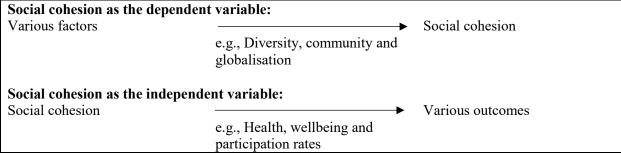


Figure 2.4. Social cohesion and patterns of causation.

Note. Adapted from Social Cohesion: Updating the State of the Research (p. 5), by C. Beauvais and J. Jenson, 2002.

In instances in which social cohesion is considered an *independent variable*, analyses convey processes in which social cohesion leads to the development of assorted outcomes in society. By contrast, when social cohesion is regarded as a *dependent variable*, the literature refers to instances in which social cohesion is developed or enhanced as a result of various factors in society. The literature also explores social cohesion as a multi-directional process. For example, Chan et al. (2006) described social cohesion as:

A state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations. (Chan et al., 2006, p. 2)

This was explained by noting that the 'vertical' interactions referred to dynamics between society and state at large and that the 'horizontal' interactions denote dynamics between different individuals and groups in society (Chan et al., 2006). Given the increased momentum towards understanding social cohesion as a 'quasi-concept' (Jenson, 2010), it is reasonable that analysts and policymakers are increasingly interpreting social cohesion's causal direction as bi- or multidirectional (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). However, to complicate interpretations of causal direction further, some authors have emphasised the contextually dependent nature of these processes and that they may vary from one individual to another. For example, increased social cohesion may enhance participation or access to schooling for one individual, whereas for another individual increasing participation or schooling may lead to strengthened social cohesion (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). At this point, it is useful to note that although the language of causality has been used and will continue to be used to some extent throughout this thesis, an actual causational relationship is very difficult to claim or prove (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). Therefore, for the purposes of this PhD research, exploring correlations between sport and social cohesion will be the focus rather than determining a specific causal relationship outlined by strength or direction.

2.7.2 Socio-environmental contexts. Social and physical environments are understood to play a considerable role in how social relationships are developed, holding the potential to contribute to social cohesion (Bruhn, 2009; Taylor et al., 1997). A study by Seo and Chiu (2013) explored the interaction between environment and social cohesion among disadvantaged communities in South Korea. Survey results from 351 respondents indicated that differences in cohesion occurred between residents of different public housing estates and that this was partially due to the conditions of the physical environment surrounding individuals in specific estates. In

this instance, increased positive perceptions and frequent use of the physical environments enhanced cohesion (Seo & Chiu, 2013).

Researchers and policymakers have also acknowledged the significance of community networks and ties to social cohesion (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002). Some researchers have explored and conceptualised components of this process. First and foremost, social networks function as the everyday building blocks of social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Prior to a network being considered 'cohesive', it is necessary for individuals to feel they belong to a group. Sense of belonging can be conveyed between members through interdependent goals from which they can function as a more efficient collective whole (Bruhn, 2009). Recent research has reiterated these affirmations, demonstrating that increased networks or ties are correlated with greater levels of cohesion (Gesell, Barkin, Sommer, Thompson & Valente, 2015). Through these networks, it is believed that one can learn tolerance, cooperation and acquire a sense of social order. Further, the context in which an individual functions has the potential to contribute to social choices and constraints as well as social worth and wellbeing (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). While socio-environmental contexts in sport have been examined in relation to team and task cohesion (e.g., Morela et al., 2013; Onağ & Tepeci, 2014), minimal knowledge has been established regarding how SFD initiatives might be able to further social cohesion (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010). Through exploring impacts and socio-environmental factors, this thesis seeks to establish insights into how SFD may contribute to social cohesion, addressing this gap in the literature both theoretically and practically. Therefore, the following section explores the impacts and indicators of social cohesion.

2.8 Impacts and Indicators of Social Cohesion

2.8.1 Potential impacts. The malleable dynamics of social cohesion and its various concepts makes mapping correlations or patterns of causation a challenging task. Impacts associated with social cohesion have been investigated at the global level (Easterly, Ritzen & Woolcock, 2006) as well as the individual level (Cramm, van Dijk & Nieboer, 2013; Klein, 2011). At the macro level, cohesion has been claimed to influence the quality of societal institutions and pro-growth policies, swaying the growth of nations (Easterly et al., 2006). Research has also shown that social cohesion can foster impacts at the micro level too, showing that individuals experiencing higher levels of cohesion are more likely to benefit from enhanced wellbeing (Cramm et al., 2013; Klein, 2011). At its most primal level, research into schooling fish has demonstrated that social cohesion contributes to collective decision-making processes in animal groups (Miller, Garnier, Hartnett & Couzin, 2013). Cohesion (particularly in the form of group and task cohesion) has been noted to play a role in sporting contexts. For example, changes in levels of group cohesion have been shown to play a role in regulating prosocial and antisocial behaviour among youth in sport (Bruner, Boardley & Côté, 2014). Similarly, higher levels of perceived task cohesion in team sport have been linked with greater levels of positive youth development as indicated by social skills, cognitive skills, initiative, goal setting and lower levels of negative experiences (Bruner, Eys, Wilson & Côté, 2014). Although these results are derived from research into group and task cohesion processes in sport and physical activity contexts and are not necessarily derived from the SFD and social cohesion literature, they offer valuable insights into the potential relationship between sport and cohesion.

2.8.2 Academic indicators. Social cohesion's hybrid-like and multidimensional nature lends itself to many contextually specific interpretations from which numerous indicators and

measurements can be drawn. It is for reasons such as these that key authors such as Jenson (1998, 2010) and Bernard (1999) have highlighted the need for deconstruction when analysing a concept like social cohesion. Through her research, Jenson (1998) built on existing research to develop and outline five dimensions of social cohesion. These dimensions included: 1) affiliation versus isolation, 2) insertion versus exclusion, 3) participation versus non-involvement, 4) recognition versus rejection and 5) legitimacy versus illegitimacy. Bernard (1999) expanded on Jenson's approach with an additional dimension (total of six) and then dividing each of these into three spheres of activity (i.e., economic, political and sociocultural) and two types of relations. The first of these relations focused on the attitudinal or formal domains of social cohesion and the second on behavioural or substantial domains. Table 2.1 demonstrates how these dimensions fit together.

Table 2.1

Typology of Dimensions of Social Cohesion

	Character of relation			
Sphere of activity	Attitudinal/formal	Behavioural/substantial		
Economic	Insertion/exclusion: Shared market capacity, particularly employment	Equality/inequality: Equality in chances and conditions		
Political	Legitimacy/illegitimacy: Maintained by institutions acting as mediators	Participation/passivity: Involvement in public affairs and political engagement		
Sociocultural	Acceptance/rejection: Tolerance in differences	Affiliation/isolation: Common values, feelings of belonging		

Note. Adapted from 'La Cohésion Sociale: Critique Dialectique d'un Quasi-Concept', by P. Bernard, 1999, Lien social et Politiques, 41, p. 19.

Forrest and Kearns (2001) also conducted research into the interaction between social cohesion and social capital in contemporary British neighbourhoods. A similar approach was adopted to deconstruct social cohesion into five dimensions that were then explained in association with indicators. These dimensions formed the basis of many theories and methodologies still applied and discussed in social cohesion research today (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; Berman & Phillips, 2004; Bruhn, 2009; Chan et al., 2006; Cheong et al., 2007; Jenson, 2010; Jupp et al., 2007; Letki, 2008; Markus, 2014, 2015, 2017; Seo & Chiu, 2013). With regard to social cohesion, they theorised that five dimensions existed in neighbourhoods: 1) common values and a civic culture, 2) social order and control, 3) social solidarity and reduced disparities

in wealth, 4) social networks and social capital and 5) attachment to place and identity (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). These domains have been further explained in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Dimensions of Social Cohesion

Dimension	Explanation		
Common values and civic culture	Common aims, objectives, moral principles		
	and codes of behaviour; support for and		
	participation in institutions		
Social order and control	Absence of conflict and threats to existing		
	order; absence of incivility; effective informal		
	social control, tolerance; respect for		
	difference and inter-group cooperation		
Social solidarity and reduced disparities in	Harmonious economic and social		
wealth	development; redistribution of public finances		
	and opportunities; equal access to services		
	and welfare benefits; acknowledgement of		
	social obligations; motivation to assist others		
Social networks and social capital	High degree of social interaction in		
	communities and families; civic engagement		
	and associational activity; easy resolution of		
	collective problems		
Attachment to place and identity	Attachment to place; interweaving of personal		
	and place identity		

Note. Adapted from 'Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood', by R. Forrest & A. Kearns, 2001, *Urban Studies*, 38(12), p. 2129.

Following a review of social cohesion's various theories and lines of enquiry, Friedkin (2004) proposed an alternative conceptualisation of indicators of social cohesion. He suggested that in social cohesion there were micro–macro interactions and forces at play, in particular individual membership attitudes and behaviours that affect group structures and conditions and

thereby social cohesion. At the individual or micro level, these membership attitudes and behaviours were thought to have the capacity to serve as indicators of social cohesion:

- *Membership attitudes:* Desire or intention to stay in a group, identification with or loyalty to a group and other attitudes about a group and its members.
- Membership behaviours: Decisions to weaken, maintain or strengthen group
 participation or membership. Predisposition to interpersonal influence and other
 behavioural indicators of commitment and attachment to the group.

Beyond attitudes and behaviours at the micro level, Friedkin (2004) also put forward macro- or group-level indicators of social cohesion. These indicators were understood to manifest through group conditions and networks, including the configuration, force and number of interpersonal ties among group members (Friedkin, 2004). Interestingly, despite a research focus on social cohesion, these micro–macro group processes and dynamics appear to somewhat align with explanations around social capital. While this is by no means an improper approach, this notion highlights the complexity of delineating between concepts. In contrast to Friedkin's method, Acket et al. (2011) developed an index of social cohesion that was implemented on a much larger scale (39 European countries). The index titled 'the VALCOS-Index of Social Cohesion' was developed to closely align with macro indicators used by others in the scientific community (e.g., Bernard, 1999; Chan et al., 2006; Jenson, 1998). In conjunction with the other literature, Bernard's (1999) six dimensions of cohesion were adapted and used to measure the following indicators:

 Legitimacy/illegitimacy: Confidence in national organisations, institutions, government and distributive systems (e.g., confidence in health care systems or the press).

- *Acceptance/rejection:* Proximal and distal solidarity (e.g., concern with fellow countrymen or immigrants).
- Participation/passivity: Participation in legal or illegal political activities or political
 concern (e.g., signing a petition, joining unofficial strikes and extent of participation
 in political discussions).
- Belonging/isolation: Participation in social, political, cultural, youth and leisure associations (Acket et al., 2011).
- 2.8.3 Policy indicators. In addition to the theoretical work investigating dimensions and indicators of social cohesion, policymakers and analysts have also undertaken attempts to use social cohesion in a policy setting. With cohesion often being described at the national level (Rajulton et al., 2007) and policy efforts linked with strategy and implementation on the ground (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002), there is value in examining how dimensions of social cohesion may have been interpreted and operationalised from the policy perspective. The Council of Europe (2005) developed the 'Methodological Guide to the Concerted Development of Social Cohesion Indicators' in 2005 with the aim of providing a methodological framework that enabled delegation of responsibilities to different sectors of state. Four 'levels' were developed to analyse social cohesion from which an in-depth description of indicators and measurements were described across 82 pages of the report. The four levels comprised:
 - level 1—the assessment of the general trends of social cohesion, examining overall trends
 - level 2—the assessment of social cohesion as a whole, examining four types of public action (i.e., originating, regulatory, remedial and facilitating)

- level 3—the assessment of social cohesion by area of life, examining eight areas of life (i.e., employment, income and purchasing power, housing, health and social cover, nutrition, education, information and communication and culture)
- level 4—the assessment of social cohesion by vulnerable groups, examining six vulnerable groups (i.e., persons belonging to minorities, migrants, elderly people, people with disabilities and women) (Council of Europe, 2005).

Similar to the Council of Europe, The Commonwealth Secretariat and UNRISD also invested in the development of indicators of social cohesion through their 2010 report by Jenson. The report highlighted how elements of social inclusion and social capital could be included in the mix of indicators. In total, eight indicators were listed, five of which were derivatives of social inclusion (indicated by access to financial resources, economic activity, health, technology and education and human capital). The other three indicators were social cohesion as cultural and ethnic homogeneity, social cohesion as trust and social cohesion as participation and solidarity. On a different scale to that of the Commonwealth government and UNRISD, the OECD outlined their understanding of social cohesion through a 2012 report, titled 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012, Social Cohesion in a Shifting World'. Within this report, a range of social cohesion indicators were outlined, including: 1) inequality, 2) employment, 3) values and 4) attitudes relating to civic participation (OECD, 2012). However, a more recent report was published (2014) that specifically concentrated on the Asia-Pacific region (in which Australia was included). This report communicated a range of social indicators, one of which was social cohesion. Five social cohesion indicators were described and differed to the indicators described in the 2012 global report. The Asia-Pacific indicators were: 1) life satisfaction, 2) confidence in institutions, 3) trust and safety, 4) tolerance and 5) voting (OECD, 2014). Another example of

social cohesion indicators tailored to suit the Australian context is that of the Scanlon Foundation (2017a). Conducted annually since 2007, the surveys adapted the work of Jenson (1998) and Bernard (1999) to incorporate five domains: 1) belonging, 2) social justice and equity, 3) participation, 4) worth, 5) acceptance or rejection and 6) legitimacy (Markus, 2017). Table 2.3 summarises both academic and policy approaches to interpreting social cohesion's assorted dimensions and indicators. While the sources adapted for use in Table 2.3 do not make up an exhaustive list, they represent key portions of the academic and policy literature.

Table 2.3

Indicators of Social Cohesion

Author(s)	Indicators		
Jenson (1998, 2010)	Affiliation/isolation, insertion/exclusion, participation/non-		
	involvement, recognition/rejection and legitimacy/illegitimacy		
Bernard (1999)	Insertion/exclusion, legitimacy/illegitimacy, acceptance/rejection,		
	equality/inequality, participation/passivity and affiliation/isolation		
Forrest & Kearns (2001)	Common values and a civic culture, social order and control, social		
	solidarity and reduced disparities in wealth, social networks and		
	social capital and attachment to place and identity		
Friedkin (2004)	Membership behaviours and membership attitudes, manifesting		
	through the configuration, force and number of interpersonal ties		
	among group members		
Acket et al. (2011)	Legitimacy/illegitimacy, acceptance/rejection,		
	participation/passivity and belonging/isolation		
Council of Europe (2005)	General trends of social cohesion (overall trends), social cohesion as		
	a whole (four types of public action: originating, regulatory,		
	remedial and facilitating), social cohesion by area of life (i.e.,		
	employment, income/purchasing power, housing, health and social		
	cover, nutrition, education, information and communication and		
	culture) and social cohesion by vulnerable groups (i.e., persons		
	belonging to minorities, migrants, elderly people, people with		
	disabilities and women)		
OECD (2014)	Life satisfaction, confidence in institutions, trust and safety and		
	tolerance and voting		
Markus (2017)	Belonging, social justice and equity, participation, worth,		
	acceptance or rejection and legitimacy		

Note. Indicators adapted from Acket et al., 2011; Bernard, 1999; Council of Europe, 2005; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Friedkin, 2004; Jenson, 1998, 2010; Markus, 2017; OECD, 2014.

Overall, an accepted interpretation of social cohesion has not been achieved in the literature (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017; Triggs, 2014). Many have argued that this is because quasi-concepts call for analysis and deconstruction (Bernard, 1999) and that 'definitional choices have significant consequences for what is analysed, what is measured, and what ... action is recommended' (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002, p. 6). As social cohesion is both a diverse and contextually specific concept, with multidisciplinary foundations involving a range of potential social processes and fluxes, a precise set of indicators for social cohesion was not selected for application in this research. Rather, an understanding of social cohesion was initially informed by the aforementioned definitions (see section 2.5.2) and for the purposes of this study, refined and conceptualised in relation to The Huddle's interpretation of social cohesion (see Chapter 4, 5 and 6 for further details). The next section examines critiques of social cohesion, before providing a summary of this chapter.

2.9 Critiques of Social Cohesion

As a concept, social cohesion is somewhat contentious and holds a number of criticisms, one of the most common of which is its ongoing ambiguity and lack of definition (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017). While some scholars have explained that there is utility in social cohesion remaining indistinct (Jenson, 2010), others have explained that a common idea of the concept would enable the state of cohesion to be monitored across multiple time points and contexts (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017). While more recent research has sought to provide modern frameworks of cohesion (see Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017), such proposed dimensions seldom differ from previous research (e.g., social relations and belonging) and their application is yet to be evidenced through contemporary literature. Subsequently, a lack of consensus on social cohesion continues to permeate the scholarly discourse (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017; Triggs,

2014). Bernard (1999) explained that despite its legitimate scientific benefits, this vagueness enables the concept to meander alongside political discourses and actions. Consequently, scholars have also identified and questioned the neoliberal underpinnings of this concept.

In addition to issues of ambiguity, scholars have also questioned whether interpretations of social cohesion might reinforce societal divisions and neoliberal tendencies (Bianco & Bal, 2016). To explain, neoliberal discourses and frameworks are understood to adopt white, middle-class values and perspectives to describe success and progress as societal movement from marginalised to belonging (Kark, Preser & Zion-Waldoks, 2016) and often do so under the guise of broader economic growth and success. McDonald (2015) defined neoliberalism as 'not just ... economic principles which privilege free markets and privatisation while eroding state expenditures related to social services for the poor and marginalised' (p. 911). It has been suggested that such conceptualisations of social cohesion position equality as the promotion of 'sameness' and social justice as access to economic opportunities (Bianco & Bal, 2016).

Beyond promoting neoliberalism, social cohesion has been critiqued for its tendency to position multiculturalism as a source of potential division in society. Specifically, scholars have contended that a focus on multiculturalism has the potential to exacerbate a fear of difference, stagnate understanding between cultures and emphasise societal inequalities (Bianco & Bal, 2016). Therefore, programs and policies targeting the development of social cohesion are often implemented with the aim of reinstating trust in institutions (Jenson, 1998) and rarely call to account the neoliberal tendencies of such projects (Bianco & Bal, 2016). Bernard (1999) commented that such expressions of cohesion 'implicitly prescribe a dose of compassion and a return to values rather than a correction of social inequalities and an institutional mediation of interests' (p. 3). While social cohesion is still typically accepted as a positive social force

(Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017), such neoliberal and multicultural assumptions need to be addressed to move beyond economic growth logics to embrace social development logics (Bessis, 1995; Bianco & Bal, 2016). It is important to note these criticisms, as similar issues emerged in association with The Huddle's programming.

2.10 Summary

This chapter presented an overview of research concerning SFD and social cohesion. Considering this in relation to the knowledge gap presented in Chapter 1, this theoretical foundation reinforces the research rationale for this study and provides insight into opportunities to contribute to the currently under-researched area of SFD and social cohesion. In particular, there are opportunities to increase understanding around the management of SFD in the pursuit of social cohesion outcomes, improve knowledge of the social cohesion outcomes that can be realistically achieved through SFD and the factors that might influence how this occurs. To address these opportunities, the research aim and questions presented in Chapter 1 have been adopted as a means of guiding this study. Specifically, the aim of this research is to examine how The Huddle, an SFD initiative, may contribute to social cohesion outcomes among its CALD and refugee youth participants in Melbourne, Australia. The three research questions that were developed to guide this study are: 1) How was The Huddle managed in the delivery of SFD programming? 2) What perceived outcomes do youth participants report in association with their engagement with The Huddle? 3) How do findings in relation to questions one and two align with The Huddle's aim of social cohesion?

The above literature review also offers a basis from which to interpret and consider the findings generated from this research. Specfically, this chapter has explored SFD's origins and evolutions, best practice, emerging issues and theoretical underpinnings. From its earliest

beginnings and up until the present day, SFD has been highlighted as a dynamic field that has involved collaboration and support from many institutions and organisations. With regard to best practice, the SFD literature has highlighted the importance of local ownership and capacity building and suggested that program accessibility must be maintained through promoting feelings of safety and enjoyment. In addition, hybrid organisations and IORs must be appropriately managed through encouraging a focus on SFD missions and communicating SFD benefits to all partner organisations. A number of emerging issues and concerns were also prevalent in the SFD literature. In particular, SFD practitioners need to be aware of neo-colonial practices, informal structures and ad hoc programming, top—down management and the potential influence of funding partners on SFD missions and practices. In addition, there are a number of theoretical frameworks that have helped inform the foundations of this work. These include Coalter's (2006) 'plus sport', 'sport' and 'sport plus' model, Green's (2008) 'sport for social inclusion', 'sport as a diversion' and 'sport as a hook' model, Coalter's (2006) logic model and Sugden's (2014) 'ripple effect' model.

Additionally, social cohesion theory, definitions, indicators, associated concepts and critiques were examined. Social capital and social inclusion were also explored as concepts that have theoretically overlapped with social cohesion. As such, the sources, impacts and indicators of social capital and inclusion offer insights into conceptualising social cohesion. While there were a number of frameworks highlighting factors that can influence social capital, inclusion and cohesion, the notion of group and belonging appeared to among the most common scholarly discourses. Interestingly, social cohesion was understood to be relatively stable in Australia, yet scholarly and political discourses continue to highlight its development as a core priority. Further, these political discourses and their ongoing association with cohesion have led to

critiques of the concept. Specifically, social cohesion has been criticised for its vagueness, as it has enabled it to drift alongside such political discourses that have been permeated with neoliberal views. In doing so, many of these conceptualisations have arguably positioned multicultural populations as a source of division in society.

Given its ambiguity and the contextually specific nature of the concept, rather than selecting a specific definition or set of indicators from which to measure cohesion, a broad range of theories have been examined and two definitions were identified that helped inform my initial understandings of the concept. This was done with the view to further refine this research lens in relation to The Huddle's interpretation of cohesion. Having reviewed and discussed SFD and the social cohesion literature in this chapter, Chapter 3 now turns to focus on the research philosophy and methodology adopted in pursuit of the research aim and questions.

Chapter Three. Methodology

Ethnographic research differs from positivistic research, and its contributions to scientific progress lie in such differences ... By admitting into the research frame the subjective experiences of both participants and investigator, ethnography may provide a depth of understanding lacking in other approaches to investigation. (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 32)

3.1 Introduction

In Chapters 1 and 2, background information was presented, the research rationale and aim of the study were established, a review of the relevant literature was provided and core theoretical concepts were discussed. Chapter 3 begins by reiterating the research aim and questions that guided the study and supported the research aim. From this point, the philosophical foundations of the study have been outlined, followed by the research context, research design, ethical considerations and ways in which the research context was accessed. This chapter ends by explaining the data collection and analysis techniques and reasons why these particular approaches were selected.

3.2 Research Aim and Questions

The aim of this research is to investigate how The Huddle, an SFD initiative, may contribute to social cohesion outcomes among its CALD and refugee youth participants in Melbourne, Australia. The research questions devised to support this aim are as follows:

1. How was The Huddle managed in the delivery of SFD programming?

- 2. What perceived outcomes do youth participants report in association with their engagement with The Huddle?
- 3. How do the findings in relation to questions one and two align with The Huddle's aim of social cohesion?

3.3 Research Paradigm

Initially conceptualised by Kuhn (1962), research paradigms encompass a range of techniques, beliefs and assumptions shared by various scientific research communities (Kuhn, 1962). Paradigms have been described as a framework or net of beliefs that guide the way research is conducted (Guba, 1990). Since their first conception, paradigms have evolved to encompass a range of approaches, including positivist, post-positivist, critical theory and constructivist—interpretive (Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Encompassed in each paradigm are four components: axiology, epistemology, ontology and methodology. Axiology considers the moral nature of research in the world, epistemology focuses on a researcher's knowledge of the world, ontology asks questions about the nature of reality and methodology relates to how one gains knowledge of the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Differentiations in each of these perspectives depend on the various paradigms. However, with tensions existing between paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), scholars can find it difficult to identify one single world view that aligns with their research approach (Seal, 2014).

Of all these paradigmatic tensions, one of the most commonly debated has focused on quantitative and qualitative approaches existing in opposition to one another (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; McCusker & Gunaydin, 2015; Venkatesh, Brown & Bala, 2013). Situated at one end of the spectrum are researchers focused on quantitative methodologies that have historically tended to align themselves with positivist paradigms. Associated with this world view is the idea that

reality is objective and that one 'truth' can be derived through research into a statistical relationship (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Conversely, those specialising in qualitative approaches have traditionally framed their research through an interpretivist world view. In this instance, researchers typically propose that multiple 'truths' exist, reality is socially constructed and constantly in flux and that these are based on an individual's subjective understanding of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It has been suggested that a key difference between these two paradigms is the notion that positivists perceive research as a way of demonstrating causal mechanisms, whereas interpretivists view research as a means of improving understandings of human action (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

While tensions remain in this traditional 'paradigm war', alternative discourses have highlighted that qualitative and quantitative research approaches, along with their associated paradigmatic assumptions, do not have to remain incompatible (McCusker & Gunaydin, 2015; Seal, 2014; Young & Atkinson, 2012). For example, post-positivists moved beyond the traditional positivist (quantitative) paradigm to incorporate qualitative methods. Ontologically, reality is assumed to exist but can only be defectively researched and represented due to inconsistent human mechanisms. Further, reality is understood from a dualist perspective in which post-positivists exist as guardians of objective reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). From the critical theorist perspective, reality was once historically apprehendable but has since been altered over time through a range of societal factors (e.g., cultural, political and social). Epistemologically, the investigator and participant are interactive and the investigator's values influence the research process. In this paradigm, the methodological approach is predominantly dialogic and dialectical (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

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To establish the most relevant paradigm for this study, a broad body of literature focusing on sport was examined. In doing so, it was clear that the majority of research into groups and sport has predominantly been associated with positivism (e.g., Bruner, Eys, Wilson & Côté, 2014; Crombie, Lombard & Noakes, 2009; Lee, Cornwell & Babiak, 2012). From this perspective, one true culture exists that is determined and measured to develop behavioural laws (A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009). Conversely, some scholars have reasoned that social settings that involve organising, managing and educating people concern the real lived experiences of individuals (McNiff, 2013). Further, to better comprehend the world and the human experiences in it, interpretivist perspectives have been suggested as the most fitting paradigmatic approach (Poczwardowski, Barott & Henschen, 2002). This view carried weight in this study, as it aims to explore participant experiences of The Huddle and then examine how this might relate to The Huddle's organisational interpretation of social cohesion. In addition, determining a statistical cause—effect relationship was considered an inappropriate approach to the research problem. Therefore, interpretivist perspectives (such as critical theory and constructivism) were thought to be most appropriate for this research.

Unlike positivism and constructive interpretivism, critical theorists strive to challenge the status quo. They 'do not share the confidence of interpretivists in peoples accounts of experience' (A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009, p. 30) and instead prefer to 'hear in them the voice of an inherited tradition and prevailing culture' (Crotty, 1998, p. 159). Their research seeks to uncover factors that influence an individual's life, empower people to understand their oppression and encourage societal change. Further, it looks to offer hope where there is usually only disdain (A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009). This research aims to explore participants' experiences of The Huddle and trust their accounts of those experiences. It does not attempt to

challenge the status quo nor drive societal change. Thus, critical theory was not considered the most relevant interpretivist paradigm for this research.

The constructivist–interpretive paradigm understands reality as being socially constructed, interpreted and experienced by people through their interactions with others in a broader societal system (Crotty, 1998). Through this approach, researchers aim to uncover meaning and values (Flick, 2014) to understand a phenomenon without generalising across populations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Ontologically, this paradigm believes in the existence of multiple experienced realities and that individuals may assign different meaning to the same phenomenon (Crotty, 1998). From the epistemological perspective, the researcher and participant are interactively linked through their subjective and transactional creation of investigation findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). As a result of the transactional nature of these enquiries, naturalist and dialogic procedures between the investigator and participant are the most common form of methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). From this world view, researchers do not find laws or certainty through their enquiry; rather, they explore subjective interpretations of experiences and multiple realities (A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009). With these epistemological, ontological and methodological understandings in mind, I considered the constructivistinterpretive perspective the most suitable for this research.

The philosophical foundations of this study acted as a framework and point of reference throughout the research process. Further, it enabled the exploration of meaningful structures in a sociocultural context from the viewpoint of those whose culture it is (Muller & Guendouzi, 2009). The research methodology was also guided by this framework, as an ethnographic approach was employed for its constructivist–interpretive perspective and its subjective and socially constructed understanding of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Meaning was uncovered

through research observations and interviews that sought the participants' subjective understanding of their experiences with The Huddle. The transactional nature of this inquiry was particularly pertinent, as I was embedded within The Huddle and able to come to know participants, staff and stakeholders over a two-year period. This enabled a deeper level of both observation and questioning and allowed participants' perceptions to be interpreted in a meaningful and contextually specific manner. In summary, the philosophical foundations of this research lay in a constructivist—interpretive perspective that informed the research process ontologically, epistemologically and methodologically. This ethnographic approach and its associated research processes are discussed in the following sections.

3.4 Research Context: The Huddle

Founded in 2010 in the NMFC headquarters, The Huddle was developed as a joint initiative of the NMFC, the Scanlon Foundation and the Australian Multicultural Foundation. Through employing a variety of targeted activities and programs, it aimed to increase social cohesion among CALD and refugee youth of Melbourne's inner North West. In 2008, before its establishment, a comprehensive community consultation process took place with the aim of ensuring the initiative could deliver program and learning activities that were appropriate and relevant to the needs of the community. Through this consultation, the presence and needs of the CALD and recently arrived refugee populations were recognised. As a result of this process, The Huddle established its primary aim of developing social cohesion and decided to approach this through the use of sport to engage local CALD communities. Its initial conceptualisation of cohesion aligned with the Scanlon Foundation's definition of the concept. As a founding partner and key financial contributor to The Huddle, the Scanlon Foundation describes social cohesion

as 'the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper' (Scanlon Foundation, 2017b, p. 1).

At the start of this research, in 2015, The Huddle operated with six full-time paid staff and was supported by approximately 200 volunteers per year (The Huddle, 2015a). With a variety of programs on offer, The Huddle developed into an initiative that looked to cater to a range of needs. For example, the 'Sisters through Sport' program engaged with young girls through sport to promote various health and wellbeing outcomes (e.g., healthy lifestyle practices). In contrast, 'The Good Wheel' program gave participants the opportunity to develop cycling skills and knowledge as well as an understanding of traffic safety. In addition to these programs, The Huddle also facilitated the 'Active Girls' program, 'Schools Football' program, 'Hop-On' after school sport (e.g., soccer, hockey and netball), a Ramadan soccer tournament, drop-in sport sessions, sporting event excursions (e.g., AFL and netball games), recreational excursions (e.g., swimming programs) and miscellaneous one-off events to familiarise participants with sport and The Huddle (e.g., 'Welcome to AFL'). Outside sport-focused programs, The Huddle also offered programs that aimed to assist with study skills and educational and vocational outcomes. Some of these included the 'Study Support' program (tutoring for high school and university students), the 'True North' Program (leadership skills development), the 'North Way' program (academic skills development for disengaged youth), career counselling, assistance with work experience opportunities and a handful of education and career-focused one-off events (e.g., 'Work Expo' events).

The environment in which the programs operated depended on the type of initiative conducted. Programs with an educational focus were conducted in one of the two group classroom areas. Programs with a focus on sport generally took place either inside the North

Melbourne Recreation Centre facilities (located in the same building in which NMFC and The Huddle are situated), outside on NMFC's oval, local community ovals (e.g., next to Flemington Community Centre or North Melbourne Community Centre) or at a location relevant to the target population (e.g., local school) or activity taking place (e.g., North Melbourne pool for swimming programs or sport stadiums for AFL events).

Since its formation, The Huddle has employed sport, recreational, educational, digital and communicative activities to engage with more than 40,0000 CALD youth (The Huddle, 2015d). Within this group, it has been estimated that at least 90 per cent identify as CALD. In 2014 alone, data indicated that 6000 young people attended programs on more than 25,000 occasions (The Huddle, 2015b). While not all participants attended on a regular basis, those who did were encouraged to take part in multiple programs. Therefore, no two experiences at The Huddle could be considered the same and any perceived impacts could not be exclusively attributed to one specific sport activity or program. As such, participants, staff and stakeholders involved in a range of The Huddle's programs were interviewed for this research. An ethnographic approach was used throughout this process and will be explained in the subsequent section.

Figure 3.1 was developed using Coalter's (2006) logic model to help summarise and illustrate the presumed relationships between The Huddle's programs, participants, individual outcomes and intended community impacts as they existed at the start of the research project in 2015. For further details on The Huddle's programs, structures and management please see Chapter 4.

Program aims	Outputs	Outcomes 1	Outcomes 2	Intermediate impacts	Outcomes 3
	Programs	Participants	Sport & Program	Personal & Social	Broad Social Developments
People are healthy Project participants have improved physical and mental health and wellbeing Project participants have increased physical activity	One-off events to familiarise participants with sport and its benefits AFL program Netball program Swim program Soccer program Bike program Active Girls program Drop-in sport (i.e., basketball) Sport event excursions (i.e., AFL and netball games) Activities pre/during Ramadan (i.e., Futsal, self-defence)	CALD youth Volunteers Local businesses Local sport organisations State/national sporting associations Community	Physical activity Sporting skills Rules of games Physical self-efficacy Enjoyment	Health knowledge Sport knowledge Attitudes towards sport and physical activity Inclusion of self and others Interpersonal skills Physical self-efficacy Self-efficacy Self-esteem Locus of control Gender identities Cultural identities	Positive health practices Positive physical activity practices Community networks and support Inclusion Gender identities Cultural identities Social cohesion Leadership
People are safe Project participants have improved perceptions of safety Project participants have improved knowledge of how to reduce personal injury and harm	Bike training program Sports activities located outside The Huddle Participants accompanied to/from sporting events outside the Huddle	CALD youth Volunteers Local businesses Local sport organisations State/national sporting associations Community	Physical activity Bike skills Road rules Exposure to community infrastructures (i.e., public transport) Exposure to broader community (social/cultural) Enjoyment	Understanding of bikes and physical activity Understanding of community (social, cultural and infrastructure) Interpersonal skills Physical self-efficacy Self-efficacy Self-esteem Locus of control Gender identities Cultural identities	Community understanding Community networks and support Inclusion Gender identities Cultural identities Social cohesion Leadership
People have knowledge and skills Project participants have improved knowledge and skills	Study support Career counselling Work experience Leadership opportunities	 CALD youth Volunteers Local businesses Local sport organisations State/national sporting associations Community 	Academic skills Exposure to different workplaces and careers Exposure to potential role models Leadership opportunities Enjoyment	Academic capacity Understanding of community (social, cultural and infrastructure) Interpersonal skills Leadership skills Self-efficacy Self-esteem Locus of control	Community understanding Community networks and support Inclusion Social cohesion Leadership

People feel they belong Project participants have an increased sense of belonging Project participants have an increased understanding of other cultures and identities	Sport programs (as above) Recreational activities (i.e., surfing) Sport event excursions (as above) Participation of above activities to include participants and leaders from a variety of cultures and religious backgrounds	 CALD youth Volunteers Local businesses Local sport organisations State/national sporting associations Community 	Physical activity Exposure to community (i.e., infrastructure, social and cultural) Exposure to potential role models Leadership opportunities Enjoyment	Understanding of community (social, cultural and infrastructure) Interpersonal skills Leadership skills Physical self-efficacy Self-efficacy Self-esteem Locus of control Gender identities Cultural identities	Community understanding Community networks and support Inclusion Gender identities Cultural identities Social cohesion Leadership
People are connected and participate Project participants have improved connections to their communities Project participants have improved participation in civic life	Programs as above Where possible, programs developed by and delivered for young people in conjunction with community volunteers (from sports organisations and The Huddle) Series of one-off events for participants, potential participants and familiers to tour the Huddle and familiarise with it as a suitable, safe space for activities, such as stud and prayer, to aid connections to the community	CALD youth Volunteers Local businesses Local sport organisations State/national sporting associations Community	Exposure to community infrastructures (i.e., public transport) Exposure to broader community (social/cultural) Exposure to potential role models Leadership opportunities Enjoyment	Understanding of community (social, cultural and infrastructure) Interpersonal skills Leadership skills Self-efficacy Self-esteem Locus of control Gender identities Cultural identities	Community networks and support Inclusion Gender identities Cultural identities Social cohesion Leadership

Figure 3.1. The Huddle logic model 2015.

Note. Developed by Katherine Raw, adapted from Sport In-Development: A Monitoring and Evaluation Manual (p. 32), by F. Coalter, 2006.

3.5 Research Design: Ethnography

Historically, the roots of ethnography link back to research by Radcliffe-Brown (1922) and Evans-Pritchard (1940), who travelled to distant locations with the aim of plotting the topography of human culture and identity (Harrison, 2014). Although not traditionally adopted by sport scholars, more recent research has shown an increase in those employing ethnography as a methodological approach (Gilbert & Trudel, 2004). This trend appears to be most common in social-scientific inquiries into organised forms of sport and less so among sport management research (Kitchin, 2014). While there have been frequent calls for in-depth and longitudinal inquiries in the field of SFD (see Camiré & Trudel, 2013; Conroy & Coatsworth, 2006; Harrist & Witt, 2012; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Mandic, Bengoechea, Stevens, Leon de la Barra & Skidmore, 2012; Moreau et al., 2014; Richards & Foster, 2013; Rookwood, 2013; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Sherry, Karg & O'May, 2011; Sherry & O'May, 2013; Vella, Oades & Crowe, 2013; Weiss, Stuntz, Bhalla, Bolter & Price, 2013; Welty Peachey, Cohen, Borland & Lyras, 2011; Zarret, Fay, Carrano, Phelps & Lerner, 2009), few scholars have employed ethnography as their methodology of choice (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Spaaij, 2013).

Despite the lack of use in earlier SFD research, multiple benefits have been cited for the use of ethnography in SFD contexts. For instance, Spaaij (2015) employed ethnography over three years of SFD research in community football clubs. He suggested that this method was 'particularly well suited to investigate the meaning of belonging and social boundaries as they inhere in the subjective experiences of participants' (Spaaij, 2015, p. 306). In his earlier work, ethnography was also endorsed for its capacity to capture the voices, experiences and meaning-making processes of the individuals who were investigated (Spaaij, 2013). Similarly, Lindsey and Grattan (2012) strongly validated the use of ethnography in their research design, as it

enabled them to understand the social life of SFD in communities through local stakeholders' own explanations and descriptions. The researchers also went on to note that ethnographic approaches have the potential to assist in decentralising SFD knowledge and methodologies. Yet, few SFD scholars have used this method and sufficiently communicated explanations of these methods (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). Therefore, there must be methodologically justified research that explores SFD from the perspective of its actors (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). The lack of ethnographic methods in SFD research, combined with its suitability to address the research questions and potential benefits in this context were core reasons behind the use of this methodology.

Outside the SFD context, scholars have also identified flexibility as a strength of ethnography (A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009; Riemer, 1977). For me, this flexibility enabled adaptations and changes beyond my initial research plans. As the research progressed, it became clear that there were benefits to using a more in-depth approach highlighting participant voices and experiences. Further, over the two-year observation and interview period (April 2015–May 2017), it became evident that The Huddle was changing over time. The adaptability of ethnography allowed the research process to remain malleable over the data collection period, enabling it and myself as the researcher to adjust to changes in the research context as necessary. Within this journey, the way in which I accessed the research context was of great importance. The strategies used to address access in this study are discussed in the following section.

3.6 Accessing the Research Context

Interpersonal relationships between the researcher and those participants being researched are at the core of ethnographic research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). That is, to conduct a study, scholars must gather data via their interpersonal relationships. However,

forming such relationships poses unique challenges and tensions in the initial stages of ethnographic study (Harrington, 2003). This is because researchers go beyond acquiring official permissions and look to grow the trust and cooperation of participants by developing interpersonal connections and building rapport (Berg, 1998; Harrington, 2003). In doing so, the researcher can learn from the people they are talking with and observing. Consequently, access is not something that can be achieved once, but instead it is a relational process that can be developed over time and has multiple stages (Feldman, Bell & Berger, 2003). Feldman, Bell and Berger (2003) delineated access into phases that consist of finding informants, permission to contact informants, making initial contact, developing rapport and exiting. Although these stages did not always occur in a consecutive manner, as they sometimes overlapped or had to be revisited, for the purposes of communicating access progressions in this research, they have been delineated into four sections as outlined below.

3.6.1 Finding informants. The initial phase of access, identified as 'finding the informants', involves a complex and intertwined bond between research design and access. Typically, research design involves how a researcher decides who the participants are, while access encompasses the persuasion of participants to provide you with information (Feldman et al., 2003). While research design processes appear best situated before access, in reality these sub-phases are much less straightforward. For instance, some studies are designed with access in mind while others are designed around the access they have (Feldman et al., 2003). For this study, identifying and selecting The Huddle as the research context resulted through a number of processes that transpired in a relatively concurrent manner during the early stages of this research project. One key process involved the analysis of the SFD literature that uncovered a gap in the area of SFD and social cohesion and SFD and ethnography. A key social process that was central to the initial

phases of access occurred through an existing relationship between my primary supervisor and the Community Programs Manager of The Huddle. The Huddle's Community Programs Manager identified The Huddle as an SFD program aiming to develop social cohesion and was interested in exploring research possibilities. A mutually beneficial research opportunity emerged that resulted in the formation of this PhD project and 'The Huddle' being identified as an appropriate research context for an SFD-focused study.

3.6.2 Permission to contact informants. The second phase of gaining access relates to how a researcher gains permission to conduct research from an institutional gatekeeper and from their participants (Feldman et al., 2003). Within a research context, gatekeepers can be understood as a person with the authority to grant or deny access to possible participants or the capacity to facilitate (or hinder) the access process (Feldman et al., 2003; King & Horrocks, 2010). In addition to permissions sought via the La Trobe University Human Research Ethics Committee, one of the most prominent gatekeepers involved with permissions in this research was The Huddle's senior management group. Given the concurrent nature of the first access stage, these permissions were not hard to come by, as official approval occurred in a somewhat organic manner when The Huddle's management sought out the research team to conduct a study. Coinciding with this process, management were provided with project proposal documents summarising the aims, methods, possible outcomes and time commitments required of potential participants (King & Horrocks, 2010).

