

**Faculty of Humanities
Centre for Aboriginal Studies**

**The Power of Sport
Building social bridges and breaking down cultural barriers**

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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of
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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'R. C. K.', written in a cursive style.

Date: 20 September 2014

Abstract

This thesis set out to find evidence whether sport was effective at breaking down cultural barriers across sporting communities for Indigenous people and those from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CaLD) backgrounds, and if it could build bridges by contributing to wider social, physical and health issues, and thereby generate increased social capital in communities. Drawing upon new insights and experiences of online survey respondents and interviewees who are directly involved in various capacities in all levels of sport in Australia, this research finds that sport is not the magic bullet to ‘cure all’ social ills that many assume, in fact in many cases sport reaffirms many existing power structures which cause discrimination and inequality. However, participation in and through sport can help processes of belonging, trust and inclusion, and if managed correctly, sport can be an excellent medium for encouraging awareness and valuable public debate on wider social issues.

This thesis aims to contribute to existing sport and sociology studies concerning social capital and exclusion and discrimination in elite and community sporting contexts. It also aims to add to sports policy knowledge and practice through investigating the nature, effects and consequences of policies, programs and systems that have been put in place to encourage inclusive, non-discriminatory environments across a number of different sports in Australia. By comparing and contrasting multiple sporting codes it is possible to determine how far these sports have progressed at addressing issues and challenges for Indigenous people and CaLD groups since I conducted research in 2007 for the Australian Human Rights Commission when I authored *What's the Score? A survey of cultural diversity and racism in Australian sport* (AHRC, 2007). I also highlight the contribution that sportspeople, events and campaigns have contributed to enhancing social networks and furthering awareness and debate on wider social, physical and health issues.

One enduring point to highlight from this research is that sport alone cannot achieve social goals or solve complex issues - it is the players, coaches and administrators who are the heart and soul of sporting organisations at elite and grassroots levels that hold the key to what sport is capable of delivering. This thesis argues that sport is the empty vessel - it is how we choose to fill this vessel that determines what the

outcomes will be; this includes the avowed policy outcomes it seeks to achieve around participation, inclusion, health, education or any other issue it may engage with.

Keywords: Sport, Inclusion, Social Capital, Indigenous, Culturally and Linguistically Diverse, Multiculturalism, Discrimination, Racism, Health

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Abbreviations

- ABS** – Australian Bureau of Statistics
- AFL** – Australian Football League
- AHRC** – Australian Human Rights Commission
- AIHW** – Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
- ARU** – Australian Rugby Union
- ASC** - Australian Sports Commission
- ASSH** – Australian Society for Sports History
- ATSI** – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
- CaLD** – Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
- CMY** – Centre for Multicultural Youth
- CSA** – Community Service Announcement
- DSR** – Department of Sport and Recreation
- FECCA** - Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia
- FFA** – Football Federation Australia
- FIFA** - Fédération Internationale de Football Association
- HoRSCATSIA** - House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs
- HREOC** – Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
- MPIO** – Member Protection Information Officer
- NAIDOC** – National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee
- NGO** – Non Government Organisation
- NRL** – National Rugby League
- NSO** – National Sporting Organisation
- PIEDs** – Performance and Image Enhancing Drugs
- RAP** – Reconciliation Action Plan
- RDA** – Racial Discrimination Act
- SCOA** – Settlement Council of Australia
- SSO** – State Sporting Organisation
- UEFA** – Union of European Football Associations
- VFL** – Victorian Football League

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As with most sporting (and life) endeavours, the individual is only as strong as the team around them. This thesis would not have been achieved without the enduring support from my extended team of family, friends, and academic colleagues. Special thanks and love to my wife Lisa and wonderfully patient children Jade and Tom, who must have wondered where their trampoline partner disappeared to and what their dad did in the home office for endless nights and weekends over the last few years. My eternal gratitude to my direct supervisor, Dr Sean Gorman - a kindred spirit of sorts, who has always been there for me with guidance, advice and motivation, and has grown into a good friend. Many thanks also to my co-supervisor Dr Philip Moore for his direction and support, and to the group of academic colleagues/friends that I have gained along the way - Dr Dean Lusher, Professor Keir Reeves and Megan Ponsford. My experiences and learning gained from conferences in Belfast and Cambridge with this fantastic group of people will remain with me long after the ink has dried on this thesis. Special thanks must also go to Dr Tom Calma, a man I greatly admire and respect, who gave me the initial nudge to start me out on this journey. Finally, to the people I interviewed for this research project and those who took the time to complete the online survey, I cannot thank you enough for your time, your valuable insights and the investment you have and are making to the Australian sports you are so passionate about.

Published work based upon this thesis

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CHAPTER 1

A JOURNEY OF DISCOVERY THROUGH SPORT

Society expects many important and worthwhile things from sport and uses sport to support various fundamental social values and ethical principles (Corbett, 1999, p. 168).

When I travelled to Nepal in 2000 to teach English for six months in a small rural school near Pokhara, a regional centre 200km from the capital Kathmandu, I didn't know anyone. I couldn't speak the language. I didn't know the customs and because of the gap in my knowledge of these basic social and cultural tenets, I was more than a bit frightened and overwhelmed by my setting and situation. I made my introductions on day one to the mix of teachers from India and Nepal at Pragati English Boarding School, led by the dignified and charismatic principal Dinesh – my journey had begun. At the end of the first school day a soccer ball was produced by a boy of six with a brilliant white smile and a pair of thongs held onto his feet with masking tape with a 'swish' drawn on the side in texta to represent modern Nike football boots. Sixty-four children and teachers of various ages, abilities, genders, races, religions and nationalities spent the next four hours having the time of their lives chasing the old leather ball around a pock-marked field that had been reclaimed from a neighbouring farmer.

As the sun went down behind Machupuhcre Mountain (6800m) and the late afternoon temperature rapidly dropped below zero, I made my way back to my billeted house that was to serve as my home for my stay. A crowd of 20 children followed my every step. We stopped long enough to have a mini table tennis tournament on one of the primitive stone slabs that served as a table en-route. As dusk fell, the sound of free-spirited laughter that comes from unbridled joy rang out across the valley floor.

Reflecting on this moment, sport had been my entry into these peoples' lives. Our engagement through sport had helped to make me feel welcome - a part of the community. Barriers were lowered and differences didn't matter - only scoring goals or points did.

The seed that had been sown many years earlier in my childhood was starting to flower again. Could the power of sport be used to promote social capital back home in Australia, and if so, how? Does sport break down barriers within the sporting community and could it also build bridges to create awareness and action around wider social, physical and health issues, and if so, how? Or was I, like many, asking, expecting and assuming too much of sport and downplaying its potential to exacerbate discrimination and exclusion in society, particularly for minority groups? Should I more closely heed the expert assessment of sports sociologist Jay Coakley, who said that after four decades of studying sports in society he remains "awed by the pervasive and nearly unshakable belief in the inherent purity and goodness of sport. Despite evidence to the contrary, many people combine this belief with two others: (a) the purity and goodness of sport is transmitted to those who participate in or consume it; and (b) sport inevitably leads to individual and community development" (2015).

A sports loving nation

It is a truism that sport holds a revered place in Australian history, culture, and society and is a way of life for many - whether we're playing, coaching, watching or volunteering. The numbers paint a compelling picture.

Australians love participating: nearly two-thirds of the Australian population aged 15 years and over (65 percent) reported that they had participated in sport and physical recreation at least once during a 12 month period (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011-12). We love coaching, teaching or working in sport: a survey of *Work in Selected Culture and Leisure Activities* (ABS, 2007) found that an estimated 1.6 million people (9.9 percent) aged 15 years and over were involved in non-playing roles such as coach, instructor or teacher, referee or umpire, committee member, scorer, timekeeper and other support roles. The *Employment in Sport and*

Recreation Survey (ABS, 2011a) found 95,590 people were employed in sport and physical recreation occupations.

Australians also love watching sport: The survey of *Spectator Attendance at Sporting Events* found that 7.6 million people (43 percent) reported that they had attended at least one sporting event in the last 12 months (ABS, 2009-10). Further, figures show that sport and physical recreation organisations attracted the largest number of volunteers with 2.3 million people or 37 percent of the population (ABS, 2011b). The sports sector also contributes significantly to the Australian economy in terms of employment, volunteering, and indirectly in saved health care costs. Recent research by Frontier Economics (2010) shows that the Australian sport sector: reduced health costs by \$1.5 billion per year; improved productivity from a healthier workforce by \$12 billion per year; and saved \$4 billion per year from the inputs by volunteers into community sport – a higher contribution than in any other sector (p. 2).

However, facts and figures don't tell us how sport has developed this mystique of what it can spiritually and emotionally do for individuals and how it has grown to a position of almost reverence in Australian society and culture. In an article titled *Why is sport so important in Australian culture?*, Australian Football League (AFL) field umpire Stefan Grun emphasizes the point:

In country towns the football and netball club is often the social heart of the town. Many old timers connect the demise of their country town with when the footy club folded and there was nowhere to go on a Saturday afternoon - sport was THE social fabric of the town. In the city, going to the footy is still a key social activity, connecting friends, families and complete strangers. Seeing a grown man passionately hug a complete stranger when their underdog team beats the premiership favourites never gets old (Grun, 2012, para. 6).

Many academics have listed the structural and procedural aspects of sport that are presumed to be able to produce a range of benefits (Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth), 2010b, 2013; Butcher & Schneider, 2003; Coalter, 2005; Festini, 2011; Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY), 2010; AHRC, 2007). In summary, these claimed potential benefits of participation in sport are:

- Physical fitness and improved health.
- Improved mental health and psychological well being.
- Personality development via improved self concept, self esteem, confidence.
- Socio-psychological benefits such as empathy, integrity, tolerance, cooperation, trustworthiness and the development of social skills.
- Broader sociological impacts such as increased community identity, social coherence and integration (collectively referred to as social capital) (Coalter, 2007b, p. 20).

Sport is viewed by Tonts as offering an opportunity for diverse community groups and individuals to come together and interact on a social level, and has been shown to perform an important bridging role between people across different class, age and ethnic backgrounds (2005, p. 147). Further, it has been shown to foster a spirit of inclusion, team building and meanings of team involvement and belonging (Mosely, 1994). Previous studies have contended that sport may assist to build relationships across religious, ethnic and economic lines (Atherley, 2006) and “community sport is an important setting where people are socialized into societal norms around race, gender, and ability, with significant consequences for how they engage with people with diverse backgrounds” (Spaaij, Farquharson, Magee, Jeanes, Lusher, & Gorman, 2013, p. 2). The social interactions that occur through participation in sporting teams and community clubs play an important part in shaping and reinforcing patterns of community identification and community belonging (Atherley, 2006). The *potential* for sport to act as a form of ‘social builder’ and ‘cultural bridge’ is clearly evident.

The ‘dark’ reality of sport

In Australia, there are laws currently protecting people against race, sex, age and disability discrimination in all areas of life, including sport. There is also legislation in place in every state and territory in Australia making discrimination and harassment in relation to a person’s gender, sexuality, disability, race, colour, national and ethnic origin, descent, ethnic or ethno-religious background unlawful.

However, despite all of these laws, and the policies and codes of national sporting organisations, sport in Australia is still not immune from acts of structural and inferential discrimination, harassment and abuse.

While sport is purportedly based on an ethos of fair play, competition and opportunities being equal, and is structured on the basis of a commitment to codes of ethics and conduct, unfortunately this isn't the reality. A small minority make it to the top levels of sport in competition, administration or as officials, but many do not because of structural and institutional barriers, discrimination, exclusion and inequality of opportunity. In fact, the sad reality is that the majority drop out of sport along the way due to a focus on competition and entrenched forms of racism, sexism and violence. This is supported by many scholars who have highlighted a range of institutional and administrative barriers to participation in sport for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) people and those from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CaLD) backgrounds (Gemmell, 2007; Hallinan & Hughson, 2009; Hallinan & Judd, 2009; Cortis, 2009; Tatz, 1987, 1995; Hughson, 2000; T. Taylor, 2003).

Tatz's (1987) observation that "they're Australians when they're winning, and Aborigines at other times" (p. 90), sums up the institutional and entrenched discrimination of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sportsmen and women over the century and a half. Take Eddie Gilbert, a Queensland fast bowler who took 5 for 65 against the touring West Indies in 1929 and once bowled Donald Bradman for a duck in 1931, was excluded from higher honours because of his Indigenous background (Edwards & Colman, 2002). Or Doug Nicholls, the champion Fitzroy Australian Rules football winger, and later the Governor of South Australia, who tried out and was rejected by Carlton Football Club in the late 1920s because of his colour and a claim "that he smelled" (Tatz, 1995, p. 152). Celebrated AFL player Polly Farmer once remarked to his former non-Indigenous state team-mates: "The difference between me and those blokes is that when I retire from football, I'm just another boong¹" (Hawke, 1994, p. 102). One of the few Indigenous people to play soccer at the elite level, Charlie Perkins, whose earnings from sport helped pay his educational expenses en-route to becoming Australia's first Aboriginal graduate has

¹ 'Boong' is a derogatory term used against Australian Aboriginals, referring to their race.

acknowledged that he was more readily accepted by the European migrants than by white Australians (Hay, 1994). During the early years of Australia's federation, McNamara (2000) says "to the dominant culture racist abuse was normal and legitimate; it was simply a part of playing the game" (p. 5).

The practice of fans targeting players, and players targeting other players with discriminatory and racist remarks are also not new and has a long history in Australian sport. In 1960, Indigenous Australian winger Lionel Morgan made his debut playing rugby league for Australia and was booed and pelted by objects from spectators. Yet two generations later, Cathy Freeman (perhaps Australia's most prominent female Indigenous figure since tennis great Evonne Goolagong Cawley) became a hero as she won gold at the 2000 Sydney Olympics in the 400 metres final. Recent high-profile incidents, such as AFL Indigenous player Adam Goodes being racially vilified by a 13-year-old girl during a game in April 2013, and online racist attacks on Australian rugby league player Greg Inglis several months later, highlight how visible the issue of racial vilification and abuse is still is in Australian sport. What is also not so well published is at the grassroots level on any particular weekend at local sporting events there will invariably be cases of homophobic, sexist and racist "taunts by players, bullying by spectators, parents yelling verbal abuse at kids" (Oliver, 2011, para. 7). This has created increased focus and scrutiny on what sporting organisations are doing to address these issues.

The Australian Sports Commission's (ASC) *Ethical and Integrity Issues in Australian Sport survey* (2010) and many other researchers noted below have found that issues impacting negatively on sport in recent years include: racism and vilification (Dunn, Forrest & Burnely, 2010; McNamara, 2000), bullying (Plummer, 2006); gender-based discrimination and sexual assault (Leahy, Pretty & Tenenbaum, 2002), aggressive and violent behaviour on and off the field (Throsby, 2010); poor parental and spectator behaviour; and negative coaching and management practices (ASC, 2011a). Hemphill and Symons (2009) have also identified sport as "a significant site of discrimination for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer (GLBTIQ) people" (p. 400). The ASC's *Junior Sport Framework Review* (2013a) highlights how junior sport can also be a site where inappropriate values can be reinforced such as "aggressive, overly competitive and unsafe behaviour, as well

as cheating, vilification, violence, physical intimidation and discrimination” (p. 6). The guidelines suggest that sport providers need to make equitable decisions so that opportunities for individuals are not affected by ability, body shape, disability, ethnicity, gender, geographical location, socio-economic status or sexuality. A recent report *‘The Experience of Children Participating in Organised Sport in the UK’*, (Alexander, Stafford & Lewis, 2011) which sets out the many poor behaviours young people experience in sport, makes a relevant point “to a great extent all of these behaviours tended to be accepted as normal by young people . . . There was little evidence of young people reporting it to adults or of adults effectively dealing with it. It provides some evidence of a sporting culture which accepts and condones disrespectful and negative treatment amount young people and between young people and coaches.” Sport has the ability to bring people together and enhance social cohesion within a community, but systematic discrimination is still firmly embedded in social hierarchies in mainstream Australian culture (Kell, 2000).

Sport – the great paradox

Whether you are a sports critic or uncritical believer, one thing is clear - sport is definitely one of the great moral and social paradoxes. It is both the light and the dark; the sinner and the saviour; beautiful and ugly. Very few elude sport’s alluring pull and everyone is touched in some way by its threads of passion and pathos, which are acted out on a national theatre of fields, pools and tracks every weekend, and inevitably bring out the best *and* worst in everyone involved. In 2011, *The Times* (UK) sportswriter Simon Barnes summed up this alluring contradiction of sport when he wrote: “There are bad things in all sports. And yet we still watch sport, we still follow sport, we still love sport” (para. 18). This piqued several questions in me that are central to this thesis:

How have the policies, programs and structures that government agencies and several major sporting organisations (Australian Football League, Cricket Australia and Netball Australia) developed and implemented encouraged ‘fair, safe and inclusive’ sporting environments? What was the history behind these programs? What were their motivations and goals? Have they been reviewed and evaluated and what were the lessons from such interventions?

Have the strategies and mechanisms attracted and/or retained new participants, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and those from CaLD backgrounds and with what consequences? Have they reduced discrimination and racism against these particular groups, and if so, how and with what consequences?

Does sport promote social capital within communities, and if so, how? Can sport be used for wider awareness and change on social, physical and health issues, and if so, how?

In an effort to discover the answers to these questions and provide an original contribution to this field, this thesis will review the policies, programs, and structures that government agencies and several major sporting organisations (including the Australian Football League, Cricket Australia and Netball Australia) have developed and implemented for their members to encourage inclusive and non-discriminatory sporting environments. It will then critically reflect and compare how effective the policies and programs are and whether they are successful in attracting new participations, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and those from CaLD backgrounds, through new insights and experiences provided from research participants for this project. The majority of references are from contemporary international and Australian literature. While in no way disregarding the historical importance of earlier material, the goal of this project is to emphasise the change in this field in recent times, more particularly since I last conducted research in this field in 2006 for the AHRC *What's the Score* report. Combined with detailed responses from surveys, interviews and focus groups, I aim to assess how sport influences individuals and society by referring to particular strategies and mechanisms, highlighting in what circumstances, for whom, and the resulting consequences. Finally, I will look at whether sport is a suitable vehicle to be used for wider discussion and debate on social issues and whether this knowledge could be incorporated into policy and strategic development for sporting organisations.

My early experiences of sport

Without realising it, my passion for sport and advocacy for inclusion of all within it took root very early on in my life and has developed ever since then. I was

what you would call a ‘sports baby’. My brother was four years older, so I was chasing the soccer ball around with him and his team-mates at the age of two. Consequently, by the age of six when I joined the local soccer club I was already very competent and scored over 60 goals in my first season. My under seven’s season started just as promising. I constantly stole the ball out of the rolling huddle of thrashing legs, skipped away and scored at will. My sporting future was looking bright – until fate intervened.

In a deadpan voice, masking the gravity of the words that flowed, the doctor said to my mother: “Your child should not take part in any high-impact activities, like jumping or running. He’ll be bed-ridden for two years with his legs permanently strapped to a metal brace.” This was not the news a sports-mad boy wanted to hear on his seventh birthday. I had come off from a soccer game several weeks earlier with a noticeable limp, and when it didn’t improve my parents took me to the doctor to see what was wrong. I was diagnosed with Perthes’ disease – a disorder of the hip joint where the ball-shaped end of the thighbone (the femoral head) loses blood supply, softens and then collapses. The limp was the tell-tale first symptom. Most children with Perthes’ disease recover completely; however, it usually takes between two to five years to repair the damaged bone if the medical advice is followed. My options were laid out before me: two years immobilised completed in bed to keep the weight off the hip joint; or two years at a minimum on crutches, with my legs in a metal brace. The alternative: ongoing limping and pain with restricted hip function, leading to persisting stiffness and premature arthritis. Without hesitation, I took the brace option and proceeded to get on with life.

That I was different was clear to see – a mini-mechano set propelling myself around the playground chasing the ball as I had always done, albeit a little more awkwardly. Otherwise, I was the same cheeky, effervescent seven-year-old that I had been before the injury, so why would anyone treat me any differently now? At first, some saw me as a bit ‘freakish’, particularly in the classroom. But once the bell rang for lunch, and the other kids saw me play handball and kick the soccer ball just as good (and bad) as them, apprehensions and stereotypes seemed to drift away. I was beginning to understand that sport was a leveller (even at this age); ability didn’t seem to matter as much as having a go did – and laughter and fun seemed to trump

prejudice every time. I can't say that I didn't experience discrimination or abuse due to my disability throughout this time, and was occasionally excluded by teachers and students due to their attitudes and expectations of what I could or couldn't do. In the main however, involvement in sport during this period of my life had helped me to hold onto some form of normality - that on the surface seemed so different and allowed me to experience tenuous feelings of belonging and inclusion.

I recently came across the story of a 10-year old boy with no vision called Caleb, who was participating in the AFL's Auskick program. His story resonated with me in that he must have felt the same joy that I did when I was young at simply joining in, being part of a team and feeling the same as the other kids on the field. Through his involvement in sport and the encouragement of the trainers and coaches, his 25 team-mates had learnt that Caleb was no different from them, except for his vision impairment. He wasn't the poor little blind boy – he was simply a good mate who had a good long kick and sharp handball. Now if anyone tried to bully Caleb or call him names at school, he had 25 allies on his side to stand up behind him and say it wasn't right. This was the power of sport I had felt when I was young, and similarly, sport was the conduit to make this happen, but the actual experience was facilitated by people who understood what to do to create inclusive opportunities and made them happen.

Exposure to discrimination and exclusion

When I returned from teaching in Nepal in 2003, I commenced a new role in communications and education at the federal Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (now the Australian Human Rights Commission). One of my first projects was *Isma: national consultations on eliminating racism and prejudice against Muslim and Arab Australians*, which opened my eyes to discrimination aimed at these communities, including in the area of sport. One of the report's conclusions was that Arab and Muslim youth felt that they were particularly at risk of harassment, which had led to feelings of frustration, alienation and a loss of confidence in themselves and trust in authority (HREOC, 2004). Through my work at the Commission promoting equity and inclusion, I began to see many examples of discrimination, harassment, inequality, and exclusion in society. One area that was continually cited as a place of such discrimination was in the sport arena. In 2005, I

worked with the National Rugby League (NRL) on a project called *Voices of Australia*, which asked a selection of professional players, including Darren Lockyer (Brisbane Broncos), Steve Price (New Zealand Warriors) and Hazem El Masri (Canterbury Bulldogs) to share the stories of their experiences to encourage greater understanding and friendship between people of different backgrounds. A driving force behind the project was former Parramatta Eels player Dean Widders, who contributed in his role as National Aboriginal Sports Corporation Australia (NASCA) director. Dean and many other NRL stars, including former Brisbane player Petero Civenocheva, told stories of racism and discrimination in sport that painted a different perspective to me. Widders (2005) told a story in the audio CD for the *Voices of Australia* project, which got to the core of the issue:

I remember being at a function where two players who had played in the same team for over 10 years were part of a general discussion. The non-Aboriginal player turned to the Aboriginal player and said: ‘. . . it’s like when I used to call you a black so and so. You knew it was a joke.’ The Aboriginal player, who has accepted this for years, finally had the courage to say ‘No, I didn’t.’ They were friends, but that night was the first step in them reaching a better understanding of each other. All Australians from all backgrounds need to get to know each other better. Making a stand against racial comments is only one step in the process.

I worked on a range of communication strategies, inquiries, reports and media campaigns, including: the *Close the Gap* campaign to achieve health equality for Indigenous Australians; the Same-Sex: Same Entitlements inquiry; advocacy for a national disability employment strategy; campaigns to stop violence against women, racism against international students, and a review of human rights and social inclusion issues for African Australians. I consulted with the Australian Sports Commission, National Rugby League, Netball Australia, Australian Football League and Cricket Australia on their resources and policies, race and diversity issues, gender issues and Indigenous participation and development. I also had the chance to speak at domestic and international conferences and forums on sport, racism and human rights, and briefed visiting international human rights and sporting delegations. All the while, questions were oscillating around my mind on the potential and power of sport for both positive and negative experiences, particularly for marginalised groups in society.

In 2006, I was engaged by the federal Department of Immigration and Citizenship to conduct a research project into racism and cultural diversity in Australian sport. Over a six-month period, I met with 17 National Sporting Organisations (NSOs), a range of federal and state government departments and various NGOs. The research and interviews provided further clarity on the issues and barriers within sport (particularly for ATSI people and those from CaLD backgrounds) and to the projects and programs that were being developed and implemented to reduce discrimination and increase inclusion opportunities. I heard of a surf life saving project in Victoria involving Muslim women as volunteers, who were wearing red and yellow hijabs while on patrol; and of a basketball project in South Australia which integrated Sudanese youth into the sporting community. I was informed about the successful Hockey Queensland programs that garnered the support of Indigenous Elders, parents and schoolteachers as a critical element to the success of their Remote and Indigenous Communities Hockey Program. Conversely, I also learned of the racist insults from pockets of Australian cricketing spectators targeting touring South African and Sri Lankan teams, and ongoing racism from players and spectators in the AFL and NRL. I discovered that young women from a CaLD background are particularly limited from participating in sport due to barriers within their own communities and those that they face from sporting organisations. I learned of the systemic exclusion and discrimination suffered by Aboriginal athletes throughout the past 200 years of white occupation, and how this history has affected both the sporting choices and opportunities for many Indigenous people. Following the research, I wrote a report titled *What's the Score? A Survey of Cultural Diversity and Racism in Australian Sport* (AHRC, 2007), for governments, NGOs and NSOs to consider when developing future policy strategies aimed at addressing racism in sport, and to promote more inclusive attitudes by players and spectators. It was clear there were many good things happening in this space, but evident that many issues and barriers still to be addressed.

This history of promoting human rights and social inclusion issues and my background working in sport led to my role as National Manager of *Play by the Rules*, a unique national program embedded in the Australian Sports Commission (ASC), which promotes information and resources around safe, fair and inclusive sport. Once again, I was exposed to stories from parents and children of exclusion and

inequity in grassroots sport, and paradoxically, many examples of sporting organisations at the forefront of creating awareness on social issues such as racism, homophobia, gender equity, education, mental health, suicide and instigating programs to break down barriers to participation and exclusion for marginalised groups.

From the ten consumer segments outlined in the ASC's *Market Segmentation for Sports Participation Study* (2013b), I self-categorize myself as a 'loyalist' (defined as enjoying "all aspects of sport, including the competitive and social elements," p. 3). However, experience and increased knowledge gained through research over the years has caused me to temper this position and led me to further enquire into whether sport does actually have the power to break down cultural barriers and build social bridges (as I experienced when I was young, on my travels in Nepal and through my work in Australia); or contrary to this, whether sport restricts opportunities and increases discrimination, particularly for ATSI people and those from CaLD backgrounds (as I have also witnessed in my work at the AHRC, and with *Play by the Rules* and the Australian Sports Commission).

Sport and sociology

Sports research emerges from many different disciplinary backgrounds, including: history, social psychology, social anthropology, health sciences, social medicine, sociology, law, marketing and the humanities, and interdisciplinary approaches, with each area making valuable contributions to the study of sport. It has been necessary to draw upon the theoretical work of academics and scholars in many fields for my thesis. Such cross-disciplinary studies, when viewed together, reveal significant and important relationships between disparate data and methodologies. For example, "statistical analysis of longitudinal health data from health sciences background which shows a correlation between sport participation and problem alcohol use can be used more productively to inform new research, sport policies and programs, when viewed in conjunction with a sociological analysis of sport and drinking culture in Australia" (ASC, 2011a, p. 62). However, the major discipline that has helped this research is from sports sociology, particularly in relation to the benefits and barriers of sport for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background, the influence of sport in generating social capital in communities, and to

measure how sport can effect awareness and debate on wider social issues and place this in enhancing policy development in sport.

As the anti-war, anti-colonial, anti-poverty, pro-women's and civil rights movements developed it soon became apparent that all was not well in the world of sport. While the sociology of sport had not matured enough to take a strong stance on these issues as they related to sport, the social problems approach to sport started to emerge – led by scholars such as Jay Coakley, Harry Edwards and Ellen Gerber (Donnelly, 2015).

Coakley particularly emphasised the power in discourses around sport of what he calls 'The Great Sports Myth' – the widespread assumption sport is inherently good and because of this it inevitably leads to individual and community development, with the implication that there is no need to critically analyse sport because it is already as it should be. As Guest (2015, para 3) says, the issue is when you look at sport through sociological lenses you understand that sport by itself does nothing: "Sport is, however, enacted and given meaning in ways that are sometimes good, sometimes bad, and quite often profoundly complex combinations of both."

While the informed critical analysis offered by sport sociologists can help explain these contradictions and possibly lead to positive change, these perspectives often have trouble resonating in academia and the public. Zirin (2008) says the job of the sport sociologist is to be a professional debunker of accepted truths, but as Andrew Yiannakis, Merrill Menick, and Troy Morgan (the authors of *The History of North American Society for the Sociology of Sport*) note: "Sport sociologists are often seen in the public eye as 'sport haters'. Given the fact that we live in a society in which sport is perceived to play a significant and positive role in the lives of many, it is not surprising that the sport sociologist's critique often falls on hostile, if not deaf ears." (Guest, 2015). However, as Ingham and Donnelly (1990) argue, all sociological knowledge is *practical* knowledge. In this claim, they were following sociological luminaries such as Peter Berger and C. Wright Mills, who argued that sociological knowledge could change your life and the lives of others; or in other words, sociological knowledge can really make a difference. Applying a critical sociological lens has helped my research through its ability to able to look at, from

the perspective of sport, other problems such as social inequality, participation, the social determinants of health and of governance.

A critical approach

The central research approach chosen for this project was critical ethnography. This multi-method form of research was most suitable as it allowed me to listen to, reflect and position a multitude of different views and experiences on these complex issues, directly from people involved and who work in this area (namely multicultural and Indigenous officers, member protection and child safety officers, and staff in integrity and inclusion areas in national, state and local governments, and sporting organisations). Using this methodology allowed me (as the researcher) to discover the lived and felt experiences of the research subjects and become their storyteller by relaying the findings through their eyes. It also allowed me to develop questions and theories and test these against each other throughout the research process and position this in an objective way (Kumar, 1996).

I used this critical/interpretive paradigm to help me look at sports and peoples' position in sport in a new way, particularly the plight of Indigenous people and those from a CALD background, whose sporting opportunities and experiences differ from mine. I chose to specifically focus on these groups, rather than broaden the research to also cover gender and disability issues in sport, due to size and scope limitations of a thesis.

Critical analysis was used to frame the design and methodology of my research by providing insights into current and historical power structures and inequalities in sport. I also used the survey and interview information from key individuals to lead to new understanding and awareness how sport can be more democratic and sensitive to inclusion and diversity for those from minority backgrounds. Using critical thought allowed me to challenge the status quo, analyse its effects on society and propose beneficial changes (Woods, 2011). At the same time, it allowed me to look objectively at the weaknesses of the current system and approaches, including how we treat people who are socially disadvantaged (Hargreaves & McDonald, 2004; Sage, 1998).

As the researcher, I used primary data gathering techniques utilising qualitative research methods, such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups and an online survey (which included quantitative and qualitative data), to elicit responses from participants and give them a voice to respond in a way that accurately represented their own perspective and experiences. This research method allowed me to “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). The qualitative data collected from the online survey was referenced against secondary sources such as government statistics, research reports, industry records and literature, and then categorised to identify specific themes and/or topics. These were then used as the basis to develop the questions for the semi-structured interviews.

The list of interviewees for the semi-structured interviews and focus groups was developed based on key contacts that I have engaged with throughout my work with the Australian Sports Commission and the *Play by the Rules* program, and through past research I had conducted in 2007 into racism and cultural diversity in sport at the Australian Human Rights Commission (*What’s the Score? A survey of cultural diversity and racism in Australian sport*).

The primary data which was collected from the interviews and focus groups was then triangulated against organisational records, literature reviews, strategic plans, annual reports and articles. This information (including quantitative data generated from online survey graphs) was then categorised to identify specific themes and/or topics and analysed to draw conclusions on how effective the programs, policies and procedures were at retaining and gaining new participations, particularly Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds. A full description of the methodological approach and the various research procedures and methods of enquiry are laid out in Chapter 2.

Why is my research important?

A seminal moment occurred in the history of sport in 1993 when St Kilda AFL player Nicky Winmar took a stand against the offensive racial abuse being hurled at him and his Indigenous team-mate Gilbert McAdam by members of the

Collingwood cheer squad. His instinctive and simple action of raising his arms over his head, then lifting his St Kilda guernsey and pointing to his bare brown skin in front of the parochial crowd and declaring proudly “I’m black – and I’m proud to be black” (Klugman & Osmond, 2013) was a game changer. Racial abuse between players on the field in the AFL attracted considerable attention by the sport’s governing code and the media from then on, particularly two years later when Essendon’s Michael Long lodged the first formal complaint; which only became public following Long’s dissatisfaction at the outcome of a hastily organised AFL mediation.

As a result of Long’s actions, the AFL deemed that a system of education and resolution was required for such incidents. In 1995, they became the first sporting body in Australia to adopt procedures to deal with racial and religious vilification when they developed *Rule 30: A Rule to Combat Racial and Religious Vilification*. Most national sporting organisations in Australia now have policies in place that deal with race, religious, sex, disability and homophobic discrimination under their member behaviour or codes of conduct, which is also supported by training and education. But how far have we come in addressing discrimination and exclusion generally in sport? What progress has been achieved in attitudes towards minority groups both on and off the field? What about issues of inclusion specifically for people from Indigenous and CaLD backgrounds? Have the policies and programs that have been instilled by sports and governments for these issues and groups made a difference? Has sport contributed to the creation of social capital in communities, and if so how?

This thesis draws on a wide range of historical and contemporary Australian and international literature. It also makes comparisons on progress (or lack thereof) in relation to CaLD and Indigenous activities, barriers and participation, with recent relevant studies, such as *What’s the Score? A survey on cultural diversity and racism in Australian sport* (AHRC, 2007) and internal research and reports for the specific sports analysed in Chapter Seven, including the Australian Football League (2013a, 2013b), Cricket Australia (2005, 2006, 2013b) and Netball Australia (2013a, 2013b). However, there is little research generally available that qualitatively evaluates the social meaning and effectiveness of policies, programs and structures that are

designed to foster the development of sporting environments that are fair, safe and inclusive for people of all backgrounds who participate. Similarly, there is little comparison across multiple sports and codes of these programs and structures, and their outcomes and effectiveness.

It is hoped that the outcomes from this research will contribute to enhancing knowledge and understanding more broadly in this area, through providing a contemporary catalogue of the various programs at hand, and assessing how effective the policies, programs and structures are at building social capital, breaking down cultural barriers and reducing discrimination in sport. Further, it is hoped that the research will be utilised by sporting organisations in Australia to reflect on the main research results and their implications for policy and practice. Through this, it is also hoped that federal and state/territory government agencies will use this information as a basis when considering future policy strategies aimed at addressing exclusion and discrimination within sport and promotion of inclusive participatory practices.

The structure for my thesis

The thesis is structured in a sequential way to address its central questions. I have already outlined the personal reasons for embarking on such a journey and outline the methodological approach, research design and justification for the research in Chapter Two. The following Chapter (Three) provides a review of the literature, research issues and propositions from key authors relevant to Indigenous and CaLD participation and barriers in sport, and the conceptual and practical benefits and issues in regard to ‘sport and social capital’ literature.

The core of the thesis (Chapters Four to Nine) analyse and references the data received from the 101 surveys, 32 interviews and two focus groups conducted for this project, highlighting patterns in the data and discusses counter-viewpoints throughout. Chapter Four looks at the current sporting landscape in regards to policies, programs and structures that governments, national and state/territory sporting organisations and clubs have put in place to make sport a safer, fairer and more inclusive environment. It then provides an overview on what these concepts mean to research participants, whether their sports fit this description, and how their

organisations are working to influence how they are seen and how they operate in this respect.

Chapter Five provides an insight into the institutional racism and discrimination that has pervaded Australia's history, and the racial abuse and vilification that still exists across different sporting codes at the elite and grassroots level. Chapter Six looks at the levels of participation in sport by Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background, analyses the barriers and challenges these groups have and still encounter. It then critically analyses and evaluates the various structures, policies and programs that have been established by government agencies, NGOs and sporting organisations to promote more inclusive and non-discriminatory environments.