While it is not always necessary to go through all potential gatekeepers, as overall organisational permissions can sometimes be sufficient, there can be distinct advantage in doing so (King & Horrocks, 2010). With the understanding that staff situated lower than senior management were much more operationally involved with The Huddle's programs, I also sought

permission from these individuals. In doing so, I was assisted in facilitating the initial observations of programs, given advice on ethical processes (such as informed consent), supported in identifying potential participants (including youth, volunteers, other staff and stakeholders that represented various IORs) and helped when making initial contact with participants. Further, this process also enabled trust to be built and credibility to be reassured (King & Horrocks, 2010). Given that fieldwork spanned over a two-year period, changes in staff occurred and it was necessary to revisit this phase at times throughout the project.

3.6.3 Making initial contact. Effective initial contact with potential participants typically involves two main components, the first of which is the ability of the researcher to help interviewees understand why they might want to participate in the research. The second component is the need to alleviate concerns they might have about the research. These processes can sometimes overlap with the permission phase (Feldman et al., 2003). This was particularly true in the context of this study, as most of the management and staff who facilitated participation also acted as participants in the study. However, initial contact with youth and volunteers still required work after initial permissions were sought. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, this stage of access has been described as a standalone phase.

Typically, qualitative researchers initially contact potential participants via a letter sent in the mail (Silverman & Patterson, 2014). However, in some circumstances, prospective interviewees may not have addresses, have knowledge of their addresses or be willing to share their addresses. Further, even if a mailing address is not an issue, initial contact over the phone or face-to-face may work better than a letter through the mail (Feldman et al., 2003). It was for all these reasons that a combination of methods was used when contacting potential participants. For example, in terms of youth at The Huddle, staff had informed me that some individuals either did

not have an address, would not know their address and if they did know, they may not be willing to share it. Further, as program observations had already commenced, many volunteers and youth had already met me in person, played sport with me and were aware of my reasons for being at The Huddle. Therefore, the use of letters handed over in person by myself and combined with face-to-face explanations of the research project were deemed the most appropriate first contact for study recruitment with youth and volunteers. This was also the case for staff and stakeholders of The Huddle, with the exception being those stakeholders who were not regularly present within The Huddle's facilities. In these instances, staff of The Huddle facilitated an email introduction with a letter attached and if an individual offered to take part in the study, I subsequently followed up by explaining the project and requirements over the phone.

3.6.4 Developing rapport. Developing rapport with individuals is essential when gaining access to information in qualitative research. Trust is often considered the core of this ethnographic process. It builds a foundation for communication and facilitates a free-flowing disclosure of information between participants and the researcher (Feldman et al., 2003). Trust and rapport can be built on in a number of ways. For instance, participant observation can give researchers the opportunity to interact with participants, build rapport and subsequently recruit them to participate in an interview (Silverman & Patterson, 2014). When interviewing official figures or stakeholders, the researcher might dress in a more professional manner to build rapport with the informant and develop a safe zone in which they can speak freely (Silverman & Patterson, 2014).

My initial presence at programs and how I conducted myself in these situations played a large part in how rapport developed over time. For the first few weeks, I aimed to examine a range of programs across the week and make research observations during these sessions.

Although I was still an outsider, I became a regular presence at least three to four times a week.

Through this, I became more familiar with program structures, staffing of programs and came to know the staff. From this, a deeper understanding of social circles, the context and culture of the organisation could be developed. This rapport with staff snowballed to enable trust to be built with youth, staff and stakeholders of The Huddle. For instance, to build rapport with youth, trust by association was critical. The following research observations describe this process:

Many of the girls didn't know me, but it was very obvious that as soon as they knew one of the other girls that knew me, they relaxed and started to be ok with me being around. It's almost like a trust by association system. At the centre of networks, key participants are linked in with key staff and volunteers at The Huddle. Newer participants or those less familiar don't appear to trust the situation as much, but the closer the link they have to the key participants and/or program staff/volunteers, the more trust appears to be present. (Research observations, September, 2015)

Once I became a more consistent presence and understood program scheduling, I began to regularly do my work in The Huddle's office one to two days a week (and this continued throughout the two-year period). Days in which more programs occurred determined my schedule, as these would allow more participant interactions and observations. That said, when special events occurred or program schedules shifted, my schedule would adapt and expand accordingly. With more interactions and observations came greater understanding of The Huddle. Trust and mutuality were central to this process (Spaaij, 2013; Waddington, 2004), as it progressed to such an extent that the boundaries between myself and the participants became blurred (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen & Liamputtong, 2006; Spaaij, 2013). At times, I became involved in playing sports to balance team numbers, tutored participants due to a lack of available volunteers, provided administrative assistance, filled in for staff to run programs when

they were away and attended at strategic meetings. However, this involvement also posed a challenge, as it was at times difficult to detach from The Huddle's aims and programming. While it is impossible to eliminate all researcher bias (Waddington, 2004), it was hoped that the ongoing use of research observations combined with reflexive journalling would assist in prompting awareness of this where possible.

Reflexivity through research observations and journal entries began early in this process, but became more prominent, important and in-depth as my journey progressed. From these accounts, I was able to detail what I learned in my fieldwork that then developed understanding around my shifts in positionality and identity. From this, I was able to further reflect on these shifts and adapt myself accordingly. All this was not only key to my understanding and portrayal of The Huddle, but was necessary to maintain support from The Huddle's staff and management during the project. More details of reflexivity and positionality are described in the next section.

3.6.5 Exiting. While the qualitative research often revolves around gaining access to a research context, consideration must also be given to the process of a researchers' departure from fieldwork (Feldman et al., 2003). Feldman and colleagues (2003) explained that exiting can be awkward and challenging, as researchers rarely enter into relationships with participants the intention of ending them. In addition, after forming genuine relationships with participants, departing from a research project can be a process that is painful and potentially filled with regret (Feldman et al., 2003).

Over the course of this research project, I developed a number of genuine friendships with staff and youth of The Huddle. Two years of data collection meant that many of these friendships had developed to such an extent that multiple participants had access to my email, often added me on various social media platforms, and staff members would often call or text my

personal mobile number, and vice versa. With this in mind, prior to exiting, I made an intentional effort to actively communicate with staff and youth about the culmination of my project and eventual departure. This was to such an degree that I likely over accounted for this, and in the final weeks of my time at The Huddle, I would arrive at programs and participants would be confused as to why I had not departed already. As a result, my final day of data collection and 'official' researcher presence within The Huddle was uneventful and went almost completely unnoticed. It is also worth noting that I eased this process by ensuring that participants were aware they could contact me after my departure and that I would occasionally drop in to programs in the future. This has in fact occurred, as I have had intermittent contact with staff members and recently attended a 2018 'Active Girls' program reunion at The Huddle.

It is important to note, however, that while I do not regret the manner in which I departed from this project, I do feel some remorse with regard to the timing of my exit. That is, as discussed in upcoming chapters, I departed during a time of change at The Huddle. Participation numbers had dropped, some staff had moved on from working at The Huddle, and the number of programs being conducted were declining. Although it would have been ideal to continue data collection beyond the two-years to see whether stability was re-established, logistical and time constraints made this impossible.

3.7 Reflexivity and Positionality

Incorporating 'reflexivity' in research has been increasingly endorsed as a fundamental quality control strategy in qualitative enquiries (Ahmed, Hundt & Blackburn, 2011; Berger, 2015; D'Cruz, Gillingham & Melendez, 2005; Gerstl-Pepin & Patrizio, 2009; Tong, Sainsbury & Craig, 2007). At the root of these recommendations sits the idea that a researcher's social position (e.g., gender, age and race), personal experiences and beliefs have the potential to

impact how research is conducted and the way knowledge is generated (Berger, 2015; Tong et al., 2007). As a white, non-CALD, female, upper—middle-class PhD researcher, my social position, experiences and beliefs played a role in how this research transpired. Similarly, my personal and professional experiences have also played a part in this journey. Therefore, reflexivity was a process that resonated, ebbed and flowed throughout this research project. This occurred both consciously through written journal entries and research observations and subconsciously through social interactions.

Prior to commencing my PhD journey, a number of personal and professional experiences framed my initial perspectives. Travelling through numerous countries had prompted learning around cultural nuances, encouraged awareness of my position of privilege and eventually helped me understand that I had an inherent desire to work towards some form of social justice. From these understandings and with an undergraduate degree in exercise science, I undertook my honours research focusing on an SFD program in East Timor. I had not heard of 'sport for development' and had little knowledge in this area academically and neither had my supervisors or those managing the SFD program. The research and personal journeys that ensued were rapid and tumultuous. Although I learned a great deal through this process, at times I was also exposed to colonialist mentalities and practices, top-down management, minimal attempts at program sustainability and a lack of understanding of local input and needs. Consequently, despite having an overall positive experience and sustaining a desire to continue to work in SFD, I was left with a critical view of SFD programs and their capacity to truly promote social development. This narrative, combined with the exercise science-esque, positivist tendency to (try to) operate as a fly-on-the-wall researcher, collectively represented the starting point for my PhD journey.

This preliminary perspective and operational tendency framed my ambition to research and evaluate an SFD program and its impacts in the 'truest' manner possible. I now regard this epistemological notion as somewhat naïve. Regardless of how 'fairly' one tries to represent social experiences and contexts, data collection, analysis, interpretation and writing can only occur in one's own values and epistemological assumptions. Therefore, it was imperative that ethical sensitivities around (re)presentation were carefully considered throughout this research process (Seal, 2014). As a result, efforts were made to follow research recommendations through increasing my understanding around the role of self in forming knowledge, while also monitoring the impact of beliefs, bias and experiences on research (Berger, 2015; Tong et al., 2007).

SFD research has highlighted reflexivity as being particularly relevant when engaging in culturally sensitive research, as it holds the potential to prompt power differentials between the researcher and those being researched (Rossi, Rynne & Nelson, 2013). How this dynamic evolves determines the way in which researchers and stakeholders might actively produce, negotiate with and challenge sport as a developmental vehicle (Darnell, 2010). This determines the impacts and knowledge generated in association with this dynamic. Rossi et al. (2013) explored the decolonisation of method in sports-related research in Indigenous Australian contexts. The authors documented the slow process of gaining access and trust in communities while being guided by a social justice ethic. Although the researchers were successful in eventually gaining the trust of individuals and gathering information, the journey was also 'turbulent' and filled with 'latent tendencies' and 'privileged assumptions' (p. 116). Many elements of this journey have paralleled my own. To help navigate this, reflexive journalling was adopted throughout the entirety of my PhD. This assisted me through regularly prompting

thought around self-reflexive dialogue, critical self-awareness and positionality (Seal, 2014).

Below is an abstract that demonstrates some of the privileged assumptions that I became aware of during the first few months of my research:

I had to leave early, just as the girls started to arrive for the Active Girls program. I dropped in to say hello and explain why I wouldn't be joining the group that afternoon. I told the girls that I had to leave early as was going away to the beach for the weekend. The girls eyes lit up and they couldn't stop asking questions. A couple of them told me that they were jealous as they'd never seen the beach. Although I had expected this reaction when I had told them I was going to the snow a few weeks earlier, I really didn't expect such a shocked reaction from the girls about the beach—particularly as the majority of the girls live near NMFC and are only a short tram ride from St Kilda Beach. I also thought that some of the girls had been to the beach with The Huddle one of the school holiday excursions. I was reflecting on this over the weekend while I was away and I realised that I'd grown to get to know these kids beyond their challenges; while you know that they are there, you almost forget the challenges that they have faced and still do face. I felt upset, I think I still am a bit. I'm upset that despite these families overcoming challenges to get to where they are now, that there still aren't always equal opportunities. I'm frustrated that I assumed otherwise, but it has also caught me offguard, as it has shown me how much I care. (Journal entry, August, 2015)

Reading through this reflection afterwards, I felt somewhat uncomfortable about my privileged assumptions. Looking back, at some point in my journey I shifted towards the mindset that youth would rather not focus on their challenges or cultural background. Instead, they prefer to be treated the same as any other person of the same age (at one point a participant highlighted

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this and expressed her frustrations at a newspaper article that described her as 'disadvantaged' in relation to her cultural heritage in Iraq). That said, despite approaching everyone as equal (or at least trying to), no matter how much I forgot the challenges faced by youth or the differences in culture or life opportunities, there would always be variations in every dynamic and context between myself and others. From this came the understanding that in this context, I was both an insider and outsider from which conscious reflexive processing around the research—researched dynamic began. The following journal abstract was written a year after the previous reflection and demonstrates how I was trying to regulate the researcher—researched relationship and power dynamics. This reflection occurred after I was asked to look after the study support program for an afternoon:

I was left to handle most of the study support duties by assigning volunteer tutors to youth and vice versa. Some of the volunteers seemed a bit confused that I was there doing things that staff would normally be doing. It's interesting that I've come to this point of managing to be both an insider and outsider of The Huddle. This has been particularly evident through Active Girls, Sisters through Sport and Study Support where in all programs I have been asked to take care of duties for an extended period of time that would normally only be asked of other staff members ... I am happy to take on these duties, I often quite enjoy them and I feel privileged to be asked to do so, but I also feel that this could be considered both a benefit and a hinderance to my research. In terms of benefits, it is quite noticeable how the attitudes of youth change once they notice you're in a leadership/authoritative position within a program. This change in attitude tends to present itself in the form of a greater sense of trust and willingness to approach me to ask for help. While this trust in particular can be good in terms of recruitment and depth of

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information derived from interviews, it may also be influential to the type of conversations occurring through data collection. That being said, some (not all) individuals have still been willing to offer up honest ideas around how The Huddle could improve, so it hasn't hindered all honesty. In addition, I don't think as many interviews would have been possible without that trust. So while that have may influenced data to an extent, my gut feeling is that I may not have had that much data if trust between youth and I was not there in the first place. It's also interesting to see how sometimes I function within The Huddle almost as a staff member, and on other occasions I will not be included within meetings or discussions around situations within programs I am involved in. While I'm not sure if I would want this, I do I wonder if part of this is due to forgetting my presence, or due to the fact that staff are would rather not have me (as a researcher) involved in certain conversations due to worries of reporting or even other considerations (quite possibly a combination of all of the above). Again, it is interesting to look at how I can be seen to be both an insider and an outsider in terms of both staff and youth. (Journal entry, September, 2016)

The above excerpt demonstrates how I had become aware of acknowledging and managing the researcher—researched relationship and power dynamics. In a similar manner to Rossi et al. (2013), I found that power distributions changed from one context to another and sometimes even ebbed and flowed in conversations. While I could not say that power was a non-issue, it was not 'unidirectional' and at times it shifted away from myself as a researcher to those being researched (Rossi et al., 2013). I tried to confront these situations directly by reflecting and writing about where and how these situations played a part in my research journey. Beyond making me aware of these assumptions, this experience also helped me understand that I had

grown beyond my initial removed, positivist—subjective researcher tendencies to be embedded within The Huddle and enjoy working with its youth participants. The researcher—researched relationship is a complex dynamic and by including these reflections, I hope to explain some of the social processes and thinking that occurred throughout my research. While it was not possible to resolve differences in positionality, experiences and beliefs, being reflexive about these disparities helped me understand the role they played in the research process (Berger, 2015). This research process entailed a number of ethical considerations that are examined in the next section.

3.8 Ethical Considerations, Credibility and Authenticity

Although little consensus exists as to how qualitative studies are best assessed, the vast majority of scholars agree that critical evaluation is a fundamental part of research (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). A. Edwards and Skinner (2009) discussed research ethics for qualitative sport management scholars and suggested that the following considerations should continue throughout the entirety of a project: safeguarding professional standards, protecting participants' wellbeing and rights, protecting vulnerable populations, risk management and ensuring public support for research. Further, Denzin and Lincoln (2011) warned against the use of positivist measures in qualitative research and instead considered trustworthiness and authenticity as more relevant ethical concepts. While the terminology varies (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), the principles and intent—that is, increasing the quality and validity of the research—behind the outcomes of various evaluation criteria continues to be similar. (Yin, 2014). After reviewing the ethical considerations from a general qualitative perspective (see Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), a sport management standpoint (see A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009) and an ethnographic SFD angle (see Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Spaaij, 2013), a number of strategies

were employed to safeguard the trustworthiness, authenticity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) and overall quality of this research. These strategies and steps are outlined in the following sections.

3.8.1 Ethical considerations. Prior to undertaking any research, I gained permission to conduct the research both internally with La Trobe University and externally with The Huddle. These processes were of importance to the study, as these approvals were considered central to safeguarding participants, myself and the project. Formal university approval was sought through the La Trobe Human Research Ethics Committee (UHEC reference numbers 15-054 and 16-001, see Appendices B, H and N) and organisational consent was sought through The Huddle's senior management. On receipt of approvals from both parties, information about my presence and project within The Huddle could be explained and in-field observations could commence. Following an initial period of solely observing The Huddle, interviews with staff, stakeholders and volunteers of The Huddle could begin. Participant Information Sheets and Consent Forms (written in plain English) were provided to potential participants who had indicated they were willing to take part in the research (see Appendices C, D, I and J). Along with verbally explaining the research, these forms were used to explain the purpose of the research, the requirements of those who agreed to take part, their right to withdraw from the research project and their right to confidentiality. Once consent was obtained, semi-structured interviews took place at a time and location convenient to each participant.

The potential language barrier was a key concern in this context and, as such, advice was sought from staff, stakeholders and volunteers of The Huddle to manage this issue. While stakeholders deemed the aforementioned information and consent process as appropriate for CALD youth of The Huddle (as they attended school and engaged at The Huddle in English), I sought guidance regarding the parents and guardians of youth, as they were less likely to have

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fluent English language skills and literacy (and would need to co-sign youths' consent forms if they were under 18 years of age). Through consultation, it was decided that the most appropriate course of action was to translate Participant Information Sheets and Consent Forms into three additional languages: Arabic, Oromo and Somali. Each participant could select a form that could be understood in two languages (English and either Arabic, Oromo or Somali). While translators were also discussed as an option for the semi-structured interviews with youth of The Huddle, staff and stakeholders considered this unnecessary. Consequently, I decided that translators would not attend every interview but their service would be offered to each potential youth participant. However, despite informing youth participants of the option to have a translator present during discussions, none took up this opportunity.

Another key ethical consideration for this project was the confidentiality and privacy of participants and The Huddle. For qualitative scholars, maintaining confidentiality of respondents while also communicating in-depth, detailed representations of their experiences presents a unique challenge (Kaiser, 2009). For this research, the first step in this process was to inform participants that there would be no personal identification of individuals in this thesis or in any subsequent presentations or publications. To ensure confidentiality and privacy, pseudonyms were used and any highly identifiable or sensitive information was removed from participant responses. While ensuring the confidentiality of individuals was relatively straightforward, the privacy of The Huddle as an organisation was a more complex proposition. In this instance, even if multiple measures were taken to provide anonymity, the public nature of the organisation and its focus would mean that it would take little effort to decipher the SFD context being described. In addition, reducing descriptions of the SFD context would be to the detriment of understanding the quality and potential impact of this research. Hence, the disclosure of The Huddle as the

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organisation of focus was deemed necessary. To best manage this disclosure of information, I provided staff with copies of their transcripts, this thesis, publications and presentations. In doing so, points of interest could be discussed further and amended as required before any information being publicly disseminated.

Given the interpersonal and intrusive nature of ethnographic enquiries, care had to be taken to ensure adherence to ethical standards when interacting with participants (LeCompte & Schensul, 2015). This was of particular concern when it came to interviews and discussions with youth and staff of The Huddle, as these scenarios had the potential to unearth sensitive issues or organisational politics. To manage this, before commencing interviews, participants were notified that if any issues were to arise, counselling would be provided as needed (although this was not required during the project). During discussions, I was also careful to pose questions only to a depth at which the participants appeared to be comfortable. In addition to this, I was mindful of ensuring a positive and collaborative research environment. LeCompte and Schensul (2015) highlighted that ethnographic researchers not only occupy normal research roles but they may also take on additional roles that are specific to activities in the field. The key to knowing how to conduct oneself in these multiple roles is to understand the impact these have on the research (LeCompte & Schensul, 2015). While I took part in multiple roles and managed this through personal reflexivity (as discussed in this chapter), it was also thought necessary to avoid deception. To explain further, given the embedded nature of this enquiry, it was sometimes appropriate to remind participants (particularly staff) the purpose of my presence at The Huddle. While this may not stop participation in additional roles or activities (e.g., running sporting activities or attending strategic meetings), it helped clarify the manner in which these roles would be taken on and avoided deception or the accidental crossing of ethical boundaries.

3.8.2 Credibility and methodological authenticity. The prospect of a two-year engagement period with The Huddle proved to be both beneficial to the research and somewhat challenging. First and foremost, from an ethnographic perspective, it proved beneficial, as it enabled relationships and trust to grow between participants and myself. Through these relationships, trust and cooperation could develop, enhancing the credibility of the interview data communicated by participants (Feldman et al., 2003). However, throughout this immersive journey, a range of ethical considerations needed to be managed along the way.

The first of these considerations became evident during initial research discussions between the research team and The Huddle's staff, as well as during the primary phase of observations. Within this period, it became apparent that despite having similarities with some participants (e.g., gender, age and sporting interests), I, the researcher (as a white Australian), would also appear to be culturally different to many of the participants being researched (particularly CALD youth engaged with The Huddle). Rossi, Rynne and Nelson (2013) warned that researchers must consider a range of issues when pursuing culturally based sports research. For instance, researchers might be better placed if they initially stand back, build trust, investigate participant cultures and observe before making assumptions and, if necessary, start again on methodological procedures (Rossi et al., 2013). In accordance with these learnings, the primary methodological processes were iterative and adapted over time. The initial engagement period largely involved observation-based field work with some informal discussions with participants (both staff and youth). In addition, I tried to discover the most prominent cultural backgrounds among youth of The Huddle. Specifically, the organisation's staff and stakeholders suggested that Somali, Arabic and Oromo cultural backgrounds were some of the most prominent. From this position, I could begin to develop my understanding of these cultures and

enhance my knowledge about general CALD and refugee statistics, journeys and experiences both locally and internationally. I learned how to behave appropriately in different settings, who the key staff members in each program were and how to dress appropriately for each context (Feldman et al., 2003). While not necessarily a perfect approach, as every CALD and refugee experience is unique, this enabled a more culturally sensitive approach to the research and more thoughtful interactions with participants.

Beyond the pursuit of culturally sensitive research, I also attempted to examine and practice reflexivity. Qualitative scholars have highlighted reflexivity as an essential component of ethically sound research (Ahmed et al., 2011; Berger, 2015; D'Cruz et al., 2005; Gerstl-Pepin & Patrizio, 2009; Tong et al., 2007), as it asks researchers to account for their influence and role in the enquiry (Cutcliffe, 2003). This was particularly relevant for this research project, as one of the more common criticisms of ethnography is its potential for researcher bias (A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009). For these reasons, I used a reflexive journal throughout the entirety of the research journey. The reflexive process not only allowed me to acknowledge my own social position (as a white, non-CALD, female, upper-middle-class PhD candidate), but also highlighted my personal beliefs and experiences that played a part in how the research was conducted and results were generated (Berger, 2015; Tong et al., 2007). While this may not have eliminated all biases, at a minimum it allowed for many said biases (and their resulting function) to be acknowledged. From this position, I was able to continually examine and re-evaluate information and perspectives, challenging my views and beliefs along the way (A. Edwards & Skinner, 2009).

In addition to reflexivity, triangulation was employed as a means of improving the rigour of this enquiry. For this study, triangulation involved sourcing information from multiple types

of data and examining the topic of interest on multiple occasions and through multiple angles (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). I looked to achieve triangulation both externally through member checking of interview transcripts and the submission of research updates to The Huddle's staff, and internally through examining numerous viewpoints through multiple participant groups and sources of data (e.g., semi-structured interviews, research observations and organisational documents). Data were sourced and examined on multiple occasions and combining reflexivity and research observations assisted in examining the research from various angles. While not every participant took up the opportunity to scrutinise their transcript or read the results from the analysis, member checking was still a vital component of triangulation. When participants volunteered to discuss the transcripts and results, data and participant realities could be verified or clarified as necessary (Tolich & Davidson, 2011). One of the primary reasons for applying these methods was that I was able to grow a rich and in-depth understanding of the data and context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

At this point, it is also important to note that some scholars have criticised the use of the aforementioned ethical procedures aimed at furthering the validity and reliability of constructivist—interpretive studies. The reason for this is the notion that such methods are indicative of realist and positivist paradigms that could contradict such research (Angen, 2000). For instance, member checking has been questioned for its potential to assume one truth or reality (Sandelowski, 1993) and reflexivity has been discussed as a misguided attempt to create the illusion of objectivity (Heshusius, 1994). In contrast, other scholars have stressed the importance of using such tactics as a means of addressing problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). While I considered the value in both sets of ideas, ultimately the weight of the potential problems associated with reliability and validity was

deemed more important. Further, these methods were not used as a means of finding one truth or to judge the quality of sources, but instead to deepen the dependability and gather support between sources of information available. In addition to adopting such ethical processes, a number of data collection methods were employed throughout the two-year research journey. These are described in the subsequent section.

3.9 Data Collection

Using a combination of data collection methods has been endorsed by a range of ethnographic researchers, as it enables the exploration of meaning and culture (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Schensul & LeCompte, 2012). The flexibility of ethnography enabled the use of a mixture of strategies. Data were sourced through 102 pages of written research observations and reflexive journal entries, 72 semi-structured interviews with 54 participants and review of 133 organisational documents from The Huddle. While semi-structured interviews may be considered a more formal variation of data collection, observations and document reviews were just as valuable, as they assisted in the development of a more in-depth representation of social processes (Finlay & Gough, 2008) and organisational strategies as they emerged. The next sections outline the reasoning behind each tool and how each was used and contributed to the research process.

3.9.1 Research observations and reflexive journalling. Observational methods have been a fundamental practice throughout the history of qualitative methodologies. They offer unique insights into social processes, interactions and behaviours that go beyond the understanding conveyed in verbal accounts or transcripts alone (Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls & Ormston, 2014). Its capacity to uncover cultural details has been suggested as a particularly relevant component of ethnographic research (Spradley, 2016). The nature of the observation used

can vary between and within research projects (Ritchie et al., 2014). Passive forms of observation typically involve a researcher being present in the field to observe research sites and events, but has little interaction with the individuals involved. Conversely, active observations involve a researcher participating in the same activities, events and behaviours as those being investigated (Spaaij, 2013; Spradley, 2016).

Observational note taking and processes formed a key part of the data collection for this research. Initially, these occurred in a mainly passive manner through watching programs and some small conversations with participants. During this primary phase, I found it beneficial to have individual staff of The Huddle who had been informed of the research with me as I explained my presence in the field to participants (Spaaij, 2013). However, as trust between myself and those being researched grew, passive methods of observation soon began to evolve into a more active role. This proved to be invaluable to the research in that The Huddle could benefit from the researcher's involvement and more in-depth research observations could occur.

Observational processes for this research typically took place in sporting areas (e.g., basketball court and ovals), educational classroom areas or staff offices of The Huddle. These occurred during and after activities, programs, events and meetings. A number of observational ethnographic techniques were used, including engaging in conversation, asking questions and subtle eavesdropping (Wagstaff, Fletcher & Hanton, 2012). The focus of research observations varied depending on each situation being observed. Some examples include interactions among people, actions taking place, the characteristics of individuals (e.g., clothing, gestures and nonverbal behaviours) and physical surroundings (Yin, 2014). Alongside observations of people, programs and all things The Huddle, reflexive notes and journal entries were taken to help examine how I conducted myself, people's reactions and behaviours towards me and how I

managed myself in response to all these occurrences. In noting these actions and interactions, I was able to immerse myself further within The Huddle and deepen my understanding of routines, dialogues and exchanges among The Huddle's youth and staff (Ritchie et al., 2014).

Both observational research and reflexive notes were made through the use of a written notebook and note-taking software (Evernote) on a laptop (MacBook, 2016), iPhone (6SE, 2016) and iPad (Mini 3, 2015). These were then compiled into one Microsoft Word document for later referral and analysis. In total, 102 pages of research observations and reflexive notes were made across the two-year period (April 2015–May 2017). While observations occurred throughout the research journey, the first few months (April 2015–November 2015) of observation before the semi-structured interviews proved invaluable when it came to gaining access to key gatekeepers and the broader body of stakeholders, staff and youth of The Huddle. Through this growth in access and networks, I was able to refine sampling methods, expand the participant group that might participate in the semi-structured interviews and develop my approach to the interview process.

3.9.2 Sampling methods. Participants for this study included youth, staff, volunteers and stakeholders of The Huddle. Recruitment of these groups occurred through a combination of methods. Initially, purposeful sampling was used across all groups as a means of identifying individuals that might offer high quality, important or unique information that might assist in understanding the phenomenon being explored (Robinson, 2014). In addition, a subset of this method known as 'snowball' sampling was employed, as it enabled interviewees to recommend other relevant acquaintances for inclusion in the participant group (Palinkas et al., 2015). Arguably one of the most widely used sampling methods in qualitative research, this method has been suggested as particularly useful when working with hard-to-reach ethnically diverse groups (Perez,

Nie, Ardern, Radhu & Ritvo, 2013). Further, researchers have noted that it can assist when trying to recruit those that may be hidden beyond the immediate participant group (Noy, 2008). This was beneficial when it came to identifying stakeholders and volunteers through discussions and interviews with The Huddle's staff. Staff assisted with contacting stakeholders and volunteers through the use of email and face-to-face introductions. In the case of youth of The Huddle, staff also assisted by recommending individuals that might be valuable to the research project.

While snowball sampling remained the sole method of recruitment for the bulk of participants, this method proved less fruitful when it came to youth. Although the youth identified through snowball sampling initially appeared willing to engage in the research, for those under the age of 18 years, few consent forms were returned. Despite having consent forms available in multiple languages (Arabic, Oromo, Somali and English as recommended by The Huddle staff), it seemed as though the process of getting forms home, signed by a parent or guardian and returned back to staff or myself was restricting the number of participants able to take part. Consequently, if parental consent was sought for those aged under 18 years, it was no longer fitting to use snowball sampling as the sole sampling method for this group and convenience sampling was also implemented.

Convenience sampling contrasts to purposeful sampling in that judgement as to who might be knowledgeable sources of information is not used to identify potential participants (Robinson, 2014). This was true in this case, as adding this sampling method was neither purposeful nor strategic (Palinkas et al., 2015). In fact, the only restriction that was applied in terms of selection criteria was that the participant had to be engaged with at least one of The Huddle's programs. While it could be argued this method may not have produced the most reflective group of The Huddle's youth participants, the final sample size (n = 27) was

considered reflective of The Huddle's regular weekly cohort numbers (which staff estimated at 100). Further, I found this to be a necessary shift in the recruitment process that reflected the iterative and flexible nature of ethnographic research and ensured a quality sample size and saturation of data.

Generally, sample sizes in qualitative research are smaller than those used in quantitative research (Mason, 2010). A number of reasons have been suggested for this. For instance, qualitative research generally explores meaning and does not test hypothetical statements (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Further, as research progresses and the amount of data increases, the amount of information or meaning derived from that data does not necessarily increase at a comparative rate. That is, one piece of data is all that is required for it to become a part of the analytical process (Mason, 2010; Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2014). Mason (2010) examined sample sizes across 560 qualitative PhD studies and found that the average sample size was 31. For this study, the sample size came to a total of 54 participants. Within this group, 27 were staff, stakeholders or volunteers of The Huddle and 27 were youth participants of The Huddle's programs. These groups engaged in a total of 72 semi-structured interviews across the research period. How this sample engaged in follow-up interviews has been represented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Interview Sample

Participants	Primary interview	Follow-up interview
Staff, stakeholders, volunteers*	21	14**
Program participants	27	10
Total number of interviews	48	24

Note. *Participant roles regularly crossed within these groups. For example, six staff also identified themselves as a volunteer (or vice versa) at one point in time

Note. **Two staff took part in two follow-up interviews

Through the use of snowball and convenience sampling, the aim was to recruit a variety of participants involved with a range of programs across The Huddle. However, while diversity was sought in terms of level of engagement, types of programs engaged with, age and cultural background, it was not possible to engage with every possible demographic variation within the scope of this study. In addition, due to the two-year research period, programs evolved and participant roles shifted, so not all participants were engaged with The Huddle during the entire two-year period. That said, through participant networks, follow-up interviews were able to be conducted with two youth participants and one former staff member who had either moved on from The Huddle completely or were much less engaged than when they were first interviewed (e.g., a former staff member moved on from being employed at The Huddle to volunteer there once a month). For a full list of interview participants (with pseudonyms assigned) and their relevant background and participation information, see Appendix T. Having now discussed the sampling methods of this study, the next section explains how the semi-structured interviews occurred.

3.9.3 Semi-structured interviews. Existing in a variety of forms, interviews remain one of the most widespread data collection methods among qualitative researchers (Sofaer, 2002; Tong et al., 2007). Semi-structured interviews have the capacity to provide a unique combination of both structure and flexibility during data collection (Galletta, 2013). It allows spontaneous narratives to unfold and gives space to explore participant perspectives, while also involving questions underpinned by theory and research interests (Brinkmann, 2014; Galletta, 2013). For this study, semi-structured interviews enabled a broad variety of data to be collected, from general organisational aims and practices to personal backgrounds of participants (King, 2004) and why

they were engaged with The Huddle. The prolonged duration of the research combined with my embedded position at The Huddle enabled multiple interviews to be conducted. This was beneficial to the research in that follow-up conversations could occur as needed either during formal follow-up interviews or informal conversations. From these conversations, any indistinct points were clarified and ideas could be checked. Further, this longitudinal process helped document participants' evolving experiences of The Huddle.

The initial design of interview question guides (see Appendices E and K) were informed by the research aim and questions but as the research progressed, research observations (from sustained engagement with the Huddle's programs and activities and conversations with participants) also influenced conversation topics. To explain further, I tended to conduct interviews in a more conversational mode, using a mental framework of the question guide to lead the interview rather than strictly structuring the interview around the question guide (Yin, 2014). Semi-structured interviews were conducted either face-to-face at The Huddle or over the phone. These processes occurred over three data collection periods. The first round of interviews occurred with staff, stakeholders and volunteers of The Huddle, the second focused solely on youth of The Huddle and the third set of interviews were used to follow-up with all participant groups. The reason for this approach was that it enabled a flexible ethnographic method to develop naturally as the research progressed. In addition, each interview phase was able to contextualise and inform the next phase. Through this longitudinal and iterative approach, it was hoped that participants' views, experiences and journeys could be better explored through each phase. Figure 3.2 demonstrates this timeline (for more detailed lists of interviews see Appendices F, L, O and T).

Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
	Primary interview	Primary interview	Follow-up interview
Timeline	November 2015	June–August 2016	March 2017
Participants	Staff, stakeholders, volunteers	Youth	All participants

Figure 3.2. Interview timeline.

Participant responses were recorded using a dictaphone (Olympus LS-12). A total of 71 interviews were conducted that comprised of over 23 hours of data. Interviews were then transcribed verbatim into Microsoft Word and saved into qualitative data analysis software program NVivo 11 for analysis. Document review occurred before, during and after the aforementioned timeline. The rationale and processes associated with this data collection method are explained below.

3.9.4 Document review. Organisational documents have been a fundamental component of qualitative research methodologies for many years (Bowen, 2009). Analysis of such documents is a process that can help increase understanding of an organisation and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009; Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Further, the procedure can be used gain insight into important internal business information (Suddaby, 2010) and when combined with interview and observational data, allows for a more holistic interpretation of the phenomenon being investigated (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Essentially, the review of organisational documents can verify information gained via other sources and provide clues to aid research (Yin, 2014). It

was for these reasons that document review was chosen as the final method of data collection for the present study.

A range of The Huddle's organisational documents were reviewed, some of these included information provided to youth, demographic data, newsletters, website content, grant applications, strategic plans and reports. To enable a more in-depth clarification and understanding of The Huddle's structures, resources, motivations and strategies, I reviewed a total of 133 documents during the research project. These documents were provided to the researcher by staff and their dates of publication ranged from 2008 to 2017. These documents became a contextually rich, key supporting element throughout the data collection and analysis process (Bowen, 2009). A full list of the documents reviewed for this research has been included in Appendix S.

Through data collection, this research aimed to examine social interactions and phenomena of The Huddle from multiple angles, on multiple occasions and using multiple data sources (Stake, 2010). Consequently, I used multiple data collection methods throughout this ethnographic study: semi-structured interviews, research observations, reflexive journalling and document review. Using these methods, an iterative approach was selected as the most appropriate, as it allowed data collection to occur in a natural manner and enabled flexibility in responding to the evolutions of participant experiences and changes in The Huddle. After having described how the data were collected, analysis of the data will be explained in the following section.

3.10 Data Analysis

In all, there were 72 interview transcripts, 102 pages of research observations and reflexive journals and 133 organisational documents. While the weight of this dataset had the

potential to make analysis difficult, it also gave me the opportunity to produce richer and more meaningful information (Namey, Guest, Thairu & Johnson, 2008). Therefore, data analysis was considered an important step in this project and to best manage this I sought guidance from a number of qualitative research texts (see Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014; Yin, 2014). Of particular relevance to this research was Yin's (2014) explanation of five phases of qualitative analysis. While it was sometimes necessary for me to adapt these steps and move back and forth between them (Yin, 2014), the overall process helped frame the analysis of data for this study. These five steps are described through the phases below.

3.10.1 Phase 1: Compilation. The first step of the analysis involved compiling original data into a formal database that had some form of system (Yin, 2014). NVivo 11 software was used throughout this first step, as it enabled me to store and sort data before displaying and coding processes later on (for which this software was also used). After ensuring all various forms of data were in Word Document format, they were labelled, imported into the NVivo 11 program and sorted into their respective folders (e.g., 'interview' and 'research observations' folders).

3.10.2 Phase 2: Establishing codes. Prior to analysing data, it became apparent that the relatively sizable dataset needed to be managed to address the research aim and questions. A number of a-priori codes were developed from the literature review and research questions of this thesis. However, during this process, primary data collection phases and transcripts were also considered, from which it became clear that neglecting emergent empirical codes may result in a missed investigative opportunity. Consequently, a composite of relevant theoretical constructs was used to draw upon as a part of the development of the initial coding structure, through which emergent and more detailed themes could also develop (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). These included

components of Coalter's logic model (2006), Schulenkorf's change agent theory (2010) and Sugden's ripple effect model (2014).

3.10.3 Phase 3: Disassembly and reassembly. Following the development of an initial analysis framework, disassembly and reassembly of the data could take place. Disassembling data involved breaking down the data into smaller pieces and assigning each of them a 'code' (Yin, 2014) using NVivo 11. Codes acted as a tag to label, sort and retrieve data throughout all stages of analysis. Further, they helped give meaning to specific 'chunks' of similar information (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this initial step, 'open coding' was used as a means of breaking apart data, examining it and assigning concepts to represent blocks of raw data (while also qualifying the properties and dimensions of each concept) (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

After developing initial codes (both theoretical and empirical), reassembly could then take place. This involved reorganising the disassembled pieces into categories organised via substantive themes or commonly occurring codes (Yin, 2014). During this reassembling phase, 'axial coding' was employed as a means of relating and cross-cutting relevant concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). From this point, the codes were examined at all levels to find even broader patterns in the data and developing higher level themes (Yin, 2014).

While disassembling and reassembling data have been described independently of one another, these steps can overlap and be revisited on multiple occasions until saturation occurs (Yin, 2014). This was true in relation to the present study, as this process began during the fieldwork phase and continued until data saturation was achieved and no new codes were identified. It is also important to note that during this time, both inductive and deductive approaches were used concurrently and the aforementioned theoretical codes were searched for in data and at the same time new empirical codes emerged. Further, entwined in this process was

an ongoing journey of reflexivity. As data were disassembled and reassembled, there were moments in which I tended to link my enquiry with theory, potential literature contributions and my own experiences (Kerwin & Hoeber, 2015). In these instances, theoretical memos were developed and then saved in the relevant NVivo files. Although the line between these memos sometimes blurred with data from observational and reflexive notes, they all retained a purpose and served a function. Through the development of this additional documentation, the data were able to be further refined and evolved into higher interpretive levels (Montgomery & Bailey, 2007).

- 3.10.4 Phase 4: Interpreting. Interpreting the data involves examining the reassembled materials to find new narratives and make further sense of the data to form key analytical outcomes (Yin, 2014). Qualitative researchers have suggested a range of strategies and methods for drawing and checking interpretations from data while also minimising loss of meaning or quality. For instance, Miles et al. (2014) suggested a number of tactics, some of which include noting patterns and themes in data, incorporating particulars into the general, seeking plausibility, counting and making conceptual coherence. Similarly, Corbin and Strauss (2015) advocated searching for patterns that emerged from the data and also recommended sifting through notes and memos to look for clues as to how all the groupings might fit together. These strategies by Miles et al. (2014) and Corbin and Strauss (2015) assisted in interpreting the data through the following ways:
 - **Noting patterns**—looking for and identifying recurring patterns in data was a process that occurred throughout multiple phases of the analysis. In this step, this strategy moved away from commonly occurring words or phrases and instead examined an even broader level to note reoccurring themes in the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Miles et al., 2014). From this point, particular elements of data could

be subsumed into more general classes and categories that related back to broader themes (Miles et al., 2014) and research questions.

- Seeking plausibility—during analysis, moments of intuition combined with ideas of plausibility were noted both mentally and through the use of memos. While not the most concrete tactic in interpreting data, these gut feelings and moments of making 'good sense' (Miles et al., 2014) often came from my contextual understanding of The Huddle and were useful in testing initial assumptions and research findings.
- provided some utility when it came to interpreting the data. For instance, counting codes and respondents assisted me in examining the prevalence of themes in the overall dataset. Further, counting helped when assessing a hunch or seeking plausibility, assisting with analytical honesty (Miles et al., 2014). For instance, analysis of organisational documents produced many codes focusing on strategies and structures of The Huddle. In this instance, it was important to examine the weighting of each data source to ensure that participants' descriptions of their experiences were not lost or imbalanced relative to the numerous descriptions sourced through organisational documents.
- Making conceptual coherence—this strategy focuses on moving analysis and interpretations beyond discrete facts and empirical data to a more conceptual overview of the research landscape. Using this approach, I was able to examine the observable layers of data and relate them to the unobservable (Miles et al., 2014) clues from the research context, memos and notes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

3.10.5 Phase 5: Concluding. Following on from the interpreting phase is the last step, concluding. Typically drawn from a combination of the interpreting phase and a study's empirical findings, conclusions usually form an overarching statement or multiple statements that relate a study's outcomes to a higher theoretical level (Yin, 2014). In doing so, conclusions should communicate the broader implications of the research. Yin (2014) gave five examples of types of conclusions commonly signified in qualitative research: calling for new research, challenging conventional generalisations and stereotypes, proposing new concepts or theories about human behaviours, making substantive propositions and generalising to a broader set of situations. During this phase, I collectively contemplated the study's main data, interpretations, research questions and aim in relation to the broader theoretical and practical SFD context. The resulting conclusions are outlined and discussed in Chapter 4.