Chapter Seven assesses how far we have come in the seven years since my research for the *What's the Score* report (AHRC, 2007) was conducted, by garnering the views of the survey respondents, and reviewing and contrasting the policies, programs and practices aimed at Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds in Australian rules football, netball and cricket. The final Chapter (Eight) investigates whether sport contributes to social capital or is actually a vehicle for exclusion. This feeds into further enquiry on whether sport is suitable for encouraging debate and awareness on wider social, physical and health issues or that too much is being asked of sport.

Throughout this thesis I have referenced the rich and personal stories of many people who have taken their own journey in life where sport has played an important part. Each has their own view on the role and power of sport that has been enhanced and tempered through their own trials and experiences. As a seven-year-old, confronted with the first of life's obstacles, I inadvertently discovered the unique power of sport. My belief in its value and the effect it can have on individuals and communities has weathered and waned throughout my life journey as knowledge, experience and deeper critical analysis has caused me to assess and reassess my beliefs and preconceptions. The research and writing of this thesis has further added to this ongoing evolution.

CHAPTER 2

THE PROJECT AND THE PLAYERS

It's just one of those fundamental parts of our social fabric . . . an important part of how we see ourselves, how we relate to each other, how we define ourselves (Interviewee 17).

What does sport mean to Australians? What role does it play in our lives? What meaning does it give to people individually and as a society? Does it foster belonging, tolerance and trust? Does sport help individuals form networks that lead to stronger social ties and greater social capital in communities? Or to the contrary, does sport reinforce traditional structures for the 'in' groups that hold and wield the power? Does it remain a site for social exclusion and marginalisation?

Donald Horne wrote in the Australian classic *The Lucky Country* (1964): "To play sport, or watch others play, and to read and talk about it is to uphold the nation and build its character" (p. 40). Sport is woven into our heritage, our culture, our politics and our corporate structures – it is an intrinsic part of the "Australian way of life" (Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009, p. 990-991). As Tatz (1995) says: "Sport is not divorced from life, from the civic culture of a society, from its institutions and processes, its economic, legal and educational systems, its national policies and foreign relations" (p. 342). However, Hutchins (2002) claims that sport is a rich source in the creation of myths because of its nationalist character and because it provides an easily understood environment for the playing out of social dramas. It therefore plays a key role in the legitimisation of dominant values, identities and cultures. "For example, sport serves to perpetuate myths involving the liberal-democratic ideals of fairness, justice and equality epitomised by maxims such as 'it's just not cricket' and a 'level playing field'."

Tonts (2005) says that one of the most unique characteristics of many Australian country towns and regions is the part that sport plays in local, cultural, political, and economic relations. A recent article titled *Elaine, the little town that could* (Choahan, 2013) illustrates this wonderfully . . .

Elaine is a small country town between Geelong and Ballarat in rural Victoria. Once a thriving gold rush town, today Elaine doesn't have much to its name. There is a general store and the Railway Hotel, but only the grain and freight trains clatter past these days. The town's only school closed in 1998, and the tennis and cricket club soon followed. Lifelong Elaine resident and shearer, Shane Dunne, thought the town and its 325 residents were in danger of disappearing. In 2010, the town received a small grant from Moorabool Shire and the federal Government to build a barbecue area at the local reserve. Feeling motivated, residents held a meeting to see if the tennis club could be revived after a gap of more than 10 years. 'The recreational reserve had \$300 of the old tennis club's money, which it gave back. It just snowballed from there,' said Dunne. Elaine's country folk banded together and the entire town helped out; they held barbecues, clearing sales and gave their own money - anything from \$200 to \$4000. They opened their gardens and sold plants to raise money for the tennis club. Within six months the club had 35 sponsors and three junior teams. Hot on the heels of tennis came Auskick and then junior cricket. Inspired, the town decided to resurrect the cricket club, which disbanded 12 years ago. The club received a hand from the rival Buninyong Cricket Club, which helped kit them out. Mr Dunne says the town has made the impossible possible. Elaine is alive and you can see its heart beat.

In this story the author frames the town of Elaine as an allegory for Australia's heart and sport as a metaphor for reconnection and hope, where there appears to be none. Stoicism, tennis, community, hope, footy, bonding, survival, cricket, belonging – all words synonymous with the town of Elaine - the same terms fused with sport and Australia's history.

Given the prominence of sport in many peoples' daily lives it is crucial that there are policies and programs focused on making sure that it is inclusive, healthy and fulfilling to people of all backgrounds. However, a lifetime involvement in sport and social justice issues has caused me to question the existence and/or effectiveness of policies and programs established to create more inclusive sporting environments

for all, and whether sport actually helps breaks down barriers for its participants, or in fact exacerbates them. I also question whether the presence or absence of such programs and policies affect people's decisions to participate in one sport over another? And if you are an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person or from a CaLD background are there additional barriers to participating in your chosen sport?

Breaking new ground

Researchers have suggested that sport seems to break down barriers in a way that other areas of society simply cannot (AHRC, 2007), bringing feelings of respect, acceptance (Bergin, 2002, p. 257) and a sense of belonging (N. Hall, 2011, pp. 70-71), and provides benefits of social capital for individual outcomes in areas such as: health, education, employment and family well-being, and also in fostering community strength and resilience (ABS, 2006; Nicholson & Hoyer, 2005). However, there has been much debate on the capacity or ability of sport to deliver change in relation to societal issues. The concept of social capital and its measurement in the study of society has caused diverging views amongst scholars, following a marked increase in the number of studies using social capital in recent years. While we are learning more about the benefits of engagement with sport, there is limited research on how engagement with sport contributes to the development of social capital (Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009). As Coalter (2007a, p. 537) says "more research is required to explore the processes of social capital formation in sport clubs and the role sport and sport clubs play in building social capital and community capacity." This highlights the need to add to this existing body of sport sociology literature with further investigation, which my thesis aims to do, to increase our understanding about the role sport can play in promoting social capital, and the positive role it may play in contributing to wider social issues.

Generally, there is also little research that evaluates the social meaning and effectiveness of policies, programs and structures that are designed to foster the development of sporting environments that are non-discriminatory and inclusive for people of all backgrounds. Similarly, there is little comparison across multiple sports of programs and structures specifically targeted at Indigenous and CaLD populations or their effectiveness in gaining or retaining new participants. My thesis aims to

address the gap in this knowledge, as well as complement existing studies in this area.

To find out more about the views and experiences of a range of people directly involved with these issues and answer questions central to my thesis in the process I chose critical ethnography as the research approach for this project. This methodology allowed me to become an insider, by listening and then sharing these expert voices to help “address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular *lived* domain” (Madison, 2011, p. 5) – that domain being sport. I also needed an effective analysis framework where I could demonstrate the relationship between participation in sport (and sporting programs for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background) and a range of outcomes. As such, this thesis uses Bourdieu’s version of social capital as an analytical framework to provide understanding how sport maintains traditional power structures and can develop key common elements of social capital and the factors that assist or hinder this process.

There were three stages of incursion for this research project: the first stage was an online survey, where 101 responses were received to closed and open-ended questions; the second stage included 32 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews and phone interviews. The interviews were based around themes of enquiry (Hickman & Longman, 1994; Breakwell, 1990) that were distilled from the online surveys to frame relevant questions; and the final stage included two focus groups (including 11 interviewees in total). The questions used in this final stage were distilled from some of the reasoning and thoughts on the main conclusions that were formed out of the first two stages of the questioning. The interview and survey data was analysed qualitatively via content analysis (Berg, 1989) using Grounded Theory. This method allowed me to identify many themes, some which were accounted for in the literature, others that were not. These themes were transformed into categories and sub-categories to form the basis for this thesis discussion and findings.

This chapter outlines the methodological approach, conceptual framework, research design and justification for the paradigm, details on the study participants and why they were chosen. It also highlights the data collection methods and analysis procedures used, and features a discussion on the ethical considerations and limitations to the research.

Critically analysing different voices and views

The use of critical ethnography was chosen as the central research approach for this project as it allowed for a multi-vocal representation of people's views and experiences directly from those who are involved with the issues and who work in this area (namely CaLD and Indigenous sport program officers, member protection and child safety officers, and staff in integrity and inclusion in sport areas in national, state and local governments, and sporting organisations). It also allowed me to use this insider information to become the storyteller and relay the findings through the eyes of the research subjects, while always testing the validity of their views against each other. The approach determined my research design, enabling me to develop questions and theories on what could be done in order to disrupt tacit power relationships and the perceived social inequalities (Thomas, 1993), and then test these against each other throughout the research process.

In conducting the research I drew together a variety of views and opinions from participants using this critical/interpretive approach to distil conclusions that were “sensitive to the contextual, social, economic and cultural factors which influence participation in physical activity” (Allender, Cowburn, & Foster, 2006, p. 827). Critical thinking as defined by the National Council for Excellence in Critical Thinking is the intellectually disciplined process of “actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analysing, synthesizing, and evaluating information gathered from observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action” (“Defining critical thinking,” 2013, para. 3). In general, “it implies freedom by recognising that social existence, including our knowledge of it, is not simply composed of givens imposed on us by powerful and mysterious forces” (Thomas, 1993, p. 18). For example, it is not a given to accept that male coaches are better than female coaches simply because women coaches are very rarely seen at the elite level of sport.

My attraction in using critical theory in this project was helping to reveal practices and policies in sport so it can “change to be fair to everyone, more democratic, and sensitive to diversity” and “can help us improve our outlook toward gender, physical or mental disability, sexual orientation, and physical talent” (Woods, 2011, p. 21). Critical ethnography in my case became the doing or the

performance of critical theory - it was critical theory in action (Madison, 2011). As a critical ethnographer I went beneath surface appearances, disrupted the *status quo*, and unsettled both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control (Madison, 2005, p. 5).

While functionalists or conflict theorists believe that sport mirrors society, critical theorists (myself included) conclude that sports instead offers the opportunity to create society by affecting how people think and feel about social conditions (Woods, 2011). Using this critical thought perspective, it became more apparent to me how sport could be used to challenge the status quo (particularly in respect to inequality and diversity), how I could analyse its effects on society and then propose wider beneficial changes. At the same time, it allowed me to look objectively at the weaknesses or deficiencies of our current system, including how we treat people who are poorer or socially disadvantaged (Hargreaves & McDonald, 2004). Many examples of where sporting codes and organisations use sport as a ‘door opener’ to free discussion and debate within their community of fans and participants about wider social issues such as racism, homophobia, gender equality, bullying and contribute to concepts such as reconciliation, health inequality and education are highlighted in the following chapters of this thesis.

In respect to this research project, I didn’t want to just enquire into what information and activities were being conducted to increase inclusion and reduce discrimination for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background in sport. I wanted to dig deeper to find out what the gaps and barriers were, whether the activities and programs were accessible, whether they helped to create greater knowledge and understanding, whether they were relevant to peoples’ situations and needs in sport, and whether they actually helped increase peoples’ confidence and capacity to deal with the issues. However, as a researcher, I kept in mind that we are “forbidden to submit value judgments in place of facts or to leap to ‘ought’ conclusions without a demonstrable cogent theoretical and empirical linkage” (Thomas, 1993, p. 22). I also kept in mind Yow’s (1997, p. 70) concern that researcher’s personal reactions should not become the emphasis of the research, and her suggestion that there is value in recognising that “what is going on inside of us does influence the research and interpretation.”

A quantitative approach to the research could have been employed to collect data from the 101 survey respondents, 32 interviewees, and another 11 interviewees in two focus groups, and then convert this into numerical form to draw conclusions. However, these numbers would have only provided generalisations, not richness. As an analogy, the ABS report *Sport and Physical Recreation: A Statistical Overview* (2012) may provide statistical information on perspectives in sport in Australia, but facts and figures don't tell us what sport can or can't do for individuals or how. In contrast, the written submissions from the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs inquiry into the contribution of sport to Indigenous wellbeing and mentoring (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013) provides deep insights, stories and observations from those most affected by the issues around Indigenous participation in sport and paint a detailed picture of the successes, challenges and issues. Some quantitative data extracted from tables and graphs from the online survey are included in my research to give a concise indication of the number of people who chose to be involved in their sport because it was 'safe, fair and inclusive', but it is the qualitative component that provides all of the rich data for this thesis.

Conceptual framework

Even though themes that have been aligned with social capital have been debated in the social sciences since the 1700s, policy makers from around the world have been looking for new ways to measure social effectiveness in society (and sport); this in part has been the catalyst for attention to the concept in recent time around social capital. As theorists of policy implementation as well as discourse analysts have argued, the elusiveness and vagueness around the term 'social capital' hardly counts as a disqualification, and can said to be characteristic for most policy language and concepts. At the same time, this also means that the relation between policy aims, implementation and effects will always be ambiguous and contested (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009, p. 1208).

Over the last 10 years the concept of social capital gained salience as a means of understanding how communities might operate to become safer and more productive, and places where positive identities and lifestyles might be forged. The concept of social capital has a long history with many researchers suggesting its

benefits (Jacobs, 1961; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000; Field, 2003; Coalter, 2002, 2005, 2011) for individual outcomes in areas such as: health, education, employment and family well-being, and also in fostering community strength and resilience (ABS, 2006; Nicholson & Hoye, 2005). In contrast, several authors refer to the dark side of social capital, which can be linked to problems such as racism, sectarianism, social exclusion and corruption (Field, Schuller & Baron, 2000; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Numerati & Baglioni, 2012). Researchers including Putnam (2000), Jarvie (2008), Delaney and Kearney (2005), Tonts (2005) and Atherley (2006) suggest that strong bonds within sporting clubs or organisations can make them homogeneous in their membership, and at the same time relatively hostile towards outsiders.

While many approaches could have been adopted to study social capital in sport settings, an analytical framework based on Bourdieu's view of social capital was employed for this research to explore sport's contribution to social capital in communities where dominant power structures and entrenched inequalities exist. It was also used to analyse how various sporting organisations have engaged with Indigenous and CaLD groups to facilitate community participation, promote inclusion and create awareness around wider social issues. The advantages of Bourdieu's approach to social capital are explained below and how this approach is best aligned with the type of critical ethnography this thesis seeks to develop given Bourdieu's focus on power and inequality. The conceptual and practical benefits and issues in regard to the 'sport and social capital' literature are examined in detail in Chapter 3, while the different approaches to social capital and the dimensions of Bourdieu's approach, which have guided and informed my data collection and analysis, are outlined briefly below.

Social capital

In modern times the debate about what constitutes the discourse of social capital has been focussed on three main theorists – Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. However, it is generally agreed by most commentators that the treatment of social capital by Bourdieu is instrumental (Coalter, 2007). Putnam describes social capital as “features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives”

(1995, pp. 65). He distinguishes between two types of social capital: *bonding capital*, the ties and relations between people that share similar socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds; and *bridging capital*, the ties and relations between people from different groups. Putnam suggests that for individuals and society at large, bridging capital is more profitable than bonding capital, as the former is indicative for cohesive ties between individuals and groups (Skinner, Zajus & Cowell, 2008). Sport can offer different examples of the existence of *bonding* and *bridging* social capital. Coalter (2007a) characterises bonding capital as playing with mates, which has been a historic role of sports clubs with their networks of strong social ties between similar people and their religious or social associations. For example, working class people in Australia belonging to unions have traditionally played sports such as rugby league, and private school Catholic boys have traditionally been associated with rugby union. As Pope and Nauright (2009) highlight, “Sydney’s Greater Public Schools have been a traditional nursery for recruitment into NSW rugby union clubs” (p. 335). Strong community and social bonds are evident in both sporting codes. But one can see how the potential exists for this form of capital to be a negative force, operating to exclude and segregate and reinforce the status quo, bringing you back to Bourdieu’s interpretation. Bridging capital or bowling with acquaintances (Putnam, 2000), refers to weaker social ties between different types of people and facilitates 'getting ahead', as well as the broader diversity and inclusion agenda (Suzuki, 2007). Woolcock (2003) took this theory further by identifying the concept of *linking* social capital. He suggests that this plays an important, but different role, to bonding and bridging capital, which he contends are concerned with horizontal social relationships, as opposed to linking capital, which is about vertical connections between the different levels of social strata. Darcy et al. (2014) contend that “some forms of sport may support the development of some forms of social capital, but not others: In particular, elite forms of spectator sport may form social capital bonds between team members (e.g. in football) or bridging social capital between individual contestants (e.g. in tennis), but little if any social capital among spectators, unless set in the context of a community-owned and supported team” (p. 4).

By Bourdieu’s definition, social capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resource which is linked to the possession of a durable network of more or

less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (1986, p. 248). For him, the positive assets that come with membership of civic associations and social networks are not available to everybody, due to existing political-economic constraints. Further, those who do profit from social networks and build social capital do so precisely because others are excluded – we have seen countless examples of this throughout the history of Indigenous participation in sport (for example, the story of the exclusion of Indigenous cricketer Eddie Gilbert from representing Australia). In short, while both Putnam and Bourdieu would agree on the value of social capital for enhancing social cohesion, and while both emphasize the importance of participation in formal and informal community activities, they disagree on the point of achieving equal possibilities of access to profitable social capital. (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009, p. 1208). The difference between the Putnam and Bourdieu’s interpretation (and why Bourdieu’s approach has guided my analysis) is also summarised by Glover and Hemingway (2005) as resources and civic approaches. In both cases social networks are the key, but they differ in terms of what one would gain from them. For Bourdieu (1986), once an individual becomes linked to the network they are allowed to access, and therefore benefit, from these resources; however for Putnam, social capital is “a shared sense of community, facilitated by dense social networks, which makes voluntary civic engagement more probable and therefore conforms to the notion of active citizenship” (Putnam, 2000). While according to Coleman, social capital is “not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure” (1990, p. 302).

The concept of capital was central to Bourdieu's (1991) formulation of social space where: "the kinds of capital, like trumps in a game of cards, are powers which define the chances of profit in a given field" (p. 230). Social positioning is distributed according to "the overall volume of the capital . . . and the composition of that capital" (p. 231). Bourdieu (1986) identified three main forms of capital: *economic capital*; *cultural capital*, that is often, under certain conditions, convertible into economic capital and is often institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications and school-ties; and most importantly in the context of this thesis, *social capital*. This form of capital is based on the social connections that people

have, have developed, or maintain, or they exist in institutionalised forms of nobility or other titled positions. He argues that privileged groups in society have the potential to maintain their privileges through the intergenerational transfer of social and cultural capital, as well as economic capital. (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008, p. 257). Similar to Vermeulen and Verweel, I consider that participation in sport is always about both inclusion and exclusion, about both cooperation and competition. To this end, the domain of sport is best viewed in terms of an arena, where meanings of sport, identity and culture are contested and are put to the test (2009, p. 1215). This thesis aims to build upon the theoretical knowledge of social capital in sport through highlighting various examples and the specific contexts in which the encounters take place and on understanding the situational processes that lead to outcomes.

Research design

A qualitative approach, such as ethnography, has its emphasis on detailed description of human behaviour within a particular context, or ‘thick description’ as Geertz (1973) calls it. Throughout this project I used primary data gathering techniques utilising qualitative research methods, such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups and an online survey, to elicit responses from participants and give them a voice to respond in a way that accurately represented their own perspective and experiences. The semi-structured interviews, which invite a conversational format and provide a method conducive to building rapport with each participant (Patton, 2002), used standard accepted interview techniques (Spradley, 1979), with the sporting organisations and relevant staff (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to identify strategies and assess their effectiveness (Sage, 1989). This research method allowed me to “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3).

The qualitative data collected from the online survey was referenced against secondary sources such as government statistics, research reports, industry records and literature, and then categorised to identify specific themes and topics. These were then used as the basis to develop the questions for the semi-structured interviews. The primary data which was collected from the interviews was used as

the basis for focus group questions and was then triangulated against organisational records, literature reviews, strategic plans, annual reports and articles. I also researched and audited the available baseline data in relation to the level of participation in sport by Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background (including surveys, censuses, ABS statistics, reports, audits); the member protection policies, codes of conduct, anti-discrimination and harassment policies, racial vilification policies, child protection and complaint processes for each of my research sports (Australian rules football, cricket and netball); and the relevant resources that each sport had produced to promote strategies that utilise sporting events and sportspeople to convey a message of inclusion and non-discrimination (including promotional and educational material such as posters, videos, DVDs and flyers).

All of this information was then categorised to identify specific themes and topics and analysed to draw conclusions on how effective the programs, policies and procedures were at retaining and gaining new Indigenous and CaLD participations. It was also reviewed further to see what evidence was available to support the premise that sport has the potential for the generation of social capital and building of community capacity. Where appropriate, case studies have been used to illustrate main points and examples of best practice, and direct quotes have been used throughout the report to demonstrate key themes and issues. Many theorists advocate the use of a case study approach as a source of theory development (Denzin, 1989; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Yin, 2009). Case study research has also been widely adopted in social inclusion and sport research (Cowell, 2007; Kelly, 2011). The implementation of case study research provides descriptions of operations of a case with multiperspective analysis from various sources (Tellis, 1997). Maxwell, Foley, Taylor and Burton (2013) assert “research that deploys a multi-perspective analysis allows the voices of all the relevant groups of actors, and the interaction between them, to be included. This approach gives a voice to individuals and different groups who might otherwise be powerless or voiceless” (p. 470). A case study approach can also generate narrative and allow stories to be told within organisations from a range of perspectives (Boje, 2001).

The main players – who was chosen and why

While the online survey was open to everyone over the age of 18 years (but promoted specifically to those in the sport, recreation and human rights/social justice fields), the sample chosen for the interviews and focus groups was not meant to be random or fully representative - the participants selected were those who are directly involved with inclusion, member protection, discrimination, integrity and CaLD and Indigenous sports programs in their respective national, state or local government agencies, NGOs or sporting organisations. They are also the people most likely to be able to provide the best insight into the research questions and relate it to the projects they work on, and understand the nature of the research at this level.

The interviewees were a mix of male and female, different ethnic and racial backgrounds, various ages and levels in their respective roles. No demographic details (first name, age, sport, gender) have been provided with the interviewee quotes throughout the thesis as it was considered that any such information may have served to identify these people as they come from a small, specific cohort in this field.²

The sporting codes and the National Sporting Organisations (NSOs) that I chose to research and compare as part of this project - Australian rules football (AFL), cricket (Cricket Australia) and netball (Netball Australia) - represent the country's biggest summer and winter sports. Demographically they have male and female cross-participation and geographically are played extensively throughout Australia (ABS, 2011-12; Cricket Australia, 2013b; AFL 2013a; Netball Australia 2013c). While this is a limited sample of sports and participants to research, their size, number and diversity goes some way to providing an adequate representation of data across the population.

Many other sports and national sporting organisations and their policies and programs around participation and inclusion are also highlighted throughout the thesis, and are also used as a basis of comparison with the three main sports I researched in Chapter Seven.

² Note: Interviewees are numbered throughout this thesis, but survey participants are not.

Stages of enquiry

There were three stages of enquiry for this research project. The first stage was an online survey, where 101 responses were received to closed and open-ended questions. The second stage included 32 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews and phone interviews ranging between 20 minutes and one hour 20 minutes in duration, which used the major themes and issues distilled from the online surveys to frame relevant questions. In the final stage of two focus groups (including 11 interviewees in total), the questions drilled deeper into some of the reasoning and thoughts on the main conclusions that developed out of the first two stages of questioning. The questions for the various stages of inquiry are available in the Appendices at the end of this thesis. This qualitative approach enabled me to provide multiple opportunities for building a picture of the participants' points of view and contributed into the analysis of the research.

Stage one - online survey

An online survey was developed and conducted through Survey Monkey (commencing 27 April, 2012), which involved participants filling out a questionnaire in which they were asked to discuss what policies, programs and structures their agency and/or sport had set up to ensure a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience, particularly in relation to those from Indigenous and CaLD backgrounds. The survey was promoted over the following six months through a range of sources including: state/territory departments of sport and recreation, state/territory equal opportunity/human rights commissions, NSO newsletters, the Federation of Ethnic Councils and Communities Australia (FECCA) newsletter, Reconciliation Australian newsletter, *Play by the Rules* e-Bulletin, the Australian Sports Commission sport community e-newsletter, on the SportingPulse website, in the Australian and New Zealand Sports Law Agency (ANZSLA) e-Bulletin, and at a several NSO/SSO forums held across the country between April-October 2012.

When participants clicked on the link to the online survey (www.surveymonkey.com/s/3XMRL8C) they were provided with an overview description about the project and its goals (which are outlined in Appendix 3). The first question (which required a compulsory response to proceed) asked if the person

had read the project information and agreed to provide their consent to participate in this research. All survey responses utilised completed this question. Participants were advised who was conducting the research, what it was being used for, privacy considerations, and that it was their right to have their questionnaire excluded from the project or amended at any time. There were 101 responses to the online survey from men and women across a range of sports and capacities in sport. The main sports that online survey respondents indicated that they were involved in including: football (soccer), netball, cricket, lacrosse, rugby league, AFL, basketball, hockey, badminton, cycling, squash, swimming, baseball, gymnastics, sailing, underwater sports, lawn bowls, athletics, tennis, triathlon, athletics, rogaining, rowing, touch football, diving, table tennis, ice hockey and dragon boat racing. Figure One shows a cloud view visual representation of the sports that participants indicated they were involved in (with the size of the text representing more or less survey respondents choosing this option in relation to the other sports).

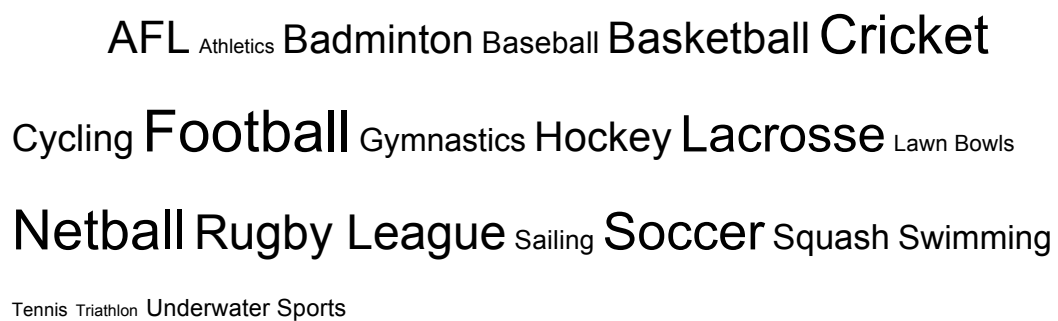


Figure One: Cloud view visual representation of the sports that survey participants indicated they were involved in.

The capacity/role in sport of the online survey respondents included: player, coach, manager, administrator, development, president, volunteer, committee, director, executive, Board, education. Figure Four shows a cloud view visual representation of the role in sport that participants indicated they were involved in (with the size of the text representing more or less survey respondents choosing this option in relation to the other roles).



Figure Two: Cloud view visual representation of the role in sport that survey participants indicated they were involved in.

There was one person who completed the online survey who indicated that they were from an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander background, or 0.99 percent of participants (Question 16); and eight people who indicated that they were from a Culturally and Linguistically Diverse background, or 7.92 percent of participants (Question 17).

Stage two and three - semi-structured interviews and focus groups

A list of interviewees for the semi-structured interviews and focus groups was developed based on key contacts that I have engaged with throughout my work with the Australian Sports Commission and the *Play by the Rules* program, and through past research I had conducted into racism and cultural diversity in sport at the Australian Human Rights Commission (2007). The participants were approached via phone/email, and following voluntary verbal/email approval of their desire to participate in the research, were forwarded (via email) an: *Information Sheet*, which defined the project, its purpose, the specific role and requirements of each participant and provided for questions to be asked and answered; and a *Consent Form*, which included relevant details regarding informed consent in the research and confidentiality with regard to their identity. These forms were compiled according to the Curtin University guidelines and the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement (2007). All participants were required to sign and return the Consent Form. The Information Sheet and Consent Form are attached at Appendix One and Appendix Two.

I then made a time to speak to/email the interviewees to discuss the details of the information sheet and run through the consent form, and discuss whether they would prefer to be interviewed face-to-face, over the phone or via electronic means. Following the return of the signed Consent Form the interview then took place in the format agreed. At the start of each interview I confirmed that each person had read and understood the information sheet, and in many cases re-read the information to the interviewee to provide an overview of what the project was about and ran through the details about confidentiality and privacy again as outlined on the Consent Form (see the interview questions at Appendix Four). The two focus group sessions (including 11 participants in total) were conducted at the Australian Sports Commission offices on 14 December 2012 for approximately 45-60 minutes each. The processes of providing information to the group participants and seeking consent were followed as above for each member of the group (see the interview questions at Appendix Five).

Taking it down verbatim

All data from the online survey on my Survey Monkey account (which was only accessible via a client username and password) were downloaded and printed out as qualitative tables, cloud representation views, and Excel tables, including verbatim individual responses for all open-ended questions from each respondent.

To ensure accuracy of the data from the interviews and to allow me to engage with the participants as freely and responsive as possible, phone and face-to-face interview conversations, and the focus group sessions were recorded and categorized using an online recording service. A unique user account was set up with the company and a user account and password was established to guarantee privacy and security. Phone calls were made to the service on my private mobile and home phone and then the interviewee was called and added into the conversation and this was recorded by the service. The audio recording of the conversation was then included in my user account section via their website. Over the course of the project I gathered approx. 900 minutes (15 hours) of audio from the phone/face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews. The interview audio files were exported to my computer and saved as an encrypted file as they became available, and the account was terminated at the end of the interview process.

To accurately record the data from the interviews I engaged an experienced, accredited online transcription service with 100 percent confidentiality. The service utilizes quality, hand-picked professional English speaking transcribers. A unique user account was set up with the service with an account username and password to guarantee privacy and security. In my user account section on their website, an audio file of the interview was attached and sent to the service by me with the interview details. Once each interview was transcribed, an email was sent to me providing me with access to my unique transcription URL on a secure highly encrypted server. The transcription files were exported to my computer and saved once they became available, and the account with the transcriber was terminated at the end of the transcription process.

Throughout the entire recording and transcription process security was paramount. This included maintaining confidentiality of the data through information security practices, including limiting access with passwords and ensuring a secure environment for data and appropriate methods of disposal of all materials and deletion of files. Personnel at the services used are required to sign non-disclosure agreements on a regular basis, as well as take various oaths regarding confidentiality and accuracy.

Getting a feel for the data

Grounded theory is oriented towards developing a theory grounded in empirical data gathered in a particular context but still generalisable to a similar, or even wider, context (Glaser & Strauss, 1968). The basic procedure of grounded theory is asking questions and making comparisons about the conceptual categories that are developed in terms of properties and dimensions. I used grounded theory to look at the particular situations highlighted in the research data to try and understand what was going on (Kervin, Vialle, Herrington, & Okley, 2006), and trust in the emergence of information (Glaser, 1992) before making any conclusions. This provided me with a structured approach to my data analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and was ideal for analysing interview responses of a relatively large number of participants (Charmaz, 2000).

The online survey responses and interview transcripts were read through several times to get an overall feel and sense of the material. Keyword filters were used to identify common themes, experiences and statements; text analysis was used to identify key words and phrases repeated in response questions, with cloud views generated to show visual representations of this data. Individual responses were analysed to determine supporting and opposing views in questions, and bar charts were generated to show visual representations of this quantitative data (See Figure Three example below).

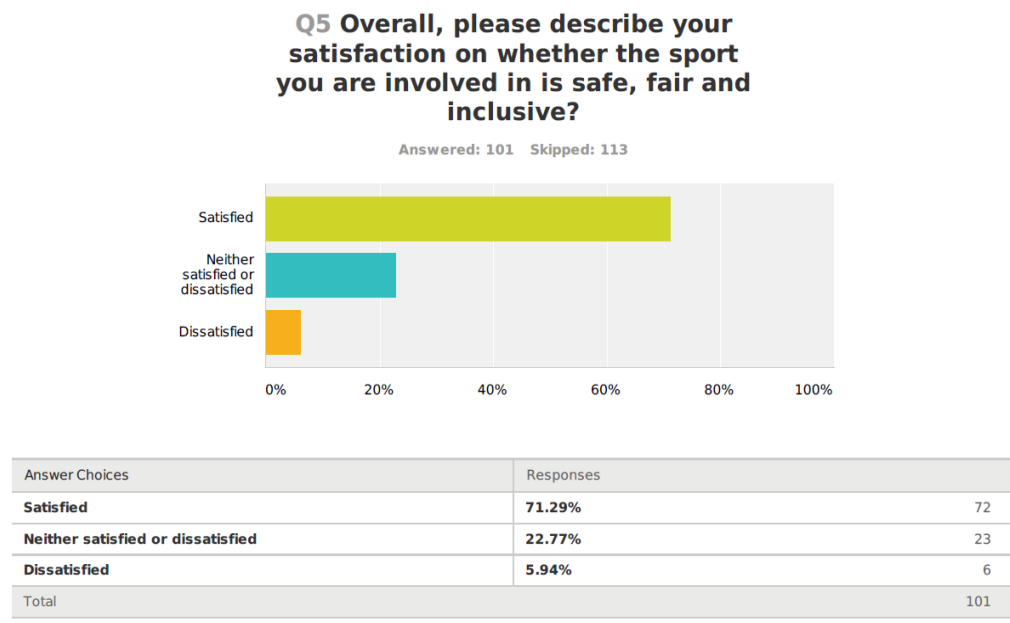


Figure Three: Bar chart on survey responses for Question 5 of the research online survey (Overall, please describe your satisfaction on whether the sport you are involved in is safe, fair and inclusive?).

The process of theory building started with discovering and developing potentially relevant conceptual categories (open coding). Each respondent’s experiences and expression of this is unique. However, through immersing myself in the data, looking for keywords, phrases and ideas, similarities, consistencies and differences using constant comparative methods I was able to find meaning and

identify themes, issues, and categories. I also found relationships and variations between the categories and sub-categories (axial coding) and finished with consolidating the relations and variations in terms of the most relevant categories (selective coding) until it reached theoretical saturation, before developing a tentative grounded theory, which Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 23) describe as being “inductively derived from the study of the phenomena it represents.” A theory derived from this kind of procedure is transferable as comparison is possible with regard to properties and dimensions. (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, p. 156-157). I then tested and challenged my theories and compared them against other records, research and data, following up with the research project participants to see if they thought that I was on track. This process was essential to show how I had followed the chain of evidence and how I had interpreted my analysis to come up with my theories and findings.

Ethical issues and considerations

Ethical approval for my project was granted by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval No: HR 153/2011). My research was guided at all times by the NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) and the NHMRC Guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research (2003). Adopting the core principles of reciprocity, respect, equality, responsibility, survival and protection, and spirit and integrity (NHMRC, 2007) meant that every stage of my research was “founded on a process of consequential engagement and reciprocity” (Daes, 1993, p. 1).

My research project was designed to ensure that respect for the dignity and wellbeing of participants was paramount. Careful attention was paid to ensure that informed consent was obtained from all participants and that participants were not identified. The collection of information from participants adhered to the National Privacy Principles under the *Privacy Act 1988* (Cth), and the information will be secured for five years as required under the Australian Code for Responsible Conduct in Research. At all times I endeavoured to be honest and ethical in the conduct of my research and tried to minimise the risks of harm and discomfort to the participants in the research by building relationships and trust with them, respecting cultural diversity and explicitly recognising the cultural values and principles of

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. My previous seven years experience at the Australian Human Rights Commission dealing with issues of race, ethnicity, religion, gender and disability and developing my cultural competence helped to ensure that these principles were maintained. Often, the knowledge and skills related to a particular culture are requisite for working with members of that culture (Sue, 2006).

When required, I had ongoing advice and review from an Indigenous Elder (a former federal Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner) and a multicultural leader (a former federal Race Discrimination Commissioner), who helped to ensure that all of these principles were clearly understood and respected, and provided advice on appropriate processes. To ensure transparency and openness, feedback on the project was provided to participants as it progressed by way of email and phone conversations.

Terminology and definitions

I recognise that terminology is vital in a thesis such as this: Aborigines (with many group or tribal names such as Kooris, Noogars, Murris, Yolgnu, Dharawal), Torres Strait Island people and South Sea Islanders are different people with different histories and legacies.