3.11 Summary

In this chapter, the aim of this research was discussed, its philosophical foundations were provided and relevant methodological approaches were outlined. Initially, the identification process of the selected constructivist—interpretive paradigm was outlined before the overall ethnographic research approach and the relevant rationale were explained. The SFD research context, The Huddle, was then described and the ethnographic research design was outlined. Following this, the validity, credibility, ethical considerations and strategies of this research were discussed and research access processes were described. Research observations, sampling processes, semi-structured interviews and document review data collection methods were then explained and justified as methods of data collection. Data analysis procedures were then framed through adapting Yin's (2014) five stages of qualitative analysis. After now explaining the various methodological procedures, approaches and considerations of this research, the next

three chapters of this thesis conveys my interpretation of the data in relation to the aforementioned research questions.

Chapter Four. Management of The Huddle's Programming

'Well, how do you actually convince the community to take a football club's community thing seriously?', to want to come to belong to it, without it being jumbled up in football. But acknowledging that you are part of the football club. (Louise, staff, The Huddle)

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter of this thesis established the basis for using an ethnographic and longitudinal methodology in the present study. This method was designed to address the research aim and questions that were outlined in Chapters 1 and 3. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the results and associated discussion points are presented. These chapters have been organised to address the three research questions. In line with this approach, Chapter 4 examines research question one: How was The Huddle managed in the delivery of SFD programming? Chapter 5 will then examine the impact of The Huddle's programming from the perspective of youth, followed by Chapter 6 that examines how the findings from Chapters 4 and 5 align with The Huddle's aim of social cohesion.

4.2 Foreword

Over the two years that I was involved at The Huddle, I observed various changes that occurred in the organisation regarding strategy, programming and personnel. These developments had substantial impacts on programming, participants' experiences, my own involvement and this PhD research. Therefore, before exploring themes and data in response to research question one, I felt that it was necessary to provide this foreword to present a description of how The Huddle evolved over time. Establishing this context not only provides a

setting for the findings to be presented, but also delineates the opportunities and struggles that influenced The Huddle and this research over time. I begin by exploring the past iterations of The Huddle (between 2008 and early 2015), before examining its development over the course of my engagement (April 2015–May 2017).

Originally conceptualised as the 'Learning and Life Centre', plans for a community space in the NMFC facility were unveiled in June 2008 as a part of the club's plan to redevelop its Arden Street headquarters (NMFC & Australian Multicultural Foundation, 2008). To determine the scope, type of projects and potential partners of the centre, the NMFC undertook a community consultation process over four months in 2008. In doing so, the demographic profile of the North Melbourne community was outlined, with 40 per cent of its residents born overseas (NMFC & Australian Multicultural Foundation, 2008). The needs of the local community were explored, with youth requesting educational services, career support and sporting activities. Findings also suggested that a distrust of authority, feelings of not belonging, racism and a lack of opportunities could act as barriers to engagement (NMFC & Australian Multicultural Foundation, 2008).

From this consultation process and with the support of its partnerships with the Scanlon Foundation and the Australian Multicultural Foundation, the NMFC established the first aim of the Centre: 'It is our aim to use sport and education as a unifying force to benefit all Victorians and to promote social cohesion' (NMFC & Australian Multicultural Foundation, 2008, p. 2). When introducing the idea of the initiative to the broader community at the time, the Chief Executive Officer of NMFC stated that a key reason for developing the centre was 'to make North Melbourne relevant to Melbourne and the wider Victorian community and to engage the

multicultural community using education and sport as the unifying force' (NMFC & Australian Multicultural Foundation, 2008, p. 3).

While the vast majority of staff who had been present during these 2008 strategic developments had moved on from The Huddle and the NMFC, Louise (pseudonyms used for participants) was able to shed some light on how The Huddle was designed during that point in time:

The general business plan and concept was just to have something community based at the club ... it was like, 'Well, how do you actually convince the community to take a football club's community thing seriously?', to want to come to belong to it, without it being jumbled up in football. But acknowledging that you are part of the football club. (Louise, staff, The Huddle)

Although The Huddle was not a perfect example of an SFD initiative, my first impressions were largely positive and contrasted from some of my previous, more challenging SFD experiences. I sensed that The Huddle had founded itself on an innate desire to serve the local community according to its needs and that staff and managers maintained this ethos to one degree or another.

However, it was only six months before interviews began to uncover some potential changes in The Huddle's strategy. Managers like Donna described how the initiative was shifting its focus towards expansion: 'So everything that we do, we're now beginning to sort of think about expansion' (Donna, manager, The Huddle). Organisational documents confirmed that this was to occur, stating that 'the Huddle will extend [its] reach and impact across parts of Victoria and Tasmania over the next three years' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 7). When asking for clarification on this, I was informed these two new sites would be located in Wyndham (located 30km west of

North Melbourne) and Devonport, Tasmania (located interstate on the central north coast of Tasmania).

While this expansion was viewed by some as 'a unique opportunity' (Peter, manager, The Huddle), some staff expressed apprehension at the task that lay before them by stating 'god, it's daunting when you talk about all these different things' (Clare, staff, The Huddle). Justin was particularly concerned, stating that 'The Huddle is too focused on expansion and I think we've lost sight ... will it continue to be a success? I think that could be a long-term issue' (Justin, staff, The Huddle). I myself began to hold concerns around the expansion, as it appeared to have emerged in response to NMFC partnerships, funding opportunities and community club strategies rather than through purposeful SFD design of The Huddle itself. This concern was founded on some information that a manager had noted in an earlier interview: 'But [the expansion] may never happen. It might be that we don't get the funding and we can't do it' (Donna, manager, The Huddle). Further, when asked about this expansion, management tended to focus on opportunities provided by The Huddle's stakeholders rather than program design: 'The Huddle has been identified for expansion plans ... the AFL and AFL Victoria have both contributed money for the title, and that facility redevelopment' (Peter, manager, NMFC). The increased financial contributions of these national and state sport bodies and their 'identification' of the SFD initiative for expansion plans were a core catalyst behind upscaling.

In addition, I observed little justification aligned with the needs of prospective communities and minimal consideration given to youth who were currently engaged at The Huddle's primary location. As a result, these changes appeared to be opportunistic rather than purposeful adaptations in relation to SFD objectives. These developments would later have an impact on The Huddle and its youth and also influence the research moving forward. Coalter

(2010b) has warned against such practices and pointed out SFD's tendency to encourage mission drift under the guise of funding agencies with overly ambitious non-sporting agendas. There is a general agreement that dedicated design and planning should form the foundations of any serious attempt to provide sustainable SFD programming (Schulenkorf, 2016). Further, if sustainable growth of SFD initiatives is to occur, then management responsibilities and power need to be moved away from external players and shifted towards local communities as a means of empowering them as independent owners of programs (M. B. Edwards, 2015; Schulenkorf, 2010b, 2012, 2016). However, in this instance, the additional funding appeared to be shifting the bulk of power and decision-making towards external IORs and away from the local community in which it served.

Although I considered expanding the research to encompass all three locations, in terms of logistics, I made the assessment that it would likely reduce my capacity to regularly access. The Huddle's existing North Melbourne programs. I was also concerned that covering three locations might impact the maintenance of existing relationships and potentially dilute the quality of insights collected through deeper engagement with the North Melbourne site. In response to these potential limitations, I delimited this research to The Huddle's original North Melbourne location, while also acknowledging the presence of the two new locations and exploring their potential influence. To explain further, I interviewed staff members involved in these two new locations. In doing so, I enhanced my understanding of how developments occurred, how they may have affected the North Melbourne initiative and, in turn, gained insights into the broader context of The Huddle. Unfortunately, because of changes in staff, strategy and programs, The Huddle's expansion affected the number and availability of stakeholders and volunteers. For this reason, opportunities to interview these participants during

the later phases of this research were limited (for full explanations, see Appendix T). While the perspectives of stakeholders and volunteers have been included where possible, this chapter predominantly focuses on staff perspectives, organisational documents and observational insights.

Given that research observations and interviews occurred over a two-year period, it is important to note that the following chapters aim to (re)present experiences, journeys and changes over multiple time frames rather than presenting results as if they occurred at a single point in time. Moreover, these chapters consider the experiences of a variety of participants and stakeholders. The order in which these perspectives have been presented does not indicate a weighting of significance or importance; rather, this has been organised in this way to reflect the journey and experiences of The Huddle over time. Using such a structure has enabled planning and strategies to be examined relative to how participants experienced them. This has been presented according to two overarching themes: pre-expansion and post-expansion. Within these broader themes, 10 themes have been identified and in these, 19 sub-themes were also uncovered.

Conceptually, these themes have been influenced by Coalter's (2006) SFD program design theory, particularly inputs and throughputs. In addition, these findings have been theoretically examined alongside a variety of SFD and relevant literature. Specifically, the work of Cubizolles (2015), Maxwell, Foley, Taylor and Burton (2013), Schulenkorf, Sugden and Sugden (2016) and Spaaij (2013) has assisted in identifying and discussing management strategies and outcomes associated with sociocultural divides in SFD programming. In addition, research by Rowe et al. (2018), Svensson (2017) and Svensson and Seifried (2017) into SFD organisational hybridity has offered insight into the motivations, benefits and challenges

associated with such collaborative arrangements. Alongside this, Welty Peachey, Cohen, Shin and Fusaro's (2017) work has facilitated discussion around upscaling initiative's in SFD.

Together, these findings, themes and theoretical examinations help to explain how staff, stakeholders and volunteers experienced the management of The Huddle's SFD programming.

Table 4.1 presents an overview of the themes explored in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Table 4.1

Chapter Four Themes

Overarching theme	Theme	Sub-theme
Pre-expansion	Aim	Aim—social cohesion Variations
	Participants	Age group Cultural background
Post-expansion	Staff and volunteers	Staff and volunteers central Cultural background
	Partnerships	Partnerships at core Challenges
	Programs	Key programs and focus areas
	Aim	New aims Variations and new focus
	Participants	Age group Cultural background Decline in participation
	Staff and volunteers	(Lack of) changes to staff Shift to volunteers despite decline
	Partnerships	Partnerships at core despite decline
	Programs	Key programs and focus areas Decline in programming and stability

4.3 Pre-expansion

4.3.1 Aim. Throughout early interviews, participants were asked about The Huddle's aim and a variety of understandings emerged. In organisational documents, it was stated that

the aim of The Huddle was to achieve social cohesion outcomes in the community. Further, it was implied that if a definition was to be adopted in the context of The Huddle, the Scanlon Foundation's conceptualisation of social cohesion was the framework to be used. However, interpretations of this concept varied in practice, with some staff referencing specific definitions and indicators of cohesion, some forming their own views of the concept and others not referring to social cohesion at all.

4.3.1.1 Aim—social cohesion. The Huddle's 2015 documents described how the organisation's aim was 'to enhance social cohesion by addressing the causes of disengagement among young people' (The Huddle, 2015d, p. 3). For instance, Clare believed The Huddle's purpose was to form connections with the local community, thereby promoting social cohesion: 'The Huddle's aim is to first and foremost connect with the local community around NMFC in all its diversity, and in that sense to promote social cohesion' (Clare, staff, The Huddle). Similarly, Peter described his understanding of the initiative's aim: 'The Huddle's overall aim is to strengthen social cohesion amongst young people ... The Scanlon Foundation have five domains of social cohesion, which is useful to look into the context of this' (Peter, manager, NMFC). From this perspective, it appeared as though the Scanlon Foundation's focus on social cohesion had not only influenced the development of The Huddle but also its interpretation of the concept. Over the years, the Scanlon Foundation provided a definition of social cohesion, describing it as 'the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper' (Scanlon Foundation, 2017b, p. 1). In addition, five domains of cohesion

were theorised, consisting of belonging, social justice and equity, participation, acceptance, rejection and legitimacy and worth (The Scanlon Foundation, 2017a).

While the presence of a definition and domains pointed to some potential rigor in the interpretation of cohesion, these were not specifically adopted into The Huddle's design or reporting. Rather, Peter's mention of these domains may instead indicate how the Scanlon Foundation may have swayed interpretations of the concept. However, it has been suggested that SFD initiatives must be wary of the influence of funding bodies on organisational missions (Svensson & Seifried, 2017). Recent research has started to examine such modern organisational arrangements, often termed 'hybrids', whereby funder organisations develop IORs and regularly contribute to SFD initiatives. Rowe et al. (2018) explained that the activities of these organisations cannot be purely considered social development and 'require a more nuanced understanding of their value and importance to sport and sport organisations' (p. 14). For The Huddle, this influence was mostly limited to the Scanlon Foundation's interpretations of cohesion during the early stages of the research. However, stakeholders would have a greater sway over The Huddle's strategy as time went on.

4.3.1.2 Variations. Given the malleable nature of social cohesion in theory (Bernard, 1999), it came as no surprise to find participants offering their own understanding of The Huddle's aim. While most participants referred to social cohesion, others spoke about aims in a manner that did not specifically reference the concept. For instance, Ariel believed The Huddle's aim was to provide opportunities to youth by stating that 'the aim of The Huddle is to ensure that all youth have equal opportunities ... they focus on migrant groups who tend to have a greater struggle due to language barriers ... The Huddle tries to bridge that gap' (Ariel, staff and volunteer, The Huddle). Likewise, Leah's interpretation did not centre around cohesion when she

suggested that 'people embrace others. They belong, they plan together' (Leah, staff and volunteer, The Huddle). Interestingly, while Leah's and Ariel's interpretation did not explicitly mention social cohesion, their understandings could still be linked to the Scanlon Foundation's (2017) domains of cohesion, namely social justice and equity, belonging and participation. In addition, such notions could also be likened to bridging and bonding forms of social capital (Putnam, 1995). Bonding social capital is thought to occur when networks are formed with similar people (based on familiarity and closeness) and bridging social capital is when weaker social ties are built between different types of people (Coalter, 2010a).

These variations in understanding not only indicated confusion but also pointed to broader issues around the flexible nature of the social cohesion (Bernard, 1999). Using such malleable and macro-level concepts has been examined in the SFD literature, with scholars warning against targeting broad gauge problems with narrowly focused programs (Coalter, 2010b). Instead, aims should be narrowed to align with more specific program efforts (Coalter, 2010b). Given these recommendations, The Huddle may have been better placed to target micro-or meso-level social development outcomes rather than pursuing a macro-level concept like social cohesion. In doing so, aims would be more specific and strategy could be developed to better design programs to achieve intended outcomes. The next section describes whom The Huddle were targeting through the aforementioned aims.

4.3.2 Participants. The Huddle's target group and youth cohort was also discussed during interviews. Pre-expansion data indicated that The Huddle targeted youth aged between 12 and 25 years, with a focus on newly arrived migrants and those from a refugee background. However, while some staff offered broader descriptions of a culturally diverse group of

youth, others noted a weighting towards African youth. Some staff questioned this target group and described how it was difficult to find the right balance of cultures.

4.3.2.1 Age group. Organisational documents regularly referenced 'youth' but lacked consistency when it came to identifying a specific age bracket. For instance, one organisational document referred to 'youth' and programs targeting those 'aged 15 to 25' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5) and another highlighted sports programs that divided aged groups into 'Under 15s' and '15+ years' (The Huddle, 2015c, p. 1). Staff accounts somewhat varied as well, with Louise describing how 'the focus has become more and more about the adolescent to 25 [years] and less about primary' (Louise, staff, The Huddle). Conversely, some of Clare's programs included those of a younger age: 'We wanted to engage with girls who are above 14, but we've had a fair bit of interest from girls who are 12 and the decision was, why exclude them?' (Clare, staff, The Huddle). This ambiguity between programs could be challenging for The Huddle, given that defining an initiative's target group is thought to be an important component of effective SFD management (Rowe & Siefken, 2016). Consequently, if The Huddle's participant group was not sufficiently understood, their needs may have remained unclear. This could have restricted the likelihood of informed and purposeful SFD program design, making it more difficult for programs to achieve their desired outcomes.

4.3.2.2 Cultural background. Alongside the age of youth, cultural backgrounds were also noted in interviews and organisational documents. For instance, documents described how the initiative looked to support youth of 'newly arrived migrant and refugee backgrounds across the areas of North Melbourne, Flemington, Kensington and West Melbourne' (The Huddle, 2015d, p. 3). Similarly, staff referred to the newly arrived community as 'there's a large selection of young African asylum seeking, newly arrived background' (Justin, staff, The Huddle). While

staff believed that youth were culturally diverse, references to African youth as a homogenised cohort continued to echo throughout interviews: 'We have a strong-weighting towards African background young people. We've often said, "Well, what should we do to encourage more of the Asian [community] ... How do you find the balance?"' (Louise, staff, The Huddle).

Interestingly, while this cultural imbalance was acknowledged sporadically throughout interviews, few participants directly addressed the concept of race and its role within The Huddle. Instead, discourses remained at surface level and focused on the accepted notion of SFD's ability to build networks between various individuals and cultural groups (Gardam, Giles & Hayhurst, 2017; Lawson, 2005; Spaaij, 2012b). As such, it became clear that participants were cautious of openly making racial assumptions. It has been suggested that there are reasons for programs to maintain racially neutral discourses, as engaging in alternate discourses can imply investment in sociopolitical tensions associated with racial inequalities (D. Hartmann, 2001). Similarly, research has explained that SFD projects should be wary of speaking for and presuming to understand the experiences of racial subjects (Darnell, 2007).

Despite understanding why The Huddle might be wary of engaging in racial discourses, I became uneasy about cultural imbalances and unspoken racial assumptions: 'Doesn't it need to be a genuine two-way exchange? That is, in order to move in this direction [of social cohesion] don't they need to work with multiple cultural populations?' (Research observations, October, 2015). Spaaij (2013) expressed similar sentiments via his enquiry into Somali Australians' experiences of community sport, with the author noting that refugee settlement must be 'understood as a two-way process of mutual accommodation requiring adaptation on the part of both the migrant and the host society' (p. 29). Likewise, Schulenkorf, Sugden and Sugden (2016) recommended that for SFD initiatives to improve inter-group relations, cooperation and equal

status between groups must be a priority. For instance, in their study of an SFD program targeting peace in a conflict setting, they suggested that contact, engagement and cooperation were required between groups to achieve common goals (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). While The Huddle does not look to address conflict between groups, there is value in recognising how SFD can purposefully enhance inter-group relations through actively managing social boundaries in programming and facilitating positive engagement between groups. However, if only a select group or culture is engaging in a program like The Huddle, I questioned how inter-group contact and mutual accommodation could occur at all. Interestingly, cultural imbalances were not only apparent in The Huddle's youth cohort but appeared to be an issue in staffing as well. The subsequent section details The Huddle's staffing and volunteer arrangements before the expansion.

- **4.3.3 Staff and volunteers.** Initial discussions uncovered multiple positive themes in relation to The Huddle's staff and volunteers. Both groups were praised for the central role that they played in programs, both logistically and socially. Further, the capacity to provide high quality and consistent engagement were considered vital to ensuring positive outcomes among the initiative's youth. However, despite the positive discourses around staffing, my observations led to some concerns around cultural imbalances and lack of community empowerment.
- 4.3.3.1 Staff and volunteers central. As a former participant, Leah's perspective offered valuable insights into the key role that staff played during her time in The Huddle's programs: 'They were so supportive and casual about things. The relationship between staff and participants is unique ... They're not teachers, they're people you go to that you can talk about anything' (Leah, staff and volunteer, The Huddle). Likewise, Louise held a similar view when it came to the role of staff, particularly with continuity of support and engagement: 'You're

looking at people that have only settled in Australia five to ten years ago, you need that continuity of support ... it's good that we haven't had total changeover of staff, because you get thread lines happening for people' (Louise, staff, The Huddle). However, maintaining quality and consistent engagement could sometimes be challenging with only six full-time staff.

Consequently, volunteers also played an important part in The Huddle's workforce, with over 200 individuals engaging on 1836 occasions in 2015 (The Huddle, 2015a).

Research has highlighted the central nature of SFD program facilitators, in that they have the capacity to hold significant influence over processes and outcomes (Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011; Sherry & Schulenkorf, 2016). At the most fundamental level, they ensure that programs are delivered appropriately so that SFD outcomes can be realised (P. Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2016). They are also thought to function as a constructive component of social networks by engaging, supporting and encouraging the positive development of youth in programs (Bowers & Green, 2013). In particular, participant outcomes are thought to be enhanced when respectful, trusting and reciprocal relationships were developed between staff and youth (Coalter, 2012; Schulenkorf, 2013; Sherry, Schulenkorf, & Phillips, 2016). While the stability of these relationships may not have been an issue before The Huddle's expansion, changes in staffing after the expansion would challenge this dynamic as time progressed.

4.3.3.2 Cultural background. Despite the vast majority of discussions about staff centring on their positive contributions, I could not help but notice cultural imbalances among the staffing body. To explain, at the beginning of the research period, The Huddle's staff comprised of six full-time and five casual or part-time employees. However, with five (of the 11) staff self-identifying as CALD, I realised that all the CALD staff members were employed on a casual or part-time basis. Given the positive impacts of racial diversity in sport (Cunningham,

2011) and frequent calls for local empowerment in SFD (Schulenkorf, 2012), I addressed this through my recommendations in reports to The Huddle. Specifically, I suggested that The Huddle's management consider the future capacity building of youth by stating that 'solidifying existing engagement and promoting pathways in and around The Huddle are essential ... Peer facilitators are crucial to promoting empowerment and future sustainability' (Research update and report, December 2015).

Through building the capacity of SFD participants, initiatives have the ability to help communities obtain skills and address their own issues in a contextually appropriate manner (Garney et al., 2017). Further, those who fail to acknowledge such capacity-building models have been accused of misusing 'bio-power' or employing neo-colonialist practices (Coalter, 2013; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Schulenkorf et al., 2016). This is particularly concerning when considered alongside Schulenkorf, Sugden and Sugden's (2016) recommendations on the sociocultural positioning and boundaries of youth and leaders in SFD programs (see section 4.3.2). Not only was The Huddle at risk of developing power imbalances between youth and staff, but they were also potentially inadvertently reinforcing sociocultural boundaries by employing those that identified as CALD on a casual basis and positioning those that did not in full-time roles. While this was a key concern before The Huddle's expansion, staff turnover and an overall lack of staff would later surpass cultural imbalances as a challenge for The Huddle. This chapter now examines The Huddle's organisational partnerships.

4.3.4 Partnerships. The Huddle was first conceptualised and formed as a result of IORs and, as such, partnerships have been a fundamental component of the initiative's funding, strategy and program operations. These partnerships were thought to assist through increasing program capacity, resources, participant engagement and impacts. While IORs

were typically discussed in a positive light, it was also noted that these relationships could also be challenging when assumptions were made about the NMFC's association with The Huddle.

4.3.4.1 Partnerships at the core. The Huddle's documents emphasised how IORs were fundamental, stating that 'our approach is underpinned by partnerships with philanthropy, corporate and government' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 3). Outside its primary partners (the Scanlon Foundation and the Australian Multicultural Foundation), IORs were typically categorised into two groupings: funding partners and program partners (The Huddle, 2015d). Funding partners were predominantly involved with The Huddle through their funding contributions and interactions with management, whereas program partners assisted in delivering programs or engaging youth through local community organisations.

Staff and stakeholders of The Huddle offered insights into how these collaborative partnerships assisted program delivery: 'We're bringing different skills and a different focus together [and] that works really well. For us, with the equipment side of things ... and The Huddle provides the venue and certificates' (Zoe, stakeholder, Good Cycles). Likewise, Wendy thought that partnerships increased program capacity: '[They are] allowing us to deliver in areas that we don't have capacity for ... [and] engage groups that we may not typically engage with' (Wendy, manager, The Huddle). Further, these collaborative efforts were thought to enhance positive impacts: 'We can help connect them ... when you end up having a group who previously playing sport was not a possibility, if a number of them then join a local team, that can have a bigger impact on community' (Clare, staff, The Huddle). Thus, not only did these IORs provide increased capacity in programming but they also held the potential to increase the utility of The Huddle's impacts.

A wide variety of institutions and stakeholders are becoming increasingly intertwined in SFD efforts, including governments, inter-governmental agencies, non-profit organisations and sport organisations (Burnett, 2009; Coalter, 2013; Hayhurst, 2011; B. Kidd, 2008; Svensson, 2017b; Svensson & Seifried, 2017). While specific terminologies and theories may vary (e.g., organisational hybridity, social entrepreneurship and corporate social responsibility), recent SFD research efforts are beginning to unpack the potential benefits and challenges of such IORs and hybrid arrangements (e.g., Rowe et al., 2018.; Svensson, 2017b; Svensson & Seifried, 2017). As highlighted in Chapter 2, Rowe et al. (2018) examined this landscape through the lens of professional sporting organisations targeting community development outcomes and offered a working definition of such a context:

The range of discretionary and externally-focused activities delivered by (or in partnership with) professional sport teams that have specific, targeted, positive impacts on community stakeholders. Such benefits may span, but are not limited to, the focus areas of education, health, social cohesion, disability, gender, livelihoods, peace and sport participation. (Rowe et al., 2018, p. 14).

Given The Huddle was founded in partnership with the NMFC, the Scanlon Foundation and the Australian Multicultural Foundation, the initiative provides an example of modern organisational hybridity. Developing, managing and sustaining these IORs was an important part of the initiative's efforts. When managed and leveraged effectively, IORs have the potential to increase organisational capacity via human resources (e.g., participants, coaches, volunteers and board members), facilities, management and financing (Balduck et al., 2015). In addition to these types of tangible resources, these partnerships also carry the potential for intangible resources, such as an increased community presence (Misener & Doherty, 2013). In this instance, IORs

benefitted The Huddle via increased organisational capacity via tangible resources (e.g., funding, staff, volunteers and sporting equipment) and also enhanced the initiative's reach in the community. This enhanced participant engagement and improved the scope and utility of impacts. However, although these collaborative arrangements are believed to offer opportunities for maximising organisational sustainability and positive impacts (Svensson & Seifried, 2017), they can place intricate pressures on SFD initiatives (Giulianotti, 2011a). For instance, in these hybrid contexts, SFD leaders are often required to balance multiple institutional logics while also looking to fulfil respective organisational missions (Svensson & Seifried, 2017). The Huddle was not immune from challenges, which the following section examines.

4.3.4.2 Challenges. Despite their potential benefits, managers explained that IORs could also be challenging. For example, Wendy discussed how these partnerships were not always straight forward: 'It's not all beer and skittles, because you have to nut out which partners have mutually beneficial outcomes. I think we've got better at that' (Wendy, manager, The Huddle). Later, Wendy went on to explain that part of this challenge was The Huddle's association with the NMFC: 'They [partner organisations] are seeking money because you're a football club, and the number of times you have to say, "Look, we are a non-for-profit standalone entity, that is the community arm of the NMFC" (Wendy, manager, The Huddle). Consequently, while the NMFC at times offered a more stable SFD environment, the links between The Huddle and the football club were sometimes misunderstood and could be challenging.

Levermore (2010) explored sport and corporate social responsibility and explained that poor understanding of links with core business can reduce a project's capacity to be taken seriously by its partners. Further, if unmanaged, the dynamics of SFD hybrid funding arrangements have the potential to result in compromises on organisational missions (Svensson

& Seifried, 2017). Scholars have questioned these 'normative' power relations in SFD and noted their potential to affect the experiences of practitioners and participants (Oxford & Spaaij, 2017). It is important to note, though, that while these tensions were present before The Huddle's expansion, they appeared to be managed to the point at which participants and programming were not significantly impacted. However, this would change as time went on and the initiative's expansion transpired. An explanation of how The Huddle's programming functioned in this hybrid organisational context is detailed in the next section.

- **4.3.5 Programs.** In 2015, The Huddle's SFD efforts centred around nine cornerstone programs. However, when considering anecdotal descriptions and research observations, a broader scope beyond these initiatives emerged, including a number of one-off programs, events and excursions. Overall, programs were described as the core function of The Huddle, as they provided a space in which youth could engage with others.
- 4.3.5.1 Key programs and focus areas. The Huddle's organisational documents outlined nine key programs in 2015. Six of these programs functioned internally within The Huddle's classroom facilities, the NMFC's oval (located just outside the NMFC and North Melbourne Recreation Centre's joint complex in which The Huddle is housed) or the North Melbourne Recreation Centre's basketball court (located across the hall in the same complex). Three of these programs—The Huddle Schools' Program, Schools Football Program and English Language Schools—alternated locations between The Huddle's classroom facility and in the schools themselves. A description of these programs has been provided in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Pre-Expansion Key Programs

Program Name	Program Description		
Huddle Schools Program	'Helps children to explore themes of community, self, and sustainability in a unique learning environment. This program has been developed—and continues to evolve—in consultation with local schools and the community' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
Study Support	'The program offers subject specific [volunteer] tutors, mentors, internet access, or just a quiet study space' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
The Huddle Sport and Recreation Program	'Increases the participation of newly arrived youth in sporting teams and clubs, through individual and group coaching, and support of sporting organisations' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
The Huddle Schools Football Program	'Introduces Australian Rules Football to engage children from diverse backgrounds in physical activity, reinforcing the importance of healthy lifestyles, teamwork, and tolerance' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
English Language Schools	'A focus on helping new arrivals develop language skills through The Huddle, and as an extension of our schools program' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
Sisters through Sport	'A girl's only initiative developed to engage young girls in sport and sport related activities' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
True North	'Designed to develop, empower and grow leaders in our local community' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
North Way	'Aims to reengage young people who are at risk of dropping out of school. Held each Monday night in The Huddle in consultation with volunteer mentors' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		
Living Safe Together	'Developed in consultation with various government and non-government stakeholders and key community leaders, in close consultation with the Australian Multicultural Foundation. Funded by the Attorney General's Office (12 month pilot program)' (The Huddle, 2015b, p. 5).		

Clare explained how her role encompassed a whole range of programs and that each of these were adapted to suit the needs of different groups:

The ones [programs] that have drop-in before their name are very informal and it's purely about providing a free space ... Monday sports is more deliberate in that we are trying to introduce different sports to this cohort ... Sisters through Sport is more deliberate in that it's very flexible in its delivery but it is heavily participant-focused. (Clare, staff, The Huddle)

While these descriptions provided an initial outline and scope of The Huddle's most regular programs, it is worthwhile pointing out that staff sometimes found it difficult to recount the full extent of programming: 'That's a good question, because you got a lot of one-off events ... I'd say there are five main on-going weekly programs, and then from those is offshoots and we'll have either one-off events' (Clare, staff, The Huddle). In fact, after working through transcripts, research observations and organisational documents, there were a total of 29 different programs that occurred across sport, education, career and leadership domains. Participation data recorded the number of sessions conducted and how youth had engaged across these programs in 2015. In total, 958 program sessions took place and 13,099 youth attendances were recorded (The Huddle, 2015a).

Given that the SFD sector is often challenged with sustainability issues and limited resourcing (Welty Peachey et al., 2017), it was difficult to understand how six full-time staff could successfully sustain 29 programs. Schulenkorf (2012) examined sustainability in SFD and suggested that to foster sustainable social development, local program beneficiaries must be empowered through increasing levels of program responsibility and capacity building. Other authors have noted that to ensure program sustainability, many SFD practitioners are gravitating

to organisational hybridity as a solution (Giulianotti, 2011b; Svensson & Seifried, 2017). However, scholars have also cautioned that this strategy can carry its own set of challenges, such as the need to manage paradoxical organisational tensions (e.g., business versus social development logics) (Svensson, 2017b). Given that these sustainability difficulties remained largely unaddressed, I felt that the expansion would likely exacerbate these issues further. The ensuing section of this chapter explores how The Huddle's management and programming evolved during the later stages of the research.

4.4 Post-Expansion

4.4.1 Aim. Prior to the expansion, The Huddle's aim had predominantly focused on social cohesion. However, as the expansion occurred, The Huddle's aims shifted to also incorporate learning, growing, belonging and social inclusion. Despite implementing these changes to clarify aims, confusion was apparent. In fact, some staff were not sure whether program aims had changed at all and suggested that The Huddle had shifted its focus to be more 'brand' or 'business-like'. Overall, there was little consistency in interpreting the aims and strategy, as post-expansion aims contributed to an even broader array of understandings.

4.4.1.1 New aims. Organisational documents gave insights into The Huddle's new strategy and aim: 'We aim to help young people learn, grow, belong ... Building cohesive, inclusive communities requires the involvement and active collaboration of all stakeholders of society' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 3, 28.). Interestingly, while social cohesion was still incorporated, it appeared to be less of a focus for The Huddle. Peter highlighted that 'The Huddle

itself aims to help young people learn, grow, and belong' and that social inclusion was now a focus:

When I first started, we existed for social cohesion outcomes. Now I ask, 'What does that [social cohesion] mean?' I got a hundred different responses. The reason why, we adopted that language was because one of our major funders, the Scanlon Foundation, had a strong focus on social cohesion ... But there's now a negative connotation that can be attached to social cohesion ... Which is linking itself to radicalisation and extremism. So it was a conscious decision to shift from using that to now embrace social inclusion, which is more tangible, consistently understood and applied, which is essentially bringing people together from different backgrounds, religious beliefs, genders and having respect for each other. (Peter, manager, NMFC)

The rationale behind these new aims appeared to be twofold. First, it was believed that social inclusion was better understood. Second, social cohesion was often confused and it held negative connotations with radicalisation and extremism. This link appeared to be a concern for The Huddle's management, and while it was not specifically discussed, this did imply that there were anxieties around engaging predominantly CALD youth while social cohesion remained in place as The Huddle's central aim. It is also worth noting that these concerns may have been amplified by negative discourses around African youth that were transpiring through the media at the time of this discussion (MacDonald, 2017).

These notions relate to Darnell and Hayhurst's (2011) observations around the socially and politically malleable nature of sport. That is, while SFD's adaptability enables it to be mobilised as a means of fostering social development in a range of contexts, this same malleability also provides SFD initiatives the power to reinforce or challenge ethno-racial

politics, power relations and neo-colonial practices (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). As a result, the authors have encouraged critical reflection on sport's effectiveness in social development, as it 'is beholden to politics and the challenge remains for sport/development scholars to embrace such politics towards a decolonising sporting praxis' (p. 194). Therefore, given that The Huddle's sociopolitical assumptions associated with race and extremism remained largely unspoken and unexamined, the initiative was at risk of unintentionally running away from or reinforcing sociopolitical discourses around terrorism and race, rather than challenging them. In doing so, youth of The Huddle were being positioned at the societal problem and a predominantly non-CALD group of staff were being provided as the solution.

Beyond the lack of discussion around these sociopolitical challenges and assumptions, a lack of clarity around The Huddle's aim appeared to be compounded by the fact that it now had multiple aims. That is, with additional missions now in place and less consistency between understandings of those missions, achieving these goals becomes more complex and challenging. Such inconsistent and varied goals are thought to create an environment in which the likelihood of contradictory directions for practice increases (W. K. Smith, Gonin, & Besharov, 2013). Consequently, given that clear SFD objectives enable program intent and assumptions to be clarified (Coalter, 2013; Sherry et al., 2016), it became increasingly difficult for me to comprehend how The Huddle would use and target its multiple aims in practice. Therefore, by only distancing itself from social cohesion to a limited extent and adding additional aims, there was greater scope for disparities in interpretation and mounting evidence of mission drift. This variation in understandings has been examined in the next section.

4.4.1.2 Variations and new focus. As previously discussed, The Huddle's aim developed from purely focusing on social cohesion to also encompassing learning, growing, belonging and

social inclusion. While the intention behind this change in aims aligned with an overall push in SFD towards more strategic and less ad hoc programming (Schulenkorf, 2016), the extent to which this strategy was understood in practice was questionable. It appeared as though changes had been made, but staff did not understand why they were occurring or what they meant. Confusion was apparent and there was little consistency between participant perspectives, as a broader array of understandings and logics emerged. Clare was asked for her insights into The Huddle's aim and how it might have changed and she responded by discussing how the aims remained similar: 'I think The Huddle's aims are still very similar in that they revolve around social cohesion, inclusion, and empowering young people' (Clare, manager, NMFC). Interestingly, Prue expressed a similar view, explaining that 'the aim hasn't changed ... We [still] engage people using the power of the club and sport to bring about positive community outcomes' (Prue, manager, The Huddle). This confusion around cohesion as an aim was reiterated when I attended an official function at which the concept was referred to in a speech. I noted that 'it was interesting that a representative from the Scanlon Foundation was present on this occasion' (Research observations, December, 2016). Despite trying to move away from cohesion, it appeared as though the authority of the Scanlon Foundation and its focus on cohesion continued to be an influence moving forward.

To complicate things further, some staff believed that The Huddle's aims had not changed, but its focus had. For instance, Justin described how the initiative's focus had shifted to be more like a 'brand':

The Huddle's aims, haven't necessarily changed. I think its focus has ... There was more interaction there. Now we are doing a lot less programs, but the aims are still the same,

which I find really problematic ... I think our focus, particularly with the expansion, is pushed to being a brand. (Justin, staff, The Huddle)

This sentiment was echoed by other staff when asked about The Huddle's aim. Leah explained how 'social cohesion is still there but it's not so much an aim ... now with Wyndham and Tasmania, we're more of a franchise' (Leah, staff and volunteer, The Huddle). Similarly, Alex described how The Huddle had become more like a 'business': 'It's not bad but it feels like it's a business now, compared to what it used to be' (Alex, staff, The Huddle).

Therefore, as The Huddle expanded, it was likely that business logics were challenging social development logics. Svensson (2017) examined challenges in SFD hybridity and posed the following pertinent question: 'How do you maintain intensive engagement with participants when the financial sustainability of your organization requires growth and scaling of impact? How can standardized programs remain locally relevant?' (p. 2). To address such issues, it has been suggested that SFD managers adopt multiple internal mechanisms to navigate the paradoxical nature of these hybrid arrangements (Svensson & Seifried, 2017). Further, it is thought to be imperative that these leaders '.develop a common organisational identity by balancing the competing hybrid elements (i.e., non-profit, for-profit, and state logics) for sustained success' (Svensson & Seifried, 2017, p. 178). However, in the case of The Huddle, these business logics would challenge programming and management in numerous ways. One of the most telling symptoms was a decline in youth engagement. This decline, alongside descriptions of The Huddle's youth cohort, are discussed in the next section.

4.4.2 Participants. Both pre- and post-expansion data indicated that The Huddle's target population largely aligned with youth aged 12 to 25 years and refugee and migrant populations. Likewise, programs continued to engage a cohort that was weighted towards those of a variety of

African backgrounds. However, unlike previous data, there were concerns that emerged about the declining rates of youth engagement.

4.4.2.1 Age group. While there was some movement to incorporate a slightly older group of participants, the age range of The Huddle's youth cohort remained relatively similar over the course of the research. Peter explained that 'it needs to probably stretch from age 15 to age 18 to 12 to 25, so extending our model of engagement to offer careers is allowing us to now engage that new cohort' (Peter, Manager, NMFC). Despite this narrative to incorporate a broader group, Justin reiterated that the ages of those engaging at The Huddle remained relatively stable: 'Age groups, it hasn't really wavered, it's always been 15–18, 15–19. Still the same' (Justin, staff, The Huddle). However, defining and justifying the age of target groups were no longer of primary concern when compared to the ongoing cultural imbalances and declines in participation numbers as outlined in the following sections.

4.4.2.2 Cultural background. Following the expansion, The Huddle's focus on CALD youth was still apparent, with refugee and migrant populations often referred to throughout organisational documents. For instance, the 2016 evaluation framework stated that The Huddle was looking to engage with 'children and families from refugee and migrant communities' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 1). Similarly, staff and volunteers described a weighting towards African or Muslim youth: 'There's a lot of Muslims that come ... most of them are Africans ... Maybe broaden who can come. Because it's for everyone, but people don't perceive it like that' (Olivia, volunteer, The Huddle). Justin suggested that this may reinforce existing sociocultural divides in local public housing where many participants lived:

We're literally designed around newly arrived refugee migrant. And within that, you're looking at predominantly horn of African young people, 85% from that region ... [There's]

one white person as a regular attendee and that's it ... we go on about social inclusion as being a thing but it's very hard to do inclusion when it's only one culture and race in the building. There's no inclusion there. It just aids the whole bubble concept of the high rise. (Justin, staff, The Huddle)

SFD researchers have offered valuable insights into the consequences of reinforcing sociocultural boundaries in SFD contexts. For example, Maxwell et al. (2013) investigated the use of sport to promote social inclusion among Muslim women. In this instance, the findings indicated that some of the practices contributing to the inclusion of Muslim women also led to the exclusion of non-Muslim women. Likewise, an examination of sport and social cohesion noted that segregating nationalities in rugby teams fostered conflict and was detrimental to the development of cohesion (Cubizolles, 2015). Further, Spaaij's (2012b) examination of sport's role in building social and cultural capital offers valuable insights concerning social boundaries in sport. The author noted that program success was closely linked with its capacity to facilitate contexts that enable youth to come to know one another and broaden their social circles. In this sense, SFD initiatives could also learn from Allport's (1958) Contact Hypothesis, in that if positive group interactions are to occur, programs should enable a sense of equality in social status and enjoy affirming the community in which they occur. Deeper and more genuine engagement will produce a greater effect (Allport, 1958).

However, given the ongoing weighting towards African youth within The Huddle, and the implied homogenisation of this group as one race, my concerns persisted—only one group was being targeted and inter-group contact might only be occurring to a limited degree, if at all. For this reason, the post-expansion findings regarding cultural backgrounds of youth reiterated

pre-expansion results and trepidations. That is, I questioned whether social cohesion could ever be enhanced if only a narrow selection of cultures were engaged in programming.

4.4.2.3 Decline in participation. A decline in youth attendance was also observed as a trend following The Huddle's expansion. Prue described how participation numbers had fallen due to a lack of staff engagement in sport and recreation programs: 'The participation numbers have dropped. No doubt about it ... I think the sport and recreation area was able to provide was a depth of engagement ... But I think those people aren't here' (Prue, manager, The Huddle). Clare explained that the main reason for this decline was due to changes in people and programming, meaning that there had been less focus on youth recruitment: 'I think that's because we've been getting our house in order. A lot of people change, program change. That's meant there's been less focus on recruitment and retention of participants' (Clare, manager, NMFC).