The terms ‘Aboriginal’ and ‘Aborigines’ were used and continue to be used, to refer to the diverse groups of people indigenous to Australia. The term Indigenous is used to refer to Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. According to the most widely adopted definition of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (the ‘Commonwealth working definition’): “An Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent, who identifies as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin and who is accepted as such by the community with which the person associates” (ABS). This definition was developed during the period 1967 to 1978 and is now widely accepted by Commonwealth and other government agencies.

Campbell (2008) suggests these terms are problematic because they “disregard diversity and promote homogeneity, classing all peoples as the same and discounting their unique cultural differences” (p. 14) and “conceal family ties to land

and tensions within and across groups related to historical tenure of country” (Rossi, Rynne & Nelson, 2013, p. 118). As the writer of this thesis, I recognise the diversity with and within these different people, and in no way wish to subsume their differing histories and make them homogenous.

While attempting to use the specific term for different people where appropriate throughout the thesis, in general language I have used the Commonwealth working definition of ‘Indigenous’ to refer to Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Throughout the interviews and surveys for this research project, the terms ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Aboriginal’ are used interchangeably, depending on the language used by the respondent. This has been reflected in the final text where quotes have been used.

The terms ‘Culturally and Linguistically Diverse’ (CaLD) and ‘Non-English Speaking Background’ (NESB) are both commonly used in research, practice and policy discourse to refer to all of Australia’s non-Indigenous ethnic groups other than the English-speaking Anglo-Saxon majority (Sawrikar & Katz, 2009). CaLD does not have any explicit criterion to define membership; it is flexible and adaptive to be inclusive of any and all ethnic groups. “For example, it can refer to minority ethnic Australians (its most common use), but also the Anglo-Saxon majority when describing Australia’s multicultural milieu” (Sawrikar & Katz, 2009, p. 4). In this way, Australia can be described as a culturally and linguistically diverse society. CaLD is also a term that is sensitive to the dynamic process of acculturation – where CaLD individuals balance their conflicting needs for cultural preservation and cultural adaptation across changing contexts (Sawrikar & Hunt, 2005). Indigenous Australians have been excluded from CaLD terminology to reflect the significant difference of their experiences and needs as First Nation people from other groups. The term CaLD has been used throughout this research project and in this thesis.

While used together and in comparisons throughout the thesis (Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background), the author does in no way wish to conflate the experiences of peoples from these two groups, and recognises the incomparable histories and historical differences between them in respect to their treatment in Australian society and sport. It is also important to make the distinction that this thesis does not seek to argue that racism directed at people from a CaLD

background in sport is synonymous with racism directed at ATSI participants – ‘racism’ encountered by Indigenous people in sport is not the same in the main as that endured by CaLD participants. The HREOC report into racial violence (1991) found that ‘Racial violence against ATSI people is qualitatively different from that experienced by other groups. In order to understand these communities it is necessary to acknowledge the racism they have suffered since the beginning of white settlement’ (p. 209). As Gardiner (1999, p. 153) argues in the context of racial abuse of Indigenous players, that the abuse they encountered has an “inflection of a colonialist racial discourse expressing both power and history, a discourse which has attempted to impart codes of conduct for and deny the human rights of, Indigenous people for 200 years.”

There are several terms that describe members of the dominant ethnic group in Australia, these include: Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Celtic and White. The term *Anglo* is derived from Anglia, the Latin name for England. It refers to any individual who descends from the United Kingdom (Campbell, 2008, p. 14). To define the dominant group in the current research the term ‘Anglo-Australian’ will be used rather than terms such as ‘non-Indigenous’, as this term is most commonly used by authors in the literature I have investigated.

Limitations – project and personal

My background as a male, Anglo-Australian has to be taken into consideration when reading this thesis and its findings. While I am unfamiliar with the experience of being a migrant or refugee, or living in a society where my race, ethnicity and culture were not dominant, nor experienced issues with racism and discrimination, I am not entirely unexposed to these issues. My time working at the Australian Human Rights Commission (particularly researching and writing the *What’s the Score?* report) and my role at the Australian Sports Commission, where I interacted and engaged with many of the interviewees for this project, definitely forged strong views and preconceptions for me on the role and power of sport. Despite this, there is no doubt that my background does pose limitations on the research. As Sage (1989) highlights: “Power tends to get translated into a structure of dominance enabling the powerful to write their advantages into the system’s very structure” (p. 234).

Madison (2011) is of the view that critical ethnographers must attempt to recognise and articulate their own perspective as a means of acknowledging the biases that their own limitations, histories, and institutional standpoints bear on their work. As critical ethnography is based on the theory of interpretivism, which incorporates reflexive inquiry into the method, this research required me to recognise and articulate my own perspective to the observations and experiences I was contextualizing. As such, it was important as part of this research project to interrogate my cultural and race reflexivity, which Sodowsky, Taffe, Gutkin, and Wise (1994) refer to as the reflective practice of a person's own views of culture, race, professional discipline and practice; and my personal reflexivity, or my own social positioning in relation to the research (Parker, Moore, & Neimeyer, 1998). In essence, it required me to acknowledge what my own limitations, history and political and institutional standpoints brought to the work.

With this in mind, my cultural competence, reflexivity and sensitivities have been developed and tuned during my time at the Australian Human Rights Commission working on research projects with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (including the *Close the Gap* campaign to achieve health equality for Indigenous Australians, the *Bringing them home* Stolen Generations Inquiry, and the process to establish a national Indigenous representative body,) and projects working with people from CaLD backgrounds (including the Isma inquiry and report on discrimination against Muslim and Arab Australians, a national inquiry and report on discrimination against African Australians, and a report on racism against international students). As I was speaking with and listening to the research participants and interpreting their voices and views, I tried to be true to what they contributed, keep an open mind to my preconceptions and maintain their voice, not what I thought. But I also followed Rossi, Rynne and Nelson's (2013) advice in that they "tried to overcome the convention of self-suppression and therefore locate our identities squarely within the story. To do otherwise would simply be dishonest and do a great disservice to the tale" (p. 117).

I learned as much about the various research methodologies and designs as I did about myself in the course of this project. The process of reflexivity drew me in as the researcher into important questions such as: What do I know? How did I come

to know it? (McGannon & Johnson, 2009). As a critical theorist it also made me, as Woods (2011) says, “specially attuned to combating structural conditions in a society that lead to exploitation, oppression or social injustice” (p. 22), and to constantly consider through the evidence and data presented how sport could play a positive and/or negative role in this. While opinions and theories oscillated in my mind and on paper throughout the project, there were some constants – the values of respect, research merit and integrity, justice and fair treatment and beneficence at all times guided the design, review and conduct of my research.

The findings presented over the following chapters are the result of the stories and experiences highlighted by the participants involved in this project and my influences, which have been shaped by my own historical context, values and opinions. While addressing these limitations, the new stories and richness of detail in assessing the inclusion and exclusion of Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background in various sporting contexts has only served to contribute to the literature in this field, which are identified in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

EXPERTS IN THE FIELD

This chapter provides a review of the literature relevant to my research issue, drawing on a wide range of historical and contemporary Australian and international literature and highlights related research issues and propositions from key authors.

To develop an understanding of the key issues in this area, it has been necessary to critically examine the experiences, opinions and views of the survey and interview participants for this project. It has also been necessary to draw upon the theoretical work of scholars in diverse fields of study, including: sport history, sport sociology, social psychology, social anthropology, health sciences, education, law, marketing and sports management studies. However, the main discipline that has helped this research is from the field of sports sociology.

This thesis is an applied, policy-focused study that uses critical ethnography as a critical/interpretive paradigm to examine the nature and effects of the policies, programs and systems that government sports bodies and sporting organisations have put in place to promote inclusive, non-discriminatory environments in Australia, particularly for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background. It also analyses the wider role of sport to create awareness and debate around social, physical and health issues, and its contribution to social capital in communities.

The chapter starts with a brief annotated review of the works that highlight the importance of sport in Australia's history and how it has played a formative role in our culture and national identity. It then critically reviews the scholarly work that has focussed on the role of sport throughout history for Indigenous people and for CaLD Australians (in context with historical Indigenous and migration policies). I then critically review the research focussed on the benefits that sport provides for these groups, the institutional and administrative barriers that have occurred throughout history, and the implications this has had regarding participation and inclusion in sport. Any discussion about identity, social connections and networks,

belonging and inclusion in sport also requires discussion and evaluation of the concept of social capital and the main bodies of work that support and oppose the premise that sport and those involved contribute to the promotion of social capital in communities. Review of this literature makes up the latter part of this chapter.

Through engaging with the main conceptual and substantive literature by the leading authors in these areas, it serves to contextualise my work in the following chapters. At the same time, it highlights the specific areas authors have and haven't addressed, thereby demonstrating why my research and conclusions are a significant contribution in this field.

Method and scope

Research for this chapter has included reviewing an extensive range of relevant surveys, research articles and journals, speeches, reports, records and statistics to surmise and critically evaluate existing knowledge and theory around sport and history, sport and culture, sport participation and barriers, specifically for Indigenous Australians and those from a CaLD background. Key resources included the ASC's National Sports Information Centre's Clearinghouse of Sport, in addition to journal, book and newsprint research and a comprehensive range of literature addressing sports, ethics, participation, integrity, behaviour, coaching, spectator attitudes, culture, inclusion and safety related to sport were summarised and analysed. I have also sourced useful literature for assessing the intangible contribution of individual and community organisational practices concerning the use of the concept of social capital. The majority of references in this thesis are from contemporary international and Australian literature. While in no way disregarding the historical importance of earlier material, and accepting the premise that we cannot know the present with learning how this was informed by the past, the main goal of this research project was to emphasise the change in this field in recent times and paint a present day picture of how and where sport is heading.

This thesis aims to contribute to existing sport and sociology studies concerning social capital and exclusion in elite and community sporting contexts. It also aims to add to sports policy knowledge and practice through investigating the nature, effects and consequences of policies, programs and systems that have been

put in place to encourage inclusive, non-discriminatory environments across a number of different sports in Australia.

To begin with, to place sport in its current context in society it is important to go back to its origins. Coakley and Dunning (2000) suggest that the ‘Grand theorists’ of sociology – Comte, Marx, Toennies, Durkheim, Weber, Parsons and Elias – “all shared the conviction that there is a fundamental difference between modern society and the early forms of social organisation from which modern society developed. Pre-modern and modern sports exemplify that difference more clearly than most institutions” (p. 248). They suggest that among this group of theorists, Elias is the only one to have written extensively on sports, while Dunning (1971) highlights that Elias has inspired a number of historical analyses of the development of modern sports.

In respect to Australia and publications on the sociology of sport, the most significant breakthrough in this regard came with the publication of the edited volume *Power Play* (Lawrence & Rowe, 1986), with all chapters directly connected and related to Australian content. Hallinan (2015) says this was followed by the work by Rowe and McKay (1987) and McKay and Miller (1991), and McKay’s landmark *No Pain, No Gain* (1991). He adds, Jim McKay, Toby Miller and David Rowe were the influential pioneers in articulating a coherent critical sociology of Australian sport and the legacy of their contributions continues to resonate around the halls of sports studies.

Historians disagree about the origins of modern sport. The concept of sport or games, with notions of individual glory, strength and valour motivated the ancient Olympics and can be traced back to 776BC (Woff, 1999). However, “the word ‘sport’ comes from the old French word *desport* meaning ‘leisure’. The Persian word for ‘sport’ is based on the root *bord*, meaning ‘winning’, while the oldest definition in English from 1300 is being ‘anything humans find amusing or entertaining’” (Saxena, 2011). Most of the formal structural characteristics of modern sports (Dunning, 1971) can be identified in eighteenth century England (Coakley & Dunning, 2000). British history provides a sociological account of sport being used as a way to prepare young men in public schools to go forth and rule new lands. It was seen in part as a way of building the character that would be needed for the

‘exercise of empire’ in the Victorian era. It was no longer about individual gain, but about collective strength. Sport was organised, and amateurism was born (Grange, 2014, p. 4). Grange (2014) makes the point that amateurism in this era “started to associate the sporting contest with a philosophy about ‘how we ought to live’, and indeed, who ‘we’ actually were in a national sense” (p. 5). Earlier notions of sport as pleasure and leisure had been replaced by new values such as loyalty, teamwork, sacrifice, integrity, stoicism, and grace in victory or defeat – which were encompassed under the term sportsmanship.

The divide between amateurism and professionalism soon impacted on Australia, particularly as rules for the amateur code tended to be drawn up in Britain (Cashman, 1995). A further sporting innovation from overseas was the Olympic Games, where athletes required amateur status to participate. Therefore, there was considerable surveillance of sports to which prizemoney and wagering were attached (Jobling, 1988). In Australian sport, the amateur code was open to very different interpretations, and the penalties associated with transgressions varied; officials could be very harsh, while some conveniently turned a blind eye (Adair, 2011, p. 4). Things then got more complicated towards the end of the twentieth century as sports began to professionalise as incentive, profit and personal gain re-ordered these earlier values (Grange, 2014). Adair (2011, p.5) says that in terms of the evolution of amateur and professional modes of elite sport in Australia, much has changed since (and because of) the advent of live television broadcasts in the 1970s.

Australian sport history

Adair (2011) says, despite the high profile of sport in Australian culture, the historical analysis of sport in this country has not attracted much academic coverage and fans have comparatively little knowledge about, or interest in, Australian history and the role of sport in shaping its evolution. “This is illogical, because sport can provide important insights into themes and issues that have been pivotal to the evolution of Australian culture” (Adair, 2011). While there are a range of Australian sport history publications, most of the works which look at the development of sport or specific sports, the achievements of particular athletes, coaches or organisations, and the related changes in Australian society from a sports perspective are quite recent. As Cazaly (2013, p. 33) points out, “sports history has often struggled for

recognition within an academy that has seen little value in investigating the history of games.”

However, “with the growth of social history, cultural studies and other forms of sociological enquiry in Australia and internationally since the 1970s, there has been a growing recognition that sport can provide a valuable area for analysis” (p. 33). Further, Cazaly (2013) says:

This is reflected in the growth of a body of academic sport history and analysis in Australia which has begun to explore the way in which sport reflects and influences Australian interests, prejudices, preconceptions and social interaction (p. 33).

Historian Richard Cashman wrote in *Paradise of sport: the rise of organised sport in Australia* (1995, p. vii) that in the late 1980s and 1990s there was a “boom in sports history research”, which can be attributed to a few key academics and publications including: *Saturday afternoon fever: Sport in the Australian culture* by Brian Stoddart (1986), *Sport in Australia: a social history* by Vamplew and Stoddart (1994), *Sporting Immigrants: Sport and Ethnicity in Australia* by Mosely, Cashman, O’Hara, and Weatherburn (1997), *One-Eyed: A view of Australian sport* by Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz (2000).

Tatz’s research documenting the racism experienced by Indigenous sportsmen and sportswomen, *Aborigines in sport* (1987) and *Obstacle race – Aborigines in sport* (1995) to name a few, have served as an inspiring catalyst for further research in this field. Other works such as *Sport in Australasian society: Past and present* by Mangan and Nauright (2000), *Sport, Federation, Nation* with Cashman, John O’Hara, and Andrew Honey (2001) and *Australia’s sporting success: the inside story* by Bloomfield in 2003 are excellent references on sport and sportspeople’s meaning and role throughout Australian history.

In recent decades though, the momentum seen in the energetic development of sport history as a discipline has dissipated (Cazaly, 2013, p. 35). However, Magdalinski (2009) argues that “enthusiastic and capable young scholars” are emerging and new works are being published all the time (p. 127), which serve to complement the new works by the earlier key academics.

Sport and Australian identity and culture

Cashman in his article *'Australian Sport and culture before federation'* (Cashman & Hess, 2011) says "The invention of new sports and sports culture is indisputably linked to national pride and to a sense that sport is an appropriate vehicle to express cultural difference and even to make the case of cultural superiority" (p. 29). Many people see sport as essential to Australia's identity because it gives its citizens a way to be unique and quintessentially 'Aussie', and to be admired and considered an equal (to larger sporting nations) on the world stage. In Cashman and Hess (2011), sport is described as an integral part of the social landscape: "As people helped fashion some of its early traditions, symbols and emblems, it quickly became identifiably Australian. As a result sport became part of the culture of suburban communities and country towns" (p.39). Grange (2013, November 12) says "When we're winning our collective mood is buoyant; when we're losing morale is low and heads droop a little lower around the nation's office water coolers" (para. 3). Sports permeates so many aspects of peoples' lives in Australia essentially because we're told through different means that being good at sports and that being included in sports is our 'way of life'.

Cashman, O'Hara and Honey explained this theme in *Sport, Federation, Nation* (2001) where they looked at the impact of Federation on Australian sport and the contribution of sport to the new Commonwealth of Australia before and after 1901. Publications such as Cashman and Hess' *Sport, History and Australian Culture* (2011) feature excellent articles from Rob Hess, Richard Cashman and Matthew Klugman which set out the historical, economic and political factors contributing to the elevation and importance of sport in Australian society and culture. Within the book, there is the suggestion that sport has been quite formative in Australia and how it gave Australians an opportunity to display their unique developing national identity against another nations. Take cricket legend Don Bradman in the 1930s, who made a "resounding, unequivocal and widely-publicised statement of Australia's competitiveness, success and independence to the world" (Hutchins, 2005, p. 17). In other countries, sporting icons such as Bradman have also been integrated into ideas of national, cultural and historical identity. Hutchins (2002) highlights how:

Joe DiMaggio is celebrated for filling the breach when America needed a hero during World War II . . . while Muhammad Ali cannot be separated from the civil rights battle from African Americans, W.G. Grace embodied the spirit of the age in Victorian England, while soccer's Stanley Matthews offers faith in English democratic ideals as he is 'proof' an ordinary man can become a national hero. The cultural meanings of icons resist criticism because they are inextricably tied to ideals of the nation, politics and culture (p. 163).

McKernan points out in *Sport in History: The Making of Modern Sporting History* (Cashman & McKernan, 1979) that sport shaped national development by promoting a sense of national identity and was shaped itself by the development of the nation. Cashman (Cashman & Hess, 2011) argue that because:

Australia had no great war, no hostile neighbour or past tradition which could be used to unify the population it meant that sport, perhaps more than anything else was able to act as a form of social cement, binding communities together. Sport provided a convenient and common cause which could be used to unite people (p. 4).