From my perspective, this was going to be a key issue for The Huddle moving forward, given that one of the first considerations in purposeful SFD design is the participants, who they are and how they are recruited (Sherry et al., 2016). Possible changes in this would require (re)examining the program foundations to ensure intended outcomes are being achieved and remain relevant. When examining this in light of Coalter's (2013) program logic model, if recruitment is not addressed as a key input, it is likely that participant engagement will be impacted and cohort numbers will decline. Thus, without addressing recruitment and a decrease in numbers, the initiative was at risk of becoming irrelevant to the population it was serving. This may have been part of the rationale behind limiting The Huddle's program services and staffing structures after the expansion occurred. The details of these changes to staffing and volunteers are outlined in the subsequent part of this chapter.

4.4.3 Staff and volunteers. Despite early discussions focusing on the positive contributions of staff and volunteers, post-expansion interviews tended to focus on a number of changes and challenges. Of key concern was the lack of staff present to implement programming and engage youth. To fill this void, The Huddle became increasingly reliant on a volunteer workforce. However, volunteer engagement was declining, meaning that programs and youth were left in a vulnerable position. This shift towards volunteers also affected my experiences, as I stepped in to help deliver programs and was less available to recruit research participants, particularly volunteers given their scarcity.

4.4.3.1 (Lack of) changes to staff. With a restructure and expansion in 2016, interviews uncovered a range of challenges with respect to staffing. Peter explained how he believed that The Huddle had moved through most of these issues: 'We're a small organisation with six full-time staff, and we do a lot ... there's a lot of change, new strategies, structure, and staff. That can be unsettling, but that's expected ... we're coming out of the back end of that' (Peter, manager, NMFC). Interestingly, despite expanding to deliver programs across three locations, the number of staff employed by The Huddle remained the same during the research. It appeared as though the initiative's expansion had not been reflected in staffing structures. However, what made this staffing situation even more challenging was the fact that there had been a high turnover of staff. In fact, all but one staff member remained since I had started my time at The Huddle in 2015. Prue explained that while staff moving on was only a natural process, she also felt that not replacing those staff was troublesome: 'That's a natural attrition and a part of working life. But the lack of replacement is different all together. The expansion is happening and can be never

and shinier, but that's not a reason to not replace critical staff' (Prue, manager, The Huddle).

Justin also expressed concerns about the lack of staff, particularly in sport and recreation:

How do you maintain that same outcome? We make an effort of saying that we do sport and recreation, but we haven't run a sport recreation program since last year. We don't have staff in that role, we won't get staff in that role. There's less and less programs being run. (Justin, staff, The Huddle)

It has been suggested that as an SFD organisation grows, its increased size should advance opportunities to hire paid staff and increase organisational capacity (Svensson, Andersson & Faulk, 2018). However, in this instance, despite expanding to two additional locations, the number of paid staff remained the same. Considered alongside The Huddle's expansion, these staffing strategies pointed to the notion that SFD agendas were likely being compromised in favour of business logics. Scholars have noted that corporate influences in SFD can result in measures of success aligning with business and financial perspectives rather than social impact and development (Levermore, 2011b). While The Huddle was not measuring its success based on finances, resourcing was now spread across three locations and financial considerations appeared to influencing staffing ratios and structures. The following section fortifies these observations, as it describes how the initiative made a strategic move towards a volunteer workforce.

4.4.3.2 Shift to volunteers despite decline. I asked managers if there was anything being done to address the lack of staff available to deliver programs. Prue informed me that The Huddle had 'worked with a university through their sport management degree to advertise placement positions. The way we've tried to do that is having one full-time human resource across a range of areas, and recruit for individual programs' (Prue, manager, The Huddle).

Managers explained that this decision would allow The Huddle to gain a more regularly engaged volunteer cohort while also benefitting volunteers: 'It gives them a more professional experience of running a program, the design and evaluation, all that sort of stuff. It gives us as an organisation that little bit of security around what we've got' (Liam, manager, The Huddle). This transfer of responsibilities to volunteers was a strategic decision by management and strengthened the notion that business paradigms were outweighing SFD priorities.

However, this strategy was an issue, given the declining volunteer numbers during the later stages of research. Specifically, the data indicated that after 1836 volunteer attendances in 2015 (The Huddle, 2015a), engagement had declined by 36 per cent to 1183 attendances in 2016 (The Huddle, 2016a). Consequently, when individuals were not available or did not turn up, programs were left vulnerable. This high demand for volunteers at The Huddle meant I was increasingly stepping in to help deliver programs. In addition, it also meant that finding volunteers to interview for this research became a difficult task—with lower numbers present, few were available to step away from programs.

Volunteers are a fundamental part of advancing the missions of many SFD programs (Welty Peachey, Bruening, Lyras, Cohen & Cunningham, 2015). For this reason, the training of local volunteers is essential for the sustainability of SFD work (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). However, other than an initial occupational health and safety induction, there was little effort to ensure appropriate training to support volunteers in their programming responsibilities. Further, a shift towards a volunteer workforce, combined with declining volunteers and staff numbers, meant that regularly delivering programs with consistent engagement was becoming a difficult task. As a result, the chances of promoting positive social development and achieving program outcomes were looking increasingly slim. Such ad hoc staffing arrangements have been criticised

in the SFD literature, as they can diminish an initiative's capacity to provide environments conducive to social development (Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011). Further, a lack of contextual understanding can mean that volunteers lack appropriate sensitivity and cultural understanding in their approaches when implementing SFD programs (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). Although engaging volunteers can offer benefits, there can also be disadvantages to implementing SFD through volunteers (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). In addition to declines in volunteers, programs also suffered because of deteriorations in organisational partnerships. Further details on this are provided in the following section.

- **4.4.4 Partnerships.** In line with discussions that occurred before the expansion, almost all interviewees indicated that collaboration between organisations continued to be an essential part of the initiative's operations after the expansion. These partnerships had the potential to help improve resourcing and extend positive impacts. However, regardless of this positive feedback, my research observations indicated that collaborative programming efforts declined during the later stages of this study.
- 4.4.4.1 Partnerships at core despite decline. Organisational documents developed after the expansion confirmed that collaborative partnerships were at the core of The Huddle's strategy: 'It is essential to have a shared vision and improved collaboration between government, corporate, philanthropy, community groups, leaders, families and volunteers to align efforts and deliver mutually reinforcing activities' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 29). Hence, for The Huddle, its hybrid arrangement offered a source of sustainable funding (via the NMFC, Scanlon Foundation and the Australian Multicultural Foundation) and bolstered program resources and capacity (e.g., via Netball Victoria and Hockey Victoria). Managers echoed the importance of IORs and collaboration: 'Collaboration is really important, it can't be underestimated. To transition a

young person from high school into a career ... We haven't got the resources ... We have to work with other agencies' (Peter, manager, NMFC). Prue outlined an example of this:

We work with organisations in a pathway, where each has its own special skill and ability.

The Brotherhood [of St Laurence] finds the employers who open job opportunities. Our area is finding young people who need jobs and work with them around resumes and interviews. (Prue, manager, The Huddle)

Remarkably, despite this positive emphasis on IORs, there appeared to be fewer organisations engaged in the delivery of programs as the expansion progressed. The possible reasons for this were the staff turnover and a sparsity in programming. This meant that as staff moved on, my ability to gain access to stakeholders for interviews became more difficult (see Appendix T). This pointed to the reality that these collaborations and associated improvements in capacity are fundamentally linked to appropriate human resourcing (Hall et al., 2003). Further, these networks are developed and maintained by staff and, as such, consistency, trust and engagement are all critical to its foundations (Misener & Doherty, 2013). As a result, if human resources are mismanaged, staff move on, no one steps in to sustain IORs and partnerships and their associated capacity will disintegrate.

Further, despite their potential benefits, funding offered through partnerships appeared to play a role in swaying The Huddle's strategy towards upscaling and business logics and away from purposeful, participant-centred program delivery. SFD researchers have warned of such challenges, explaining that tensions between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' logics appear to be ever enduring in the SFD sector (Black, 2010; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). Consequently, SFD hybrid arrangements can be difficult when trying to navigate and balance competing priorities, such as core practice, workforce composition, organisational culture and program design

(Svensson & Seifried, 2017). The Huddle's hybridity and expansion also influenced program design over the course of the research. The details of these changes are explained in the ensuing section.

4.4.5 Programs. During the first year of this research, The Huddle conducted a range of programs, one-off events and excursions. However, through the expansion process, The Huddle changed its focus to four key areas of programming: sport and recreation, education and careers, digital skills and civic participation. Intriguingly, while streamlining was the rationale behind this change, program numbers did not align with this, as the process culminated in more programs being started than stopped. Within this, program focus areas were thought to have uneven resourcing and capacity. Further, attendance data indicated that changes to programming may have impacted youth engagement, with a significant reduction in the number of program sessions and attendances.

4.4.5.1 Key programs and focus areas. Organisational documents provided a wealth of information on post-expansion programming and described The Huddle's five core programs as outlined in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Post-Expansion Key Programs

Program name	Program description		
Study Support	'Students from the local area [are] enrolled in this program—most of whom do		
	not have English language support at home, and many of whom do not have		
	internet, a computer, or a study space' (The Huddle, 2016c, p. 2).		
Career Advice	'For young people to explore their career path and options. Each week we work		
	with participants to enhance further study options, career plans, resume writing		
	and job applications. We partner with local businesses in the North Melbourne		
	area to provide advice and work experience opportunities' (The Huddle, 2016c,		
	p. 2).		
Kanga's First	'Teaches young people how to play AFL through learning basic skills,		
Kick	developing teamwork, and having fun with new friends while being more active,		
	more often' (The Huddle, 2016c, p. 2).		
Sisters Through	'Is a program designed for young girls and women from multi faith and		
Sport	multicultural backgrounds who don't traditionally have the opportunities to		
	engage in sport and recreational activities' (The Huddle, 2016c, p. 2).		

The Huddle 'For all of our local primary and secondary schools, celebrating our local Schools Program area and our history of multiculturalism' (The Huddle, 2016c, p. 2).

While Table 4.3 offers a brief summary of core programs, it is important to note that there were many more initiatives on offer. Consequently, management moved to streamline The Huddle's efforts: 'The programs naturally have to be reviewed because the community needs change. The maturity of the model is that we're understanding why we're doing things rather than simply doing things' (Peter, manager, NMFC). As a result, staff meetings were conducted to make decisions around initiating, halting and adapting various programs. Figure 4.1 describes a document that outlines how these decisions were made in relation to education and career, and sport and recreation programs.

EDUCATION and CAREER PROGRAMS

IMPROVE	START	STOP
Study Support	SEDA	Exam Revision
Participant	Employment	North Way
recruitment	brokerage	
AMES Connection	Life skills/personal	
	development	
True North	Communication with	
	cultural leaders	
Sport and Recreation	Huddle Open Day	
Employment forums	Parent networks	
Education forums	School presentations	
	Study Support Participant recruitment AMES Connection True North Sport and Recreation VCAL Employment forums	Study Support Participant recruitment AMES Connection True North Sport and Recreation VCAL Employment SEDA Employment brokerage Life skills/personal development Communication with cultural leaders Huddle Open Day Parent networks

SPORT and RECREATION PROGRAMS

KEEP	IMPROVE	START	STOP
Kangas First Kick	Sisters Through Sport	Family Day event (Welcome to AFL)	International student Welcome to AFL sessions
Unity Cup (minimise investment)	Bike programs	Volunteer policy	Hop-On Sports
Huddle Bay Games	Talking Footy	Drop-in sports tournaments	Sport excursions
	Drop-In Basketball	Transition to local clubs	Multicultural Cup

AMES multisport	Demonstration	School visits to The
program	project	Huddle (current
		format)
Saint Joseph's sport	Player engagement/	Ambassador
program	ambassador program	payments without
		sufficient return
School visits (cost		
recovery)		
Huddle memberships		
Festivals and events		

Figure 4.1. Changes in programming.

Note. Reprinted from Keep improve start stop: Program review (p. 3), by The Huddle, 2017, Melbourne, AU: The Huddle.

Interestingly, while this process was undertaken with the idea of streamlining, it culminated in discontinuing eight existing programs and commencing 13 new programs. This meant that there were a total of 29 programs before the process began and 34 programs afterwards. Despite undertaking this process of reviewing, rationalising and streamlining programs, The Huddle moved further away from these objectives and instead launched more programs than it was terminating. This was particularly troublesome given the fact that more programs were now going to be implemented across more locations, with fewer staff and volunteers available.

In addition to an ineffective streamlining process, post-expansion interviews highlighted a predisposition towards certain program focus areas. For example, Peter explained how he thought educational and careers programming were the backbone of The Huddle:

Sport recreation, education careers, digital skills and civic participation. They are common tools to engage and help connect those young people to educational and career outcomes. That's kind of the back bone. Without education, it's difficult for young people to participate and gain employment ... Sport is just a connector. It's not the answer. (Peter, manager, NMFC)

Similarly, others highlighted educational and careers initiatives as the strongest areas of programming: 'Education and careers are probably our leading areas at the moment, and that's a mixture of the quality of the staff and their networks' (Prue, manager, The Huddle). In contrast, sport and recreation programs were thought to have deteriorated: 'The sport and recreation work has suffered a bit with losing a staff member and not having them replaced' (Prue, manager, The Huddle). In fact, during follow-up interviews, no sport programs were running and staff found this problematic: 'Team work and discipline, all of this is in sport. There's a real missing link in terms of young people's development ... at the moment we've turned into an education and employment program' (Molly, staff, The Huddle). The digital skills programming space was also not a priority: 'Digital programs are good, but I just don't think there's anyone here who's actually putting in time to grow it. Everyone's seeing it as someone else's problem ... we really need to diversify everything that we do' (Justin, staff, The Huddle).

Therefore, The Huddle appeared to have moved away from a traditional SFD model, as sport programming was not currently offered or used to promote social development. Rather, it appeared as though the NMFC's sporting brand was being associated with The Huddle and used to draw youth into educational and careers programs. In this sense, rather than functioning as a 'sport plus' or 'plus sport' program (as theorised by Coalter, 2007), The Huddle appeared to be using sport as a 'hook' and recruiting tool for the delivery of other services and benefits (B. C. Green, 2008). While this was by no means an inferior model of SFD, what was concerning with this change was the lack of diversity in its associated programming. This is because SFD research has suggested that positive impacts are more likely to occur if interventions offer multi-layered programming and appeal to participants and the community on multiple levels (Jeanes, 2013). This limited scope could pose challenges for The Huddle moving forward. This was

particularly problematic given the declines in programming and stability, as discussed in the next section.

4.4.5.2 Decline in programming and stability. In addition to a lack of variety in programming, the data indicated that the number of program sessions were also dropping. Specifically, programming dropped by 53 per cent, with 958 sessions conducted in 2015 and 453 sessions in 2016 (The Huddle, 2015a, 2016a). Similar trends were observed in attendance data, whereby youth engagement in programs dropped to 8355 occasions in 2016, which was 36 per cent lower than the 13,099 recorded attendances in 2015 (The Huddle, 2015a, 2016a).

Accordingly, Leah described how The Active Girls program was not running and that this had impacted engagement: 'It was disappointing, they ended Active Girls, and some of the girls still showed up for the next two weeks ... they were looking forward to it. But since it's not running everyone died off' (Leah, staff and volunteer, The Huddle). This left some staff concerned that The Huddle's programs were on a downward trajectory:

No one is actually focused on programs and making sure they're running ... currently we're on a slow decline, which I don't think is a surprise to anyone. We're running less and less things, so we're going down in terms of numbers ... and they're expanding and just assuming that we're going to become bigger and better, when it's actually the opposite. (Justin, staff, The Huddle)

It was becoming increasingly difficult for me to observe these declines in programming, staffing and subsequent deteriorations in youth engagement. Diluting staff and programming resources seemed particularly contradictory in an SFD context that is looking to use programs to engage youth and promote social development. While promoting social development, SFD is a complex and multi-layered process that is fundamentally a *social* process. As the quality and

consistency of social engagement declined (via less staff and volunteers), opportunities to develop relationships were condensed (via fewer programs) and the likelihood of positive social development occurring became limited. Researchers have warned of such sustainability issues associated with SFD expansions and suggested that before upscaling, initiatives would be best served by focusing on missions and consolidating programming (Welty Peachey et al., 2017). Further, SFD initiatives have been encouraged to consider how the large-scale growth of programs might influence the sustainability of impacts (Sugden, 2010; Svensson & Seifried, 2017). These considerations are discussed in the next section of this chapter, as it summarises how a priority to upscale interacted with The Huddle's hybrid organisational context.

4.5 Afterword

Founded in partnership with the NMFC, the Scanlon Foundation and the Australian Multicultural Foundation, The Huddle's hybrid arrangement was thought to increase program capacity, sustainability and utility in impacts. However, partnerships also created challenges and tensions as strategy evolved over time. Funders were particularly influential, with an initial focus on local community needs overcome by opportunities to upscale into two new locations. While more programs were offered across more locations, resourcing of all kinds (e.g., financial, human and programming) did not expand relative to this. With the same number of staff spread across three locations and a decline in volunteers, there was less capacity to run programs, reduced opportunity to provide quality engagement and a subsequent drop in youth engagement.

In conclusion, the hybridity of The Huddle developed into an environment in which the malleability of SFD and the influence of funders collided with the adaptability of social cohesion. This resulted in business logics outweighing SFD logics. Upscaling became a priority with limited resources, as they were spread across three locations. Therefore, despite the benefits

that hybridity might offer, business logics and bottom dollar paradigms have the potential to dilute SFD purposeful design and staffing, risking quality engagement and positive outcomes. Consequently, there appears to be a tipping point with hybridity at which the influence of non-SFD partnerships and external organisations can become too great. SFD initiatives must acknowledge these tensions and influences to best manage outcomes for all parties involved.

4.6 Summary

Chapter 4 explored the findings and discussion regarding how The Huddle was managed in the delivery of SFD programming. In terms of The Huddle's aim, there appeared to be little consistency when it came to understanding and operationalising social cohesion. As time progressed and strategy evolved, efforts were made to move away from cohesion. However, the influence of funders ensured that cohesion remained intermittently a part of The Huddle's aim. As a result, aims were broadened and resulted in further confusion. While race and cultural background were generally not discussed in relation to aims, it was acknowledged when participants described The Huddle's youth cohort. Cultural imbalances were described, with staff highlighting a weighting towards refugees and migrants, particularly youth of African descent. However, little effort was made to examine how program aims may (or may not) align with this youth cohort. As a result, I questioned whether these social environments within The Huddle might have been inadvertently exacerbating sociocultural divides rather than fostering social cohesion.

Staff also noted that there had been a decline in participation towards the later stages of research and explained that this may have been affected by changes in staffing and programs. In early interviews, staff and volunteers were praised for the central role that they played in engaging youth, with high quality and consistent engagement considered vital. Initial staffing

challenges were associated with cultural imbalances and a lack of community empowerment.

However, as the research progressed and The Huddle expanded, the number paid staffing positions did not. Participants were concerned with the lack of staff and management responded by shifting to a volunteer-oriented workforce. However, volunteer engagement declined as time progressed, leaving programming vulnerable.

Given that The Huddle was founded through the cooperation of multiple organisations, it was no surprise that themes also emerged in relation to partnerships. IORs were thought to be a key component of funding and program operations. In addition, these arrangements were thought to enhance program capacity, resources and outcomes. However, these IORs could also be challenging, as the links between the NMFC and The Huddle were sometimes misunderstood, leading to external organisations misinterpreting funding capacity. Further, as The Huddle expanded and staff moved on, IORs and collaboration appeared to decline.

Similar declines were also described in relation to programming. Initially in 2015, The Huddle offered a broad range of programs, events and excursions to youth. Staff praised these programs for their capacity to connect youth with other organisations and social circles. Later, in 2016, despite looking to streamline programming, the number of programs paradoxically grew from 29 to 34. In addition, the data indicated that there was a focus on educational and career programs and little emphasis placed on sport, digital skills or civic participation. Program and participation data indicated that this might be an issue, with a significant reduction in the number of program sessions alongside declines in youth and volunteer engagement.

These findings were generally consistent with previous SFD research, in that the importance of defining program aims (Coalter, 2010b; Rowe & Siefken, 2016) and target groups (Sherry et al., 2016) was reinforced. Further, the results reiterated the significance of SFD

practitioners and staff in engaging youth and promoting positive outcomes (P. Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2016; Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011; Sherry & Schulenkorf, 2016). In addition, the findings fortified the value of local capacity building in SFD programming (Schulenkorf, 2012) while also acknowledging the importance of staffing diversity (Cunningham, 2011).

The results from this research are also valuable in the extension of current understandings of SFD organisational management and programming. Specifically, it has developed on Maxwell, Foley, Taylor and Burton's (2013) and Cubizolles's (2015) examinations of the consequences of cultural divides in SFD programming. Their findings suggested that reiterating inherent community cultural divides in SFD contexts may exacerbate existing tensions and disparities between cultural groups rather than bridge them.

Further, it builds on Rowe et al.'s (2018), Svensson's (2017) and Svensson and Seifried's (2017) work into the management of SFD hybrid contexts. Specifically, this study provides empirical evidence that suggests that there is a tipping point in SFD hybrid organisations at which business logics can become too great and overwhelm SFD purposeful design. In addition, these findings build on Welty Peachey, Cohen, Shin and Fusaro's (2017) recommendations that SFD programs should start small and consolidate resources and programming before looking to expand, as doing otherwise can leave SFD programs and participants vulnerable. Hence, further empirical examination of the management of SFD hybridity tensions would prove valuable to future scholars and practitioners. In addition, SFD practitioners and scholars would benefit from closer analyses of the positioning of target groups relative to program aims and the communities in which they serve. The next chapter addresses research question two by examining the perceived program outcomes as reported by youth participants of The Huddle.

Chapter Five. Impacts of The Huddle's Programming

The best thing for me was, the experiences and the people that I met, and the new relationships that I build. Its overall the people that matter ... you keep coming because you know you can rely on them. (Axlam)

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the management of The Huddle's programming and found that a number of changes occurred over the two-year data collection period. For instance, there were adaptations to the initiative's aim, staff and programs, as well as declines in the engagement of youth, volunteers and IORs. Chapter 5 addresses the second research question: What perceived outcomes do youth participants report in association with their engagement with The Huddle? To answer this question, data from interviews with youth participants were analysed alongside research observations and organisational documents. Although I aimed to conduct follow-up interviews with as many youth participants as possible from Phase 2 (preexpansion), some were not available during Phase 3 (post-expansion). This was largely due to the limited number of programs running during the final phase of data collection that saw a number of participants no longer engaged at The Huddle (see Appendix T). Consequently, numbers declined from 27 initial interviews before the expansion to only 10 follow-up interviews after the expansion. Despite these lower numbers, youth participants offered valuable reflections of their experiences and perceptions of program impacts as they occurred in the later stages of this research.

The first part of this chapter focuses on impacts reported by youth participants in relation to program skills (e.g., sport, educational and careers skills) before examining social impacts

concerning friendships and networks. Finally, the last section of this chapter examines challenges that youth experienced during their time at The Huddle. Beyond these overarching themes, eight sub-themes have also been examined. Theoretically, these findings have been explored alongside a broad range of comparative SFD and associated literature. A particular emphasis has been placed on Spaaij's (2013, 2015) investigations of cultural diversity, belonging and sociocultural boundaries in community sport. In addition, House's (1981) conceptualisation of social support has been examined in conjunction with youths' experiences of support. Finally, Schulenkorf's (2010) conceptualisation of change agents has been examined alongside Coalter's (2012) work to provide insights into the centrality of relationships between SFD leaders and participants. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the themes that have been examined in this chapter.

Table 5.1

Chapter Five Themes

Overarching theme	Sub-theme
Program skills	Sport, educational and employment skills
Friendships and	Friendships and networks
networks	Social support
	Acceptance and belonging
	Intercultural understanding
	Utility of impacts
Challenges	Access and personal difficulties
	Staff departing

5.2 Program Skills

Interviews with youth participants uncovered a range of positive impacts regarding the skills that they had developed during their time in The Huddle's programs. For instance, before the expansion, youth described how sport and educational programs had helped them develop sporting skills and English language skills. However, during the later stages of research, sporting programs were no longer running and The Huddle shifted focus to educational and careers programs (see Chapter 4). In association with these changes in programming, there was a shift in themes from pre- to post-expansion, with follow-up interviews with youth focusing more directly on educational and careers skills.

5.2.1 Sport, educational and employment skills. Of all the outcomes that youth described in association with their engagement with The Huddle's programs, educational and sporting skills were some of the most commonly reported. The development of these skills was often influenced by the type of program(s) that youth were involved with. For instance, Idil described how she learned to play and enjoy netball through the Active Girls program: 'Netball. That's the one that I learned the most from because I never used to play it, I hated it. Then I ended up being on the netball team in school' (Idil). Similarly, Basira improved her football skills: 'I've learnt how to play football better, learnt the rules better' (Basira). In addition to sporting outcomes, educational skills were highlighted as one of the most prominent program outcomes: 'I don't understand some things in class [at school], concepts and topics. When I come here, I get it' (Galad). Melaku explained that he received a greater level of support and help with his homework, when compared to the help he received at school when he stated that 'in school the teachers they don't have a lot

of time to help individually. So it is better when you come here, you get more time. They really help us' (Melaku).

These findings are consistent with previous research that suggests that SFD initiatives have the potential to develop the athletic and academic capacities of youth (e.g., Jeanes, 2013; Obadiora, 2016; Olushola, Jones, Dixon & Green, 2013; Phillips & Warner, 2016; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013). In addition, these programs offer youth opportunities to express their needs and build their skills accordingly (Whitley & Gould, 2011). Group settings are thought to be a particularly valuable component of programming, especially for those less confident in speaking English, as it allows them to verbalise issues in their preferred language and ask for peer assistance (Jeanes, 2013). Further, scholars have highlighted the importance of providing multifaceted SFD programming that promotes positive development through linking multiple programs together like sport and education (Jeanes, 2013). However, The Huddle would later challenge the aforementioned outcomes by limiting sporting initiatives and focusing predominantly on educational and careers programs (see Chapter 4). As a result, the skills reported by youth participants shifted, with follow-up interviews concentrating on educational and employment skills.

Similar to the initial interviews, the follow-up discussions also indicated that there were improvements in educational skills. For example, Samia explained how the Study Support program had assisted with her capacity to critique her own work: 'I need help and the people that are here are qualified and they're really good. Next time I do the work, I'll be able to do it myself and be able to correct myself and see where mistakes are' (Samia). Alongside the development of educational skills, youth participants also explained how they had enhanced their employment skills through The Huddles programs: 'I'm looking for a job. I already had a résumé, but I wasn't

sure it was right ... I just came here. They fix it for me' (Wubit). For Axlam, help with résumés and work placement were key benefits: 'On Thursdays, we learn how to write resumes, and what to say in job interviews ... I also learnt how to search for a work placement for year 10' (Axlam). In addition to helping youth find work placements with external organisations, staff had also facilitated work placements within The Huddle, stating 'being able to do work experience was pretty cool, with you guys [The Huddle]. I helped Clare with some AFL games' (Adele).

Interestingly, changes to The Huddle's programming meant that educational and employment programs were increasingly focused on and sport programs were less of a priority (see Chapter 4). Consequently, fewer references to sporting skills were made and outcomes aligned more closely with The Huddle's new program focus areas of education and careers. For instance, Lina explained that she used to come for the Active Girls sport program, but now it was more about computer access during the Study Support program: 'I came a few times to the Friday sports program, Active girls. But I've stopped coming ... I come more because I've got assignments and for the computers because I don't have one at home' (Lina). I noted how sport programs were not running and that youth were predominantly engaging in the Study Support program: 'Sport isn't happening. I felt that previously some people would come in for homework and sport ... But now most kids are here just for Study Support' (Research observations, March, 2017). This meant that youth looking for sporting opportunities were engaging less frequently with The Huddle: 'The other girls that didn't go to Study Support have stopped coming completely' (Leah, staff and volunteer, The Huddle).

The shift in findings between initial and follow-up interviews correspond with results presented in Chapter 4, as management were increasingly focusing on educational and employment programs (rather than sport and recreational initiatives). SFD scholars have noted

the importance of multidimensional programming, in that the impact of combined multiple programs is greater than those that function in isolation (Dickson & Sherry, 2016). Not only were the scope of learning opportunities at The Huddle being reduced but the opportunities for youth to engage were also being limited due to a decline in the number of sessions. Research has strongly cautioned against devoting limited resources with the goal of addressing long-standing and persistent societal issues (C. H. Weiss, 1993), such as social exclusion or crime (Coalter, 2015). Further, scholars suggest that such ineffective practices indicate a 'displacement of scope' (Wagner, 1964). Coalter (2015) explained that this problem occurs when micro-level programming solutions incorrectly address macro-level social issues. As a result, The Huddle was likely suffering from a displacement of scope, as programming was being reduced to a micro-level while addressing aims that remained at a macro level (i.e., social cohesion and inclusion). While this does not discount the aforementioned positive impacts reported by youth participants, it does suggest that these individual-level impacts might struggle to yield outcomes at a societal level, particularly in an SFD context that is further limiting its programming capacity. The following section explores friendship and social network outcomes as reported by youth participants.

5.3 Friendships and Networks

In addition to sport, educational and employment skills, youth participants also described a number of positive social experiences that occurred during their time at The Huddle.

Throughout both initial and follow-up interviews, youth participants discussed how they developed friendships and social networks. In addition, youth explained that these social ties were not only a positive outcome but also motivated participants to come back to programs.

Youth also detailed how they had received social support through The Huddle's networks, both practically (with homework) and socially (with personal challenges).

While the aforementioned themes emerged throughout both initial and follow-up interviews, there were other themes that only emerged during early discussions: acceptance and belonging, intercultural learning and utility in impacts. While intercultural learning was reported by a small number of participants and by myself (in research observations), these experiences were limited to those who were not from a CALD background. In contrast, those who did identify as CALD explained that due to the high number of CALD youth participants, The Huddle did not impact many people. However, the utility of The Huddle's impacts also emerged as a theme. Specifically, youth described how staff had introduced them to opportunities, networks and sport organisations that were operated outside The Huddle.

5.3.1 Friendships and networks. One of the most prominent social outcomes that youth participants reported during their time at The Huddle across all stages of the research was the development of friendships and social networks. Khadra described how she found socialising awkward, but The Huddle's programs helped her to develop ongoing friendships with some of the girls there: 'I'm not very social and I'm pretty awkward ... but at the end it felt like home. The bond with the girls. I still talk with them' (Khadra). Similarly, Casho explained how as a refugee new to Melbourne, she did not have many social connections at first but The Huddle helped change this:

A lot of the girls come help me, we see each other on Facebook ... Before I didn't have any friends. I used to go to school and do my work and then go back. But now I do a lot of things with them. (Casho)

Axlam explained that her time at The Huddle had resulted in friendships that had also kept her engaged in programs: 'The best thing for me was, the experiences and the people that I met, and the new relationships that I build. It's overall the people that matter ... you keep coming because you know you can rely on them' (Axlam).

Friendships and networks have frequently been cited as an outcome of SFD program participation. For instance, in an investigation of CALD youth in an afterschool sport program, participants developed positive relationships and built trust (Fuller, Percy, Bruening & Cotrufo, 2013). Similarly, research into an SFD initiative working with homeless people found that friendships and networks were not only a positive outcome of program participation but were integral to facilitating ongoing engagement (Sherry & Strybosch, 2012). Spaaij's (2013) examination of cultural diversity in community sport yielded comparable results, in that one of main reasons for Somali Australians' participation was to make friends and spend time with peers. Therefore, friendships both acted as support networks in sport and functioned as an enabling factor to sport participation (Spaaij, 2013; VicHealth, 2010).

Likewise, findings from this research indicated that friendships and social networks had resulted from participation in The Huddle's programs and also appeared to encourage ongoing engagement. Given that friendships and networks were one of the most commonly reported outcomes and enabling factors to participation both before and following the expansion, their function with The Huddle's programming cannot be underestimated. The social environment was not only facilitated by programming, but it also promoted further engagement and enhanced additional outcomes such as educational skills and social support. The ensuing section examines how social support was experienced by youth participants in The Huddle's programs.

5.3.2 Social support. Alongside friendships and networks, youth participants described how they had experienced social support at The Huddle. For example, Teru discussed how she had received help through the Study Support program: 'They teach you how to write, and math, with science ... if you come here and you need help, they help you. No one says, "this hard" or "this is too easy", they just help you without judgement' (Teru). Likewise, Casho described how she had received support from one volunteer in particular: 'She is kind, caring, and understanding ... I wouldn't have finished grade 11 without her. We had to do English essays, and every single day I come [here] and she helped. I practice with her, she listened and corrected me' (Casho). These comments from youth participants demonstrate the practical support often experienced through The Huddle's educational programs and highlight the constructive and social nature of this support.

Researchers have endeavoured to unpack social support and theorised that such caring relationships are likely to positively influence an individual's capacity to actively pursue opportunities for growth and personal development (Feeney & Collins, 2014). Further, there are thought to be multiple types of social support that can be experienced. House (1981) conceptualised four types of social support: instrumental, informational, appraisal and emotional. Instrumental support is understood as functional assistance through tangible aid and services. Informational support encompasses the provision of information, suggestions and advice, while appraisal support involves providing constructive information and feedback that can be used for self-appraisal. Emotional support encapsulates the provision of trust, empathy, care and love (House, 1981). Examining this in the context of the aforementioned examples, youth participants were likely experiencing a combination of informational and appraisal support when gaining assistance with homework.

In addition to support with homework, there were instances in which youth participants received emotional support. This was particularly important to youth participants that were faced with difficulties at home. Abeba explained that Clare had helped her in ways that made up for her mother's absence: 'Clare, she helps me. She's kind, because my family's a bit ... I don't live with my mum, so she helps me with family things' (Abeba). While Abeba's description of this dynamic with Clare initially appeared to align with forms of instrumental support, the non-verbal cues and emotions indicated that Clare had also provided emotional support during times of need. Occasionally, I also found myself providing emotional support to youth. In the following example, I was approached by a participant seeking social support and advice on family difficulties:

He described various difficulties at home—alcohol, verbal/physical abuse ... He said that he came into The Huddle looking for support and to avoid going home ... I suggested ways in which he might manage going home and how to get long term support. (Research observations, September, 2016)

While the previous examples highlight the provision of instrumental, informational, appraisal and emotional support to youth from volunteers and staff, there were also cases in which youth provided social support to one another. For example, Melody told me how she not only receives help, but comes to Study Support to help others: 'Sometimes I come here to help other students. At the same time, sometimes I come here when I need help, so I just feel like here is home. I give and I take' (Melody). Melody had received appraisal and informational support and had also provided that same social support to her peers. For some youth participants, this peer support was extending beyond the boundaries of The Huddle and into other external life

pursuits: 'Sometimes we go to the library or call each other and talk ... One of them explained [to me] how to go places and use the bus' (Casho).

The literature has evidenced similar social support outcomes from SFD programming, including academic support and development (Fuller et al., 2013; Simard, Laberge & Dusseault, 2014; Svensson et al., 2016) and emotional support (Moreau et al., 2014; Schulenkorf, 2010a). In a systematic review of sport and physical activity participation in migrant populations, results highlighted a range of positive outcomes, one of which was social support (O'Driscoll et al., 2014). Similarly, an examination into sport and community involvement found that participation in sport activities had a small but significant impact on an individual's perceived social support (Nicholson, Brown & Hoye, 2014). Likewise, the findings from this research suggest that The Huddle's environment facilitated forms of social support within and between different groups. Discussions with youth participants highlighted instances of instrumental, informational, appraisal and emotional support (House, 1981).

While these types of support were provided and experienced quite differently in each scenario, it was interesting to note that power relations did not appear to sway patterns of social support. Provisions of emotional and practical (i.e., instrumental, informational and appraisal) support were not limited to staff and volunteers contributing to youth, as youth also provided social support to their peers. For some, this meant that the friendships formed within The Huddle not only provided social support in programs, but also extended into experiences of support in external contexts (e.g., school and community libraries). Such informal peer support networks are thought to provide mentoring opportunities and structures that enable coping mechanisms, resilience and growth of social networks (Thorpe & Ahmad, 2013). In fact, while positive adult relationships are necessary in SFD, researchers have theorised that supportive peer relationships

are critical to creating and sustaining positive impacts (B. C. Green, 2008). This is because the beliefs, values and behaviours of peers (and adults) in SFD ultimately establish the values and norms in each setting. Further, programs must encourage participant buy-in through facilitating and ensuring supportive and positive values and norms (B. C. Green, 2008). Therefore, akin to findings on friendships and networks, The Huddle's social support functioned as an outcome of the program and facilitated ongoing engagement and positive outcomes. The next section details how youth participants experienced feelings of acceptance and belonging in association with The Huddle's programs.

5.3.3 Acceptance and belonging. In addition to experiencing social support, youth participants also explained how they felt accepted at The Huddle: 'It supports everything like multi-cultures and different religions. It also lets you practice your religion, they provide places to pray when you need ... They're accepting' (Axlam). Liya told me that this acceptance was one of the reasons why those who were new to The Huddle kept coming back: 'We tell our friends to come here and then they find that it is good, so they keep coming. They accept a lot of people' (Liya). Social acceptance is thought to occur when other individuals indicate that they would like to include another in their groups and relationships (Leary, 2010). This ranges between merely tolerating another person's presence to actively pursuing and engaging someone in a relationship or group (DeWall & Bushman, 2011). These descriptions demonstrate how staff and youth of The Huddle actively accepted one another through supporting cultural beliefs and practices. Further, this created an environment that enabled and encouraged newer participants to engage. Alongside these findings, youth also experienced a sense of belonging during their time at The Huddle.

For some youth participants, they had experienced a sense of belonging at The Huddle: 'It's home. I feel like I belong here. Every time I feel lost ... I'm like, "No, this is home" ... I've been here three years since high school. The place is my place' (Melody). Casho expressed similar sentiments, stating that 'The Huddle is so kind and caring. That's why I come back. Sometimes I miss them, then I come back and it is like I never left. So that's good. I belong here' (Casho). Scholars have defined belonging as the 'belief, and expectation that one fits in the group and has a place there, a feeling of acceptance by the group, and a willingness to sacrifice for the group' (Macmillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 10). Spaaij (2015) examined sense of belonging among refugee youth in community sport. The author explained that while sport can contribute to sense of belonging, this is dependent on the shifting of social boundaries. Further, these boundaries are 'relatively porous in community sport and through their shifting new forms of belonging can emerge. However, other boundaries, such as gender, are less easily shifted, thereby impeding young women's ability to claim belonging in the football clubs under study' (p. 314).

Consequently, to foster youth participants' feelings of belonging and acceptance, The Huddle had created an environment in which social boundaries could shift and new participants could identify similarities with those already engaged in programs and vice versa. The latter is particularly interesting given the findings presented in Chapter 4 regarding the similarities in the cultural backgrounds of youth, with a weighting towards those of African heritage, and the discussion of this group as one homogenised cohort. Intriguingly, while acceptance and belonging were themes that emerged from interviews that occurred before the expansion, they did not emerge during interviews that occurred after the expansion. This change in themes is likely explained by the multiple program and personnel shifts that occurred at The Huddle. As multiple staff moved on from The Huddle, programming declined, opportunities to engage and connect were lost and youth from The Huddle moved on. These findings highlight how

important social networks and stability were for youths' experiences of belonging and acceptance. The subsequent section now examines how these networks may have contributed to the scope and utility of The Huddle's impacts.

5.3.4 Utility of impacts. Within some of The Huddle's programs, staff facilitated an environment in which youth could be linked to external pathways and opportunities. For some participants, this meant that they went on to engage with sporting clubs and community activities without requiring The Huddle's facilitation. Specifically, nine of the 27 youth that I interviewed were linked to peripheral opportunities. Staff played an integral role in this, as they were responsible for maintaining IORs and also used their own networks to facilitate opportunities in local community settings rather than being restricted to The Huddle's programs. For example, two staff coached at sports clubs outside The Huddle. For Zainab, this eventuated in her joining multiple clubs: 'I had this girl who worked with me. She was really nice. We played football together ... I got involved with the Footy Club, Soccer Club, and Netball' (Zainab). For some, these links to external community sporting organisations had developed to such an extent that their involvement at The Huddle had dropped off: 'I haven't been around much, because I've got training tonight ... Tuesdays, training for soccer. Then Thursday I go to footy, and then I go to soccer ... the clubs are Melbourne Uni Women's Football and Bundoora Soccer Club' (Adele).

At times, I found myself assisting youth to make connections with external organisations. For example, I recommended local sporting teams to a participants' mother after she had asked about where her daughter could join local clubs: 'Suri's mother approached me to ask about joining Suri up to a basketball program' (Research observations, February, 2015). On another occasion, I helped Teru join the gym located next door to The Huddle: 'Teru came up to me to ask about gym memberships ... We walked up to the North Melbourne Recreation Centre

counter together and asked about membership options ... she said she would be coming back to sign up tomorrow' (Research observations, April, 2015). It was likely that my role as a change agent emerged as a result of a combination of factors. To explain, as time progressed I became a regular presence within The Huddle and due to changes in staff, I began to step in when participants sought social support.

In this sense, staff were functioning as change agents within The Huddle, as they were facilitating community participation and networks through leadership and socially responsible advocacy (Schulenkorf, 2010b). Schulenkorf (2010) described change agents as those 'who facilitate development projects and foster grassroots participation, people and communities from different backgrounds are integrated into a social network, in which they "rub shoulders" in common tasks and seek common goals' (p. 119). In a review of the SFD literature, the majority of studies highlighted the importance of role models and change agents in programming (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). These individuals are often driven to maximise program outreach and innovation through encouraging IORs (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015). Further, sustained SFD effectiveness is not only associated with links to external organisations, but also their capacity to leverage partnerships in a way that facilitates opportunities and development pathways for participants (Schulenkorf, 2012; Svensson et al., 2016). These pathways can help young people to have sustained involvement in SFD programs and also link them into complementary activities (Armour, Sandford & Duncombe, 2013). These pathways had the potential to ripple beyond the individual and group level, to shift social boundaries and increase the scope of The Huddle's positive impacts. While these results only emerged in early discussions (before the expansion), they did appear to substantiate the ideas presented in Chapter 4 that The Huddle's hybridity and partnerships could increase the scope and utility of positive impacts.