There have also been other publications by key authors such as *Australian Sport, Better by Design? The evolution of Australian sport policy* (2004) by Stewart, Nicholson, Smith, and Westerbeek, Booth and Tatz's (2000) *One Eyed: A View of Australian Sport*, and Adair and Vamplew's (1997) *Sport in Australian History*, that provide exemplary overviews of Australian sport and its meaning and importance. These authors have all brought fresh insights and new contributions to Australian sport, history and culture.

The importance of sport to the Australian way of life was the topic of a survey by Zakus, Skinner and Edwards (2009), who found that it has an important function in Australian lives, for both active and passive participants. Their review asserts that sport plays an important role in defining Australian cultural identity and a sense of community belonging, and provides communities with a real sense of presence. According to Cashman, Australia has inherited or borrowed much of its sporting culture and this culture has been "transformed to such an extent as to have become distinctly Australian" (Cashman & Hess, 2011, p. 4). Headon argues "the view that sport is not culture, or at best low culture, should be consigned to the dustbin of cultural cringe history" (as cited in Cashman, 2003, para. 14). "Sport in

Australia just might be more deeply and meaningfully cultural than in any other country” (Cashman, 2003, para. 14). Kell in *Good Sports: Australian sport and the myth of the fair go* (2000) writes how “sport has played a vital role in nourishing the symbolism, rituals and attitudes that characterize Australian-ness” (p. 23). He adds: “To be bad at sport or to be uninterested in sport is considered to be distinctly unAustralian” (p. 27).

Zakus (1999) tells us that the key to understanding community is the concept of identity; in social and psychological theory identity refers to the development of a sense of self. Skinner, Zakus, and Cowell (2008) argue it is this sense of self that develops as a result of social interaction: “Identity is also formed in a variety of social forums, whereby people learn and take on particular patterns of normative behaviour and senses of identity from those experiences” (p. 4). Sociologist Emile Durkheim considered a shared sense of identity to be the basis of all societies, large and small; believing that identifying with others through beliefs and rituals was what makes societies strong (1958). Zakus says “This need to belong to, and identify with, some broader collective association seems to get stronger in a world where everything else is changing and shifting” (Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008, p. 4). According to Zakus, Skinner, and Edwards (2008), this identity formation process is also a fundamental element of sport as well as of communities. Academic Doug Booth strongly agrees. He says:

Research emanating from nearly every academic discipline – economics, education, history, pedagogy, psychology, psychiatry, social and preventative medicine, sociology and sports studies – reports positive relationships between sport and community well-being. Many of these studies draw attention to the role of sport in fostering individual and community identity as a foundation stone for community well-being. In short, the evidence is unequivocal: sport – as an institution, practice, set of lores, culture – nurtures identity at both the individual and collective (e.g. community, town, regional, provincial, national) levels (Booth, 2013, p. 1).

Many in Australian society hold the enduring opinion proposed by social commentator Waleed Aly (2012) that:

Sport, no less than art, *is* culture. It generates communal reference points, produces chapters and characters in our national story and tells social history. Phar Lap and

Bradman are not simply sporting figures; they are Depression figures, much as Herb Elliott and Betty Cuthbert announced a new, bright post-war Australia. The historical antipathy between Carlton and Collingwood is not just about premierships: it is the story of Australian class disparity (para. 7).

In contrast, Godwell (2000) argues that we overestimate the importance of sport in Australia. The Centre for Multicultural Youth (2009) and McCarroll (2013) also hold the view that there are many in the population who cannot join the organised sporting systems, as it is not flexible enough to adapt to different group's needs. Stoddard (2011) claimed in *Sport, History and Australian Culture* that sport was Australia's greatest "sacred cow," which was supported by "a national determination to exclude sport from the rigorous scrutiny to which other areas of life are subjected" (p. 4), while Cashman (1995) highlights that a "sizeable number of women (and some men) have resented the dominant role of Australia's sporting culture".

Latham (2015) decries that there have been a lack of any great Australian books that use sport as the basis for a cultural and social history. While mentioning Geoffrey Blainey's *A Game of Our Own* (2010), he questions where the intellectuals are in Australia in comparison to luminaries overseas, such as Norman Mailer (*The Fight*), Geoffrey C. Ward (*Unforgivable Blackness*), Roland Barthes (*Mythologies*), Albert Camus (*A Happy Death*) and CLR James (*Beyond a Boundary*) who have written about sport and what it signifies in modern society in their countries. Latham (2015) says "This seems to me a strange situation in late modernity; that a cultural phenomenon passing and trending as bigger than religion in terms of participation and attendance, and rivalling voluntary organisations like trade unions should not be seriously discussed and reckoned with as worthy of investigation in the broader culture."

The Indigenous sporting experience

The historical analysis of group identity, inclusion and exclusion in Australian sport must also engage with societal issues for Indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities generally (Adair, 2011, p.7). The following section looks at the experience in sport for Indigenous people and for those from a CaLD background, the benefits sport has provided and the barriers it imposes.

. . . analysis of indigeneity and sport must firstly be cognisant of local knowledges and place, the dispossessing nature of colonialism, the role sport played in assimilating the indigenous population within the nation state, the complexity that is the indigenous athlete within the nation state, the complexity that is the indigenous athlete as both indigenous hero and dupe, the possibilities that sport holds as a spectacle of indigenous resistance and, more than anything, the relationship between sport and indigenous postcolonial corporeality (Hokowhitu, 2013: xvii).

Any efforts to discuss contemporary Indigenous sport are problematic without conceptualising the history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sport in Australia. Well before the arrival of Europeans and the subsequent British annexation of *Terra Australis*, within Aboriginal communities there were games of strategy and play activities requiring athleticism and dexterity (Edwards, 1999). Edwards and Coleman (2002) explain:

Indigenous people around the country would play traditional games and sports, involving hunting skills such as spear and boomerang throwing as well as more universal sports such as wrestling, hide and seek and ball games similar to soccer and touch football. Aboriginal women and girls had their own sports, including a form of netball. Unlike the white man's sports there was rarely a winner or loser. Games were played mostly for enjoyment and the outstanding athletes were seldom rewarded (p. 22).

However, after Aboriginal societies were fragmented by European annexation of land, many Aboriginal people were subsequently confined to colonial reserves and missions. This dislocation meant that traditional Aboriginal sports and games began to lose their functional relevance, with the meaning and significance of such activities not passed onto later generations (Adair, 2011a). Recently, there have been efforts to trace, record and revive traditional Indigenous games. Using the medium of oral history, Queensland academic Ken Edwards has spent many years talking with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Elders (Edwards, 1999). With the assistance of the Australian Sports Commission, Edwards has produced a booklet for schools and community groups that explains the traditional purpose of particular Indigenous games and how they may be played today (Edwards, 2009). This is a

significant development: through sport and recreation non-Aboriginal Australians can be introduced to aspects of a living culture. Adair (2011a) makes the important point, too often Indigenous history and customs are neglected as 'irrelevant' in discourses of modernity in Australia.

Persistent perceptions of deficit, difference and conflict have characterised and constrained the history of relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians since contact (Gorringe, Ross, & Fforde, 2011, p. 4). Australian history tells a shameful story of the treatment of its First Peoples, with colonisation having a devastating effect on the physical, spiritual, social and cultural wellbeing of Indigenous Australians (Collard, 2000). From the murderous activities of colonial settlers, the forcible removal of Indigenous peoples from their traditional lands, protective legislation to promote assimilation policies, restriction of movement and segregation on home reserves, the forcible removal of thousands of Indigenous Australian children from their homes (HREOC's *Bringing Them Home* report, 1997), to ongoing disenfranchising and marginalising government policies, and racism and discrimination. "Disadvantage is an everyday occurrence and has been normalised for Indigenous Australians, there is an enormous disparity between the opportunities and living standards of Indigenous and Anglo-Australian people" (Campbell, 2008, p. 18). Famous athlete, clergyman and former Governor of South Australia, Sir Douglas Nicholls OBE, said in a Melbourne public address in 1938 that his people were "the skeleton in the cupboard of Australia's national life . . . outcasts in our own land" (as cited in Tatz & Tatz, 2000, p. 138). Consider that it was not until 1967 that there was a referendum to have Indigenous people counted in the Census. Together, these events clearly indicate that Indigenous Australians have been the subject of profound social, cultural and economic disadvantage (Evans et al., 2015).

Seminal works such as *Aborigines in sport* (Tatz, 1987), *Obstacle Race – Aborigines in Sport* (Tatz, 1995), *Race, ethnicity and indigeneity: challenges and opportunities for embracing diversity in sport* (Adair, 2010), *Managing ethnocultural and 'racial' diversity in sport: Obstacles and opportunities* (Adair, Taylor, & Darcy, 2010) and Adair's edited book *Sport, Race and Ethnicity: Narratives of Difference and Diversity* (2011) have contributed greatly to the field of

race, racism and sport. In *Indigenous People, Race Relations and Australian Sport* (2013), Hallinan and Judd cover race relations between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population, including how sport can bridge the Indigenous health divide. Law academic Lawrence McNamara (2001) has also contributed to research on racist abuse targeted at Indigenous players from fans, recognising this as a substantial problem in the AFL.

As a counter to the prevailing Anglo-Australian nationalist discourse, Darren Godwell and Daryle Rigney were the first Indigenous academics to raise questions about the celebratory tone linked to Indigenous sports success stories and the state of race relations (Godwell, 2000; Rigney, 2003). Hallinan (2015) says that other work included in this era addressed the yet to be resolved structural racism in leading sports, the issues surrounding the racial dimensions of Cathy Freeman's Olympic success (Bruce & Hallinan, 2000), and field work research entirely devoted to Aboriginal sports teams (Hallinan & Judd, 2007; Judd & Hallinan, 2008).

Professor Colin Tatz has conducted comprehensive work in the area of Indigenous achievement and racism in sport (1987, 1993, 2003, 2009). He believes that it has taken great courage for many Indigenous sportsmen and women to overcome racial prejudices, stereotypes, biases and a lack of cultural awareness in order to excel at their chosen sport. Take the example in 1903, the Queensland Amateur Athletic Association tried to disbar all Aborigines, firstly, because they lacked moral character, then because they had insufficient intelligence, and finally because they couldn't resist white vice. When all these criteria failed, the Association deemed them all 'professionals'" (Tatz, 2003). Or of Frank Fisher, regarded by many as the most talented athlete Barambah Aboriginal Settlement (Qld) ever produced. A five-eighth or centre, his one chance at representative honours came when he played for Wide Bay against the 1934 English touring side. He was described by the English captain as 'the best country player the team met in Australia', but an offer to play professional rugby league was vetoed by the settlement authorities. As his son Norman 'Tolliver' Fisher said: "The colour bar blacks can only reach a certain level then once they reached that level . . . to play for their country was a no-no – though they weren't told in so many words. They had to give some sort of excuse" (Edwards & Coleman, 2002, p. 34). Fisher's grand-

daughter Cathy Freeman took up the family mantle when she showcased her sporting prowess to the world at the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000, where she won the 400 metre gold medal.

In 1993, the visiting International Olympic Committee told protesting Aboriginal delegations that it wasn't interested in abysmal social conditions, only in sports discrimination. Tatz (1993) says:

Regrettably, the Redfern Legal Service and others didn't discuss the 'sporting' conditions at Toomelah, Mornington Island, Hopevale, Kalumburu, Mowanjum, Yalata, Wilcannia and Kintore, among many others - conditions which portray not only state and national neglect and total social breakdown, but which also, contrary to the great illusion of sporting brotherhood, demonstrate that certain words simply don't exist in the Aboriginal vocabulary or experience: words like track, oval, turf, pool, changeroom, gym, weights, sauna, trainer, coach, physio, manager and trophy.

There is also the stereotypical opinion of the Aboriginal athlete that has permeated history that they are unreliable under pressure, unable to concentrate for long periods of time and likely to throw it all in when the going gets tough. Just as outstanding cricketer Eddie Gilbert in the 1930s was expected to wilt when he came up against the top-class batsmen of the country (including Don Bradman who he bowled out several times), rugby league try-scoring champion Nathan Blacklock 'couldn't tackle' and dual rugby league-rugby union international Andrew Walker 'went walkabout' and the boxing Mundines (father and son, Tony and Anthony), suffer from a 'glass jaw' (Edwards & Coleman, 2002). Academic Sean Gorman explored how Indigenous footballers are often portrayed in the media through stereotypes such as 'magic' and 'naturally gifted' in *Brotherboys: The story of Jim and Phil Krakouer* (2005) and *Blak Magik: Indigenous Identity in the Media in the 1980s* (2008). Gorman also provides many examples of famous Indigenous Australian rules footballers to help support this phenomenon in *Legends: The AFL Indigenous Team of the Century* (2011a) and in *Black Magic? White muddle more like it* (2011). These include: Krakouer Magic (Jim and Phil Krakouer), Phil 'Magic' Narkle, Michael 'Mago' McLean, The Wizard (Jeff Farmer), the Walpiri Wizard (Liam Jurrah) and Mr Magic (Maurice Rioli). These descriptions make the insinuation that Indigenous footballers don't need to work as hard to succeed as a

non-Indigenous player and perpetuate a false stereotype of Indigenous Australians as lazy and disorganised (Godwell, 2000).

Godwell (2000) also questions: “the success of many Aboriginal...athletes stand as a testament to individual skill and fortune. But can these efforts also be cited as evidence of Indigenous peoples making gains in all aspects of their lives?” (p. 13).

Benefits of sport for Indigenous people – previous research

Despite negative Aboriginal experiences in sport, Newlin and Moran (1999) make the salient point that “there have always been Aboriginal achievers in sport, but few people know this” (p. 35). Sport historians, led by Colin Tatz, have tried to rectify this lack of awareness, while also detailing ways in which Indigenous people have been discriminated against in sport and society (Tatz, 1987, 1995, Tatz & Tatz, 2000). Tatz contends that sport has offered Indigenous Australians opportunities to excel and be recognised in a positive form (Tatz, 1987; Tatz & Adair, 2009). Many other authors have also established that sport can provide a vital pathway to improving the social and economic wellbeing of Indigenous communities and plays a very important part of contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander life (Ware & Meredith, 2013; AIHW, 2011; Beneforti & Cunningham, 2002). According to Godwell (2000), sport is one option for Indigenous Australians to gain social mobility and the opportunity to climb the ladder of social improvement. It can also play a role in maintaining good physical and mental health in Indigenous communities and “acts as a catalyst for social and tradition cohesion” (Cameron & MacDougall, 2000, p. 1). Tatz (1987, 1995) highlights a variety of reasons for Indigenous people choosing sports such as boxing, athletics and rugby league. These include: easier access to stadium sports in comparison with sports conducted in private clubs such as cycling or tennis; fewer class requirements traditionally found in cricket and rowing clubs; fewer requirements for expensive sporting equipment; because exclusion based on colour was not as prevalent in these sports; the popularity of these sports in the community, and; increasing number of Indigenous Australian sportspeople as role models. This theme is explored in more detail in Chapter Seven.

Several recent reports clearly demonstrate the beneficial effects of participation in sports and recreation for supporting healthy Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. *Supporting healthy communities through sports and recreation programs* (Ware & Meredith, 2013), which reviewed over 30 studies, covering all geographic areas from inner city to remote regions, and age groups ranging from primary school to young adults, showed that there are many benefits to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities from participation in sport and recreational programs. Those highlighted include: some improvements in school retention, attitudes towards learning, social and cognitive skills, physical and mental health and wellbeing; increased social inclusion and cohesion; increased validation of and connection to culture; and some evidence of crime reduction. However, the paper showed that although the effects of sports and recreation programs can be powerful and transformative, these effects tend to be indirect and therefore hard to measure. Recent research on the impact of surfing in Indigenous communities (Rynne & Rossi, 2012) found that a number of surfing programs in Australia have a positive impact on the lives of participants and their communities, and contributes to personal development and positive social outcomes.

It should be emphasised, that sport for many Indigenous people is not a luxury or a leisure activity - sport can be seen as more important to them than it is for most segments of Australian society. In Edwards and Colman's book *Eddie Gilbert: The True Story of an Aboriginal Cricketing Legend* (2002), an early Aboriginal cricketing legend Paddy Jerome explains:

Sport was one area where we knew we could excel. A chance to get back at the way we were treated and saw our people treated. If ever the Barambah Aboriginal People needed confirmation that they were the equal of any white they only had to look at the score of the latest football match or cricket game (p. 42).

As Tatz and Tatz (2000) assert: "In many ways, sport is survival: it provides purpose in life, an activity of real meaning, a reason for being, a sense of power and empowerment, a feeling of autonomy, however brief" (p. 33). The *Investigating Indicators for Measuring the Health and Social Impact of Sport and Recreation Programs in Indigenous Communities report* (Beneforti & Cunningham, 2002), which proposed indicators for measuring health and social outcomes from sport and

recreation programs in Indigenous communities, stressed the need to concurrently monitor and evaluate programs, structures and processes to provide insight into what makes them succeed or fail in their aims. Kickett-Tucker (1997) acknowledges that for some Indigenous youth, sport remains a site of recognition and power that they do not feel privy to in other contexts such as the classroom. However, she concedes that sport may also be a site for further disempowerment for those who are not good at sport. The benefits of sport to Indigenous people and communities are explained in more detail in Chapter Six.

Current barriers for Indigenous participation in sport

Tatz and Tatz (2000) argue that the current situation reflects the Aboriginal experience since 1850: “for Aborigines and Islanders, there has been exclusion from competition, discrimination within it and at times gross inequality of chances, choices and facilities” (p. 7). Barriers identified for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in sport include: the difference and diversity of geographical location; the exclusiveness of the current structure of some sports; lack of financial resources; lack of role models working in and playing the game; lack of information and knowledge about the game, and the need for respect (AHRC, 2007; Ware & Meredith, 2013). In most remote Aboriginal communities, “sports facilities still comprise an unmarked dusty paddock to practice football or cricket” (Booth & Tatz, 2000, pp. 202-203).