However, the utility of The Huddle's impacts only emerged as a theme before The Huddle's expansion and did not emerge afterwards. These pathways were compromised, as staff, volunteers and their associated networks moved on during the final stages of the research. Due to this loss of change agents, external partnerships that were once linked into programs were no longer involved with The Huddle and programming declined (particularly sport). Consequently, opportunities for youth to engage in The Huddle's programming were reduced and alongside this, pathways and links to external opportunities and organisations no longer existed. The following section now explores how youth may or may not have experienced intercultural understanding.

5.3.5 Intercultural understanding. Intercultural learning also emerged as a theme during early interviews with youth participants but perceptions varied between different groups. For instance, one participant explained how he had learned about other cultures because of his time in The Huddle's programs: 'I've definitely learned more about different cultures. I didn't really know much about the Islam religion and the Muslim culture but I do now. Things like their celebrations and their traditions' (Luke). It was interesting to note that this particular participant was one of the few who did not identify as CALD. Similarly, as a person without CALD heritage, I also felt that my experience had enhanced my cultural awareness: 'While I wouldn't describe myself as completely culturally naïve before commencing my PhD, my experiences have grown my awareness of involving people from all walks of life' (Research observations, August, 2015). Such findings are supported by Schulenkorf (2013), who suggested that learning in SFD environments can go beyond the development of sport-specific skills to encompass the expansion of intercultural perspectives. As noted in Chapter 4 and the previous section, scholars have cautioned that the

successful inclusion of CALD and refugee groups in sporting context is dependent on 'a two-way process of mutual accommodation' (Spaaij, 2013, p. 29).

It was interesting to note that some of The Huddle's youth participants who identified as CALD held contrasting views when it came to the scope and nature of The Huddle's impacts: 'As you can see, when you go out, there's a lot of African but there's not much other people. I think it affects mainly small group of people. I don't think it affects many people' (Lina). Therefore, those of us who did not identify as CALD were a minority within The Huddle (see Chapter 4). Further, as this minority, we were learning about other cultures and our social boundaries shifted. In contrast, being from a CALD background, Lina was in the majority and she did not perceive impacts extending beyond the sociocultural boundaries that existed within The Huddle. Therefore, if The Huddle was aiming to contribute to social cohesion by shifting sociocultural boundaries, there was very little evidence of a two-way process of mutual accommodation (as explained by Spaaij, 2013) in this context.

In fact, scholars have theorised that social cohesion and belonging cannot occur through tolerance of difference; instead, these social processes require an active discussion and sharing of values between groups (Bernard, 1999). While this does not take away from the value of previously discussed outcomes reported by youth (e.g., friendships and social support), these findings do suggest that the initiative might struggle to achieve its aim of developing social cohesion among youth of multiple cultures. It has been suggested that if SFD programs do not address such cultural boundaries, programs are at risk of promoting the assimilation of culture, language and values (Spaaij, 2015). As a result, SFD practitioners should look to challenge sociocultural boundaries and encourage active engagement between groups and two-way exchanges in culture (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Spaaij, 2013), rather than simply targeting one

group or culture. Consequently, The Huddle was at risk of promoting cultural assimilation and reinforcing cultural boundaries rather than shifting them and promoting an exchange in intercultural understanding. The next section considers the challenges that youth experienced in association with The Huddle's programming.

5.4 Challenges

In addition to positive impacts, youth also discussed a number of barriers to engagement at The Huddle and challenges associated with programming. Youth participants described a number of barriers to participation, including issues with accessibility (particularly in the evenings) and personal difficulties at home. During follow-up interviews, youth described difficult experiences when staff moved on from The Huddle. For some, this meant that newer staff were unfamiliar and they were hesitant to come to know them.

5.4.1 Access and personal difficulties. During initial interviews, a number of barriers to youth engagement were discussed. One of the most common barriers that youth described were those associated with family responsibilities or challenges or accessing The Huddle. Abeba summed this up, stating that it was 'family or just the ride in' (Abeba), indicating a lack of instrumental social support. Lina noted that a walk home in the dark through the industrial areas and public housing that surrounded The Huddle was a barrier. She also explained that sometimes she could not come because she had to look after her family: 'Sometimes I still want to come, but I can't come when it's dark by myself. Also, when something happening in the house with my family, or maybe I have to look after the kids I can't come' (Lina). For some youth participants, these personal and family difficulties were quite significant: 'His teacher explained that he was not only improving his English, but also his lip-reading, as he's partially deaf. His parents died in

Somalia, so his uncle took him into his home, a two-bedroom apartment, with 11 family members' (Research observations, April 2016)

These results align with the findings presented in an investigation of Somali immigrant women's views of physical activity, with barriers including extended family responsibilities, housework and cultural tradition (Persson et al., 2014). Similarly, in a review focusing on physical activity participation among CALD groups, socioeconomic challenges and cultural beliefs were common barriers to physical activity participation (Caperchione et al., 2009). It has been suggested that sport and physical activity programming should be designed in a way that supports the specific cultural needs of the groups they seek to attract or engage (Benn & Pfister, 2013; Maxwell et al., 2013; Persson et al., 2014). Some suggested strategies include the provision of appropriate clothing, gender-segregated environments, access to culturally appropriate food and drink, culturally sensitive facilitators and building the competencies of participants to become leaders (Maxwell et al., 2013). During the early stages of the research, The Huddle adopted similar strategies by employing former participants (in a casual capacity), providing women-only spaces for sport participation, offering areas for prayer, scheduling programming and celebrations according to cultural holidays (e.g., Ramadan and Eid) and communicating and collaborating with local community leaders. Interestingly, as the research progressed, themes associated with challenges for youth participants shifted away from access and personal difficulties and towards staff departing. The following section examines these experiences more closely.

5.4.2 Staff departing. Unlike the pre-expansion interviews that uncovered accessibility issues and personal challenges, the post-expansion interviews tended to focus on the departure of The Huddle's staff as a key challenge. Zainab was upset when Clare moved on from programs:

'Some of them left. Clare, she left. It was really upsetting ... It was very upsetting because they helped you a lot. They helped me a lot' (Zainab). Casho noted how well she knew one staff member and that this departure was the most challenging for her: 'It was sad ... we used to talk and walk, and I know her, I am friends with her. I was sad. She told me on Facebook, she's leaving, she's going to another work' (Casho). For some, these departures meant that it was difficult to trust newer staff, meaning that some youth participants were not engaging in programs as often:

Louise and Wendy left. And [now] the new people, I don't know them ... I felt sad because I know them for four years ... when you know someone, they are friendlier, and they know you since you were young. But the new people in here, I don't really know them ... I don't really want to tell them anything about me, I'll be honest ... it's like every time I need something I used to come here. But now I come less because many of the people are not like the people that used to be here. (Lina)

Consequently, I was worried that the loss of staff might be adversely impacting participants. One staff member asked me for my thoughts on staff departures and youth engagement: 'We were talking about how staffing of programs had not been as consistent ... She agreed that this inconsistency might be impacting attendance' (Research observations, August, 2016).

SFD scholars have regularly emphasised the importance of relationships between staff and participants in programming (Bowers & Green, 2013; P. Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2016; Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011; Sherry & Schulenkorf, 2016). For example, in an examination of SFD program theory, Coalter (2012) emphasised the centrality of relationships between leaders and participants. The author also noted how the development of trust, respect and reciprocity might act as a foundation from which changes in attitude and behaviour might occur (Coalter,

2012). Similarly, in an examination of the role of sport among youth that had experienced trauma, sporting environments offered a place of stability, predictability and structure (Massey & Whitley, 2016). Schulenkorf's (2010) explanation of change agents offers further insight into leader and participant relations in SFD. Specifically, he noted that the 'building of trust is a precondition for the success of inter-community sport' and that these individuals act as a 'point of trust' for communities, who are then able to attract individuals and groups from all different backgrounds (p. 123).

Therefore, as staff moved on from The Huddle and social networks declined, it seemed that the trust associated with those individuals also evaporated. Stability in programming and staffing appeared to be essential when looking to build trust with CALD youth and facilitate positive social development:

Stability is crucial to ensure that access, opportunities, safety, support, the development of friendships and networks can occur. It is essential for development, to allow people to move and grow beyond those vulnerabilities. Stability is different to the typical calls for sustainability in SFD, it implies a greater depth and quality of engagement than sustainability. Sustainability lends its self to capacity building and length of time/engagement, but it lacks that quality of networks and support that stability implies. (Research observations, December, 2016)

These findings have reiterated and built on Coalter's (2012) descriptions of the centrality of relationships between SFD leaders and participants and Schulenkorf's (2010) theorisation of change agents. Specifically, the findings presented in Chapter 5 highlight youths' experiences when programming changes occur and staff and change agents move on from SFD initiatives.

Collectively, these results point to the importance of stability in SFD when working with CALD

populations, as trust, engagement and social support are fundamental to moving beyond the inherent instability and challenges associated with migration. Further, these results align with the findings presented in Chapter 4, in that the impacts of the expansion and influences of funders appeared to be creating instability in program design and implementation. Therefore, despite The Huddle's positive impacts in relation to friendships, networks, acceptance and belonging, there appeared to have been an overall decline in the initiative's capacity to have a positive impact.

5.5 Summary

The findings presented in Chapter Five provide insight into the outcomes that youth participants reported in association with their engagement with The Huddle. The results indicated that youth participants experienced a number of positive impacts regarding sport, educational and employment skills. Initial program outcomes predominantly emerged in association with sporting and educational initiatives. However, as The Huddle's programming altered its focus towards education and careers and away from sport, youth participants' perceptions of impacts also shifted. As a result, in the later stages of research, learning around study skills and careers were reported more often and fewer sporting outcomes were experienced.

In addition, youth participants also described outcomes in association with friendships and networks. Social networks were thought to expand and friendships were formed between participants. Youth participants also discussed how they kept coming back to engage with the people they had met at The Huddle. Friendships and networks were not only formed through youth engagement, but these social ties motivated them to continue their engagement. Youth participants also described how they gained support through these friendships and networks. This social support was sourced from peers, staff and volunteers and was experienced in multiple

forms, including instrumental, informational, appraisal and emotional support. In conjunction with support, youth participants also explained how they felt accepted and like they belonged at The Huddle.

Utility in impacts also emerged as a theme, with youth participants describing how they had joined sport teams through networks at The Huddle. In many of these instances, staff had acted as change agents that had introduced youth to local sporting organisations. At certain points, I found myself also assisting youth to engage with external opportunities. As such, The Huddle's staff had created an environment in which participants could link to external networks and opportunities as they required. These findings supported the data presented in Chapter 4, in that The Huddle's partnerships enabled the initiative to increase the scope and utility of program impacts. However, utility in impacts only emerged in association with data from the initial interviews (pre-expansion) and not follow-up interviews (post-expansion). This trend is likely explained by the fact that staff that had acted as change agents in this network had moved on from The Huddle during the later stages of this research.

Intercultural learning was also reported in association with engagement at The Huddle. However, this was predominantly described by youth participants (and myself) who did not identify as CALD. In contrast, a youth participant who did identify as CALD believed that due to the weighting towards African youth, The Huddle did not positively impact many people. This apparent one-way exchange of intercultural learning, combined with a cultural weighting towards African youth, indicated that a shifting of intercultural boundaries and understanding was only occurring to a limited degree, if at all.

With respect to challenges, youth participants reported both barriers to engagement and challenging experiences at The Huddle. During the early stages of this study, youth participants

predominantly described barriers to engagement. Specifically, issues with accessibility (e.g., darkness and transportation) and personal difficulties (e.g., family and home) were reported as the primary reasons for not being able to engage in programs more often. However, follow-up discussions around challenges focused on staff departing. For some, these departures caused a sense of grief, as youth had grown to know and trust staff over the years. Further, newer staff and volunteers were described as unfamiliar and youth participants explained how they felt reluctant to tell them anything about themselves.

The findings presented in this chapter were comparable with the SFD literature, as they demonstrated how SFD programs can contribute to the sporting and academic capacities of youth (e.g., Olushola et al., 2013; Phillips & Warner, 2016). The importance of multifaceted SFD programming was also reinforced, as positive development could be enhanced through linking different types of programs together (e.g., sport and education) (Jeanes, 2013). Additionally, the results reiterated the value of friendships and networks in SFD. For instance, at the most fundamental level, friendships and networks functioned as both an outcome of SFD and an enabling factor to SFD (Spaaij, 2013; VicHealth, 2010). In addition, youth participants described how they had received instrumental, informational, appraisal and emotional support (House, 1981) from staff, volunteers and fellow youth. Alongside social support, the findings reinforced SFD's capacity to enhance participants' sense of belonging and acceptance (Spaaij, 2015). In addition, the findings echoed Coalter's (2012) and Schulenkorf's (2010) observations of the centrality of relationships between SFD leaders and participants. In particular, the results highlighted their value when looking to maximise program outreach (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015), leverage partnerships to enable development pathways (Schulenkorf, 2012; Svensson et

al., 2016) and increase sustainable SFD participation while also linking participants into complementary activities (Armour et al., 2013).

This chapter has also enhanced knowledge of refugee and migrant experiences in SFD. Specifically, this work has built on Spaaij's (2013, 2015) understandings of belonging and social boundaries by questioning how SFD might reinforce rather than challenge existing sociocultural boundaries. These perspectives extend on Schulenkorf's (2010) examination of change agents by demonstrating their value in SFD stability and exploring the experiences of youth when leaders and change agents move on. As a result, future SFD researchers and practitioners could benefit from examining the ways in which programs grow beyond a focus on sustainability to best serve the needs of participants by enhancing the stability of staffing and programs. In addition, research could build knowledge around how these programs might be able to maintain a supportive, trusting and nurturing environment while they develop and change according to the needs of the community and IORs.

Finally, the findings from this chapter have reinforced the recommendations presented in Chapter 4 regarding exploring how SFD participants are positioned in programs relative to the sociocultural boundaries of the communities in which they are located. Such recommendations are further developed and discussed in the final two chapters. Chapter 6 explores how the findings from the previous two chapters relate to The Huddle's aim of social cohesion.

Following this, the final chapter of this thesis explains the key conclusions and implications from this research.

Chapter Six. The Huddle and Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper. (Scanlon Foundation, 2017b, p. 1)

6.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, the results and discussion were presented in relation to the first two research questions. These questions focused on 1) how The Huddle was managed in the delivery of SFD programming and 2) the perceived outcomes reported by youth participants in association with their engagement with The Huddle. As the third and final results and discussion chapter, Chapter 6 addresses research question three that considers how the findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5 align with The Huddle's aim of social cohesion. The analysis and discussion of the results has been presented alongside a variety of literature, with an emphasis on key theoretical contributions by Bernard (1999) and Jenson (1998) on social cohesion. This research was identified for its influence on social cohesion literature at large, and its influence on the Scanlon Foundation's research into cohesion and subsequent influence on The Huddle's interpretation of the concept. These cornerstone works offer important insights into the concept's theorisation and associated definitions, dimensions, critiques and assumptions. Further, given the initiative's aims shifted to incorporate social inclusion, Bernard (1999) and Jenson's (1998) work also offer important insights into overlaps between inclusion and cohesion. However, it is important to note that while inclusion theory has been considered where applicable, research question three is centred on cohesion. As such, this chapter predominantly focuses on practical and theoretical considerations of cohesion. The first section of this chapter considers The Huddle's aim, with a particular focus on how it aligns with and deviates from the social cohesion

literature. Following on from this, this chapter examines how the findings regarding The Huddle's program management and impacts, as explored in Chapters 4 and 5, may have contributed to or limited the development of social cohesion.

6.2 The Huddle's Aim

To consider how the findings presented to this point contribute to The Huddle's aim of social cohesion, it is useful to first build on earlier descriptions of the initiative's aim by exploring its theoretical foundations and examining how this aim aligns with and deviates from established theory. This is done to provide a theoretical framework from which program management and impacts can be examined in relation to the stated aim of social cohesion.

6.2.1 Pre-expansion: Social cohesion. Prior to The Huddle's expansion, social cohesion was highlighted as the initiative's primary aim. While a range of understandings were identified, managers often cited the Scanlon Foundation's interpretation of this concept (see Chapter 4): 'The Scanlon Foundation have five domains of social cohesion, which is useful to look into the context of this' (Peter, manager, NMFC). In addition to the common goal of social cohesion, both organisations shared a focus on promoting multiculturalism and supporting migrant groups. Consequently, the following definition of social cohesion seemed the guiding interpretation of social cohesion: 'The willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper' (Scanlon Foundation, 2017b, p. 1). This definition was developed from the Scanlon Foundation's longitudinal research into social cohesion through which five domains of cohesion were theorised: belonging, social justice and equity, participation, acceptance and rejection, legitimacy and worth (Scanlon Foundation, 2017a). Regarding the theoretical foundations of this work, Jane Jenson and Paul Bernard (see Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998) were cited as the two primary academic influences. This literature will now be briefly recapped (see

Chapter 2 for further detail) before examining its associated nuances and critiques and their possible influences on The Huddle.

The work of Jenson (1998) has been some of the most influential in scholarly examinations of social cohesion, as it has played a role in shaping Bernard's (1999) perspectives on the concept and continues to influence contemporary research efforts (e.g., Bianco & Bal, 2016; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015; Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017; Seo & Chiu, 2013). Of particular relevance to this research is Jenson's (1998) early conceptualisation and domains of cohesion, as they influenced the Scanlon Foundation's interpretation of the concept and, by extension, The Huddle's. Specifically, the author described social cohesion as a property of group or society in which individuals felt a sense of belonging, inclusion, recognition, legitimacy and participation. In addition, five dimensions of cohesion were proposed, comprising of 1) affiliation versus isolation, 2) insertion versus exclusion, 3) participation versus non-involvement, 4) recognition versus rejection and 5) legitimacy versus illegitimacy (Jenson, 1998). Bernard (1999) later built on this framework by adding equality versus inequality as a domain (see Table 2.1, Chapter 2). While these conceptualisations give some preliminary insight into how social cohesion was interpreted in The Huddle, deeper exploration of their nuances offers greater understanding into how the initiative may (or may not) have contributed to cohesion. Therefore, the next section examines the sociocultural assumptions and critiques of the aforementioned frameworks.

A number of nuances and criticisms of social cohesion have been highlighted in the academic literature (see Bianco & Bal, 2016). One of the most common critiques is the ongoing lack of consensus on social cohesion (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017; Triggs, 2014). Bernard (1999) explained that while this adaptability can be beneficial, it also enables the concept to meander alongside political discourses and actions. It is for these reasons that scholars have also

pointed to social cohesion's neoliberal underpinnings and sociocultural assumptions and questioned whether these frameworks might reinforce societal divisions and neoliberal practices (Bianco & Bal, 2016). To recap, neoliberal approaches to development are thought to be characterised by an economic world view that suggests self-regulation, personal effort and material capital are necessary for youth to succeed in life (Hayhurst, 2014). In addition, neoliberal settings often feature in IORs (Pearson & Shaw, 2017) and are thought to adopt white, middle-class perspectives that position success and progress as societal movement from marginalised to belonging (Kark et al., 2016). Further, these approaches interpret social justice as access to economic opportunities and equality as promoting 'sameness' (Bianco & Bal, 2016). The origins of these neoliberal critiques may stem from Jenson's (1998) own framework, as the author noted how it positions multiculturalism as a source of potential division in society. In this sense, a focus on multiculturalism is thought to encourage a fear of difference, stagnate understandings between different cultures and reinforce societal inequalities (Bianco & Bal, 2016). Consequently, the neoliberal tendencies of social cohesion appear inherently intertwined with ideas of sameness and assimilation.

Interestingly, the findings regarding The Huddle's program management and design pointed to similar neoliberal tendencies and critiques. Specifically, interpretations of cohesion remained ambiguous and enabled sociocultural and neoliberal assumptions to permeate strategy and programming. For instance, CALD youth were positioned as a group in society that needed 'help' and predominantly non-CALD staff and managers were situated as the 'solution'. In this sense, multiculturalism was placed as a source of potential societal division to be remedied through the provision of educational and economic opportunities. While this lens was applied to contribute to the common good of society, it was also done so from the perspective of non-

CALD, middle-managers of The Huddle. This was compounded by The Huddle's expansion plans, as business logics began to outweigh social development logics, and aims transformed accordingly. The following section briefly reviews how The Huddle's aim changed after the initiative expanded and considers the relevance of this in the context of the existing literature.

6.2.2 Post-expansion: Cohesion, inclusion, learn, grow and belong. While interpretations of social cohesion remained vague, the post-expansion missions of 'learn, grow, belong' were more clearly defined. Specifically, The Huddle's organisational documents suggested that (1) learning would occur through youth acquiring 'new skills, participating in new activities, meeting new people and sharing stories about their journey', (2) growth through 'gaining a deeper awareness of self and others and the knowledge, confidence, and resilience to contribute to society' and (3) belonging by engaging with 'a community that embraces social inclusion and supports its people' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 7). Interestingly, the latter definition relied on understandings of social inclusion as a concept, with documents stating that the initiative looked to 'strengthen social inclusion by facilitating cross-cultural exchanges and increase positive social networks for young people and their families' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 12). Hence, belonging was to be enhanced through the development of social inclusion and social inclusion was to be promoted through cross-cultural learning.

Despite implementing these missions in the hope of distancing The Huddle from sociocultural discourses (e.g., radicalisation, see Chapter 4), these concepts have also been associated with sociological assumptions and critiques. For instance, like social cohesion, inclusion and belonging have been connected with macro-level analyses and economic perspectives. In particular, such conceptualisations have been critiqued for their failure to identify how individual autonomy, decisions and processes might contribute to feelings of

belonging and inclusion (Jenson, 1998). For example, those who belong also have the power to isolate others by either intentionally or subconsciously reinforcing existing social boundaries (Bernard, 1999; Woolley, 1998). Similarly, those individuals who feel included can also promote exclusion and reinforce inequality (Bernard, 1999). Further, inclusion and belonging have been linked to social cohesion theory and policy (e.g., Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998) and as a result, neither concept is immune to the weight of sociopolitical agendas and neoliberal tendencies. Therefore, The Huddle's shift in focus towards inclusion and belonging (among other aims) was unlikely to mitigate the earlier critiques of social cohesion.

This change in strategy was particularly invalid given that social cohesion continued to be discussed as an aim by staff in follow-up interviews and at official functions, as well as featured in organisational documents. Its presence in the initiative's aims appeared to be influenced by the Scanlon Foundation's ongoing support and funding arrangement with The Huddle. In addition, by only using the concept sporadically and when convenient, it could remain ambiguous and The Huddle could continue funding partnerships without engaging in the messiness of social cohesion. When considered alongside staff observations regarding The Huddle becoming more 'business-like' or like a 'brand' (see Chapter 4), these developments point to the influence of neoliberal ideals. SFD scholars have warned against neoliberal approaches to SFD, as they can disempower program beneficiaries (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). Through exploring these theoretical frameworks and their critiques, the conceptual underpinnings of the Scanlon Foundation's definition of social cohesion become clearer, as do its key influences on The Huddle's aims. The attention now examines how The Huddle may have contributed to social cohesion outcomes through its program management and impacts.

6.3 Social Cohesion Outcomes and Contributing Factors

Given that social groups (Bruhn, 2009), friendships (R. Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Gesell et al., 2015) and belonging (Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998) are thought to be central to the development of social cohesion, the results from Chapter 5 (e.g., friendships, social networks and belonging) indicated that The Huddle had fostered cohesion outcomes to one degree or another. A variety of elements within The Huddle's management and programming contributed to the development of social cohesion. In particular, programs, partnerships and staff played central roles in connecting youth with other individuals and facilitated the development of friendships and supportive social networks. Further, as a result of these social networks, youth described feelings of acceptance and belonging at The Huddle. The following section examines these findings in further detail.

6.3.1 Programs, partnerships, social networks and belonging. The development of friendships, social networks and belonging were all outcomes that pointed to The Huddle's capacity to foster social cohesion. A number of factors contributed to these impacts. For instance, in programs, IORs were thought to enhance program delivery and capacity and provide avenues through which youth could step into external opportunities and social networks. Staff were essential to this process, as they maintained partnerships and facilitated a program environment in which youth were encouraged to engage with external organisations, networks and opportunities. For example, staff from The Huddle and Netball Victoria worked together to conduct netball activities for a number of weeks during the Sisters Through Sport program. Idil described how she initially struggled to enjoy netball, but her time in this program eventuated in her joining a netball team at her school: 'That's the one that I learned the most from because I never used to play it, I hated it. Then I end up being on the netball team in school, which was quite a surprise' (Idil). In

this sense, staff were acting as change agents that enriched IORs and facilitated youths' access to peripheral opportunities and social networks (Schulenkorf, 2010b). Additionally, The Huddle's hybridity also enhanced the initiative's outreach, as program partnerships could be leveraged by staff in a way that facilitated pathways and opportunities for youth (Schulenkorf, 2012; Svensson et al., 2016).

In addition to facilitating external opportunities and pathways, staff played a valuable role in The Huddle's social networks. Stability and consistency in this engagement were thought to be particularly important: 'You need that continuity of support ... it's good that we haven't had total changeover of staff, because you get thread lines happening for people' (Louise, staff, The Huddle). As a result of these stable foundations, friendships and supportive social networks developed between youth, staff and volunteers. For example, Melody described how she worked closely with a volunteer: 'I didn't know what to do with my assignment. I go to the tutor ... I found someone who's really good. He gets what I mean, and I get to the point where I'm like, "Thank you so much. Now I understand" (Melody). Alongside this, youth explained how the they had formed friendships from their time at The Huddle that had also facilitated their ongoing engagement in programs: 'You see a lot of people, different people, that's why I come back to have fun. You know the people have never been mean to me. The Huddle is so kind and caring. That's why I come back' (Casho). Youth participants also described how they had experienced a sense of belonging, indicating that 'at the end it felt like home' (Khadra). As a result, The Huddle's programs and staff provided an environment in which social networks, support, friendships and belonging were fostered.

In this sense, The Huddle had contributed social cohesion, as Bernard (1999) and Jenson's (1998, 2010) works defined belonging as a core dimension of social cohesion. The

authors suggested that belonging could be signified through shared values, collective identities and feeling a part of a community (Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998). Similarly, other research has suggested that through group involvement and identification with that group, belonging and social cohesion can be developed (Bruhn, 2009). While the strength of cohesion can ebb and flow as members join and depart, the more an individual identifies with a group and is rewarded by its membership, the more cohesive it will be (Bruhn, 2009). Some of The Huddle's youth certainly experienced this, describing the initiative as 'home' (Melody) and a place in which they could receive social support: 'Beforehand, with math, I might get confused ... but once I come here, I can get everything sorted out, I can keep up with everything and get good help' (Luke). Therefore, friendships functioned as a means of organic participant recruitment and increased social support and the social networks as the building blocks of social cohesion (R. Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Gesell et al., 2015).

While these outcomes indicated that The Huddle had contributed to social cohesion at the group level, the degree to which these impacts extended beyond this was questionable. To examine the scope of these cohesion outcomes, a range of multi-layered sociological influences must be considered. For instance, given that group departures can limit the strength of social cohesion (Bruhn, 2009), it is likely that deteriorations in The Huddle's social networks restricted the quality scope of cohesion. Some youth participants explained that changes in social networks had contributed to their declining engagement: 'Every time I need something I used to come here. But now I come less because many of the people are not like the people that used to be here' (Lina). In addition, Bernard, (1999) and Jenson (1998) explained that social cohesion can be mediated by social exclusion and isolation. It is unlikely that all participants always experienced a sense of belonging. Beyond this, caution must be taken when equating individual

experiences of belonging as assured contributions towards community cohesion. While individual experiences of belonging might indicate cohesiveness within The Huddle, they do not automatically extend to impact on broader levels of community or societal cohesion. Considering this in light of Sugden's (2014) ripple effect model, while the aforementioned outcomes pointed to social cohesion outcomes at the micro level, the scope of The Huddle's impacts should not be exaggerated beyond this. The next section considers a number of factors that limited the development of social cohesion at The Huddle.

6.4 Social Cohesion Limitations and Constraining Factors

Over the course of the research, there were a number of challenges that likely constrained The Huddle's capacity to foster social cohesion. In particular, the initiative's expansion and new strategy resulted in a number of issues: declines in programming, staff departures and diminishing volunteer and youth engagement. In addition, sociocultural assumptions and boundaries restricted cross-cultural exchanges and by The Huddle's own measure, limited the development of social cohesion.

6.4.1 Programming limitations and constraints. A variety of challenges associated with The Huddle's expansion constrained the development of social cohesion. While management used the expansion as an opportunity to refine aims and streamline programming, in reality the expansion process resulted in contradictory outcomes. Specifically, the aims expanded in number and scope and plans were implemented for 13 additional programs. In conjunction with this, resources and staff were spread across three locations. Consequently, volunteers were increasingly relied on despite a 35 per cent drop in their engagement between 2015 and 2016 (The Huddle, 2015a, 2016a). Staff were attempting to conduct more programs with fewer personnel, resources and program partnerships. Clare commented that 'the last six months numbers have dipped'

(Clare). This increasingly unstable environment saw a 53 per cent decline in program sessions and a 36 per cent drop in youth engagement between 2015 and 2016 (The Huddle, 2015a, 2016a). These declines in social networks were exacerbated when programs were limited to education and careers and negligible sporting programs were offered. As a result, the engagement of youth solely involved in sport declined: 'The other girls that didn't go to Study Support have stopped coming completely' (Leah, staff and volunteer, The Huddle). Given that group departures are thought to reduce the strength of cohesion (Bruhn, 2009) and the loss of sport programs triggered a decay in social networks, it could be argued that the decision to limit programs inadvertently constrained social cohesion.

This determination to stretch resources across three locations despite declines in programs, staff, volunteers and youth seemed to be fuelled by a priority to upscale. These management strategies collectively pointed to the notion that SFD priorities and social development agendas were being compromised in favour of business perspectives and logics. Such commercial approaches to social development can lead to financial perspectives of success being prioritised over social development outlooks and measurements (Levermore, 2011b). Although The Huddle was not basing its success on finances, such resource-oriented considerations were influencing the spread of staff and programs. As such, it has been argued that balancing these institutional logics can challenge SFD hybrids through their workforce composition as well as program design (Svensson & Seifried, 2017). While The Huddle's hybridity initially bolstered program outreach (via regular funding and program partnerships), it eventually resulted in destabilising programming due to expansion opportunities (provided by funding partnerships). It is for these reasons that SFD scholars have suggested that initiatives consider how upscaling programs may reduce the sustainability of SFD impacts (Sugden, 2010;

Svensson & Seifried, 2017). In addition to challenges in program management, there were a variety of sociocultural factors that limited The Huddle's capacity to develop social cohesion. The subsequent section examines these sociocultural constraints.

6.4.2 Sociocultural limitations and constraints. In addition to declines in stability, the sociocultural positioning of staff and youth also appeared to limit The Huddle's contributions to social cohesion. Sociocultural boundaries were evident in programming, as staff who identified as CALD were predominantly employed in part-time or casual positions, whereas those who did not identify as CALD were employed full-time. Additionally, cultural imbalances of the youth cohort were also discussed, as staff and volunteers described a youth cohort as predominantly African (despite cultural variances within this group, see Appendix T for details of participants' cultural backgrounds), and questioned whether engaging this group in programs was a suitable approach: 'Most of them are African and maybe people who can't afford tutoring should come in as well, and people who are maybe disabled or ... Maybe just broaden the aspect of who can come' (Olivia, volunteer, The Huddle). Interestingly, intercultural understanding was described as a program outcome by one of the few non-CALD youth participants (along with myself). However, others expressed contrasting views that The Huddle did not impact many people, as youth were predominantly of African descent: 'As you can see, when you go out, there's a lot of African but there's not much other people. I think it affects mainly small group of people. I don't think it affects many people' (Lina).

When considered alongside The Huddle's definition of belonging and inclusion, by its own measure, this sociocultural positioning limited the initiative's capacity to enhance social cohesion. That is, belonging was defined as being part of 'a community that embraces social inclusion and supports its people' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 7). However, to enhance belonging,

social inclusion would need to be encouraged through 'facilitating cross-cultural exchanges and increasing positive social networks for young people and their families' (The Huddle, 2016b, p. 12). Therefore, by only working with a select group of CALD youth and predominantly employing CALD staff in casual or part-time positions, The Huddle had inadvertently undermined its own purpose of fostering cross-cultural exchange and social inclusion.

Inclusion and belonging have often been associated with social cohesion policy and theory (e.g., Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998). As such, both concepts can be critiqued for their sociocultural assumptions. Therefore, by not unpacking these aims and concepts and avoiding discussions of race, neoliberal tendencies could remain unquestioned and sociocultural divides could be reinforced. Without an exchange of cultural learning, programs inadvertently risk promoting notions of assimilation (Spaaij, 2015) or 'sameness' (Bianco & Bal, 2016) as forms of success. Bernard (1999) explained that social cohesion and belonging cannot simply occur through a tolerance of difference; rather, they should embrace an active dialogue that promotes the sharing of values. Such neoliberal approaches can serve to disempower populations by positioning 'them' as the problem and promote those who are more privileged as 'us'—the solution (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). Essentially, by positioning CALD populations as potential sources of societal division, The Huddle negated opportunities for multi-directional exchanges of cultural values.

Further, it could be argued that The Huddle's emphasis on educational and career programs (as opposed to sport) pointed to a neoliberal view of program design and management. In doing so, the initiative may have interpreted social justice as access to economic opportunities and social cohesion in a manner that promoted 'sameness' (Bianco & Bal, 2016). Such an approach to cohesion is thought to reinforce societal divisions and neoliberal tendencies (Bianco

& Bal, 2016) rather than challenging them. While social cohesion is still typically accepted as a positive social force (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017), its neoliberal and multicultural assumptions need to be addressed to move beyond economic growth logics and embrace social development (Bessis, 1995; Bianco & Bal, 2016).

To challenge racial assumptions in SFD, scholars and practitioners need to work together to shift sociocultural boundaries, encourage two-way cultural exchanges (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Spaaij, 2013) and embrace *multiple* cultures, rather than simply targeting one group or culture. If these cultural discourses and boundaries are not confronted, SFD initiatives risk inadvertently endorsing the assimilation of language, values and culture (Spaaij, 2015). Therefore, a 'key challenge for community sport organisations of all types (i.e., multi-ethnic and mono-ethnic) is to make the social boundaries that demarcate spaces of (not) belonging more fully permeable' (Spaaij, 2015, p.316).

Beyond challenging these sociocultural boundaries, there have also been calls to rethink power relations in SFD more broadly. To explain, despite SFD's best intentions to use sport as an 'engine' of social development (Levermore, 2008), it is thought to have been inherently underpinned by power relations, colonising tendencies and politics of social control (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). These initiatives hold power when sport is used a means of assisting international (or institutional) relations rather than standing in solidarity with groups struggling for self-determination (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). For instance, we often see those in privileged sociocultural positions (e.g., 'Global North') funding, designing and running SFD initiatives for recipients that are deemed to be less privileged and in need of 'help' (e.g., 'Global South') (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). Consequently, we should challenge those that ignore local voices and identities and question practices and ideas that reinforce social inequalities (e.g., Western power

and racial disparities) (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). In doing so, SFD will increase the likelihood of fostering sustainable positive impacts and contribute to broader sociocultural understandings. The following section explores the broader contextual and conceptual considerations of social cohesion.

6.5 Contextual and Conceptual Considerations

SFD is thought to function as a malleable social construct that can be influenced by the social forces that surround it (Sugden, 2010). In this instance, not only was The Huddle functioning as a flexible social construct of SFD, but the ambiguity of its aim(s) also enabled the influence of external social forces to permeate programming. Therefore, there are a number of contextual factors that must be considered alongside the findings of this research.

Both nationally and internationally, there have been societal discourses and actions that have resulted in movement towards anti-migrant sentiments and right-wing politics (Obeng-Odoom, 2017; D. Smith, 2018). For example, Donald Trump was voted into power while looking to impose a ban on Muslim immigration (Yukich, 2018). Similarly, in the series of events commonly referred to as Brexit, Britain voted to leave the European Union (Goodwin & Heath, 2016). Conversely, there have also been recent examples of pro-migration politics and discourses, with the UNHCR praising Canada for their refugee intake (UNHCR, 2017). Locally however, as noted in Chapter 1, the Australian Government has sought to deter refugees from coming to Australia through outsourcing and funding immigration detention centres in overseas locations (e.g., Manus Island and Nauru) (Fleay & Hoffman, 2014). Further, during the course of the research, the Australian Government announced funding for programs that countered violent extremism. As a part of this, the government looked to fund programs that sought to re-engage persons at risk of radicalisation (Parliament of Australia, 2017). Collectively, these political

actions and discourses place migrants and refugees as a source of potential societal division and fear in Australia (Devetak, 2004).

With these social forces in mind, I noted the following in my research observations: 'I believe there's a ceiling as to how much The Huddle can truly impact social cohesion due to the social context in which we live' (Research observations, October, 2016). If we continue to equate multiculturalism with community division then, theoretically, social cohesion will forever be declining in a global landscape that sees increasing momentum towards internationalisation. Therefore, if these sociocultural understandings of cultural diversity and division persist, social cohesion appears to be a utopian concept that can never truly be 'achieved'.

6.6 Summary

Chapter 6 explored how the findings from Chapters 4 and 5 related to The Huddle's aim of social cohesion. The Huddle's focus on achieving social cohesion was predominantly shaped by a reliance on the non-profit organisation and funding source, the Scanlon Foundation.

Conceptually, both organisations' interpretations of cohesion were theoretically influenced by Jane Jenson and Paul Bernard (see Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998). With these conceptualisations in mind, The Huddle had facilitated an environment in which youths' sense of belonging and social networks were fostered and had contributed to social cohesion at a group level. While there was some evidence of the utility of these impacts extending beyond this via youth joining local community activities (e.g., sport clubs), these findings were limited to pre-expansion data. Consequently, despite these positive impacts, changes in The Huddle's strategy, program design, capacity and social networks restricted the potential for broader social cohesion impacts to be achieved. That is, the expansion of The Huddle saw declines in programming and social networks over time. Further, by specifically positioning CALD youth as the focus of

programming, the initiative limited cross-cultural learning and potentially reinforced existing sociocultural divides. Therefore, The Huddle and its management may have inadvertently restricted the capacity of the initiative to achieve its desired social cohesion outcomes.

These findings reinforce broader criticisms of the social cohesion frameworks presented by Jane Jenson and Paul Bernard (see Bianco & Bal, 2016; Jenson, 1998). At the most fundamental level, ambiguity seemed an issue in conceptualisations and understandings of social cohesion (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017; Spoonley et al., 2005; Triggs, 2014). In addition, The Huddle's programming focused solely on CALD youth and, by doing so, it was implied that these youth needed support or 'help', that they were sources of societal division and potentially reinforced existing sociocultural assumptions and divisions. Further, neoliberal ideals were apparent, as success was implied as the development of 'sameness' (Bianco & Bal, 2016; Kark et al., 2016) via educational and careers programs.

The results from this research offer insights into how social cohesion may be experienced as and limited to micro-level impacts of belonging and social networks in SFD. In addition, the findings from this research have also developed understanding around the potential flow-on effects of not defining aims in an SFD context. That is, social cohesion remained ambiguous, hybrid organisational arrangements remained flexible and both constructs changed over time alongside the expansion and sociopolitical discourses. These findings highlight how the purpose of SFD organisations cannot exist in isolation and can be influenced by theoretical conceptualisations, business logics, political discourses and neoliberal ideals. Finally, this chapter suggests that if multicultural populations continue to be positioned as a source of societal division, the value of social cohesion as an aim in SFD should be questioned, as it may disempower CALD populations and reinforce sociocultural divides. In conclusion, while The

Huddle's programming fostered social cohesion at the group level, any positive cohesion outcomes beyond this scope were limited by sociocultural assumptions and neoliberal tendencies. The following chapter explores the conclusions and implications derived from this research.

Chapter Seven. Conclusion

Fostering inclusive sports spaces for people from refugee backgrounds requires an understanding at all levels of the community sport sector that refugee settlement is a two-way process of mutual accommodation requiring adaptation on the part of both the migrant and the host society, without having to discard one's cultural identity. (Spaaij, 2013, p. 29)

7.1 Introduction

This research has explored how The Huddle, an SFD initiative, targeted social cohesion outcomes among its CALD and refugee youth participants in Melbourne, Australia. Despite a proliferation in the number of SFD initiatives and scholarly efforts since the turn of the millennium, few efforts have been made to explore the capacity of SFD initiatives to develop social cohesion. Consequently, this research explored how an SFD initiative interpreted social cohesion and managed programs for cohesion outcomes. The SFD context identified for this PhD research project was a Melbourne-based initiative known as 'The Huddle'. Since its inception in 2010, this initiative has established a range of targeted sport and non-sport programs with the aim of developing social cohesion among refugee and CALD youth in Melbourne's inner North West. To investigate this context, I embraced a constructivist-interpretive paradigm and conducted a two-year ethnographic enquiry while I was embedded in the organisation. This enabled me to establish a collaborative dynamic with those being researched and facilitated the co-construction of rich data and theoretical outcomes. Chapter 7 reflects on the research findings from each research question and demonstrates how these conclusions might build on current SFD practice and theory. The first section synthesises the research aim, questions and key

findings. Following this, practical, theoretical and methodological implications are discussed. Finally, this chapter concludes by discussing the research limitations and identifying opportunities for future research.

7.2 Review of the Research Aim, Questions and Key Findings

The central aim of this research was to explore how The Huddle, an SFD initiative, may contribute to social cohesion outcomes among its CALD and refugee youth participants in Melbourne, Australia. To address this aim, three research questions were posed: 1) How was The Huddle managed in the delivery of SFD programming? 2) What perceived outcomes do youth participants report in association with their engagement with The Huddle? 3) Do findings in relation to questions one and two align with The Huddle's aim of social cohesion? The following sections reflect on the findings with respect to these research questions.

7.2.1 Management of The Huddle's programming. Chapter 4 explored how The Huddle was managed in the delivery of SFD programming. The results indicated that The Huddle's aims, strategies and programs changed over time. Often these evolutions were associated with a decision to expand The Huddle from one location in 2015, to three in 2016. The initiative's aim changed from an initial focus on social cohesion to also feature social inclusion, learning, growing and belonging. Understandings of these aims were diverse with minimal congruity between participants. Regarding The Huddle's youth, the findings suggested that the initiative targeted those aged between 12 and 25 years from a CALD or refugee background. Participants noted that in this group, there was a weighting towards youth of African descent. For some participants, this

cultural imbalance was concerning, as they explained that it was difficult to promote inclusion and cohesion with few cultures engaging in programs.

Concerns were also expressed about a decline in participation after The Huddle had expanded. Participants suggested that changes to programs and staffing might have contributed to this decline. Staff and volunteers were thought to be key to engaging youth and that consistent and high-quality engagement was essential. Initial interviews uncovered some challenges with cultural imbalances and a lack of community capacity building. Further, as the research progressed, The Huddle had expanded and the number of paid staff positions did not. As a result, participants were troubled by the lack of staff and managers countered this by shifting to a volunteer-based workforce. Despite this, volunteer numbers declined, leaving programming vulnerable.

Partnerships were described as an essential contributor to funding, strategy and program operations. These hybrid arrangements were understood to improve program delivery capacity, participant engagement and resources and increase positive outcomes by linking youth with external opportunities and pathways. However, these IORs also carried challenges, as the links between NMFC and The Huddle were sometimes misunderstood, leading to organisations misreading funding capability and altering power relations. In addition, as The Huddle's expansion progressed, staff moved on and their associated IORs deteriorated. Declines were also experienced in relation to programs, with initial discussions highlighting a variety of programs and their associated capacity to connect with youth and external organisations. In addition, there was movement to streamline programming. However, despite these intentions, The Huddle's official list of programs grew. Alongside this, sport programs declined and a focus on educational and career programs emerged. Further, although there were plans to run more

programs, participation data indicated that fewer sessions were conducted and youth engagement deteriorated.

7.2.2 Impacts of The Huddle's programming. Chapter 5 investigated the perceived outcomes that The Huddle's youth participants reported in relation to their engagement with The Huddle. The findings suggested that youth participants experienced multiple positive outcomes regarding sporting and educational skills. Interestingly, as The Huddle's focus moved away from sport and towards educational and career-focused programs, youth participants' descriptions of impacts also changed. Specifically, during follow-up interviews, youth participants reported that they had developed educational and careers skills and fewer sporting skills were described.

Friendships and social networks were also thought to develop in association with participation in The Huddle's programs. For example, youth described how they had developed friendships and how their social networks had expanded. In association with these outcomes, youth also reported how they had kept returning to engage in programs because of the people they had met through The Huddle. Networks and friendships were not only outcomes associated with engagement but they also facilitated further ongoing engagement. Alongside this, youth explained how they had received social support from staff, volunteers and peers. This support was experienced in multiple forms, consisting of instrumental, informational, appraisal and emotional support. In addition, youth participants experienced a sense of belonging and felt accepted at The Huddle.

Youth participants also discussed intercultural learning but understandings were varied, with those reporting intercultural learning predominantly identifying as non-CALD. In comparison, a youth participant that identified as CALD explained how The Huddle's programming did not positively impact many people due cultural imbalances in its youth cohort.

This highlighted a one-way exchange of intercultural learning and a limited impact on intercultural boundaries and understanding.

Additionally, some youth participants explained how they had joined sport teams through The Huddle's networks. In these cases, staff (and sometimes myself) often acted as change agents by introducing youth to local sporting clubs. Therefore, staff had facilitated an environment in which youth could link to external opportunities as they needed and the scope and utility of The Huddle's impacts increased. However, the theme 'utility in impacts' only emerged in discussions that occurred before the expansion and was not found in follow-up interviews post-expansion. This suggested that as staff had moved on, their associated networks also dissipated, reducing opportunities to engage internally in The Huddle and minimising pathways into external networks and opportunities.

Challenges and barriers to engagement were also discussed with youth participants.

Initial interviews indicated that barriers to engagement were predominantly experienced in the form of accessibility and personal difficulties. However, follow-up discussions focused on challenges with staff departing. For some youth, staff moving on had triggered a sense of loss, as youth had grown to trust staff at The Huddle. In addition, newer volunteers and staff were sometimes described as unfamiliar and youth explained how they were reluctant to come to know them.

7.2.3 The Huddle and social cohesion. Chapter 6 examined how the findings from Chapters 4 and 5 aligned with The Huddle's aim of social cohesion. Specifically, The Huddle's aim of social cohesion was examined relative to the Scanlon Foundation's interpretation and theoretical foundations (see Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998). Applying this framework to results from Chapters 4 and 5 indicated that The Huddle had assisted in developing youths' sense of

belonging and social networks. Therefore, The Huddle had contributed to social cohesion at the group level.

However, regardless of these positive impacts, there were a number of factors that likely restricted The Huddle's capacity to contribute to social cohesion. Namely, funding partners offered an opportunity for the initiative to expand, resulting in a number of changes that triggered declines in programming, partnerships and social networks over time. Collectively, these determined efforts to upscale pointed to the notion that purposeful SFD design and social development priorities were being compromised in favour of business logics and the priorities of partner organisations. In addition, cultural imbalances in the youth cohort limited exchanges in cross-cultural understanding and may have reinforced sociocultural divides. By The Huddle's own definition, these cultural boundaries limited the development of social cohesion. Collectively, these results reinforced broader theoretical critiques of social cohesion as a concept that is underpinned with neoliberal and sociocultural assumptions and may in fact promote 'sameness' as a form of success (Bianco & Bal, 2016). Further, if social cohesion continues to be conceptualised in such a manner, programs and policies targeting cohesion outcomes will never be 'successful' in an increasingly globalised community. Building on these findings, the next section discusses the practical implications that can be drawn from this research.

7.3 Practical Implications

Drawing on the findings from this research, there are multiple implications for the management and practice of SFD such as the importance of defining and understanding an initiative's aim and target group and how mission drift and displacement of scope can occur if this is not appropriately managed. Additionally, this research has advanced understanding about the nature of SFD partnerships that are increasingly displaying characteristics of organisational

hybridity. Further, the findings have highlighted the importance of social networks and stability in SFD and that these can be compromised if tensions and business logics from organisational partnerships remain unchecked. Each of these are discussed in more detail in this section.

The importance of defining and understanding SFD aims (Coalter, 2010b; Rowe & Siefken, 2016) and target groups (Sherry et al., 2016) cannot be understated. Poorly defined aims can have flow-on effects in relation to an organisation's strategy, management and programming. For instance, throughout this research, The Huddle struggled to define and operationalise its overarching aim of social cohesion at a programmatic level. As a result, discussions of race and target groups could remain at surface level and sociocultural assumptions and boundaries could go unchecked. Instead of shifting social boundaries and developing understanding between multiple cultures (as suggested by Schulenkorf, Sugden & Sugden, 2016; Spaaij, 2013), The Huddle targeted and catered to youth of predominantly African background. While this did promote positive outcomes (e.g., social networks, support and belonging), it was unlikely that social cohesion was enhanced beyond the group level. Further, from a sociocultural perspective, boundaries between CALD and non-CALD populations remained stagnant. Therefore, by The Huddle's own framework, the initiative struggled to contribute to social cohesion.

Vague and overly ambitious SFD aims can lead to shifts in programming and mission drift (Coalter, 2010b). Initially, The Huddle's overarching goal of social cohesion was influenced by the Scanlon Foundation's interpretation of the concept. However, participant understandings were varied and there was minimal operationalisation of this concept to facilitate programmatic application. Consequently, there appeared to be a displacement of scope (see Coalter, 2015; Wagner, 1964), whereby social cohesion functioned as a macro-level aim that was targeted through programs that had limited focus and reach. The Huddle's expansion further exacerbated

this displacement of scope, as aims grew to incorporate social cohesion, social inclusion and promoting learning, growing and belonging among youth. Further, the same number of staff were now spread across three locations and the number of programs being conducted declined. For this reason, impacts were predominantly at the micro level, as aims became increasingly unachievable because they were multiplied at the macro level.

Another implication for practice is understanding and acknowledging how IORs can influence and impact SFD initiatives. In the case of The Huddle, organisational partnerships were both beneficial and challenging for the initiative. Similar to findings previously reported in the SFD literature, the benefits of hybridity included increased program capacity and sustainability and maximising positive impacts (Svensson & Seifried, 2017). However, despite their benefits, these hybrid SFD funding arrangements have the potential to compromise organisational missions (Svensson & Seifried, 2017) and impact the experiences of practitioners and participants (Oxford & Spaaij, 2017). The Huddle's hybrid arrangement challenged the initiative, as there was confusion from external organisations around the relationship between The Huddle and the NMFC. Further, the initiative was confronted by expansion priorities, business logics and instability when program and funding partnerships weakened or disintegrated. Hence, some of the greatest implications that can be drawn from these findings were the insights into how these partnerships can sway SFD priorities over time. That is, partnerships facilitated a hybrid and adaptable SFD environment that, despite their benefits, allowed business logics and expansion opportunities to outweigh SFD purposeful design. Resources were diluted between three locations and the original North Melbourne location suffered with less staff available and fewer programs conducted. Despite efforts to remedy this situation with a shift towards a volunteer workforce, volunteer numbers declined and youth

engagement decayed. These findings highlight the notion that tensions associated with SFD organisational hybridity must be identified to appropriately manage partnerships, ensure that external organisation influences align with SFD priorities and SFD missions are not compromised.

Additional practical implications for SFD programming can be drawn from the significance of social networks and stability. The development of friendships and social networks between youth, staff and volunteers were facilitated by engagement in programs and also stimulated the ongoing engagement of youth participants, supporting further positive outcomes (e.g., educational skills, social support and belonging). The significance of these findings became apparent when staff and volunteers moved on, as some youth responded by no longer coming to The Huddle and others reported how they were saddened by departures and were hesitant to come to know newer staff and volunteers. As a result, staff and volunteers were not only central to conducting programs but were at the core of social networks and their stability. The findings reiterated the importance of relationships between SFD leaders and participants (Bowers & Green, 2013; P. Phillips & Schulenkorf, 2016; Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011; Sherry & Schulenkorf, 2016), as these relationships form a foundation from which positive developments in attitude and behaviour can occur (Coalter, 2012). Stability in SFD staff and programming is of particular importance when working with CALD and refugee populations, as social support and trust are essential when moving beyond the inherent barriers and challenges associated with migratory experiences. In addition to practical implications and conclusions, a number of methodological implications can be drawn from this research. These are explored in the subsequent section.

7.4 Methodological Implications

A variety of methodological implications can be drawn from this research, including the value of ethnography in SFD, the importance of longitudinal research in examining organisational management and how longitudinal approaches can enhance understanding of participant experiences and sociocultural boundaries.

Despite abundant calls for longitudinal and in-depth research into SFD (see Camiré & Trudel, 2013; Conroy & Coatsworth, 2006; Harrist & Witt, 2012; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Mandic, Bengoechea, Stevens, Leon de la Barra & Skidmore, 2012; Moreau et al., 2014; Richards & Foster, 2013; Rookwood, 2013; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Sherry, Karg & O'May, 2011; Sherry & O'May, 2013; Vella, Oades & Crowe, 2013; Weiss, Stuntz, Bhalla, Bolter & Price, 2013; Welty Peachey, Cohen, Borland & Lyras, 2011; Zarret, Fay, Carrano, Phelps & Lerner, 2009), few scholars have managed to embrace ethnographic methodologies in their investigations (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Spaaij, 2013). Therefore, some of the greatest methodological implications offered by this research are the insights derived from the ethnographic methodology. Fundamentally, this method enabled the investigatory approach to be adapted as time went on and the research problem and context evolved. In addition, through this approach, the experiences and voices of participants could be explored while also examining the social boundaries and processes that surrounded them. Consequently, an ethnographic approach enabled both flexibility throughout the engagement period with The Huddle and provided a methodological lens that guided the development of an in-depth dataset over the course of the project.

Alongside insights from the use of ethnography, methodological implications from this research can also be derived from its longitudinal data collection period. Implications in this

instance are twofold. First, the two-year data collection period offered insights into the management and nature of change in SFD and second, understandings emerged regarding the access, role and social position of SFD researchers during the longitudinal investigations. The former of these two implications will be discussed before moving on to the latter. As highlighted in Chapter 4, the changes that occurred within The Huddle flowed throughout multiple elements of management, strategy, programming and personnel. In this instance, long-term emersion within The Huddle enabled me to examine how the changes in management, strategy and funding impacted on programming. Although these shifts created challenges when examining the impact of The Huddle's programming, this offered opportunity for a real-world account of the complex realities of SFD initiatives and research over a long-term period. Further, the findings offered an in-depth (re)presentation of how change in SFD can be experienced over time, rather than considering such an organisation as a controlled environment that can be measured from a limited perspective.

Beyond understanding the changes in The Huddle's management and programming, a longitudinal study design enabled me to develop a greater understanding of social shifts in The Huddle, both from the perspective of participants and my own as a researcher. For instance, through embedding myself in the organisation, I was able to better understand the experiences of participants. In doing so, multiple voices and perspectives emerged across multiple points in time and were derived from people located in different levels and sociocultural positions in the organisation. As a result, a large, in-depth, quality data set was collected and offered greater insights into The Huddle and its impacts.

In addition to gaining in-depth data, this research offers methodological insights into how SFD researchers manage themselves during longitudinal inquiries. Specifically, long-term data

collection required me to adapt my access and positionality to maintain research progress. This was particularly pertinent during complex periods of change or instability, as I had to manage my own behaviours according to participant needs and expectations. For instance, as staff members in various positions changed, so would my access to specific individuals and programs. At times, this meant that my access as a researcher would have to be renegotiated and at times limited. In other instances, when staff had moved on from programs, they were left vulnerable and I would step in to help, deepening my access. I was required to be flexible with the nature of my engagement and positionality by shifting between overtly engaging with participants and programs and conducting more nuanced research observations and informal discussions. At times, this process would vary between individuals and contexts, as I negotiated between two selves—that of a researcher and that of a volunteer. The management of such duality had substantial implications, as I sought authentic data at every opportunity by negotiating my positionality and critically reflecting on interactions. Such an ongoing process was manageable during the early stages of the research but towards the end of the research, managing multiple layers of myself became strenuous. Nevertheless, this practice was essential to ensuring access and in-depth data throughout the research project. In summary, this research offers insight into the value and use of ethnographic and longitudinal methods in SFD and sport management settings. In particular, this approach offered a depth of understanding that other methods of investigation would struggle to generate. The following section now examines the theoretical implications of this research.

7.5 Theoretical Implications

Currently, there is little scholarly literature focusing on SFD initiatives aiming to foster social cohesion (Cubizolles, 2015; B. Kidd, 2011; Nathan et al., 2010). As a result, the

theoretical implications of this research to the SFD literature are fourfold. First, the findings from this research have contributed to understanding how social cohesion's ambiguity may impact on SFD environments. While general results fall in line with calls for SFD programs to define their aims (Coalter, 2010b; Rowe & Siefken, 2016) and target groups (Sherry et al., 2016), this research has delved beyond the ambiguities of social cohesion to unpack underlying theoretical frameworks and their associated assumptions. In doing so, underpinning social cohesion definitions and frameworks, proposed by Bernard (1999) and Jenson (1998), were examined. Within this, neoliberal ideals became apparent and the positioning of multicultural populations as the source of division in society were highlighted as assumptions that may have permeated programming. Therefore, by not looking to further understand what social cohesion meant in the context of The Huddle's programming, aims remained vague and assumptions remain unquestioned. Therefore, ambiguities and assumptions in social cohesion need to be critiqued in SFD, otherwise they can create a displacement of scope, from which organisational focus can be swayed away from social development and towards business logics and other external discourses.

Second, this research has extended knowledge around the scope and type of social cohesion impacts that can be achieved through an SFD initiative. That is, The Huddle facilitated a program environment in which youth's social networks could grow, social support could be experienced and a sense of belonging could develop. Of the few consistencies present in the social cohesion literature, sense of belonging (Bernard, 1999; Bruhn, 2009; Jenson, 1998) and social networks (R. Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Gesell et al., 2015) are some of the few agreed on foundational components of social cohesion. In this sense, The Huddle had contributed to some form of social cohesion. However, this research struggled to evidence any social cohesion

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impacts beyond the group level. A key reason for this was the dilution of social networks associated with the expansion. As staff members became spread across three locations, some of them departed, leading to declines in youth and volunteer engagement. In addition, by The Huddle's own definition, the initiative had struggled to achieve its aims due to cultural imbalances in staff and youth that created an environment that limited cross-cultural learning and understanding. Consequently, unless SFD initiatives targeting cohesion purposefully design and facilitate program environments that prioritise the growth of social networks and help participants cross sociocultural boundaries, social cohesion contributions (if any) will be limited to micro-level impacts.

Third, the findings have broadened understandings of sociocultural assumptions and divides in SFD. Specifically, this research extended on Cubizolles' (2015) and Maxwell, Foley, Taylor and Burton's (2013) findings regarding cultural divides in SFD programming. That is, the findings suggested that through cultural imbalances in staff and youth, sociocultural boundaries could be reinforced, potentially exacerbating existing tensions and disparities between cultural groups rather than bridging them. A deeper explanation of these sociocultural assumptions can be drawn from critiques of Jane Jenson and Paul Bernard's social cohesion frameworks (see Bianco & Bal, 2016; Jenson, 1998) that conceptualisations of cohesion often endorse a movement from marginalised to sameness. In essence, this places multicultural populations as the antithesis of cohesion. By overlooking cultural imbalances in staff and youth, neoliberal ideals were assumed, CALD youth and staff were positioned as potential sources of division in society and cultural divides could be reinforced. These findings suggest that future SFD research into social cohesion should examine and challenge neoliberal tendencies by developing and endorsing frameworks that push beyond economic logics, encouraging multi-directional

exchanges in cross-cultural understanding and celebrating the empowerment of diverse populations in all forms.

Finally, the findings have deepened knowledge around the various sociocultural forces and contextual influences that can impact the nature of social cohesion in SFD. One of the most fundamental influences on The Huddle's aims and expansion appeared to originate from the initiative's hybrid organisational arrangement and its associated funding opportunities. At a fundamental level, this research has built on Rowe et al.'s (2018), Svensson's (2017) and Svensson and Seifried's (2017) examinations of SFD hybrid arrangements to provide empirical evidence of a tipping point between social development logics and business paradigms. This research has also looked to uncover social forces (beyond SFD hybridity) that influenced the nature of social cohesion. Some of the social forces that were uncovered included political discourses and actions, sociocultural assumptions and neoliberal ideals. In this instance, the malleability of SFD and ambiguity of social cohesion collided into a scenario in which it appeared as though external influences had a greater sway over the initiative's outcomes than did purposeful SFD program design and social development priorities. There are a number of limitations that must be considered in association with this research. The following section discusses these limitations and the strategies that were employed to moderate them.

7.6 Limitations

Some aspects of this research have limited the transferability of its findings, particularly the ethnographic and longitudinal study design. While this methodological approach offered a number of benefits such as in-depth data and methodological insights, it also limited the scope of the study to focus on one specific SFD context. As such, the findings from this inquiry may restrict applicability when examining other SFD contexts and practices. To moderate this

limitation, Yin's (2014) approach to analytic generalisation was assumed by discussing theory alongside data and exploring how findings may be relevant to other contexts and organisations. Hence, the embedded nature of this inquiry has enabled the research questions to be explored in greater detail, offering contributions to the field of SFD that outweigh issues of transferability.

A further research limitation related to the scope and timing of this study. Despite The Huddle's expansion to three locations, due the capacity and timing of this research, I had to limit this inquiry to focus on the organisation's main location in North Melbourne. Further, due to time limits, I had to restrict this study to two years of data collection and it concluded during a time of change and organisational instability. As a result, this research represents participant experiences from only one of three locations and data collection could not be extended to investigate whether organisational stability was re-established. While it would have been preferable to continue data collection and expand the scope of this study to incorporate all three locations, logistical and time constraints made this impossible.

Additionally, limitations were identified concerning the data collection and analysis procedures. Being a PhD study, data collection and coding were predominantly conducted by the student researcher. While the findings and conclusions were subject to my world view to one degree or another, I worked to minimise my bias by collaborating with others and maintaining an open mind to alternative perspectives and world views. While my positionality progressed from that of an outsider to be more of an insider, there were still some remnants that remained as an outsider (both culturally and as a researcher) that I could not mitigate. Although my own lens likely influenced my interpretations, by adopting the aforementioned strategies I was able to facilitate a deeper level of critique when examining participants' perspectives. In addition, while it would have also been ideal for multiple researchers to complete the data analysis and coding,

this was not possible with such a longitudinal research design and large dataset. To account for this limitation, I regularly discussed my data analysis procedures and findings with my PhD supervisors. Further, I enhanced the quality and consistency of data by incorporating multiple sources of information (e.g., interviews, research observations and organisational documents) through member checking of transcripts and by adopting rigorous analysis procedures (see Chapter 3).

The final limitation of this research relates to the duality of my roles at The Huddle, in that I acted as both a researcher and a volunteer. My proximity to managers, staff and volunteers may have led youth to perceive that I also held a position of authority. Scholars have cautioned that navigating such power dynamics can cause confusion around the role of researchers and prevent the flow of information (Greene, 2014). While this was never disclosed by participants, it was likely that the degree of information that I received from participants may have been impacted by their perceptions of my proximity to those in authority. To mitigate such limitations, I undertook reflexive journalling and navigated a multi-layered version of myself that would respond to specific contexts and individuals. As discussed earlier in section 7.4, this meant that I would shift my behaviours and research expectations between overt investigations and interviews to more reserved research observations.

Although the aforementioned limitations may have somewhat reduced the transferability of the research findings, I made consistent efforts to restrict their impact. In addition, given the aim of this research was to explore how The Huddle may contribute to social cohesion outcomes among its CALD and refugee youth, the aforementioned limitations did not lessen the research purpose. In light of this, the next section focuses on opportunities for future research.

7.7 Future Research

In exploring how SFD might contribute to social cohesion outcomes, a number of future research opportunities have emerged in association with this study. First, a hybrid organisational environment and external partnerships were thought to have a substantial impact on organisational expansion, mission drift, program structures and outcomes. While SFD scholars have developed initial inroads into hybrid environments (e.g., Rowe et al., 2018; Schulenkorf, 2016; Svensson, 2017b; Svensson & Seifried, 2017), additional empirical inquiries would benefit future SFD research and practice. However, scholars should be careful of how they manage such opportunities, as communicating the challenges (and successes) of SFD hybridity can create pressures in the researcher–practitioner relationship. Nevertheless, examining such environments and looking for empirical examples of hybridity influences, impacts, strategies, successes and failures offers valuable learnings for the SFD community at large.

In addition to examinations of hybridity, future SFD research would benefit from better understanding how the departure of program leaders and change agents impacts on initiatives and participants. Although existing research offers insights into the importance and utility of staff and change agents in SFD (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Schulenkorf, 2012; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Svensson, Hancock & Hums, 2016), little research has managed to explore how and why leaders move on from programs and the impact this has on programs and participants. The value in this future research lies in developing a deeper understanding of how leaders might mediate program sessions, maintain social networks and stability and facilitate SFD outcomes.

Additional opportunities for future research relate to the social positioning and boundaries imposed on participants through program structures and aims. While SFD examinations of belonging and cultural diversity (e.g., Spaaij, 2013, 2015) and social capital

(e.g., Schulenkorf, 2013; Welty Peachey et al., 2011; Welty Peachey, Bruening, Lyras, Cohen & Cunningham, 2015) provide foundations for this, further research could increase knowledge of how existing social boundaries in communities might be altered or reinforced through programming (e.g., CALD and non-CALD). Further, scholars could examine how SFD sociocultural environments may or may not differ from the external local community and how these shift social boundaries. Beyond this, neoliberal perspectives should be critiqued by questioning whether potential sociocultural shifts are in line with participant needs and program aims and outcomes. In some instances, participants might prefer minimal change in sociocultural boundaries, as they need to identify with those of a similar background to engage in programs.

7.8 Concluding Statement

This research has examined how The Huddle targeted social cohesion outcomes among its CALD and refugee youth participants using SFD programming. Through the use of a longitudinal and ethnographic approach, this thesis offers a number of findings that contribute to the gap in knowledge of SFD and social cohesion.

Specifically, examinations of The Huddle's program management uncovered a context in which The Huddle's IORs provided a sustainable funding source and enhanced the initiative's program capacity and utility of impacts. Program partnerships enabled some youth to pursue opportunities external to The Huddle and enhanced their social networks beyond the initiative. Alongside this, youth described how engagement in programs had contributed to their sport, educational and careers skills, as well as their sense of belonging, social support, friendships and social networks. However, The Huddle's IORs also fostered a number of changes and challenges for the initiative. In particular, funding partnerships created an opportunity for the initiative to expand to two additional locations. This resulted in a number of challenges, including the

dispersal of resources across three locations that contributed to a decline in programming, engagement and social networks. As a result, youth described a sense of loss as staff departed. Additionally, ambiguities in the initiative's aim(s) and target group inadvertently challenged The Huddle. In particular, this vagueness enabled cultural imbalances in youth and staff to remain undiscussed and sociocultural boundaries endured over the course of the research.

Examining these findings in light of Bernard's (1999) and Jenson's (1998) frameworks, The Huddle had contributed to cohesion at the group level through enhancing youths' sense of belonging and social networks. However, these contributions were limited as the influence of funding partners increased, the initiative expanded, resources were stretched, programming declined and social networks deteriorated. Alongside this, underlying sociocultural assumptions reinforced cultural boundaries, restricting the initiative's capacity to achieve its aims. These findings indicated that while The Huddle's programming helped foster social cohesion outcomes at the group level, the initiative's underlying neoliberal and sociocultural assumptions limited any cohesion outcomes beyond this.

Overall, this study has enhanced knowledge of the scope and type of social cohesion outcomes that can be realistically achieved through SFD programming. Additionally, the findings have improved understanding of how social cohesion is interpreted and applied in the context of an SFD initiative and how this can influence the development of cohesion.

Specifically, this research has demonstrated how social cohesion's ambiguity collided with The Huddle's hybrid malleability to the point that underlying assumptions and external social forces had a significant influence over program impacts. In conclusion, this research has demonstrated that The Huddle contributed to the development of social cohesion, but outcomes were limited to

the group level and any impacts beyond this were limited by sociocultural boundaries and assumptions and neoliberal logics.

Glossary

Table 7.1 provides definitions regarding the terms 'adolescents', 'youth', 'young people', 'CALD', 'multicultural', 'sport', 'physical activity' and 'refugee'. The concept of 'social cohesion' has been excluded from this section and is instead expanded on in Chapter 2. The aforementioned terms have been framed in a manner that is relevant to The Huddle, its target groups and programming.

Table 7.1

Glossary of Terms

Term	Definition
Adolescents,	'Together, adolescents and youth are referred to as young people,
youth, young	encompassing the ages of 10-24 years' (UN Population Fund, 2015, p. 1).
people	
CALD,	Those whom were 'born overseas or who are Australian-born with one or
multicultural	both parents (or grandparents) born overseas' (Centre for Multicultural
	Youth, 2010, p. 1).
Sport, physical	'All forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental
activity	well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organised or
	competitive sport, and indigenous sports and games' (UN, 2003a, p. v).
Refugee	'Are outside their country of nationality or their usual country of residence;
	and are unable or unwilling to return or to seek the protection of that country
	due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion,
	nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion'
	(UN, 1951, p. 3)

Note. Definition for adolescents, youth and young people from UN Population Fund (2015), CALD and multicultural from Centre for Multicultural Youth (2010), physical activity and sport from UN (2003a) and refugee from UN (1951).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Examples of Sport for Development Initiatives

- Commonwealth Youth Sport for Development and Peace Working Group: Established in 2013 with the support of the Youth Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Commonwealth Youth Sport for Development and Peace Working Group aims to advocate, educate and demonstrate the benefits of sport as a vehicle for development. This is done through research projects, conducting various Commonwealth activities and attending international forums (The Commonwealth Youth Programme, 2015).
- Street Football World: Street Football World functions as an NGO that links community organisations that have adopted SFD as a key focus. Through this network, the organisation aims to enhance social development in eight key areas: employability, education, social integration, peace building, gender equality, health, youth leadership and environmental sustainability (Street World Football, 2016).
- Racism. It Stops with Me: This campaign movement began in 2012 with the aim of
 educating Australians to recognise that racism is unacceptable, about tools and resources to
 take practical action and empower individuals and organisations to prevent and respond to
 racism (Racism. It Stops with Me, 2016).
- Magic Bus: The Magic Bus initiative aims to promote social development of youth in a
 number of countries, including India, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and
 Germany. Through education and mentoring, the NGO aims to enhance youths' selfawareness, life skills and provide opportunities for future growth (Magic Bus, 2014).

- **PeacePlayers International**: Using basketball, PeacePlayers International aims to enhance education as well as inspire and unite young people in divided communities to create a more peaceful world. Starting in the United States of America in 2006, the program now has initiatives running in 15 countries across five continents (PeacePlayers International, 2016).
- Pl4y International: Reaching over 60,00 youth per year, Pl4y International adopts sport with the aim of promoting social change among children faced with trauma or natural disaster.

 The program aims to educate youth on healthy eating, recreate social links between communities that have been separated and provide psychosocial care (Pl4y International, 2016).
- Alive and Kicking: Through employing 140 people across four countries through creating leather soccer balls with health messages printed on them, the Alive and Kicking initiative aims to promote economic independence and education. Balls are sold to a combination of African retailers as well as other larger organisations aiming to support SFD initiatives such as UNICEF, Arsenal and Coca-Cola (Alive and Kicking, 2016).
- **PlayAble:** The PlayAble initiative aims to promote the social inclusion of people with disabilities through sports. Founded in 2008, the non-profit organisation helps existing organisations design, run and evaluate inclusive sport programs for children with and without disabilities (PlayAble, 2016).
- Moving the Goal Posts: Founded in 2001 in Kenya, the Moving the Goal Posts SFD initiative aims to tackle issues around gender equality. Through encouraging participation in football, providing opportunities for leadership, increasing access to education and promoting awareness around HIV/AIDs the program hopes to develop confidence, leadership skills and self-esteem among young women in the Kilifi District (Moving the Goal Posts, 2016).

- **Kicking AIDs Out:** Through an international network of 22 member organisations, Kicking AIDs Out uses sport and physical activity as a means of promoting education about HIV/AIDs and positive behaviour change in youth. Youth are brought together to play sport, learn sports skills and discuss social issues with peers that are relevant to them.
- Learn Earn Legend: Conducted as a part of Tennis Australia's sport development strategy,

 The Earn Learn Legend program aims to encourage Indigenous youth to stay in school.

 Developed as a part of the federal government's strategy to reduce Indigenous

 unemployment, the initiative also provides support internships and school-based traineeships
 for its participants (Tennis Australia, 2011).
- One Netball: The One Netball initiative was developed by Netball Australia in partnership with Australia Post with the aim of engaging Australia's multicultural communities and promoting more inclusive social environments. A range of programs have been implemented in association with this initiative, including hosting interactive programs with clubs and associations, holding seminars to educate about social inclusion and promoting professional netballers as ambassadors of the program (Netball Australia, 2016).
- Rugby Connect: Developed by Australian Rugby, the Rugby Connect program aims to
 promote social inclusion by providing opportunities for people of all abilities (e.g., age,
 gender, ability level, disability and cultural background) to play rugby (Australian Rugby,
 2015).

Appendix B: Phase 1 Ethics Approval



University Human Ethics Committee

RESEARCH OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr Emma Sherry, Department of Management and Marketing, College of ASSC

Ms Katherine Raw, Department of Management and Marketing, College of ASSC

From: Senior Human Ethics Officer, La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee

Subject: Review of Human Ethics Committee Application No. 15-054

Title: Fostering social cohesion through sport: What are the conditions required?

Date: 06/08/2015

Thank you for your recent correspondence in relation to the research project referred to above. The project has been assessed as complying with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. I am pleased to advise that your project has been granted ethics approval and you may commence the study now.

The project has been approved from the date of this letter until 01/06/2018

Please note that your application has been reviewed by a sub-committee of the University Human Ethics Committee (UHEC) to facilitate a decision before the next Committee meeting. This decision will require ratification by the UHEC and it reserves the right to alter conditions of approval or withdraw approval at that time. You will be notified if the approval status of your project changes. The UHEC is a fully constituted ethics committee in accordance with the National Statement under Section 5.1.29.

The following standard conditions apply to your project:

- Limit of Approval. Approval is limited strictly to the research proposal as submitted in your application while taking into account any additional conditions advised by the UHEC.
- Variation to Project. Any subsequent variations or modifications you wish to make to
 your project must be formally notified to the UHEC for approval in advance of these
 modifications being introduced into the project. This can be done using the appropriate
 form: Modification to Project Human Ethics which is available on the Human Ethics

website at http://www.latrobe.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human-ethics If the UHEC considers that the proposed changes are significant, you may be required to submit a new application form for approval of the revised project.

- Adverse Events. If any unforeseen or adverse events occur, including adverse effects on
 participants, during the course of the project which may affect the ethical acceptability
 of the project, the Chief Investigator must immediately notify the UHEC Executive
 Officer. An Adverse Event Form Human Ethics is available at the Research Services
 website (see above address). Any complaints about the project received by the
 researchers must also be referred immediately to the UHEC Executive Officer.
- Withdrawal of Project. If you decide to discontinue your research before its planned completion, you must advise the UHEC and clarify the circumstances.
- Monitoring. All projects are subject to monitoring at any time by the University Human Ethics Committee.
- Annual Progress Reports. If your project continues for more than 12 months, you are
 required to submit a Progress Report annually, on or just prior to 12 February. The form
 is available on the Research Office website (see above address). Failure to submit a
 Progress Report will mean approval for this project will lapse.
- Auditing. An audit of the project may be conducted by members of the UHEC.
- Final Report. A Final Report (see above address) is required within six months of the completion of the project or by 30/11/2018.

If you have any queries on the information above or require further clarification please email: humanethics@latrobe.edu.au or contact me by phone.

On behalf of the University Human Ethics Committee, best wishes with your research!

Kind regards,

Ms Sara Paradowski
Senior Human Ethics Officer
Executive Officer – University Human Ethics Committee
Ethics and Integrity / Research Office
La Trobe University Bundoora, Victoria 3086
P: (03) 9479 – 1443 / F: (03) 9479 - 1464
http://www.latrobe.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human-ethics

Appendix C: Phases 1 and 3 Participant Information Sheet



Centre for Sport and Social Impact Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

Participant Information Statement

'SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH SPORT: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY'

Student Investigator: Katherine Raw, PhD Candidate, Centre for Sport and Social Impact Supervisory Team: Dr Emma Sherry, Dr Katie Rowe, Dr Mandy Ruddock-Hudson

Dear Participant,

A team of researchers from the Centre for Sport and Social Impact (CSSI) at La Trobe University, Bundoora, in conjunction with The Huddle, are conducting a study to investigate The Huddle and it's impacts. As a result, a PhD candidate (Katherine Raw) will be spending regular time with The Huddle, observing programs and taking notes. In addition to this, we would like to find out about your knowledge of and involvement with this program; and your opinions of the work of The Huddle. Because *you* are the only one who can tell us about your perceptions, understanding and experiences with The Huddle, we would be most grateful if you would participate in a group semi-structured, informal discussion.

The discussion will be held at a time and place suitable to you, and it is anticipated that it will take one hour of your time. You will be invited to follow up with the research team at regular intervals via individual interviews, however your participation is voluntary, and initial participation in the project does not imply ongoing participation. There is no loss of benefit or penalty should you decide not to participate in this research project at this, or any future time, in the project. Your contribution to this research will assist The Huddle in program evaluation and the delivery of sustainable and effective programs in the future. There are no known risks associated with this research project and you are not expected to be subject to any risk, harm or discomfort by participating in this research.

The discussion will focus on the following key areas:

- · Current program outlines and aims
- Current program population and identification of target populations
- · Current program format and outcomes
 - $\circ\quad$ Identifying what works in the current program/s
 - o Suggestions for revision and improvement to program/s
- · Current program challenges and barriers
 - o Identifying what is currently not working, or not working optimally in the current program/s
 - o Suggestions for revision and improvement to program/s to address these challenges
- · Current sources of data or information
- · Future plans for program development

This discussion will be audio recorded with the use of a digital recording device for the sole purposes of data transcription and analysis. Your responses within the discussion will be confidential and individual responses will not be reported or attributed to you in any way. Only the members of the research team will have access to the information you



Centre for Sport and Social Impact Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

provide, and there will be no way of identifying you. Please be assured that any information you provide will not be shared with any third party (with the exception of the transcriber who will delete all files once processed); we value your privacy. The raw data collected will be stored electronically, on a secure password protected computer, and will only be shared with those within the research team. All information and data collected throughout the duration of the research project will be securely stored on a password protected computer for five years, and any documentation will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at the La Trobe University Melbourne campus. As per university guidelines, the raw data will be destroyed five years after the completion of the research.

Your participation is voluntary and completion of the consent form, as well as verbal consent given on the audio recording implies your consent to participate in the research. Even though you agree to be involved in this project, you may withdraw from the study at any time, up to four weeks following the completion of your participation in the research. Further, in withdrawing from the study, you may request that no information from your involvement be used. You are not required to participate in this research project if you do not wish to and you may withdraw from the project at any time up to four weeks following the completion of your participation in the project without needing to explain your reasons for withdrawing. No loss of benefit will occur as a result of withdrawal nor will any penalty be incurred.

The results from the discussion will be used for the purposes of writing a PhD thesis, The Huddle's reports, conference presentations and journal publications; these results will be available upon request. You may request the final results of this research by contacting a member of the research team via the details provided; the results will be emailed to you via a nominated email address.

Any questions regarding this project may be directed to the research team:

Dr. Emma Sherry E: <u>e.sherry@latrobe.edu.au</u> Katherine Raw E: <u>k.raw@latrobe.edu.au</u>

If you have any complaints or concerns about your participation in the study that the researcher has not been able to answer to your satisfaction, you may contact the Secretary, Human Ethics Committee, Research Services, La Trobe University, Victoria, 3086, (P: 03 9479 1443, E: humanethics@latrobe.edu.au). Please quote UHEC application reference number 15-054.

Please read this sheet and keep it for your future reference
Thank you for your participation

Appendix D: Phases 1 and 3 Consent Form



Centre for Sport and Social Impact Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

Consent Form

'SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH SPORT: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY'

Student Investigator: Katherine Raw, PhD Candidate, Centre for Sport and Social Impact Supervisory Team: Dr Emma Sherry, Dr Katie Rowe, Dr Mandy Ruddock-Hudson

The research into the Huddle currently involves the implementation of a semi-	structured, informal discussion with a
variety of program delivery staff and stakeholders. The identities of par	ticipants in the project will remain
confidential to the researchers and will not be revealed in the documentation pro	oduced by the study.
1	, ,
I (the participant)	nave read (or where appropriate, have
had read to me) and understood the participant information statement and co	
asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that even though I	
this time, I can withdraw from the study at any time and I am not obliged to c	• • •
this research project, up to four weeks following the completion of my part	0 0
withdrawing from the study, I can request that no information from my invol	
data provided by me or with my permission during the project may be incl	
reports, conference presentations and journal publications on the condition	that heither my hame nor any other
identifying information is used.	
I understand that the discussion will be audio recorded. I also understand that research project if I do not wish to and that I can withdraw from the project at the completion of my participation in the project without needing to explain my benefit will occur as a result of my withdrawal nor will any penalty be incurred available to participants on request. If you are willing to be a part of the research, please tick the following box, sign	any time up to four weeks following reasons for withdrawing. No loss of ed. The results from the study will be
$\hfill \square$ I give my permission for research discussions to be at	adio recorded
Name of Participant (block letters):	
Signature:	Date:
Name of Student Investigator: KATHERINE RAW	
Khan	
Signature:	Date: 6/11/2015
Name of Student Supervisor: DR EMMA SHERRY	
Signature:	Date:

*Please note that consent forms will be kept for a period consistent with the Public Records Office of Victoria Standard (02/01) (5 years for non-clinical trial data) which will be stored in a secure La Trobe University location. Confidentiality will be maintained and there will be no identifying data in the written report.

Appendix E: Phases 1 and 3 Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Participant information statement, consent, recording interview, right to pass on questions **Program outlines and aims:**

- Clarify program-specific outputs (i.e., sport/program-specific activities)
- Clarify program-specific aims and outcomes (i.e., 'people are healthy')
- Clarify how to measure 'success' of the program

Program population and identification of target populations:

- Discuss reasoning behind target populations
- Discuss any changes in target populations

Program format and outcomes:

- Identifying what works in the current program/s
- Identify facilitators for participants
- Suggestions for revision and improvement to program/s

Program challenges and barriers:

- What is currently not working, or not working optimally in the current program/s
- Suggestions for revision and improvement to program/s to address these challenges

Sources of data or information:

• (e.g., participant feedback forms and surveys) to identify pre-existing data or data collection instruments to avoid replication

Future plans for program development:

- The Huddle perspective
- NMFC perspective
- External stakeholder perspectives
 - Who are the key decision-makers?
 - O What motivates stakeholders to be involved?
 - What are the outcomes of involvement for each stakeholder?
 - What are the formal benchmarks of success?
 - What are the informal/anecdotal benchmarks of success?
 - What makes stakeholders continue their involvement?

Future sources of data or information:

- Recommendations for recruitment (e.g., identification, language barriers and processes)
- Who to recruit?
- What to investigate/discuss?
- How to investigate/discuss?

2017 follow-up questions:

- Has the Huddle changed at all for you since we last spoke? Prompt topics from above questions
- If so how? How do you feel about this?

Appendix F: Phase 1 List of Interviews

#	Name	Position	Consent Form Received	Date Interview Completed
1	Justin	Volunteer Coordinator, former volunteer, The Huddle	Y	6/11/15
2	Clare	Sport and Recreation Coordinator, former volunteer, The Huddle	Y	6/11/15
3	Alex	Multicultural Development Officer, former volunteer, The Huddle and NMFC	Y	11/11/15
4	Leah	Peer Facilitator, volunteer, The Huddle	Y	13/11/15
5	Wendy	Community Programs Manager, former volunteer, The Huddle	Y	13/11/15
6	Peter	General Manager—Community Engagement, NMFC	Y	13/11/15
7	Louise	Education Programs Manager, The Huddle	Y	19/11/15
8	Ariel	Youth Worker and volunteer, The Huddle	Y	19/11/15
9	Donna	Partnerships and Operations Manager, The Huddle	Y	20/11/15
10	Logan	Drop-In Basketball Coordinator, former volunteer, The Huddle	Y	9/9/16
11	Troy	Drop-In Basketball Coordinator, The Huddle	Y	9/9/16
12	Sally	Community Development Manager, Netball Victoria	Y	13/11/15
13	Emma	Youth Resource and Community Liaison Officer, Victoria Police	Y	11/11/15
14	Georgia	Female Development Manager, AFL Victoria	Y	12/11/15
15	Tom	Participation Manager, Football Federation Victoria	Y	12/11/15
16	Hayley	Young Men's Worker, CoHealth, North Melbourne Community Centre	Y	12/11/15
17	Caitlin	Engagement and Programs Officer, Flemington Community Centre	Y	12/11/15
18	Jessica	General Manager, The Squeaky Wheel	Y	13/11/15
19	Rebecca	Personal Trainer, North Melbourne Recreation Centre	Y	18/11/15
20	Sara	Community Hockey Coordinator, Hockey Victoria	Y	18/11/15
21	Zoe	Founder, Good Cycles	Y	19/11/15

Appendix G: Phase 1 Report to The Huddle

'SPORT FOR SOCIAL COHESION: EXPLORING IMPACTS AND INFLUENCES' Phase 3 PhD Research Report

PhD Candidate: Katherine Raw, Centre for Sport and Social Impact **Supervisory Team:** Dr Emma Sherry, Dr Katie Rowe, Dr Mandy Ruddock-Hudson

Aim: The aim of this research is to investigate how 'The Huddle', a sport for development initiative, can contribute to social cohesion outcomes among culturally and linguistically diverse youth in a western setting. Through increasing knowledge regarding programme outcomes, this research has the potential to have a positively influence the health of youth participants and assist other sport for development programmes.