Many researchers have recognised that there are a range of institutional and administrative barriers to participation in sport for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (AHRC, 2007; Gemmell, 2007; Tatz, 1987, 1995; Hallinan & Hughson, 2009; Hallinan & Judd, 2009). National, state and territory governments and sporting organisations at all levels have extensive Indigenous programs in place; however, there still remains a range of barriers to participation.

The Australian Sports Commission (ASC) has conducted several research projects in recent years that have reviewed issues affecting the integrity of Australian sport, such as discrimination and inclusion of Indigenous people, and assessed the processes and programs to address these. They include: the *Integrity in Sport Literature Review* (ASC, 2011a), *Junior Sport Framework Review* (ASC, 2013a),

and the *Ethical and Integrity Issues in Australian Sport survey* (ASC, 2010). All of this research concluded that while there are some effective projects and programs happening to address exclusion, discrimination and abuse in sport for Indigenous people, there is still much work to be done and more analysis and evaluation to be conducted. The institutional racism, and racial vilification and abuse of Indigenous people are explored further in Chapter Five, while the barriers and benefits to participation for this group is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Sport and people from CaLD backgrounds

In Mosley's ground-breaking *Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer* (1995) he says "considering the importance of post-war immigration to Australian society and the accent placed on sport in this country, it is almost inconceivable that studies combining the two are few" (p. 2). However this is the reality, with key Australian immigration and migration texts discussing sport very little, and similarly, sports histories making passing reference to migration or notable migrant players (Hess & Stewart, 1998).

While Jupp's *The Australian People* (2001) provides an insight into sport from different settler groups, it is Georgakis' book *Sport and the Australian Greek* (2000) that presents a thorough analysis of Greek migrants participation in sport throughout Australian history. *Sporting Immigrants* (Mosely et al., 1997) provides an extensive analysis of the role of migrants in various sports in Australia; arguing that it is "not a series of exhaustive analysis, but rather some preliminary analyses which test some major hypotheses and provide direction for further study" (p. 151).

The academic literature surrounding Australian soccer (football) is one of the few sporting areas where the experiences and challenges facing post war migrants have been explored in detail. Phillip Mosley (1994) has written extensively on the experiences of migrants in Australian soccer arguing that sport, in particular soccer, is an area where notions of ethnicity, race, assimilation and multiculturalism have been played out. *Sheilas, Wogs and Poofers, an Incomplete Biography of Johnny Warren and Soccer in Australia* (Warren, Harper, & Whittington, 2006) provides an overview of the cultural background of soccer in Australia, while renowned football commentator Les Murray's autobiography *By the Balls: Memoirs of a Football*

Tragic (2006a), is a good articulation of his own immigrant experience, which sports journalist Joe Gorman says “is crucial to understand the history of soccer in Australia” (2014, June 9, para. 7). Roy Hay and Bill Murray address the issue of ethnicity throughout *A History of Football in Australia: A Game of Two Halves* (2014), describing how from as early as the 1880s clubs such as Caledonian and Melbourne Thistle were created in opposition to the clubs run by English colonialists. Hay (2014) says that ethnicity in Australian soccer has been a good thing, especially when waves of European immigrants began arriving after World War II: “There were a lot of people who arrived with no English and no understanding of Australian society. Where would you go to find a commonality, to find people who talked your language, to find people who did not look down on you? I describe ethnic clubs as transitional organisations – places where people could adapt to Australian society at their own pace.”

Other examples of where academics have researched CaLD and migrant participation in Australian sport are highlighted further in the next section. Among these is Tracey Taylor’s (2004) *The Rhetoric of Exclusion*, which provides excellent insights into perspectives of cultural diversity in Australian netball. She found that it was often the case “that Muslim women are not interested in participating in a sport that forces them to abandon or hide their cultural distinctiveness as a condition for involvement” (2004, p. 472). The chapter by Stewart, Hess, and Dixon in *Sporting Immigrants* (1997) provides a comprehensive discussion of migrant participation in Australian rules football, tracing some of the most important migrant figures in the game’s history, and in the process raises important questions about racism, discrimination and abuse endured by players and fans. The 2007 *What’s the Score report: A survey of racism and cultural diversity* (AHRC) researched 17 National Sporting Organisations in Australia and found a range of issues and barriers to participation for people from CaLD backgrounds. This thesis has also contributed to this field by conducting new research, analysis and comparison of three of the sports surveyed in the original *What’s the Score?* report – Australian rules football, netball and cricket – which is the focus of Chapter Seven.

To analyse the sporting experiences for people from CaLD backgrounds in Australia, it is first necessary to place it in context with the country's historical migration and assimilation policies.

Ethnicity has been part of Australian sport since the nineteenth century. "Scots were particularly noticeable in golf and lawn bowls, Irish Catholics were prominent as bookmakers in the racing industry, while the English were especially zealous about cricket and fox hunting. These practices were basically extensions of migrant cultural baggage in the Antipodes" (Adair, 1998). However, it would be misleading to speak of ethnic enclaves among the Australian population or within the sporting culture of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, sport appears to have been less affected by sectarianism than education, party politics and the public service (Hogan, 1987; Kildea, 2002).

In Australia, historical research into sport and ethnicity has focused principally on the second half of the twentieth century (Mosely, 1997). It was given impetus as a subject for inquiry by the emergence of a federal government policy of multiculturalism, first adopted by Labor in 1973. Previously, New Australians were expected to assimilate into a dominant English-speaking, Anglo-Celtic culture. Now there was an emphasis on respect for group differences within a society that, as a consequence of mass migration - not only from Europe, but increasingly Asia - had become more culturally diverse and ethnically cosmopolitan (Jupp, 1991). Sport therefore remained a culturally conservative institution within which traditional forms and norms of physical activity dominated (Adair, 2011, p. 10).

Spaaij et al. (2013) suggest: "when looking at diversity in regard to the engagement and maintenance of 'difference' in Australian society, a key (but not the only) broader, longitudinal policy platform from where this stems is multiculturalism" (p. 7). Australia's Race Discrimination Commissioner, Dr Tim Soutphommasane, highlighted in an interview on ABC radio titled *Australian Multiculturalism in an Asian Century: The Case for Racial Tolerance* (2014) that the modern story of Australia is one of a nation of immigrants:

Apart from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, all of us have been immigrants or are the descendants of immigrants. The successive waves of

immigration following the Second World War, moreover, had the effect of transforming the character of Australian society. It is remarkable to think that when the Second World War came to its end, more than 90 percent of Australia was British or Irish in ethnicity. We no longer have such a homogenous population. Nearly half of the national population is first or second-generation Australian. 28 percent of Australians were born overseas, with an additional 20 percent having a parent who was born overseas (para. 6).

The trajectory of sport organisations has, by and large, paralleled these same phases in government immigration policies, and until recently, most major sports remained relatively mono-cultural (ASC, 2012b). In the past two decades however, there has been a greater emphasis on social inclusion and the engagement of various communities into sport - with a particular focus on attracting people from CaLD backgrounds (Taylor & Toohey, 1998). Yet Adair (2011, p.11) says this “has coincided, ironically, with a move away from sports clubs dedicated to particular ethnic groups and towards the 'cosmopolitanising' of Australian sport culture - within which people of all ancestries and skin colours are assumed to have a place.” This theme of loss has also been noticeable among soccer clubs that were originally formed to cater for the fraternal needs of ethnic groups from non-English speaking backgrounds - Italians, Greeks, Serbs, Croats etc. (Mosely, 1994; Hay, 1994).

As the Australian population has changed in recent decades, participation in sport has also become increasingly diverse, but people from CaLD backgrounds have traditionally low levels of participation in sport and physical activity. The reasons include: cultural differences, attitudes (interpersonal, institutional and internalised) and a lack of awareness, knowledge and accessibility (Skene, 2012). However, things have changed substantially in the last decade; the evidence suggests that sport often now plays a critical role in creating connections and respect between different individuals and groups.

But as Adair, Taylor, and Darcy (2010) lament: “the policy rhetoric of cultural diversity has often not translated into sport management practice” (p. 307), with some groups and individuals “remaining marginalised or subordinated despite institutional goals of affirmative action and other equity-based reforms in sport” (p. 307).

Benefits of sport for CaLD people – previous research

Consensus from research and consultation with members suggests that sports can play a vital role in contributing to positive settlement outcomes, promoting social inclusion and supporting migrant and refugee integration into Australian society (Settlement Council of Australia, 2012). The social interactions that occur through participation in sporting teams and community clubs play an important part in shaping and reinforcing patterns of community identification and community belonging (Atherley, 2006; Cortis, Sawrikar, & Muir, 2007).

In terms of nation building, sport also plays “an integral part in the settlement of new arrivals to Australia and offers well-documented physical, psychological, and social benefits to participants” (SCOA, 2012, p. 1). Fundamentally, participation helps establish social networks for migrants and refugees living in Australia and can offer a social and political space in which to cultivate cultural diversity (CMY, 2009).

There have been a range of recent reports that investigate the engagement of CaLD communities in sport, including: *Engaging Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Communities in Physical Activity – a Discussion Paper* (Centre for Culture, Ethnicity and Health, 2006); *Participation in Sport and Recreation by Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Women* (Cortis, Sawrikar, & Muir, 2007); and *Challenging Barriers to Undertaking Physical Activity among CaLD Groups – Mature Age* (National Ageing Research Centre, 2008). In a survey conducted by the Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY, 2009), the main reasons newly-arrived young people participate in sport and recreation are to learn new skills, make friends, fun, and for fitness. The survey highlighted that resettlement issues, such as cultural differences, language barriers and disrupted schooling can make the adjustment into Australian society for people from a CaLD background difficult (CMY, 2009). Many migrants and refugees have found that participation in sport has helped them establish social networks and “can offer a social and political space in which to cultivate team diversity” (SCOA, 2012, p. 2).

The benefits of sport to people from CaLD backgrounds are explained in more detail in Chapter Six.

Current barriers for CaLD participation in sport

There are also some significant barriers to participation in sport for people from CaLD backgrounds. The *What's the Score? report: A survey of racism and cultural diversity* (AHRC, 2007) highlighted how many new arrivals may not know what sporting clubs exist in their area or how to go about joining a club, while others may feel intimidated or uncomfortable about approaching a club without the support of friends or peers. The report also found that family, community or religious commitments can pose barriers to participation, including: a restriction of the days or times certain faiths can play or train; the type of food that can be eaten at functions; when food or drink may be taken; and the clothing that may be worn, particularly by women. It also highlighted how young women from a CaLD background are particularly limited from participating in sport due to barriers within their own communities and those that they face from sporting organisations. Other barriers to women's participation that were reported included: language barriers (a particular problem for newly-arrived migrants and older women), limited information, limited resources and limited transport (AHRC, 2007). Tracy Taylor (2002) found similar barriers in her research into Muslim women and netball, as did McCarroll (2013) in his involvement with football youth in Sydney's west.

The Settlement Council of Australia (2012) has also identified a number of barriers that limit migrants and refugees' engagement in sports and impact on the success of sports programs. These include: lack of funding; lack of communication and collaboration between sporting and settlement organisations; issues surrounding cultural sensitivity and appropriateness; lack of opportunities for women in sports; and lack of information around sporting opportunities (p. 2). VicHealth's *Immigrant Physical Activity Study* (2011) found that key interpersonal barriers included: conflict with cultural expectations or beliefs; conflict with religious rules, beliefs or expectations, and; conflict about clothes that should be worn. The study reported that each of these three barriers was significantly more prevalent in the migrant groups than the Australian-born reference group.

The Australian Sports Commission and the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) conducted research in 2012 into the future of Australian sport. *The Future of Australian Sport* report (Hajkowicz, Cook,

Wilhelmseder, & Boughen, 2013) highlights six sports megatrends that may redefine the sport sector over the next 30 years. It highlights how different cultures have varied sporting preferences and recreation habits, and sporting organisations will be challenged with capturing the interest and involvement of these diverse cultures. The ASC, in consultation with sport sector partners, also identified a need for research to better understand what is driving the Australian community's participation in sport and other types of physical activities. The aim of the *Market Segmentation for Sports Participation Study* (ASC, 2013b) was to identify and articulate the different motivations, attitudes, needs and barriers that influence people's decisions and behaviours in relation to sport and, in particular, participation in club-based sport. The study found the segment of 'Sport Driven' club members do a lot of physical activity, but keep their social activity within the club to a minimum. This segment is often younger, wealthier urbanites, with a high proportion from CaLD backgrounds. This study resulted in the ASC commissioning a needs-based consumer centric market segmentation model for Australian sports participants and non-sports participants. All of this research, including the ASC's *Junior Sport Framework Review* (2013a) highlighted how programs that target increasing participation and diversity experiences for Indigenous and Torres Strait Islanders and those from CaLD backgrounds are recommended now and into the future as a matter of priority.

Social benefits of sport and social capital

Any discussion about social connections, networks and inclusion in sport requires investigation and review of the literature around the concept of social capital and its different forms, whether engagement by individuals with sport and sporting clubs contributes to the development of social capital in communities, and if so how. This section analyses the discussions around the concept of social capital and its different forms, and the main bodies of work that support and oppose the premise that sport and sporting clubs contribute to the development of social capital in communities.

The definition and measurement of sport's contribution to aspects of social capital have been the focus of much investigation in recent times by a range of scholars - none more so than by Professor Fred Coalter, whose work in the field is referenced widely in the chapters three, four and eight. Coalter (2005) says that

“clubs have differing relationships with local communities, with geographical and social mobility frequently loosening previously strong social and cultural links” (p. 27), and suggests there are opportunities for the development of forms of social capital via leagues, competitions, governing bodies and ground sharing. He argues, “the nature of the club and its ethos has substantial implications for its contribution to inclusiveness, community coherence and the development of social capital” (p. 27).

Sporting organisations and governments are increasingly recognising the importance of community level sport and its role in promoting physical activity and addressing wider health issues and community concerns (VicHealth, 2010b, 2013). There is also widespread consensus that sport also plays an important role in the personality development for those involved, teaching life skills and values (Butcher & Schneider, 2003). While Festini (2011) argues that grassroots sporting clubs help teach values, volunteerism, cooperation, leadership, teamwork and helps in dealing with adversity.

Taking part with others in mutually enjoyable sporting activities or events is seen as a way of forming and maintaining relationships. Social participation can include attendance at cultural, sporting or community venues and events; which provide important contexts for people to meet and share in the life of the wider community (ABS, 2006). The benefits of social interaction from attending cultural events and sporting matches have been well documented (ABS, 2011b). An important study by Cuypers, Krokstad, Holmen, Knudtsen, Bygren, and Holmen (2012) showed an improvement in feelings of wellbeing through cultural and sporting attendance; with people who engaged in cultural activities and sports reporting better health and satisfaction with life, as well as lower levels of anxiety and depression.

Sport's social network

Communities are marked by “deep, familiar and co-operative ties between people that often involve a high degree of personal intimacy, moral commitment, social cohesion and continuity in time” (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008, p. 255). They are also committed to a clearly defined set of values that guide their behaviour

through allied social norms (Field, 2003). Membership of any community provides a sense of belonging or being a part of a broader collective association. However, with membership comes boundaries which signifies which people belong and those who don't (Bourdieu, 1986). McMillan & Chavis (1986) suggest that these boundaries grant the members the emotional safety essential for needs and feelings to be bared and for closeness to arise.

Sport is widely regarded as a core component of social inclusion in Australian communities through "its ability to provide 'an excellent hook' for engaging people who may be suffering from disadvantage and... a supportive environment to encourage and assist those individuals in their social development, learning and in making a connection through related programs and services" (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008, p. 271). The social interactions, networks and sense of community created through sport clearly remain a powerful force. The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation report *Understanding barriers to sport participation* (VicHealth, 2010a) found "people's ability to not only play or participate with friends, but also the opportunity to meet and make new friends, was a major factor in their previous involvement in organised sport and a key attraction of future participation" (p. 5). The report highlighted that the social aspect was clearly more important for these participants than the competitive aspect. Research from (Bailey, Cope, & Pearce, 2013) found that social interaction is an important motivating factor driving sports participation, this includes opportunities for working together and gaining social acceptance (Smith, Balaguer, & Duda, 2006), making friendships (Light & Lemonie, 2010) and meeting new people (MacPhail, Gorely, & Kirk, 2003).

Sport is also claimed to offer an opportunity for diverse community groups and individuals to come together and interact on a social level. It is seen as performing "an important bridging role between people across different class, age and ethnic background" (Tonts, 2005, p. 147). As Australia's leading demographer Bernard Salt says, sport "delivers social inclusion and, importantly, social resilience. It builds connectivity in society" (2012, para. 12). VicHealth assert that sport and recreation provides opportunities and settings for social interaction, sharing common interests and enhancing a sense of community (2010b, 2013). While according to the

Australian Human Rights Commission (2007), sport seems to break down barriers in a way that other areas of society simply cannot; bringing feelings of respect and acceptance (Bergin, 2002, p. 257).

However, like many claims of sports' ability to produce a range of outcomes, these require further critical analysis.

Sport and the creation of social capital

Research in a number of academic fields has shown that social networks operate on many levels; from small families up to large nations. Broadly defined as "a social structure made up of individuals (or organisations) which are connected together by one or more specific types of interdependency, social networks exist as a result of friendships, common interest, or through a relationship of beliefs, knowledge or prestige" (Godber, 2012, p. 9). In a sporting context, whether the connection is parent/child, coach/athlete or athlete/athlete, social network analysis refers to nodes and ties, where nodes represent individuals or organisations, and ties represent edges, links or connections between nodes (Scott, 2000). "A person's social network in and with sport is very complex, and the various types of ties between nodes can play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, how organisations [such as sporting clubs] are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals" (Godber, 2012, p. 9). The nodes to which an individual is connected are the social contacts or network of that individual. The network can also be used to measure social capital or the value that an individual gains from their social network (Bourdieu, 1986).

It is important to understand what connects particular groups of people to particular sports activities and what role these play in the reproduction of inequality in a given society (Washington & Karen, 2001, p. 4). In *Sport and Social Class* Bourdieu (1991) makes several key points worth consideration in respect to this thesis: (1) sports must be considered a "field" which has its own dynamics, history, and chronology and is relatively autonomous from the society of which it is a part; (2) "sport, like any other practice, is an object of struggles between the fractions of the dominant class and between the social classes" (p. 361); (3) we must understand both what led to the "shift whereby sport as an elite practice reserved for amateurs

became sport as a spectacle produced by professionals for consumption by the masses" (p. 364) and the political economy of all the accompanying personnel and industries involved with equipment, production, administration; and (4) the relationship between a social class and its sports participation will depend on spare time, economic and cultural capital, and the meanings and functions attributed to the sports practices by the various social classes (Washington & Karen, 2001).