Participants: 19 of The Huddle's staff (9) and stakeholders (10).

Staff included those that were employed on full-time, part-time and casual bases. Stakeholders represented a range of organisations, for example Victoria Police, local community centers, national and state sporting associations. Within this group a range of involvement with The Huddle was evident, some had been involved for a matter of weeks, others months or years. The type of engagement with The Huddle varied also, with some individuals helping deliver short-term programmes and others engaged through the 'Sisters through Sport' advisory group.

Phase One Interviews: This project has taken a programme logic approach, and as such this phase involved observational notes regarding programme processes and interviews with The Huddle's staff and stakeholders to inform the development of phase two. Semi-structured interviews covered a range of topics, including: programme aims, formats, target groups, outcomes, barriers, suggestions for improvement, future developments, and current/future data sources. Conversations were recorded via a dictaphone, notes of conversations were taken listening to recordings and combined with observational notes of programme processes.

Phase One Data Analysis: Data was analysed computer software (NVivo 11) that allowed common observations, statements and themes to be collaborated. The findings from this process have been presented below. Please note, from a technical point of view, recordings are normally transcribed verbatim and then analysed. Unfortunately, in this case due to time restrictions and programme logistics, conversation notes have been used instead.

Enabling Factors

Environmental Factors

- Accessibility: Location, to staff and volunteers
- **Atmosphere:** Safe, welcoming, inclusive, dynamic, open, bright environment that promotes belonging
- Facilities: Technology, sporting facilities (oval, basketball court)

Links to Community

- Links: Links occur in both directions. E.g., stakeholders get opportunities to be a part of the community as well as the community being a part of the sport
- Captive audience: Stakeholders appreciate existing links with community that they can access to promote development
- **Beyond The Huddle:** Links to family and parents are beginning to show promise. E.g., Monday afternoon sports and the development of 'Flemington friends group'

Program Model

- Consistency: Of programmes occurring
- Flexibility: Trialling different models, adapting to needs of youth
- Grass roots: Focusing on youth and community, listening and allowing voices of youth to be heard, consulting youth and community, looking at things through their 'lens'
- **Business model:** Allows for stories to be heard. NMFC branding helps to present as 'not just another community organisation'. A 'softening' of the NMFC brand has also made it more accessible to community

Staff, Peer Facilitators and Volunteers

- **Consistency:** Consistency of availability, time spent building trust, flexibility, familiarity, reliability
- Communication: Staff and stakeholders praised communication practices: Positive, supportive, efficient, regular and organised
- **Feedback:** Stakeholders appreciated feedback on how they could improve upon programs in order to increase engagement
- Role models: Positive, supportive and accepting. Having access to role models of both genders and/or of CALD descent were thought to be of particular value
- **Genuine engagement and inclusion:** 'Congratulate the staff on everything they do!' –stakeholder

Stakeholders

- **Shared values:** 'Everyone (organisationally/staff) wants the same thing: a cohesive community and using sport as a means to get there' —stakeholder
- **Opportunities:** For stakeholders to work across multiple programs in the future. To engage with each other, engage with participants, to grow and learn from each other
- Lack of duplication: Consultation between parties has encouraged this
- NMFC: Incentives (tickets, memberships etc) have been helpful for stakeholders when it comes to encouraging participation

Youth

- Voices: Are being heard and encouraged.
- Leaders: Capacity building of youth through peer leaders and facilitators to encourage fellow youth engagement.

Barriers, Challenges and Suggestions

Environmental Factors

• Accessibility: Coming to a (masculine) football club to engage with the product can be barrier. Public transport and lighting at night can be challenging.

Links to Community

- **Referrals:** The Huddle could be more strategic when it comes to linking youth back into local sports clubs.
- **Online:** Accessibility to online information could be enhanced. Online model for learning?
- **Parents:** 'Although parents aren't a focus, they are quite a captive audience and we could be doing more with them.'
- **Social utility:** Are the messages of The Huddle being taken home to family and community? How can this be fostered more?

Program Model

- **Development:** The Huddle needs to keep forging forward and being ahead of the pack, be proactive. The rest of the AFL can be quite reactive, The Huddle needs to keep taking opportunities to challenge this
- **Place based:** Could look into a more focused, placed based approach (rather than being everything to everyone)
- **Drop out/end point:** might be worth exploring how The Huddle reduce drop out at the end of schooling milestones (year 7 and 12). There might be better ways of increasing engagement and targeting older age groups. This could occur via more options in terms of career building/advice, university tutors etc.
- **Expansion:** Some staff and stakeholders believed there is a need for more programmes in more locations. 'A bigger program with more staff would be great'
- Minority/majority groups: Staff expressed that options could be explored: more CALD staff/peer facilitators, other 'less engaged' CALD groups, boys (particularly with sport), indigenous populations, 'mainstream' Australian populations
- **Resources:** 'We do a lot with a little', staff covering lots of bases with programme delivery, design, and evaluation. This appears to be initiated by both The Huddle staff themselves, as well as from requests by management and outside stakeholders. Sometimes it could be good to say no to an additional commitment

Stakeholders

- **Time:** Stakeholders expressed interest in extending the time that they are engaged with groups with the hope of this transferring to youth joining sport clubs postengagement. Having said this, they also understood that time limits apply, as there are so many other groups involved.
- Clarification of roles: Staff and stakeholders expressed the importance of being clear, clear on who everyone is, what each will provide in terms of staff, resources and aims.
- NMFC: Preconceived ideas about NMFC. That it is all about football, and that The Huddle has money as it is associated with NMFC.

Youth

• **Trust:** Developing trusting relationships has been challenging at times. Getting the kids to come to The Huddle can be difficult.

Future Considerations

Strategy

- Strategic plan with operational aims and KPI could help the effectiveness of ongoing programmes. KPIs would probably be related to operational aims, strategic/broader aims and general participation numbers.
- Aim of each program needs to be defined, with regard to the question of 'what is success?' and 'how would that play out on the ground and in the community?'
- This needs to come from a bottom up approach, from the participant perspective. This is recommended from both the theoretical point of view, as well as from The Huddle's practice view. It's genuine grass roots approach and consistency of availability to youth have been it's strength, if this waivers, trust and engagement can quickly deplete.
- Once aims are in place, how to get there needs to be determined.

Solidifying existing engagement and promoting local sustainability

- Solidifying existing engagement, and promoting pathways within and around The Huddle are crucial. Peer facilitators, volunteers and paid positions are all options for this
- Peer facilitators are crucial to promoting empowerment and local sustainability. Examining how to increase the number of peer facilitators that come through The Huddle could be worthwhile.
- Engagement with existing stakeholders is a key strength of The Huddle that could be fostered further to maximise access to resources and networks beyond.
- Engaging both inside and outside of The Huddle needs to be encouraged. If we are purely relying on systems to get people to move in the one direction into The Huddle, it risks becoming isolated. Players genuinely engaging through programs, as well as staff and volunteers are a great way to approach this. Player engagement could be

increased, at the moment it appears to be under utilised as a means of spreading knowledge of The Huddle.

Increasing engagement

- Gender balance: Increasing engagement with both genders could be encouraged. The Huddle appears to have a lack of engagement with boys in sport following primary school age. There may be a need for high school aged boys who would prefer to engage in sport in a more direct manner (as opposed to drop in basketball). Having said this, there might already be existing services that are addressing this. Either way, there is scope to examine this and justify either way.
- Cultural balance: Encourage engagement with both CALD populations and the broader Australian populations. In order to be cohesive and celebrate diversity, it needs to be done in its entirety. Theory states that it needs to be a genuine two-way exchange, that is, in order to move in this direction we need to work with in all camps. Having said this, a balance does need to be found, as increasing engagement with one group can decrease engagement with another.
- Parents: Increasing engagement could also be examined with regard to parents of youth and the broader community. If The Huddle is to be successful in promoting cohesion, there needs to be a broader social utility. That is, how do we impact the community outside of the walls of The Huddle? Is it through parents or through encouraging engagement with external sport clubs?

Reducing barriers

- **Physical:** Adaptations or modifications to the physical environment of The Huddle could be examined. Yes it is based in a good location, however the logistics of walking into a professional looking building such as NMFC/RC, past the reception hall and around the corner would be intimidating to those who have never been here before. Could more signage or a more direct entrance be developed?
- Social media and online: Furthermore, a real, consistent online presence could be developed to help promote engagement. Most young people will look up initiatives and programs online before deciding to come along. While steps in the right direction have been taken regarding Instagram and Facebook. The Huddle's website could appeal in a more to the younger generation, rather than stakeholders looking for annual reports etc.

Appendix H: Phase 2 Ethics Approval



University Human Ethics Committee

RESEARCH OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr Emma Sherry, Department of Management and Marketing, College of ASSC Katherine Raw, Department of Management and Marketing, College of ASSC

From: Senior Human Ethics Officer, La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee

Subject: Review of Human Ethics Committee Application No. 16-001

Title: Fostering social cohesion through sport: What are the conditions required?

Date: 25 February 2016

Thank you for your recent correspondence in relation to the research project referred to above. The project has been assessed as complying with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. I am pleased to advise that your project has been granted ethics approval and you may commence the study now.

The project has been approved from the date of this letter until 1 June 2018.

Please note that your application has been reviewed by a sub-committee of the University Human Ethics Committee (UHEC) to facilitate a decision before the next Committee meeting. This decision will require ratification by the UHEC and it reserves the right to alter conditions of approval or withdraw approval at that time. You will be notified if the approval status of your project changes. The UHEC is a fully constituted ethics committee in accordance with the National Statement under Section 5.1.29.

The following standard conditions apply to your project:

- Limit of Approval. Approval is limited strictly to the research proposal as submitted in your application while taking into account any additional conditions advised by the UHEC.
- Variation to Project. Any subsequent variations or modifications you wish to make to
 your project must be formally notified to the UHEC for approval in advance of these
 modifications being introduced into the project. This can be done using the appropriate
 form: Modification to Project Human Ethics which is available on the Human Ethics

website at http://www.latrobe.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human-ethics If the UHEC considers that the proposed changes are significant, you may be required to submit a new application form for approval of the revised project.

- Adverse Events. If any unforeseen or adverse events occur, including adverse effects on
 participants, during the course of the project which may affect the ethical acceptability
 of the project, the Chief Investigator must immediately notify the Senior Human Ethics
 Officer. An Adverse Event Form Human Ethics is available at the Research Office
 website (see above address). Any complaints about the project received by the
 researchers must also be referred immediately to the Senior Human Ethics Officer.
- Withdrawal of Project. If you decide to discontinue your research before its planned completion, you must advise the UHEC and clarify the circumstances.
- Monitoring. All projects are subject to monitoring at any time by the University Human Ethics Committee.
- Annual Progress Reports. If your project continues for more than 12 months, you are
 required to submit a Progress Report annually, on or just prior to 12 February. The form
 is available on the Research Office website (see above address). Failure to submit a
 Progress Report will mean approval for this project will lapse.
- Auditing. An audit of the project may be conducted by members of the UHEC.
- Final Report. A Final Report (see above address) is required within six months of the completion of the project or by 1 December 2018.

If you have any queries on the information above or require further clarification please email: **humanethics@latrobe.edu.au** or contact me by phone.

On behalf of the University Human Ethics Committee, best wishes with your research!

Kind regards,

Ms Sara Paradowski
Senior Human Ethics Officer
Executive Officer – University Human Ethics Committee
Ethics and Integrity / Research Office
La Trobe University Bundoora, Victoria 3086
P: (03) 9479 – 1443 / F: (03) 9479 - 1464
http://www.latrobe.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human-ethics

Appendix I: Phases 2 and 3 Participant Information Sheet



Centre for Sport and Social Impact Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

Participant Information Sheet

'FOSTERING SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH SPORT: WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS REQUIRED?'

Student Investigator: Katherine Raw, PhD Candidate, Centre for Sport and Social Impact Supervisory Team: Dr Emma Sherry, Dr Katie Rowe, Dr Mandy Ruddock-Hudson

Dear Participant,

A group of researchers from La Trobe University, are working with The Huddle to investigate the impacts of its programs. Because of this, a researcher from La Trobe University (Katherine Raw) will be spending time with The Huddle, to look at programs and take notes. As well as this, we would like to talk to you to find out about your experiences with The Huddle.

What would I do if I participate? Because you are the only one who can tell us about your thoughts and experiences with The Huddle, we would be very grateful if you would talk with us. During the <u>discussions/surveys</u>, we would like to ask you questions about these topics:

- · Your experiences with The Huddle
- The impacts of The Huddle for you
- The Impacts of The Huddle for the community
- What might be contributing to these impacts
- · What is working well at The Huddle
- What isn't working as well at The Huddle
- · Future plans for your involvement with The Huddle

When and where would these talks happen? Talks will happen at a time and place that is easy for you and take about one hour of your time. We hope to work with you on four occasions over the next 2 years.

Do I have to participate? No, your *participation is voluntary.* There will be no penalty or problems if you choose to not participate now or in the future. Also, if you take part in the first session and decide you no longer want to take part, you don't have to continue.

What are the benefits of participating? It is hoped that the information you give will help us improve The Huddle's programs. This will also hopefully improve everyone's future experiences with The Huddle and help other sport and community programs.

How will the information I give be used? So that we can study the information you give on computers, talks/surveys will be digitally recorded. These recordings will be typed out onto documents on a computer. After we study the documents, results will be created and used to help write a PhD thesis, The Huddle's reports, conference presentations and journal publications.

*Please note that consent forms will be kept for a period consistent with the Public Records Office of Victoria Standard (02/01) (5 years for non-clinical trial data) which will be stored in a secure La Trobe University location. Confidentiality will be maintained and there will be no identifying data in the written report.



Centre for Sport and Social Impact Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

Is it anonymous? Yes, we value your privacy. Any information you give will be confidential and not reported using your name (or anyone else's). There will be no way of identifying you from the information you give. Only the researchers from La Trobe, translators and transcribers (the people who type out recordings onto a computer) will have access to the information you give. The translators and transcribers must sign a confidentiality agreement and will delete all computer files and information after they are finished with the project. This information you give will only shared with people in the research team. It will be stored on a password-protected computer and locked filing cabinet at La Trobe University. For legal reason, the university needs us to keep this information during the project and for five years after before being destroyed.

Are there any dangers? There are no major risks connected to this project. You will not be directly challenged with any dangers, harm or discomfort with this project. If for some reason that any distress or problems happen with this project, you will be able to get help and talk to counsellors through the staff at The Huddle.

If I start participating, can I stop? Yes, even if you choose to help this project at first, you can stop your involvement with the project. This can occur any time during the project, up to four weeks after your last contact with the researchers. If you choose to stop taking part during the study, you can ask that no information that you gave be used and you will not have to explain why you decided to stop. Also, if you choose to stop, no penalties or problems will happen with The Huddle or La Trobe. The only thing you would need to do so that you can stop participating, is tell the researcher or The Huddle so that we can give you a 'withdrawal of consent form' to fill in.

How do I find out the results? The research team at La Trobe University will give the staff at The Huddle copies of results. You can find out the results by contacting staff at The Huddle or by contacting the research team using the emails written below. The results will then be emailed to you.

Who do I talk to if I have questions? You can contact the research team:

- Dr. Emma Sherry: e.sherry@latrobe.edu.au
- Katherine Raw: k.raw@latrobe.edu.au

Who do I talk to if I have a complaint or concern? If you have any complaints or concerns about the project, you can contact the research team (emails above). Or, if the research team cannot fix your concerns, you can contact the Secretary, Human Ethics Committee, Research Services, La Trobe University, Victoria, 3086, Phone: 0394791443, Email: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1001/june-10.1001/ju

How do I participate? You will need to complete the consent/assent form. You will also be asked if you are still happy to participate at the start of talks so that the audio recording shows your consent/assent to participate. If you are less than 18 years of age, a parent/carer/guardian will also need to read and sign your form. After filling out the form, please return it in person to the La Trobe researcher Katherine Raw (from La Trobe University) in person or through email: K.Raw@latrobe.edu.au, OR you can return it to the Huddle) in person or through email:

Please read this sheet and keep it for your future reference Thank you for your participation

*Please note that consent forms will be kept for a period consistent with the Public Records Office of Victoria Standard (02/01) (5 years for non-clinical trial data) which will be stored in a secure La Trobe University location. Confidentiality will be maintained and there will be no identifying data in the written report.

Appendix J: Phases 2 and 3 Consent/Assent Form



Centre for Sport and Social Impact Faculty of Business, Economics and Law

Consent/Assent Form

'FOSTERING SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH SPORT: WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS REQUIRED?'

Student Investigator: Katherine Raw, PhD Candidate, Centre for Sport and Social Impact Supervisory Team: Dr Emma Sherry, Dr Katie Rowe, Dr Mandy Ruddock-Hudson

A group of researchers from La Trobe University, are working with The Huddle to investigate the impacts of its programs. Because of this, a researcher from La Trobe University (Katherine Raw) will be spending time with The Huddle, to look at programs and take notes. As well as this, we would like to talk with you to find out about your experiences with The Huddle. All your answers in discussions/surveys will be anonymous and confidential. I(the participant) have read (or have had read to me) and understand the participant information sheet and consent/assent forms. Any questions I have asked have been answered. I know that even if I choose to take part, I can decide to stop and withdraw from this project at any time. I do not have to continue with this project and I can stop and withdraw up until four weeks after my last contact with the researchers. If I stop, I do not have to give a reason and I can ask that none of the information I gave during my participation be used. No problems or penalties will happen if I decide to stop. I understand that the information I give will be recorded. I also understand that I do not have to participate if I do not wish to. I agree that the information I give may be used for a PhD thesis, The Huddle's reports, conference presentations and journal publications. This is only if my name is not used or any other identifying information is used. I can also contact The Huddle or the research team for results. If you would like to be a part of the research, please tick the following box, sign and date below: ☐ I give my permission for discussions/surveys to be recorded Name of participant (block letters): Signature: Date: If under 18 yrs- Name of participant's parent/carer (block letters): Signature: Date: Name of student investigator: KATHERINE RAW Signature: Khaw Date: 15/4/2016 Name of supervisor: DR EMMA SHERRY Emely Date: 15/4/2016 Signature:

*Please note that consent forms will be kept for a period consistent with the Public Records Office of Victoria Standard (02/01) (5 years for non-clinical trial data) which will be stored in a secure La Trobe University location. Confidentiality will be maintained and there will be no identifying data in the written report.

Appendix K. Phases 2 and 3 Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Participant information statement, consent, recording interview, right to pass on questions **Initial question:** Tell me your story about The Huddle?

The Huddle:

- Background:
 - o How did you become involved with The Huddle?
- Involvement:
 - o How are you involved in The Huddle?
 - o What programs?
 - o How often?
- Aim:
 - O Why do you come to The Huddle?
 - o What do you hope to get out of your time with The Huddle?

Outcomes:

- Individual:
 - o What is the best part about your experiences with The Huddle?
 - o What have you learnt during your time at The Huddle?
 - o What has been the hardest part about your experiences with The Huddle?
- Community:
 - What have been the best parts about The Huddle for broader community?
 - o How do you think The Huddle contributes to the broader community?
 - What have been the challenges for the community when it comes to The Huddle?

Enabling Factors:

- What facilitates participation/engagement with...
 - o Youth
 - o Parents
 - Community
- What generally works well at The Huddle?

Barriers/Revisions:

- What challenges/reduces participation/engagement with...
 - o Youth
 - o Parents
 - Community
- Current programme challenges and barriers
- What isn't working OR could be improved
- Suggestions for changes

Future involvement:

- Why are you involved?
- Why continue your involvement?

2017 follow-up questions:

- Has the Huddle changed at all for you since we last spoke? Prompt topics from above questions
- If so how? How do you feel about this?

Appendix L: Phase 2 List of Interviews

#	Name	Consent Form	Date Interview
		Received	Completed
1	Adele	Y	27/5/16
2	Abeba	Y	27/5/16
3	Zainab	Y	27/5/16
4	Idil	Y	1/6/16
5	Axlam	Y	1/6/16
6	Teru	Y	2/6/16
7	Lina	Y	2/6/16
8	Jamilah	Y	3/6/16
9	Wubit	Y	7/6/16
10	Keren	Y	15/6/16
11	Fana	Y	15/6/16
12	Retta	Y	15/6/16
13	Khadra	Y	23/6/16
14	Aaden	Y	15/8/16
15	Galad	Y	15/8/16
16	Casho	Y	16/8/16
17	Basira	Y	16/8/16
18	Hamia	Y	16/8/16
19	Samia	Y	18/8/16
20	Melody	Y	22/8/16
21	Adia	Y	22/8/16
22	Melaku	Y	23/8/16
23	Tesfaye	Y	23/8/16
24	Kombe	Y	23/8/16
25	Liya	Y	24/8/16
26	Solomon	Y	24/8/16
27	Luke	Y	13/9/16

Appendix M: Phase 2 Report to The Huddle

'SPORT FOR SOCIAL COHESION: EXPLORING IMPACTS AND INFLUENCES' Phase 2 PhD Research Report

PhD Candidate: Katherine Raw, Centre for Sport and Social Impact **Supervisory Team:** Dr Emma Sherry, Dr Katie Rowe, Dr Mandy Ruddock-Hudson

Previous phase: Phase 1

- Document analysis
- Research observations (18 months)
- Semi-structured interviews with The Huddle's staff (11) and stakeholders (10).

Current phase: Phase 2

- Document analysis
- Research observations (18 months)
- Semi-structured interviews with The Huddle's Youth (27). Youth have comprised of both female (20) and male (7) and are actively involved in a combination of the following programs: Active Girls, Study Support, Good Wheel Bike Program, Huddle Bay games, one-off excursions/events (e.g., W-League soccer match, ANZ Netball Championship game, Australian Open tennis).

Results: Belonging, inclusion, safety, trust, networks, relationships, support, civic participation, confidence, educational skills, engagement, self-efficacy, empowerment, leadership, opportunities for success, opportunities to be heard.

Socio-environmental factors contributing to results: Support, networks, diversity, reliability, safety, trust, grass-roots focus/foundations, inter-organisational relationships, change agents (within staff and participant groups), stability (some participants described a lack of stability currently at home and/or in their past).

Challenges and socio-environmental factors limiting results: Ongoing engagement, accessibility (online/building), gender imbalance, social cohesion/inclusion as a two-way process, policies, Wyndham momentum, stability (restructure/expansion, staff absences/moving on from Huddle, shift of focus to strategic development, drop off in focus of youth recruitment/retention → these were paralleled with a drop in attendance).

Recommendations regarding challenges:

- Ongoing engagement: Look at extending and/or developing programs to address engagement drop off points. For example: middle school age → Active Boys/Girls, yr12 drop off → advertise career assistance with Sophie, casual/voluntary work at Huddle post year 12, parents → Monday sports/email newsletters.
- Accessibility (online/building): Keep maximising and looking to engage via social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat). Explore means of increasing Huddle

- signage throughout building (reception area and route taken to The Huddle can be hidden and intimidating at times).
- Gender imbalance (lack of boys): Look at extending and/or developing programs to address gender imbalance in study support and sporting programs. For example: 'Active Boys' (name to be confirmed) was rolled out a few weeks ago, by Mairead (and Tom) with minimal advertising or structure and attracted a respectable turnout. There also appears to be a gap between those boys highly engaged at study support and those less engaged (e.g., there to primarily use the internet rather than study).
- Social cohesion as a two-way process: Examine methods to reduce ghettoising of Huddle youth and maximise adaptation/movement of people in/out of programs. Continue to engage The Mugars, Captains Camp, SEDA students, NSOs by bringing them into Huddle, encourage movement of Huddle youth out to these organisations.
- Policies (incident management and reporting): Continue to develop policies, procedures and resource access around incident management and reporting, particularly around scenarios that may be more significant than basic first aid (e.g., youth welfare).
- Wyndham momentum: Examine potential to engage staff in promoting and engaging programs for 2017, prior to the completion of 2016. Regular attendance and momentum is likely to take at least 12 months to establish. In addition, this momentum is likely to falter following a change in location (to the purpose-built facility once finished).
- Stability: Look to increase staff numbers and capacity engaged with each program. Encourage staff to engage across multiple programs, even for brief periods of time, thereby increasing trust by association. Introduce new staff to participants and consider creating staff profiles with a picture to include within newsletters and/or publish on a notice board within The Huddle's facilities.

Looking forward:

- **Current phase:** The current phase (phase two) began and was completed at the end of the 3rd school term.
- Next phase: Phase three will be confirmed by the end of September 2016, but is likely to include follow up interviews with staff, stakeholder and youth. It is intended that phase three data collection will be complete by the end of April 2017.

Appendix N: Phase 3 Ethics Approval



University Human Ethics Committee

RESEARCH OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr Emma Sherry, La Trobe Business School, College of ASSC

From: Senior Human Ethics Officer, La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee

Subject: Review of Human Ethics Committee Application No. 16-001 Mod 1

Title: Fostering social cohesion through sport: What are the conditions required?

Date: 23 September 2016

Thank you for submitting your modification request for ethics approval to the La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee (UHEC) for the project referred to above. The UHEC has reviewed and approved the following modification/s which may commence now:

Addition of written reflection exercise with youth participants

Please note that your request has been reviewed by a sub-committee of the UHEC to facilitate a decision before the next Committee meeting. This decision will require ratification by the UHEC and it reserves the right to alter conditions of approval or withdraw approval at that time. However, you may commence prior to ratification and you will be notified if the approval status of your project changes.

The following standard conditions apply to your project:

- Limit of Approval. Approval is limited strictly to the research proposal as submitted in your application
 while taking into account any additional conditions advised by the UHEC.
- Variation to Project. Any subsequent variations or modifications you wish to make to your project must be formally notified to the UHEC for approval in advance of these modifications being introduced into the project. This can be done using the appropriate form: Modification to Project Human Ethics which is available on the Research Office website at http://www.latrobe.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human-ethics. If the UHEC considers that the proposed changes are significant, you may be required to submit a new application form for approval of the revised project.
- Adverse Events. If any unforeseen or adverse events occur, including adverse effects on participants, during the course of the project which may affect the ethical acceptability of the project, the Chief Investigator must immediately notify the UHEC Executive Officer on telephone (03) 9479 1443. Any

Appendix O: Phase 3 List of Interviews

#	Name	Position	Consent Form Received	Date Interview Completed
Staff, stake	eholders and volunteers (n = 12)			•
1	Clare	Manager of Diversity and Inclusion, NMFC. Former Sport and Recreation Coordinator, former volunteer	Y	8/11/2016 and 9/3/17
2	Justin	Volunteer Coordinator at The Huddle, former volunteer	Y	8/11/2016 and 8/3/17
3	Prue	Regional Manager, The Huddle, North Melbourne	Y	6/3/17
4	Molly	Head of Education and Careers, The Huddle, North Melbourne	Y	6/3/17
5	Alex	Development Officer at The Huddle, former Multicultural Development Officer, former volunteer	Y	6/3/17
6	Leah	Peer Facilitator, volunteer	Y	8/3/17
7	Peter	General Manager—Community Engagement, NMFC	Y	8/3/17
8	Liam	Regional Manager, The Huddle, Wyndham	Y	9/3/17
9	Andrew	Manager, Schools and Community Engagement, The Huddle, North Melbourne, Wyndham and Tasmania	Y	9/3/17
10	Jeremy	Head of Education and Careers, The Huddle, Wyndham	Y	9/3/17
11	Olivia	Volunteer	Y	16/3/17
12	Ariel	Former Youth Worker at The Huddle, current volunteer	Y	15/3/17
Youth (n=	10)			
13	Zainab	Youth program attendee	Y	8/3/17
14	Axlam	Youth program attendee	Y	8/3/17
15	Lina	Youth program attendee	Y	8/3/17
16	Samia	Youth program attendee	Y	9/3/17
17	Wubit	Youth program attendee	Y	9/3/17
18	Casho	Youth program attendee	Y	9/3/17
19	Teru	Youth program attendee	Y	15/3/17
20	Adia	Youth program attendee	Y	15/3/17
21	Basira	Youth program attendee, less engaged than previously	Y	23/3/17
22	Adele	Former youth program attendee	Y	27/3/17

Appendix P: Phase 3 Report to The Huddle

'SPORT FOR SOCIAL COHESION: EXPLORING IMPACTS AND INFLUENCES' Phase 3 PhD Research Report

PhD Candidate: Katherine Raw, Centre for Sport and Social Impact **Supervisory Team:** Dr Emma Sherry, Dr Katie Rowe, Dr Mandy Ruddock-Hudson

Completed research phases:

Phase one

- Document analysis
- Research observations
- Semi-structured interviews with staff, stakeholders and volunteers.

Phase two

- Document analysis
- Research observations
- Semi-structured interviews with The Huddle's youth. Youth have comprised of both female (20) and male (7) and are actively involved in a combination of the following programs: Active Girls, Study Support, Good Wheel Bike Program, Huddle Bay games, one-off excursions/events (e.g., W-League soccer match, ANZ Netball Championship game, Australian Open tennis).

Phase three

- Document analysis
- Research observations (2 years)
- Semi-structured follow up interviews with The Huddle's staff, stakeholders, and volunteers, as well as youth.

Phase three results

Data collection for phase three was completed in term 1 2017. Analysis of data occurred using qualitative data analysis software (NVivo 11). This process involved importing transcripts of interviews into the program, analysing, coding and grouping data into common themes. These themes were then grouped relative to the following categories: program impacts, socioenvironmental factors contributing to impacts, and challenges limiting impacts. These key themes and categories have been organised in relation to participant groups and reported in order of frequency that they were discussed (that is, the themes reported first were discussed most). Quotes for the most prominent theme in each section have also been included.

• Program impacts:

- O **Youth results**: Educational/study skills, support, sporting (physical activity, joining sports clubs, skills, knowledge), friendships, language skills.
 - "...well I love many things. Like they... like without The Huddle here right, I think I wouldn't be confident in making my own assignments. Like, it's so

- good that I passed school with the help of The Huddle. I guess I wouldn't be able to achieve if I didn't come here".
- Staff results: Sports (joining clubs, skills, family mind sets, physical activity), careers (resume, finding jobs), educational/study skills, growing beyond Huddle, friendships.
 - "I think what's been most tangible with her development has been the confidence that her family has in her ability to play sports outside of school... she had a genuine concern that her family wouldn't let her play sport... and now she's playing locally. It's fairly clear that not only are family letting her play, but they embrace it. Her mum comes to games to encourage her."

• Socio-environmental factors contributing to impacts:

- Youth results: Relationships, vibe of Huddle (friendly, positive, comfortable, non-judgemental, chilled-out, focused environment), volunteers, long-term engagement, inter-linking program pathways, inter-organisational networks (e.g., sporting organisations and community groups).
 - "It's reliable... you keep coming because you know you can rely on them. That you're gonna get youth things done on that day... The relationships with people, and the friendships that you make. That's one reason why you come, other than to get your work done."
- o **Staff results**: Inter-organisational networks, inter-linking program pathways, relationships, volunteers, place-based needs.
 - "I think The Huddle is impactful because it's not a school, it's not a community centre... it's different and so I think our impact is the fact that we do have good ties into a fairly large mainstream... when young people see something like this, that there's implicitly a bit more of a connection to the broader world than, say a community centre that's based at the bottom of flats, that already feels isolated from the mainstream anyway."

Challenges limiting impacts:

- Youth results: Instability (changes in staff, programs, lack of communication about changes), drop off in participation (due to change in priorities- sport vs study, lack of time, program timing, lack of sport programs), staff/volunteers leaving, personal circumstances, hard to trust new people (staff, volunteers).
 - "When they left, I felt sad because I know them I think the past four years...

 Like they were, when you know someone, they are more friendly, they know
 you since you were young... Like the new people in here, I don't really know
 them. I don't really want to tell them anything about me, I'll be honest. They
 knew me closer, but those people don't."
- Staff results: Instability (changes in staff, expansion stretching resources, lack of programs, new 'business-like' focus, drop off in participant numbers), lack of resources (financial, staff), participant group imbalances (cultural, gender), lack of recruitment of youth, communication with youth.
 - Staff communicated concerns regarding a "...lack of programs..." and a "...drop-off in participants..." since mid-late 2016. Further, some staff were worried about the lack of resources and employed staff designated to "...run that [sporting] role..." particularly given that the perception tended towards the idea that they "...won't get staff..." in the future. In addition,

apprehension was also expressed regarding recent strategic changes, in that they felt The Huddle was becoming more "...business like..." and "...like a brand...".

Recommendations regarding challenges

• Instability and changes:

- O Keep defining program aims and target groups, outline staff for each program (Huddle, NMFC, partner organisation, youth champion), plan initial and ongoing recruitment methods for each program. Engage partner organisations (i.e. national/state sporting bodies) early, plan programs well in advance and communicate dates/activities to participants. Ideally this will assist with resources and reduce ebs/flows in program momentum.
- Continue to introduce new staff to participants and consider creating staff profiles (with pictures) to include within newsletters and/or publish on a notice board within The Huddle's facilities.
- O Communicate changes to participants and stakeholders through verbal means, The Huddle's website online and through social media (albeit results also indicated that social media strategies need to be revisited in order to reach youth target audience).
- **Drop off in** participation: Advertise programs that address drop-off points and shift in participant priorities (e.g., VCE/VCAL study vs sport).
 - o For example: middle school age and shift to study priorities → Active Boys/Girls (particularly as they run concurrently with study support). Post-year 12 drop off → continue to advertise career assistance. Develop and communicate casual/voluntary work at Huddle. Also, look to enhance email/newsletter communications through entry point sign up processes (e.g., Monday night sports sign up and study support).
 - See recommendations above, as some research participants linked the drop in numbers with instability and changes.
- Negotiating target groups and lack of recruitment:
 - o See recommendations regarding stability.
 - Official launch of Active Boys and Active Girls has the opportunity to assist with this. Look to enhance communications and promotions around this with the aim of increasing numbers from current drop in levels. This process will also be an important change over point for communications with participants. Bridget's presence and communications about her moving on, into her new role will help participants clarify things further, and will potentially help enhance the trust of new staff/volunteers.

Looking forward

All research data collection phases have been completed. My final days with The Huddle will take place in parallel with the official program launches of Active Boys and Active Girls. Moving beyond this, I will be writing up my PhD thesis for the rest of 2017. The Huddle will be sent a copy once this has been completed.

Final quote from a youth participant

"To be honest, The Huddle is my second home. Believe me. I can't stay home without The Huddle... [If] I don't come one day, always it is them in mind. Because always, the people are next to someone who's tutored, always they're kind, caring, they're helping them understand it. Yeah, if they don't understand my language, how I'm speaking, they understand English is my second language. They speak slowly, they tell me what's right, what's wrong. Yeah. So nice. I'm so lucky"

Appendix Q: Example Interview Transcript

Speaker 1: Okay, so I've stated recording. First up, I wanted to ask about how you became involved with The Huddle?

Speaker 2: Okay, so the way I got involved in The Huddle was a while back, maybe three years ago, I was subscribed to the Islamic Council of Victoria newsletter and they had advertised a leadership program being run at the Huddle with the North Melbourne Football Club and I'm like, 'oh, that looks interesting'.

I contacted Wendy and joined the leadership program and did that and so that's where I met one of the guys who then asked me to apply for the AFL Multicultural Ambassador program and I did that, got in. Through just knowing staff and going to all of the events and continuously being involved, that's how I came about The Huddle. I was just on their volunteer list so if they needed help with anything I was there and then this year I was resigned for my job because I was looking for different career options and I asked Wendy if I should apply for a sales position they had running and she said, 'I have a better position for you. Why don't you apply for this?' Then I got interviewed by the staff and yeah, they hired me so that's how I became involved with the Huddle.

Speaker 1: Nice. So do you want to describe your current position for me?

Speaker 2: Sure, so my current role is a youth worker at the Huddle. This particular position is a bit different to your average youth worker position in sense that it's funded by the federal government. It is a federal grant for safer living together initiative.

That initiative is about coming up with projects and ways to ensure that we are all inclusive of all young kids and in order for them to not get involved in antisocial

behavior, to involve them in study programs and sporting programs and thereby increase their sense of belonging to this country or to the community here in a Australia. I guess a small part of that antisocial behavior is violent extremism so that's where I come in with my Muslim background, I engage with these kids and make sure that they're okay and that they're not falling victim to any sort of ideology that would potentially cause them to be vulnerable to get involved in violent acts.

- Speaker 1: In terms of the Huddle's overall aim, how do you understand and how do you describe that?
- Speaker 2: The way I see it, I think the aim of the Huddle is to ensure that all Australian youth are giving the same chance so they all have equal opportunities whether it be in sport, or whether it be in terms of employment or whether it be in terms of education. Obviously they do focus on migrant groups who tend to have a greater struggle due to language barriers, not being able to understand a new culture, therefore, it's just harder to navigate and feel like they belong if they don't know the culture and don't know how to engage. I think what Huddle tries to do is to bridge that gap and just in a way educate them in all forms, academically as well as about how to get around, what the culture is, how to get involved, give them an opportunity to get involved.
- Speaker 1: If you were to I guess at the individual, break that down again, if the Huddle was being successful overall, what sort of outcomes would you see both with individuals and within the community?

Speaker 2: If Huddle was successful in achieving its outcomes, then I would probably see more youth getting involved and not just youth actually would be nice, I think this a bit of an outsider thing, not our main purpose but to have the parents involved, I think like a secondary outcome. Having their parents involved, if they have parents or family involved as well, more kids involved, more kids improving on their English and more kids feeling like they do belong and that they've got somewhere to go and just making friends and being happy. Being happy about being here rather than feeling alone and living here.

Speaker 1: Cool. In terms of your program specifically, if I was to ask that same question 'is your program being successful', would you describe similar outcomes?

Speaker 2: Yeah. Definitely similar outcomes. Involving more kids from the Muslim backgrounds to feel like they belong because at the moment, it's changing, I think it's slowly changing but I think there's a pretty strong message that Muslims are associated with terrorists. So, most of the youth, they've grown up in this environment where their religion is looked under through a microscope and they're looked through under a microscope as Muslims because of the nature of terrorism itself, it can affect anyone really. These kids are growing up with that and it's quite difficult to feel like you belong when on TV and in the media you're made to look like you're a danger to society and people don't want you there. I guess my particular project that I'm working on, which is actually at stage, the whole plan is to involve these kids and make sure they feel like they belong. That now Australia is their home and that people in Australia want them to be here.

Speaker 1: Cool.

Speaker 2: Were working towards engaging communities and we will be engaging more. I'll use my contacts to engage community leaders and community members and if I get a chance. I'll go to any of our community or Pakistani events that I would talk about this project and the Huddle and promote its values and the programs I have to offer.

Speaker 1: How many weeks have you been at the Huddle for now?

Speaker 2: Six weeks.

Speaker 1: I think that's about right. Have you seen anything in terms of, I guess it's a relatively short time to be making big conclusions about amazing things that the Huddle are doing but what sort of positive impacts or outcomes have you seen so far in that time?

Speaker 2: I've been lucky that even though it's been six weeks, I've sort of launched right into one of our first projects which is profiling the youth who have are already engaged and trying to find out what it is that makes them continuously come back. What I've seen so far is the youth who come here, they do feel like they belong and they feel that the staff here are really friendly, they enjoy themselves and they get to meet people which is something I guess, some of the new migrants might struggle with is meeting new people. They all love it, they feel like it's somewhere they can go to do homework and it's great.

Speaker 1: Cool.

Speaker 2: I think its succeeding definitely and we could potentially try and expand the number of kids who come through.

Speaker 1: Yeah. In association with those successes and those positive stories that you're hearing, are there any particular enabling factors that are contributing to those positive outcomes or any sort of common threads that you've been able to see?

Speaker 2: The common threads that I saw were basically that they all felt that the staff here helped them and they're friendly and like if they want to socialise they could do that here amongst their friends. Because they're youth and most of them are still in school, one of the biggest challenges for them were getting through their homework really, it's all in English and it's a foreign language so I think a lot of them were happy to get help with that. They're happy to get help with English and its sort of different but the main thread was they felt like they belonged here and felt like they could come here any time they needed that kind of thing.

Speaker 1: I wanted to flip that on its head a little bit and talk about any sort of barriers and challenges that you've faced so far in terms of hindering positive impacts. Has there been much that you have experienced with that?

Speaker 2: I think one in the last six weeks of being here would definitely be getting the kids here. In terms of getting new people and even some of the current participants, here to actually bring them here is the main challenge. Transport, for instance. So far I haven't really done much but for me at the moment I feel like a challenge would be to go out further in the North or further in the West and get those kids to come and engage because it's going to increase the distance which means if they're with their parents, their parents are going to be concerned about their kids traveling that distance on their own. Or the parents may not have the time or

resources to transports their kids here so that would be a barrier and were going to have to come up with good ideas in terms of how we can overcome that.

Speaker 1: Have you had any other challenges that you've faced?

Speaker 2: Not currently, but I think I may. I'm only making a guess here but I may face a challenge where having their parents to trust what were about here and what we're trying to do. There's sort of a bit of a negative connotation that could be associated with the term integration. Parents don't want their kids to lose their own identity and culture but until they know that here at the Huddle, were not taking that away, we celebrate that ... We just want them to feel like they can still be just as important and part of the Australian culture with their current culture, as well.

Its making parents understand. That's what were about. We're not here to make them forget their culture and completely forget their values and forget everything. I think that may be a barrier. I think I, with my Muslim background, can help potentially break the ice there and so that I'm here. I'm a reasonable Muslim and I don't feel like ... they're pretty good here. They'll let people pray if they need to so I don't see why that would be an issue but it is a barrier that we will need to cross and have discussions and chats about.

Speaker 1: Building upon that, have you got any ideas on how you think the Huddle could improve or change things to enhance positive outcomes in the future?

Speaker 2: I think we could do a bit more work on finding ways to connect the kids to part time jobs. The ones who are of age where they want to work or they want to have their own income. I think we could a little bit more on that. I can't really think of

... I know there's other ideas. We could a lot more. We could potentially do a lot more events where were inviting parents, specifically, as well. Doing barbecues, food trucks and inviting families to come and attend, I think we could do a lot more of that. It'll only spread through word of mouth really so we can have some families coming but if were consistent in our approach to engage families and then kids then I think that can help.

Speaker 1: Yeah, cool.

Speaker 2: I'm conscious of the fact that all of that requires funding so we've got to work within the funds that we have to run these events.

Speaker 1: So in terms of looking forward, what sort of developments do you see happening in association with your work at the Huddle? How do you see your involvement evolving, I guess?

Speaker 2: My position is a contract position so it ends next year but in that year I think that it will evolve a lot more through the fact that I will have a lot more contacts. It will evolve in the sense that I will be engaging with a lot more community members that I normally would've and as a result, promoting the Huddle and getting their name out there in the community because at the moment even nonnew migrant strains, they're like, 'oh, I didn't even know the Huddle existed'. It's just getting your name out there so I'm shamelessly promoting it on my Facebook and I meet people and I'm like, 'oh I work here and this is what they do', and they're like, 'oh, I didn't know that North Melbourne football club had The Huddle where you could do that'.

Speaker 1: Cool. Nice. Is there anything else you want to discuss that we've already looked at before we wind it up?

Speaker 2: I think more things like, where were pretty culturally aware here, but any further cultural training would never go astray. Like, the finer or more complex nuances of the different cultures would actually be really good and it will help me and it would help us to engage with these kids better and therefore, come up with better strategies to engage them. Like there's things about the Somali culture that are gonna be completely different to Pakistani culture. It's those nuances that I'd like to tap into to know.

Speaker 1: That's a cool idea.

Speaker 2: Yeah.

Speaker 1: Anything else?

Speaker 2: That's all I can think of. I will probably think about it tonight in bed and think, 'ugh, I should've told you that'.

Speaker 1: Well, if you're up for it there will probably be another discussion before things wind up.

Speaker 2: Awesome.

Speaker 1: Thank you for your time.

Speaker 2: No problem. Thank you.

End of recording

Appendix R: Example of Research Observations

• **Date:** 6/12/16

• **Program:** Active Girls

• Number participants (m/f): 1F- Only Abeba for 45 minutes

• Staff running program (m/f): 0 staff- Only Ariel volunteering and myself

• **Observations:** Unfortunately there appeared to be a lack of communication around no one being around to run the program. Both Clare and Leah were away today.

- Abeba came along for 45minutes before she had to go footy training. We started outside shooting hoops on the basketball court. Ariel was running late, so for the first 30minutes it was just the two of us. We chatted about her emersion day at her new high school for next year (Mt Alexander College). She didn't seem too concerned about it, if anything she was describing how she was bored throughout the day and that they didn't really even get a school tour.
- We moved onto the indoor basketball court to wait for Ariel. Abeba explained that the footy training this afternoon was going to be with the Calder Cannons (not her usual team). Justin came in at this point and asked her how she was feeling about training. She appeared to be somewhat nervous, but also not really sure what the training was all about and why it was important. Justin explained that this team is selected from a group of girls defined by location. It's a short season and finishes with the girl's version of a TAC cup early next year. Abeba appeared to be a little nervous about meeting all the new people in this team, stating that she had played against some of them before and didn't particularly like them.
- Not long after this Abeba had to leave for training. Ariel then came along afterwards. We waited to see if anyone else would come along and no one did.
- **Notable moments:** No one being around.
- **Reactions to me:** Other than Justin and Ariel coming along for a bit, I ran the program solo. That said there was only the one participant.
- **PhD ideas to explore:** Why is no one coming along? Is it no staff or lack of communication? Each individual is unique. These people are targeted to be included within SFD because they are 'vulnerable'. Vulnerable to what? Lack of access? Opportunity? Safety? Support? Networks? Stability is crucial to minimising this vulnerability. Stability and support has the potential to ensure access, opportunities, safety, and growth of networks can occur. Stability is essential for development, to allow people to move and grow beyond those vulnerabilities. Stability is different to sustainability, it implies a greater depth and quality of engagement than sustainability. Sustainability lends its self to capacity building and length of time/engagement, but it lacks that quality of networks and support that stability implies.

Appendix S: Phases 1, 2 and 3 List of Organisational Documents

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
Document	AASC Community Coach Training Program Enrolment Form 2013 (Western Metro Region)		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:40 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:40 pm	KR
Document	Action Plan (2)		9	9	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:43 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:43 pm	KR
Document	AFL		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:48 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:48 pm	KR
Document	AMES Football		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:52 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:52 pm	KR
Document	Anglesea SLSC 2015		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:56 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:56 pm	KR
Document	April ideas		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:59 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:31:59 pm	KR
Document	Auskick Letter		4	4	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:04 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:04 pm	KR
Document	BBALL launch running sheet		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:08 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:08 pm	KR
PDF	Certificate-AASC		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:09 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:09 pm	KR
Document	Clinic at Etihad Stadium		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:13 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:13 pm	KR
Document	Draw for Soccer Carnival		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:17 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:17 pm	KR
Document	Drop-in Basketball End of Year Tournament		1	1	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:32:20 pm		7:32:20 pm	
Document	Drop-in bball launch		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:25 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:25 pm	KR
Document	Drop-in bball tourny run sheet		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:29 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:29 pm	KR
PDF	Fixture 2014 FINAL Reclink Community Football Program		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:29 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:29 pm	KR
Document	Fixture result sheet UPDATED		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:34 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:34 pm	KR
Document	Flemington Community Centre Monday Sports End of Year Excursion		7	7	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:38 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:38 pm	KR
Document	Girls Program		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:41 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:41 pm	KR
Document	GIRLS		7	7	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:46 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:46 pm	KR
Document	Handover doc		10	10	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:51 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:51 pm	KR
Document	Handover notes		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:55 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:55 pm	KR
Document	REGISTRATION FORM		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:59 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:32:59 pm	KR
Document	ITS GAME TIME		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:03 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:03 pm	KR
Document	Jan Holidays		6	6	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:33:07 pm		7:33:07 pm	
Document	Jan School Holidays Plan		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:11 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:11 pm	KR
Document	July School Holidays Plan		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:15 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:15 pm	KR
Document	Junior bball flier		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:19 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:19 pm	KR
Document	Kangas Kids Club Clinic		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:23 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:23 pm	KR
Document	KRC Letter		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:28 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:28 pm	KR
Document	Monday Sports		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:32 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:32 pm	KR
Document	PA System		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:37 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:37 pm	KR
Document	Pathways-Jnr Basketball		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:40 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:40 pm	KR
Document	Pathways-Snr Basketball		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:45 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:45 pm	KR
Document	Pathways-Soccer		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:49 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:49 pm	KR
Document	Progress on Reclink		4	4	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:54 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:33:54 pm	KR
Document	Ramadan Soccer Time Table		6	6	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:33:58 pm		7:33:58 pm	
Document	Rd 14 ticket offer		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:03 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:03 pm	KR
Document	Rd 23 ticket offer		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:07 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:07 pm	KR
Document	Reclink info		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:11 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:11 pm	KR
Document	Running Ladder		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:15 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:15 pm	KR
Document	Sep Holidays		4	4	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:20 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:20 pm	KR
Document	September School Holidays Plan		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:24 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:24 pm	KR
Document	Sign in sheet		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:28 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:28 pm	KR
Document	Soccer tournament registration form		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:32 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:32 pm	KR
Document	Sports programs calendar		4	4	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:38 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:38 pm	KR
Document	SRO KPI document 2013		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:42 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:42 pm	KR
Document	The Huddle BBALL Tournament		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:46 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:46 pm	KR
Document	Volleyball sheet		1	1	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:34:50 pm		7:34:50 pm	
Document	WHAT CHILDREN ENJOY		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:54 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:34:54 pm	KR
PDF	2015 Overview- The Huddle		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:31 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:31 pm	KR
Document	Active Girls 7th of August		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:34 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:34 pm	KR
PDF	Active Girls Boxing July 012		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:35 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:35 pm	KR
Document	Active Girls 9th Oct		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:39 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:39 pm	KR
Document	Active Girls hand out T4 2015		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:45 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:45 pm	KR
Document	Active Girls weekly planning		4	4	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:48 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:48 pm	KR
Document	Active Girls		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:52 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:36:52 pm	KR
Document	AG-End of year letter 2015		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:00 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:00 pm	KR
PDF	Armina Confidence statement		7	7	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:01 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:01 pm	KR
Document	ASIAN CUP LEGACY PROJECT The Huddle - draft		8	8	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:05 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:05 pm	KR
PDF	Asil Confidence Statement		6	6	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:37:06 pm		7:37:06 pm	
Document	Consent form (soccer match 6th Dec 2015)		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:09 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:09 pm	KR
PDF	Consent Form Huddle		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:10 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:10 pm	KR
Document	April planning		10	10	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:14 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:14 pm	KR
Document	End of year letter 2015		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:19 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:19 pm	KR
Document	Girls Certificate		7	7	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:23 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:23 pm	KR
Document	Girls soccer day Wednesday 30th September		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:28 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:28 pm	KR
Document	HAG Focus Group Questions		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:32 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:32 pm	KR
PDF	Confidence statement Casho		3	3	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:32 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:32 pm	KR
PDF	Confidence statement Teru		3	3	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:33 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:33 pm	KR
PDF	Huddle 2014 programs		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:33 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:33 pm	KR
Document	Huddle Active girls sign up March 2015		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:37 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:37 pm	KR
PDF	Huddle Advisory Committee - April 2014		10	10	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:37:39 pm		7:37:39 pm	
Document	Huddle Active girls sign up May 2015		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:43 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:43 pm	KR
Document	Huddle Evaluation Proposal 2015		4	4	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:48 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:48 pm	KR
Document	Huddle logic model condensed		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:52 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:52 pm	KR
Document	Huddle logic model w questions		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:57 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:57 pm	KR
PDF	Huddle Review 2014		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:57 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:37:57 pm	KR
Document	JSlape 2015 Lit Review-methods barriers and enablers 2		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:02 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:02 pm	KR
Document	Timetable		4	4	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:06 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:06 pm	KR
PDF	Zainab confidence statement		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:06 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:06 pm	KR
PDF	MINUTES-STS Advisory Group Meeting 2		7	7	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:07 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:07 pm	KR
Document	Jeff volunteering outline		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:11 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:11 pm	KR
Document	Leah-Youth Leadership Program Application Form		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:15 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:15 pm	KR
PDF	NM_1826_Huddle_ActiveGirls_F lyer		6	6	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Type	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:38:16 pm		7:38:16 pm	
PDF	NM_2237_Huddle_GirlsSoccerDa y_Flyer (3)		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:16 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:16 pm	KR
PDF	Participant Information Sheet Huddle (2)		3	3	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:17 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:17 pm	KR
Document	PHD K.Raw Phase1		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:21 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:21 pm	KR
Document	Rd 21 ticket offer		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:25 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:25 pm	KR
Document	SIGN UP HERE		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:29 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:29 pm	KR
Document	Sisters Through Sport		9	9	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:34 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:34 pm	KR
Document	Sisters Through Sport social media proposal Sept 2015		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:38 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:38 pm	KR
Document	Sisters Through Sport survey 2015		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:42 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:42 pm	KR
PDF	SpokesWomen_Course 2_FLYER		7	7	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:42 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:42 pm	KR
Document	STS Advisory Group Meeting 2docx		6	6	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:46 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:46 pm	KR
Document	Team sheet		1	1	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:50 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:50 pm	KR
PDF	Terms of Reference-to be finalised docx		6	6	5 Jun. 2017,	KR	5 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					7:38:51 pm		7:38:51 pm	
Document	W-League Sign up tickets		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:56 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:38:56 pm	KR
Document	Week 1-Huddle Active Girls		5	5	5 Jun. 2017, 7:39:00 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:39:00 pm	KR
PDF	Arden Street Redevelopment 2008		7	7	5 Jun. 2017, 7:43:00 pm	KR	5 Jun. 2017, 7:43:00 pm	KR
Document	2016 NetSetGO Inclusion Centre Registration Form		4	4	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:1 1 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:1 1 pm	KR
PDF	Attachment C Huddle and Community Engagement Org. Structure		5	5	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:1 2 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:1 2 pm	KR
Document	Consultation Draft Report, Strategic Framework and Recommendations v4-4		6	6	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:1 6 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:1 6 pm	KR
Document	Diversity and Inclusion Development Officer PD		1	1	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:2 1 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:2 1 pm	KR
Document	Ed&careers participant feedback survey draft		4	4	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:2 4 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:2 4 pm	KR
Document	Friday 27th May		5	5	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:2 9 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:2 9 pm	KR
Document	Huddle diagrams Feb16 KRaw		7	7	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:3 3 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:3 3 pm	KR
PDF	Huddle SFD PhD presentation KRaw October 2016		6	6	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:3 4 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:3 4 pm	KR
PDF	Huddle		6	6	6 Jun. 2017,	KR	6 Jun. 2017,	KR

Туре	Name	Memo Link	Nodes	Referen ces	Created On	Created By	Modifie d On	Modifie d By
					12:16:3 5 pm		12:16:3 5 pm	
Document	Incident Report Proforma Jake Green September 2016		8	8	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:3 9 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:3 9 pm	KR
Document	Inclusion and Diversity Development Officer PD - Oct		1	1	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:4 4 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:4 4 pm	KR
Document	Inclusion and Diversity Officer PD-Oct		6	6	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:4 8 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:4 8 pm	KR
Document	Initial thoughts		1	1	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 2 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 2 pm	KR
Document	Monthly Research Report May 2016		7	7	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 6 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 6 pm	KR
PDF	NM_2564_NMFC_NationalWom en'sLeague_Application[1] copy		7	7	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 8 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 8 pm	KR
PDF	NM_2593_2016_Huddle_Volunte er_Certificates_Merged 184		6	6	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 8 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:16:5 8 pm	KR
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Document	Phase 3 Surveys and Corresponding Huddle Reporting Questions		4	4	6 Jun. 2017, 12:17:0 9 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:17:0 9 pm	KR
Document	PhD Huddle logic Model 2016		6	6	6 Jun. 2017, 12:17:1 3 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:17:1 3 pm	KR
Document	PhD Research Update and Report Term 2 2016		6	6	6 Jun. 2017,	KR	6 Jun. 2017,	KR

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Document	PhD Research Update and Report Term 1 2017		4	4	6 Jun. 2017, 12:19:5 0 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:19:5 0 pm	KR
PDF	Sisters Through Sport Growth Report		6	6	6 Jun. 2017, 12:19:5 2 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:19:5 2 pm	KR
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PDF	The Huddle Strategy and Action Plan_2016 (2)		6	6	6 Jun. 2017, 12:19:5 4 pm	KR	6 Jun. 2017, 12:19:5 4 pm	KR
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PDF	2016 monthly data		5	5	8 Jun. 2017, 6:55:19 pm	KR	8 Jun. 2017, 6:55:19 pm	KR
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Appendix T: Participant Demographics and Vignettes

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
Staff	f, stakeholders a	nd volunteers (n=2	7)	
2	Justin	Male Australian Female	Volunteer Coordinator at The Huddle, former volunteer. Justin started working at The Huddle in August 2015, and had volunteered as a tutor in the Study Support program for two and a half years before that point. His main role involved the training and coordination of volunteers at The Huddle and particularly focusing on Study Support. Justin is also currently involved with coaching some of The Huddle's participants at the Flemington Juniors Football Club. Justin moved on from The Huddle in July 2017. Manager of Diversity and Inclusion, NMFC. Former Sport	Phases 1 and 3
		Australian	and Recreation Coordinator and former volunteer. Clare began her involvement with The Huddle through volunteering in sporting programs in 2013. Then proceeded to gain employment as the Sport and Recreation Coordinator of The Huddle in 2014. In 2017, she commenced her role at the NMFC as the Manager of Diversity and Inclusion. Clare has also been heavily engaged with the Melbourne University Women's Football Club as a player, coach and board member. She has also previously coached at the Flemington Juniors Football Club and currently coaches at the Western Jets Football Club. Some of The Huddle's participants have become involved as players with these organisations through their connections with Clare.	
3	Alex	Male Zimbabwean	Development Officer at The Huddle, former Multicultural Development Officer, former volunteer. Alex initially volunteered with the NMFC and The Huddle's sporting programs and events in 2012 for a year. Following this, he gained employment with The Huddle and NMFC in 2013. His role is a dual mix of running sporting activities with The Huddle and external community engagement sporting activities with NMFC, such as school Auskick programs.	Phases 1 and 3
4	Leah	Female Somalian	Peer Facilitator at The Huddle, volunteer, former program participant. Leah started her time with The Huddle as a participant in the Study Support program in 2012. In 2014, she began casual employment as a Peer Facilitator. Through this role she assisted with the engagement of new participants, communications with existing participants and running of programs. Initially her role was aligned with developing female participation in sporting programs and it has since shifted to include assistance with running Study Support. Leah has also volunteered as a tutor in the Study Support Program since late 2016.	Phases 1 and 3
5	Peter	Male Australian	General Manager—Community Engagement, NMFC. Peter commenced his time with The Huddle in 2015 as the General Manager of Community Engagement at NMFC. His role is primarily focused on the management and strategic decision-making of community engagement activities within The Huddle and NMFC.	Phases 1 and 3
6	Ariel	Female Pakistani	Former Youth Worker at The Huddle, volunteer. Ariel started engaging with The Huddle as a sporting programs and events volunteer in 2012. This occurred via combination of volunteer leadership opportunities with the Islamic Council of Victoria and the AFL Multicultural Ambassador	Phases 1 and 3

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
7	Logan	Male Eritrean	program. In 2015, she began part-time employment at The Huddle as a Youth Worker. This role was funded by the federal government and focused on promoting safer communities through increasing youth engagement and preventing antisocial behaviour. This role concluded in 2016 at which point Ariel began volunteering again with The Huddle's female sporting programs. Drop-In Basketball Coordinator, former volunteer, The Huddle. Logan began volunteering at The Huddle and	Phase 1
		Effical	NMFC in 2012 through an Auskick junior football participation program. His employment as a casual staff member began in 2013 across a range of sporting programs and events run by both The Huddle and NMFC. While Logan is still involved across a range of programs, his main role now focuses on running the Drop-In Basketball boys' program on Friday nights. Logan was unavailable to be interviewed for Phase 3.	
8	Troy	Male Eritrean	Drop-In Basketball Coordinator, The Huddle. Troy started working as a casual employee at The Huddle in 2013. Although his role involves helping with the operations of a range of sporting programs, the main program of focus for Troy is the Drop-In Basketball boys' program on Friday nights. Troy was unable to be interviewed for Phase 3.	Phase 1
9	Wendy	Female Australian	Former Community Programs Manager at The Huddle, former volunteer. Wendy began engaging with The Huddle as a volunteer in 2011 and began full-time employment at The Huddle as the Community Programs Manager in 2012. Her role spanned from hands-on engagement with youth of The Huddle to strategic and managerial duties. Wendy moved on from The Huddle in 2016 and was unavailable for an interview in Phase 3.	Phase 1
10	Donna	Female Australian	Former Partnerships and Operations Manager, The Huddle. Donna started working at The Huddle in 2013 as the Partnerships and Operations Manager. Her role involved the management of The Huddle's community and philanthropic partnerships, as well as overseeing operations. Donna moved on from The Huddle in 2016 and was unable to be interviewed.	Phase 1
11	Louise	Female Australian	Former Education Programs Manager, The Huddle. Louise commenced her time at The Huddle during its inception in 2009 at the Education Programs Manager. Her initial involvement assisted in identifying community needs and building of local partnerships with schools, businesses, community leaders and groups. From this point, her focus was to establish and run The Huddle's education and leadership programs. Louise moved on from The Huddle in 2016 and was unable to be interviewed for Phase 3.	Phase 1
12	Georgia	Female Australian	Female Development Manager, AFL Victoria. Georgia was first involved with The Huddle during its inception in 2009. Her role involved brainstorming with staff and stakeholders of The Huddle to help assess community needs and the development of the initiative. Her involvement continued for the first few years and primarily focused on running Junior Girls' Academy programs aimed at linking Huddle participants into local clubs. Following this initial phase of hands-on program development and operations, Georgia's role shifted to consultancy. This role faded alongside the	Phase 1

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
13	Emma	Female Australian	2016 restructure, as changes in staff roles impacted partnerships. Consequently, multiple partnerships cooled off or points of contact had move on. Unfortunately, this meant that Georgia was unable to be interviewed for Phase 3. Youth Resource and Community Liaison Officer, Victoria Police. Emma first became involved with The Huddle through the Hop-On sports program in 2012. This joint initiative developed as a part of the NMFC's Auskick program, the Flemmington Community Centre and Victoria's Police's Blue Light program. Held in Debney's Park, near the Flemmington Community Centre and local	Phase 1
14	Caitlin	Female	public housing flats, the program aimed to engage local youth between the ages of 5 to 13 years old. Emma regularly attended the program, assisting with recruitment of youth, communications with youth and their family and operations on the ground. Her involvement continued in the program until 2016, when she moved on from her role at Victoria Police. Consequently, Emma was not available for a Phase 3 interview. Engagement and Programs Officer, Flemington Community	Phase 1
		Australian	Centre. Caitlin first became involved with The Huddle when she started her job at the Flemmington Community Centre in 2014. A partnership between the two organisations had already been established before this, and as such her role was somewhat predetermined by her predecessor. Her engagement centred around The Huddle primarily centred around the Hop-On sports program run in partnership between Blue Light, The Huddle and Flemmington Community Centre. Specifically, her role focused on providing storage facilities for sporting equipment, referring	
15	Hayley	Female Australian	youth to the program and providing indoor facilities when needed. The 2016 Huddle restructure caused there to be uncertainty as to whether the program would continue in 2017. Hence, at the time of Phase 3 the program was on hold, my point of contact had moved on and it was deemed inappropriate to pursue a follow-up interview. Young Men's Worker, CoHealth, North Melbourne Community Centre. Hayley became involved The Huddle in 2013. This engagement involved a mutually symbiotic arrangement where Hayley would refer young people to The Huddle's Study Support and sporting programs, and The Huddle's staff would engage with the North Melbourne Community Centre by attending and helping run sporting programs. A key part of this partnership was ensuring open communications in both directions to maximise youth	Phase 1
16	Sally	Female Australian	engagement, increase resourcing and prevent duplicating services. However, during the 2016 restructure, my point of contact moved and the relationship between The Huddle and North Melbourne Community Centre weakened. Unfortunately, this meant that Hayley was unable to be interviewed for Phase 3. Community Development Manager, Netball Victoria. As Netball Victoria's Community Development Manager, Sally became involved with The Huddle through a partnership in 2013. The initial focus of the partnership was a three-day intensive netball camp targeting indigenous female youth. Since this point, the partnerships shifted to focus on netball	Phase 1

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
15	D.I.		programs for CALD participants. These initiatives were typically run as a smaller component of The Huddle's broader sporting programs. The most recent iteration of this program was during Active Girls in September 2016. During the 2016 restructure, changes in staff roles impacted many of these partnerships. Consequently, partnerships cooled off or points of contact had move on. Unfortunately, this meant that Sally was not available to be interviewed for Phase 3.	
17	Rebecca	Female Australian	Personal Trainer, North Melbourne Recreation Centre. Rebecca first became involved with The Huddle through meeting Clare in 2015. Her involvement centred around helping staff run the Active Girls program. This initially occurred in a passive manner for a few weeks and evolved to Rebecca running some group fitness sessions during the program for a few weeks. Rebecca's schedule changed at the start of 2016, and as such she could no longer be a part of The Huddle's programs. Due to her lack of involvement since that point in time, it was decided that an additional interview for Phase 3 was not appropriate.	Phase 1
18	Sara	Female Australian	Community Hockey Coordinator, Hockey Victoria. Sara began to engage with The Huddle in 2014 through the Hop-On sports program. Her involvement focused on delivering hockey during the program for a month. As a part of this initiative, the final session involved walking youth as a group to the local Essendon Hockey Club to introduce them to the club and its facilities. Sara continued her involvement with The Huddle into 2016 and expanded hockey program into Active Girls. However, over time her role shifted into a managerial capacity, as the most recent programs have been run by more junior staff. Further, due to changes in staff and uncertainty in continuing the Hop-On and Active Girls programs at The Huddle, Sara has not been involved since mid-2016. As a result, she was not available to be interviewed for Phase 3.	Phase 1
19	Tom	Male British	Participation Manager, Football Federation Victoria. Tom initially became engaged with The Huddle in 2014 through his role in Football Federation Victoria. His involvement eventuated in soccer programs being run in the Hop-On sports program, the Active Girls program and a one-off girls soccer day event where professional female players of the Melbourne Victory Football Club engaged with Huddle participants. These activities were funded by a Federal Government Grant received by Football Federation Victoria in 2014 and 2015. However, funding was discontinued in 2016, and as such Tom was not involved in The Huddle in 2016 and 2017. Due to his lack of involvement since that point in time, it was decided that an additional interview for Phase 3 was not appropriate.	Phase 1
20	Jessica	Female German	General Manager, The Squeaky Wheel. Jessica's initiative The Squeaky Wheel aims to promote positive and celebratory cycling culture in Melbourne. She first approached The Huddle in 2013 after receiving funding from the City of Melbourne to develop a program that engages youth from CALD backgrounds. Between late 2013 and early 2016, three cycling education courses were run in partnership with The Huddle's participants. These programs were also run in partnership with the Asylum Seeker	Phase 1

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
21	Zoe	Female	Resource Centre, Good Cycles, the Red Cross and the Australian Multicultural English Service. Through this multifaceted partnership, additional participants, volunteers and equipment were referred to the program. Unfortunately, funding for this program ceased in early 2016. Consequently, when Phase 3 occurred, Jessica had not been involved with The Huddle for one year and a follow-up interview was not suitable. Founder, Good Cycles. Good Cycles is a social enterprise	Phase 1
		Australian	that aims to use cycling as a means of advancing quality, health and sustainability of community cycling programs. As the founder of this initiative, Zoe became involved with The Squeaky Wheel bike education run at The Huddle between late 2013 and early 2016. The funding and operational component of this program was primarily sourced through The Squeaky Wheel's City of Melbourne funding. However, this was ceased in early 2016. As a result, Zoe was no longer involved with The Huddle during Phase 3 and a follow-up interview was not considered appropriate.	
22	Prue	Female Scottish	Regional Manager, The Huddle, North Melbourne. Prue was first employed at The Huddle in 2016. However, she first became aware of The Huddle before this point during her time working at VicHealth. Her role at The Huddle encompasses a range of activities, from facility management to partnership management, government relations, the development of programs and strategic development. Prue finished her time at The Huddle in July 2017.	Phase 3
23	Molly	Female French	Head of Education and Careers, The Huddle, North Melbourne. Molly was employed at The Huddle in 2016 as the Head of Education and Careers. Her role encompasses two main components, the first of which is running careers programs to promote employment preparation and career pathways. The second part focuses on the management and operations of educational programs of which Study Support is the backbone. Molly's previous work experiences have played a part in how she works in this role, as she was applicated at the Asylum Seeker Personne Centre.	Phase 3
24	Andrew	Male Australian	employed at the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre. Manager, Schools and Community Engagement, The Huddle, North Melbourne, Wyndham and Tasmania. Andrew first started working with The Huddle in 2016. However, before this point he worked in the community engagement arm of the NMFC, particularly focusing on junior Auskick programs and school engagement. Andrew's current role spans across all three of The Huddle's locations and oversees the delivery, management and staffing of sport and recreational programs.	Phase 3
25	Liam	Male Egyptian	Regional Manager, The Huddle, Wyndham. Liam began working at The Huddle as the Regional Manager of Wydham location as it opened in 2016. His role involved a range of activities, from facility management, to partnership management, government relations, the development of programs and strategic development. Prior to his time at The Huddle, Liam worked as a consultant in the community development sector.	Phase 3
26	Jeremy	Male Australian	Head of Education and Careers, The Huddle, Wyndham. Jeremy started working at The Huddle in 2016 as the Head of Education and Careers at the Wyndham location. His role	Phase 3

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
27	Olivia	Female Australian	encompasses two key parts, the first of which was the management of careers programs to promote employment preparation and career pathways. The second part focused on the management and operations of educational programs, of which Study Support was the backbone. Prior to working at The Huddle, Jeremy worked as a Physical Education and Health high school teacher. Volunteer, The Huddle, North Melbourne. Olivia first started volunteering at The Huddle in 2016. Her volunteering activities initially focused on assisting with the delivery of school holiday sporting programs and shifted towards regularly tutoring youth in the Study Support program. Outside of The Huddle, Olivia is pursuing studies in sport coaching at university.	Phase 3
Yout	th (n=27)			
28	Axlam	Female Somalian 16 years old	Axlam was born in Australia and first came to The Huddle via the recommendation of her cousin in 2014. The first program she engaged with was the Study Support program. Since then, she has also regularly engaged with the Active Girls sporting program. In her follow-up interview, Axlam described how she still comes to The Huddle three to four days a week.	Phases 2 and 3
29	Teru	Female Ethiopian 19 years old	Born in Ethiopia, Teru first came to Australia in 2013. Prior to becoming involved with The Huddle, she was engaged with the Australian Multicultural English Service's programs. It was through this organisation's partnership with The Huddle that a sporting (AFL) program was organised in 2013 and Teru first became involved with The Huddle. Following this initial engagement, Teru has regularly become involved with the Study Support program, the annual Unity Cup AFL event and occasionally participated in Active Girls and the bike education program. During Teru's interviews, she informed me that she typically comes to The Huddle between three and five days a week.	Phases 2 and 3
30	Wubit	Female Ethiopian 20 years old	Born in Ethiopia, Wubit came to Australia in 2012. Before being engaged with The Huddle, Wubit was involved with the Australian Multicultural English Service's programs. It was through these programs that Wubit first heard of The Huddle's Study Support program. She first engaged with this program in 2014. From that program, Wubit also became involved with the bike education program and the Active Girls program. Initially, Wubit was coming along to programs from four to five times a week. However, more recently, this has decreased to one to two days a week.	Phases 2 and 3
31	Casho	Female Somalian 21 years old	Born in Somalia, Casho first came to Australia in 2011. She first became involved with The Huddle's Study Support program through the recommendation of her teacher at school. She engaged with the aim of getting help with her Psychology and English subjects. Following this, Casho also became involved with the True North leadership program, the bike education program, the Active Girls program, school holiday excursions and an excursion to a basketball game. She spent her first year coming to The Huddle five days a week, and more recently this reduced to one to two days a week.	Phases 2 and 3
32	Adia	Female East African	Adia was born in Australia and first came to The Huddle in 2015 through the recommendation of a friend at school. The	Phases 2 and 3

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
		17 years old	first program she took part in was the Study Support program. Since that point in time, Adia has been involved with the Active Girls program, sporting excursions and a robotics workshop. Adia began coming to The Huddle two to three times a week and this has more recently increased to three to four times a week.	Thuse
33	Zainab	Female Iraqi 12 years old	Born in Iraq, Zainab came to Australia in 2010. She first heard about The Huddle in 2012 through her older sisters who were already engaged in Study Support. Both her parents were back home overseas and she came along to the program with her sisters as she had nowhere else to go. The first program Zainab engaged with on her own accord was the Active Girls program in 2014 through which she met Clare and other girls that were playing at the Flemington Juniors Football Club. It was through these connections that she started to play AFL at the club. In her interview, Zainab described how she first came to The Huddle one to two days a week and this has more recently been two to three times a week.	Phases 2 and 3
34	Lina	Female Iraqi 19 years old	Born in Iraq, Lina first came to Australia in 2010. Lina first came to The Huddle in 2012 after her friend at school recommended the Study Support program. After engaging with this program, Lina also became involved with the bike education program, the Active Girls sporting program, the True North Leadership program, attended the careers expo event, NMFC football games and gone on sporting excursions. She described the first two years of her involvement as occurring four to five days and week.	Phases 2 and 3
35	Samia	Female Algerian 15 years old	Samia was born in Australia. She began coming to The Huddle in 2015 through the Active Girls program, which she heard about from her younger sister. Since then, she has regularly engaged with the Study Support program three to four times a week.	Phases 2 and 3
36	Basira	Female Algerian 13 years old	Born in Australia, Basira first heard about The Huddle through a poster for Active Girls at her school in 2015. She regularly attended this program one day a week. It was through this program that she met Clare and other girls that were playing at the Flemington Juniors Football Club. From these connections, Basira started to play AFL. In between her first interview and her second interview, Basira's attendance at The Huddle was minimal. However, in the week before the follow-up interview, she began to attend the Study Support program three days a week.	Phases 2 and 3
37	Adele	Female Italian 17 years old	Born in Australia, Adele began to engage with The Huddle through the Active Girls program and then became engaged with the annual Unity Cup. It was through these programs that she met Clare and other girls that were playing at the Melbourne University Women's Football Club and then started to play AFL. In between interview phases, the scheduling for Active Girls changed and then was also put on hold. For this reason, Adele was no longer engaged at The Huddle. However, she was still available and willing to take part in a follow-up interview.	Phases 2 and 3
38	Idil	Female Somalian 14 years old	Idil was born in Australia and first heard about The Huddle in 2014 through her sister, who had heard about it via their cousin. After initially trying a homework club elsewhere with little success, she thought she might try Study Support	Phase 2

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
			at The Huddle. Following engagement in this program, she became involved in the Active Girls sporting program. It was because of this program that Idil tried AFL and first heard about the Melbourne University Women's Football Club from other players and Clare. Since that point in time, Idil has regularly played for the club. During the initial interview phase, she was attending programs three to four days a week. Idil was still engaged at The Huddle during the Phase 3 interviews. However, she was involved less often and was not available for an interview.	
39	Jamilah	Female Somalian 12 years old	Jamilah was born in Australia and first heard about The Huddle in 2015 through her sisters who had heard about it from their cousin. The first program Jamilah was engaged with was the Active Girls program. She regularly attended this weekly program. However, during Phase 3 interviews, the program was on hold due to the restructure. Therefore, she was not engaged and not available for a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
40	Abeba	Female Ethiopian 14 years old	Born in Ethiopia, Abeba first came to Australia in 2013. The Hop-On after school sport program was the first program that Abeba engaged with at The Huddle. It was from this program that she also became engaged with the Active Girls program, school holiday excursions, NMFC games and other sporting event excursions. She was regularly engaged in programs twice a week and it was because of this that Abeba tried AFL and first heard about the Flemington Juniors Football Club from other players and Clare. Since that point in time, Abeba has regularly played for the club. Unfortunately, during Phase 3 interviews, most of the aforementioned programs were not running due to the restructure. Therefore, she was not engaged and not available for a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
41	Keren	Female Ethiopian 20 years old	Born in Ethiopia, Keren came to Australia in 2013 and first became involved with The Huddle that year as well. The first program Keren was involved with was the North Way educational program. Through this experience, Keren also became engaged with the Active Girls and Study Support programs two to three days a week. While Keren was still somewhat engaged at The Huddle during Phase 3 interviews, it much less regular than during the initial interviews. Therefore, she was only available for an interview in Phase 2.	Phase 2
42	Fana	Female Ethiopian 21 years old	Born in Ethiopia, Fana first came to Australia in 2013. Fana heard about The Huddle's Study Support program through her friends at school and decided to try it out in 2015. In her interview, she described how she usually attended the program three times a week. However, this changed by the time Phase 3 interviews occurred. Unfortunately, with only sporadic engagement during Phase 3, she was not available for a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
43	Retta	Female Ethiopian 19 years old	Born in Ethiopia, Retta was unsure of when she first came to Australia. She first engaged with The Huddle's Study Support program in 2014 through the recommendation of a school friend. Her attendance at the program was usually three days a week. She also took part in the 2015 month-long bike education program. While Retta was still engaged at The Huddle during Phase 3 interviews, it was far less regular	Phase 2

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
44	Khadra	Female Somalian 14 years old	than during the initial interviews phase. As a result, she was not available for a follow-up interview. Khadra was born in Australia and became involved with The Huddle in 2015 through her sister's recommendation of the Active Girls program. She regularly attended the weekly program in 2015. However, due to study commitments she was no longer able to take part in the program from 2016 onwards. As a result, Khadra was not available for a follow-	Phase 2
45	Aaden	Male Somalian 18 years old	up interview in Phase 3. Born in Somalia, Aaden was unsure of when he first came to Australia. Aaden's friend recommended the Study Support program to him in 2012. At first, he was regularly engaged in the program three to four days a week. This had changed during the time of his interview to one to two days a week. Aaden was no longer engaged at The Huddle during Phase 3, so he was not available for a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
46	Galad	Male Somalian 15 years old	Galad was born in Australia and first came to The Huddle's Study Support program in 2013. At the time of his interview, he described how he was engaged with the program one to two days a week on average. Galad was no longer engaged at The Huddle during Phase 3. Therefore, he was not available for a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
47	Hamia	Female Algerian 10 years old	Hamia was born in Australia. She first heard about The Huddle's Active Girls program through her sisters in 2015. She regularly took part in the program once a week. It was because of this program that Hamia heard about the Flemington Juniors Football Club from other players and Clare. Since that point in time, Hamia has regularly played for the club. Unfortunately, during Phase 3 interviews, the Active Girls program was not running due to the restructure. Therefore, she was not engaged with The Huddle and not available for a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
48	Melody	Female Iraqi 23 years old	Born in Iraq, Melody came to Australia in 2010. Melody first came to The Huddle after seeing posters advertising the Study Support program in 2012. From that point in time, she regularly engaged in the program twice a week. While she has occasionally tried to participate in soccer during Active Girls, the Study Support program was the mainstay in her experience. At times, she has switched roles to help tutor other Huddle participants. While Melody was still regularly engaged in the Study Support program as both a tutor and volunteer in 2017, she was too busy with her university studies to take part in a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
49	Melaku	Male Ethiopian Age unknown	Born in Ethiopia, Melaku first came to Australia in 2015. A friend recommended the Study Support program that same year and this saw him engaging in the program regularly once to twice a week. During Phase 3, Melaku was no longer engaged with The Huddle's programs. As a result, a follow-	Phase 2
50	Tesfaye	Male Eritrean 20 years old	up interview could not take place. Born in Eritrea, Tesfaye came to Australia in 2013. Tesfaye initially engaged with The Huddle through a school friend's recommending the Study Support program in 2013. It was through this program that Tesfaye also heard about the month-long bike education program in which he took part in early 2015. In his interview, Tesfaye described how he sporadically engages with The Huddle when he needs assistance with his homework. Tesfaye was no longer	Phase 2

#	Name	Demographic	Vignette	Interview Phase
			engaged at The Huddle in 2017. As a result, he was not available for a follow-up interview.	
51	Kombe	Male Somalian Age unknown	Kombe was born in Australia. He first became involved at The Huddle through a school friend's recommendation of the Study Support program in 2014. Kombe described his engagement with the program as occasional, as it only occurred when he needed help with his school work. At the time of Phase 3, Kombe was no longer involved at The Huddle. As a result, a follow-up interview could not take	Phase 2
52	Liya	Female Ethiopian 18 years old	place. Born in Ethiopia, Liya was unsure of when she first came to Australia. She first became involved with The Huddle after a school teacher recommended the Study Support program in 2013. Since that point in time, she also occasionally took part in the Active Girls sporting program. In her interview, Liya told of how she typically engaged with The Huddle two to four times a week depending on how much help she needs with school work. While Liya was still regularly engaged in the Study Support program during Phase 3, she was too busy with exams to take part in a follow-up interview.	Phase 2
53	Solomon	Male Ethiopian 20 years old	Born in Ethiopia, Solomon came to Australia in 2013. Solomon's first experience with The Huddle was only two weeks before his interview. He heard of the Study Support program through a friend and had decided to see if it would help with his English and school work. At that point in time, he had engaged with the program on six occasions. Solomon was no longer engaged at The Huddle during the follow-up interview phase. However, staff had informed me that this was because he had engaged with career support programs and had since found work.	Phase 2
54	Luke	Male Australian 16 years old	Luke was born in Australia. He first heard of The Huddle through his auntie who had been researching educational support programs. As a result, he started to take part in the Study Support program in 2015. He described how he had been engaged in the program on average two to three days a week. Luke's engagement levels had diminished by the time Phase 3 interviews occurred. Staff informed me that he had found after school casual employment that reduced his ability to attend programs. As a result, he was not able to take part in a follow-up interview.	Phase 2

Cultural background was determined by the same parameters as the definition of CALD—either first or second

Age was calculated for youth participants at end of research period (April, 2017). Vignettes were developed via the use of information provided during interviews and during member checking processes.

Publications

Published Work

- Raw, K., Sherry, E., & Rowe, K. (under review). Sport-for-development organizational hybridity: From differentiated to dysfunctional. *Journal of Sport Management*.
- Raw, K. (2017). Case study: The Huddle. In T. Bradbury & I. O'Boyle (Eds.), *Understanding*Sport Management: International Perspectives (pp. 21-22). New York, NY: Routledge.

Conference Presentations

- Raw, K., Sherry, E. & Rowe, K. (2017, November). Sport for social cohesion: Impacts and challenges. Paper presented at Sports Management Association of Australia and New Zealand (SMAANZ) Conference, Gold Coast, Australia.
- Raw, K., Sherry, E. & Rowe, K. (2017, September). Sport for social cohesion: Exploring longitudinal impacts and challenges. Paper presented at the European Association of Sports Management (EASM) Conference, Bern, Switzerland.
- Raw, K., Barker, B., Sherry E. & Rowe, K. (2016, November). Sport for social cohesion:

 Exploring program impacts, research recommendations and practitioner implications.

 Paper presented at The Australian Sociological Association (ASA) Conference,

 Melbourne, Australia.
- Raw, K., Sherry, E. & Rowe, K. (2016, November). Sport for social cohesion: Exploring impacts and influences. Paper presented at Sports Management Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference (SMAANZ), Auckland, New Zealand.

Raw, K. Sherry, E. & Rowe, K. (2016, July). Sport and social cohesion: Impacts and influences.

Paper presented at Sport Management Association of Australian and New Zealand (SMAANZ) HDR Conference, Melbourne, Australia.