Of the various social elements within a community, the potential of sporting organisations, through their networks of volunteers and participants, as a way to contribute to positive social capital is widely recognised (Blackshaw & Long, 2005; Coalter, 2007a; Hoye & Nicholson, 2009; Maxwell, Taylor, & Foley, 2011; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008; Putnam, 2000; Tonts, 2005; Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009). A range of research, analysis and studies in Europe and the United States confirm the role of sport in promoting social capital.

Delaney and Keaney (2005) believe that sport can be a useful tool for building up community networks and relationships in the UK. Their analysis of statistical studies from British and international surveys revealed specific links between sport participation and social capital, including identifying strong correlations between the level of sports membership, and levels of social trust and well-being. De Graaf and Jordan (2003) showed through their research conducted in the United States the important role of sport and recreation in promoting a sense of well-being and happiness, and promoting close relationships, social support, purpose and hope. They contend that "individuals, communities and organisations have the capacity to develop their own social capital and this capacity can be found in participation in networks; in the opportunities to develop trust and form new relationships across age, ethnic, religious and economic lines; and by embedding the notion of pooled resources as a benefit to all" (p. 24). Vermeulen and Verweel's (2009) study on social capital in sport in The Netherlands focused on possible differences in the development of social capital between non-autochthonous people participating in mixed (*gemengd*) sport clubs versus those participating in separate (*eigen*) clubs. They found that one third of the respondents said that they generated their social networks, their self-esteem and trust in others primarily through sport. In total, 30 percent of the respondents changed their images and opinions of other

ethnic groups through their participation in sport - the change was positive for 26 percent and only four percent changed their opinions in a negative way (p. 1209).

In Australia, researchers such as Nicholson and Hoye (2008), Atherley (2006), Zakus, Skinner, and Edwards (2009), Lock et al. (2008), Spaaij (2009a), Spaaij et al. (2013) and Darcy et al. (2014) have all explored the benefits of social capital and sport and recognise that “sport clubs are the key delivery point for sport in Australia and thus have the greatest potential for the generation of social capital and building of community capacity” (Atherley, 2006, p. 987). Onxy (2014) also argues: “To the extent that the particular organisation is embedded within a local community, then the individual members as well as the organisation as a whole will develop a commitment to supporting the whole community. This commitment may be recognised as a strong sense of citizenship” (p. 4). In Zakus, Skinner, and Edwards’ (2009) research on sport and social capital in Australian society they examine data from a number of recent studies looking for evidence for sport’s contribution to social capital. They cite surveys used in a market research project for Basketball Australia and the National Basketball League; and a survey used in a study for the Australian Football League which sought to determine one community’s interest in and support for this code, as well as understanding sport’s role in generating community identity of a rapidly growing regional Australian city. They found that sport, sporting clubs and other organisations comprising the sport delivery system play an important role in building local and national social capital, thereby enhancing life in Australia. A study by Lock et al. (2008) of Australian soccer suggests that the combination of sport and the ethnic clubs that have long been associated with the sport, were beneficial to the development of social capital and the social bonding that these organisations provided for new migrants and refugees, and has subsequently extended into social bridging through wider ethnic business networks and associations.

Several authors have conducted recent research in Australia to show how sporting clubs are often regarded as the central element of rural life. In his study of sport and social capital in rural Western Australia, Tonts (2005) reported that respondents each agreed (over 90 percent) to the two survey statements: sport is an important way of keeping in touch with friends and family; and sport is important in

promoting a sense of community in this area. He found for those involved, sport provides a forum for social interaction and such networks form the basis for the creation and expression of social capital (as cited in Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009). However, he states that this has its limits; with intra-club divisions and those not involved in sport and many Aboriginals experiencing a sense of social exclusion. Bourke (2001, p. 122) also found “that local sporting clubs are a main focus of community life and participation in, or exclusion from, such groups affects residents’ daily life, social networks, community integration and flow of information.”

Driscoll and Wood (1999) explored the role of sport and recreation clubs during times of social and economic change, and their contribution to development of social capital in a rural Victorian community. They concluded that sports clubs have the potential to perform wide-ranging socio-cultural functions, such as: leadership, participation, skill development, health promotion, a community hub, social networks and community identity. Pooley, Cohen, and Pike (2005) concluded from their case study on life experiences in urban and rural settings, that belonging to and participating in local sport clubs can add to the social capital of communities, whether in an urban or rural context. While Frost, Lightbody, and Halabi (2013) found that despite the changes that have occurred in rural communities in recent decades, rural Australian rules football clubs still contribute to social inclusion by providing opportunities for country people to form close associations with particular places and to express a sense of unity with, and enthusiasm for, their local community.

A ‘darker’ shade of social capital

Despite some evidence that sport and social capital are a good mix, some authors do not agree with this premise. Numerati and Baglioni (2012) define a negative side to social capital as “situations in which trust, social ties and shared beliefs and norms that may be beneficial to some persons are detrimental to other individuals, sport movements, or for society at large” (p. 594). They state that “more in-depth theoretical and empirical explorations have demonstrated that social capital in sport, as in other social spheres, generates both positive and negative consequences for those who practice it as well as for their society” (p. 595). This is what (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008, p. 12) term “the dark side of social capital,” which

can be linked to problems such as racism, sectarianism, social exclusion and corruption (Field, Schuller & Baron, 2000). Vermeulen and Verweel (2009) argue that while sport does make contributions to the development of social capital, bonding and bridging are much more complex and differentiated processes than is usually assumed in both social policies and social capital theory and “sport is as much a divider as an integrator” (p. 1206).

Spaaij (2012) examined the extent to and ways in which participation in sport contributes to Somali Australians’ bonding, bridging and linking social capital. He showed how social bonds and bridges developed in the sports context assist in the rebuilding of community networks that have been eroded by events such as war and displacement. Spaaij established that bridging social capital in sport is relatively weak and few bridges are established between Somalis and the host community. He highlighted how negative social encounters such as discrimination and aggression can reinforce group boundaries, and access to and use of linking social capital is unequally distributed across gender, age, ethnic and socio-economic lines. Maxwell et al. (2011) studied how organisational practices facilitate and inhibit the social inclusion of Muslim women in a community sport setting in Lakemba (Sydney) and found there are ranges of practices that facilitate social inclusion. However, she also found some of the practices that contributed to social inclusion at the club for Muslim women resulted in social exclusion for non-Muslim women. As evidenced in Chapter Seven, all of the sports that are investigated for this thesis show dual examples of sport contributing to social inclusion as well as exclusion.

A major limitation of social capital, highlighted by Bourdieu (1991) and Baron, Field, and Schuller (2000), is its failure to adequately address issues of power and structural inequality. Researchers including Bourdieu (1986), Jarvie (2008), Delaney and Kearney (2005), Tonts (2005) and Atherley (2006) make the point that strong bonds within sporting clubs or organisations can make them homogeneous in their membership, and at the same time relatively hostile towards outsiders. Jarvie (2003) argues that it is unrealistic to expect sport to sustain a notion of social capital, civic engagement, or communitarianism without addressing the issues of ownership, obligations and stakeholding in sport (p. 153). I concur with Suzuki (2007) who points out, in terms of the contribution of sport-related projects to social capital,

simply meeting new people is not enough; what matters is what kind of people one meets via sport-related projects, and thus what kind of resources they are able to access. As Putnam (2000) states: “What really matters from the point of view of social capital and civic engagement is not merely nominal membership, but active and engaged membership” (p. 58).

Several authors in sports literature (Coalter, 2007a; Cashman & Hess, 2011; Darcy et al., 2014; Spaaij et al., 2013) suggest the contribution that sport and sporting organisations and clubs make to the development of social capital has yet to be fully categorised and empirically confirmed. Coalter (2007a) states that “more research is required to explore the processes of social capital formation in sport clubs” (p. 537) and the role sport and sport clubs play in building social capital and community capacity. Cashman (Cashman & Hess, 2011) also contends that sport’s role in the development of social capital and its relationship to the social inclusion agenda and community development in disadvantaged communities has not been systematically studied in Australia.

Darcy et al. (2014) contend “while sport studies have highlighted bonding-related social capital development, there is a need to understand both bonding and bridging social capital generation and development within sporting organisations, and how this social capital can contribute to individuals as human capital, the organisation and their local communities outside the narrow confines of competitive sport” (p. 4). While Frost et al. (2013) highlight that little is known about the contemporary strategic efforts of clubs to use social capital to support their activities, and whether the resources they generate have positive impacts on social inclusion in the wider community. Spaaij et al. (2013) also warns that sport’s contribution to social capital shouldn’t be over-stated or over-generalised. As Coalter says “even at the most basic, our understanding of the motivations underpinning sport is rather limited and rarely goes beyond correlations” (2007b, p. 20), as such, further exploration and research is required.

Conclusion

While scholars have traditionally argued the value of sport for sport’s sake, there is ample evidence from recent academic research and studies to support the

claims that sport can provide personal benefits such as improved physical and mental health, self-esteem and confidence, and broader sociological impacts such as increased community identity and unity, and can facilitate community belonging and development (collectively referred to as social capital).

However, many scholars have also highlighted that sport is not a magic bullet for social inclusion, and in many cases has played a role in creating and maintaining division, exclusion, racism and discrimination. Sport should offer a visual representation of our nation's demographic make-up, but as Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background can attest, it has not always kept pace with multicultural change nor provided opportunities for all. I investigate this assertion further in the coming chapters, and highlight what sports have adapted and progressed better than others in detail in Chapter Seven.

This review provides a sound basis for understanding the analytical and theoretical frameworks in respect to what sports means to people, its benefits and issues, and its potential to break down barriers and build cultural bridges, for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background. It has also discussed and evaluated the concept of social capital and the main bodies of work that support and oppose the premise that sport and those involved contribute to the promotion of social capital in communities. The following chapter aims to paint a picture of what exists in the current sporting landscape in regards to policies, programs and structures that governments, NGOs and sporting organisations have put in place to make sport 'safer, fairer and more inclusive' and how effective they are in promoting inclusion and non-discrimination.

CHAPTER 4

SAFE, FAIR AND INCLUSIVE SPORT?

To many, sport is everything. Sportspeople push themselves through extraordinary physical and mental barriers every week. Coaches and officials live and breathe every detail of the game, and spectators' support is both passionate and enduring. However, when something takes on this level of importance in people's lives it is inevitably going to bring out the best *and* worst in everyone involved (Oliver, 2012, p. 64).

Maddie is five. Her dad signed her up for her first ever mountain bike race - a single dirt track, one kilometre long. The race had all the trimmings – a starting gun, marshals and a finish line. Maddie tackled the course with gusto, got a prize for finishing and then rode the track four more times with her friends, just for fun. When asked later if she won, Maddie replied: 'I dunno' (*Play by the Rules*, 2013, February 8, para. 1). This story is a good example of what sport means to some children. Many researchers (Wearing, Swan, & Neil, 2010; Macdonald, Rodger, Abbott, Ziviani, & Jones, 2005), interviewees and online survey respondents for this project agreed about the benefits of sport for children and adults alike, highlighting sport's positive contribution to a person's health, fitness and well-being. The ASC (2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013a) suggest sport also helps develop gross motor skills, keeps people healthy, promotes cooperative play and good sportsmanship. Survey respondents also highlighted the positive emotional, psychological, and educational effects sport can have on individuals leading to personal growth, increased self esteem, greater confidence and an improved lifestyle. From my experience in sport I agree with Bailey, Cope and Pearce (2013) who contend that taking part in sport and other physical activities from an early age is important if children are to develop a foundation for lifelong physical engagement in healthy sporting experiences. I also concur with many of the participants in this research survey, from my coaching experience in junior soccer where I have witnessed this development in young

children and have seen the negative side of sport with parents abusing children and officials, which has caused some children to leave to sport altogether.

As a counterpoint to the positive aspects and effects listed above, consider the view of English writer George Orwell who wrote in *The Tribune* (1945) that serious sport “has nothing to do with fair play” it is “bound up with all hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence. In other words, it is war without the shooting” (p. 194). Orwell’s point is valid – modern day sport is not immune from unsafe practices, inequality, exclusion of opportunity and discrimination. The ASC’s *Ethical and Integrity Issues in Australian Sport Survey* (2010), which was conducted to identify the most prevalent and serious ethical and integrity issues in Australian sport, surveying over 3,700 players, coaches, officials and administrators across national, state and local sport levels, found that negative coaching behaviours/practices, athletes being pushed too hard, verbal abuse and going beyond the spirit of the game were the priority issues in Australian sport. The reality is, on average, sport’s contribution to and affect on people involved with it lies across all of these contrasting views. In my experience, the majority of people involved in sport do it for the right reasons, however the increase in incidents of abuse, discrimination and violence in sports across all levels is a concerning trend.

This chapter looks at the current sporting landscape in regards to policies, programs and structures that governments, national and state/territory sporting organisations and others have put in place to make sport a safer, fairer and more inclusive environment. With reference to the 101 online surveys, 32 interview responses and two focus groups for this project, it will then provide a summation on what ‘safe, fair and inclusive’ sport means to these participants and whether their sports actually fit their descriptors. It should be highlighted that ‘safe, fair and inclusive’ sport used throughout this chapter is a collective phrase coined by *Play by the Rules* which has come to be recognised by governments and sporting organisations to represent the integral elements needed as a basis in sporting environments. The author recognises that the term should be used with caution and distinctions should be drawn where appropriate. As such, definitions for each term are highlighted in the following section.

The chapter then investigates whether peoples' decisions to choose a particular sport over another has been influenced by these factors and highlights the main issues raised on what more needs to be done. Finally, it analyses the importance of culture for sporting organisations and clubs; showing how they are increasingly working to influence how they are seen and how they operate, so they are regarded positively by existing and potential participants (particularly Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds).

A framework to support sport

The national sport sector is a partnership between the Australian Government (represented by the ASC and the Office for Sport within the Department of Health), national sporting organisations and their affiliated bodies, state and territory government sports agencies, and a range of other groups. In February 2011, the Sport and Recreation Ministers' Council (SRMC) agreed to establish the first National Sport and Active Recreation Policy Framework to help guide the development of sports policy across Australia and provide clarification around the role of each layer of Australian sport. The framework provides a central focus, enabling better alignment of activities across tiers of government and optimizing resources to benefit sport and the broader community. It articulates under the priority area of 'system sustainability', the clear objective of safeguarding the integrity in sport and active recreation (ASC, 2011b). The Committee of Australian Sport and Recreation Officials (CASRO), made up of the chief executive officers or their equivalent of each state and territory department of sport and recreation, as well as the ASC and Office for Sport, has carriage of the implementation and monitoring of the National Sport and Active Recreation Policy Framework. In the main, the organisations work well together, however experience working across the various agencies has shown that communication and collaboration could be enhanced resulting in reduced duplication of resources and projects.

The vision for sport articulated in *Australian Sport: The Pathway to Success* (Australian Department of Health and Ageing, 2010), which was released by the federal Government as part of the 2010-11 Budget, aims to increase the numbers of Australians participating in sport, strengthen sporting pathways to link grassroots and high performance sport, and achieve success in elite sport. The plan highlights

the importance of understanding and removing existing barriers to participation through the creation of inclusive environments where participation can grow and commits the Australian Government: “to ensuring sporting opportunities are safe, fun and inclusive for all of our community members and to supporting sport to ensure that our nation’s diversity is reflected in participation” (p. 4). All levels, from national to grassroots sport, are required to place emphasis on good governance, member protection, safety, fairness and inclusion and opportunity for all, and to protect the integrity of sport. They attempt to achieve this through their constitutions, strategic plans, codes, policies, guidelines, procedures and a range of projects and campaigns, backed up by education and resources. As I will explain in this chapter, while the risk and governance system across sport is in place, there is often confusion across national, state and grassroots sport as to which policies or codes are applicable. There can also be issues for sports translating their governance ideals from national to junior levels and creating awareness and education, particularly around integrity issues such as match fixing and doping. This section highlights the roles of the various players in the Australian sporting landscape and the different contributions they make.

Sport and government

The Australian Government established the National Integrity of Sport Unit (NISU) in 2011 to provide national oversight, monitoring and coordination of efforts to protect the integrity of sport in Australia from threats of doping, match-fixing and other forms of corruption. The unit coordinates legislation, regulation, policies and administrative practices between the Commonwealth/states to allow governments to adopt measures to ensure sport is corruption-free (www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/content/national-integrity-of-sport-unit). At the 2013 Australian Sport and Recreation Ministers’ meeting, Ministers endorsed the expanded role of the NISU to include more proactive integrity threat identification, assessment and advisory services for sport, and the establishment of the Australian Sports Integrity Network (ASIN) to become the primary vehicle through which sporting organisations can discuss and coordinate responses to sport integrity issues. Their role has also included assisting NSOs to set up integrity units and frameworks (Australian Government, 2013).

The Australian Sports Commission is the peak Australian Government body responsible for the delivery of funding and development of Australian sport. The Commission plays a central leadership role in the development and operation of the Australian sports system, administering and funding sport programs and providing leadership, coordination and support for the sport sector (www.ausport.gov.au). The ASC's strategic plan, *Working Together for Australian Sport: 2011-12 to 2014-15* (ASC, 2011b), aims to increase adoption of values of fair play, self improvement and achievement; best practice management and governance of sport within and through national sporting organisations; and, growth in sports participation at the grass-roots level. The plan also outlines how it aims to build the capability of identified national sporting organisations to grow their sport's participation base, particularly with under-represented groups (women, Indigenous Australians, people with disability, and people from CaLD backgrounds). It should be noted, that prior to 2008 the ASC had separate units for disability, Indigenous, multicultural and women's sport which provided expertise to assist NSOs in these areas. Subsequent restructures within the organisation have resulted in the closure of these specialist areas and the expertise has been shared across various ASC Branches, with a realigned support role for sport so they can build their own programs and expertise in these areas. The results of these changes have been felt across sporting organisations in different ways, with the smaller NSOs often feeling the effects more acutely of not having a source of expert advice and not having the staff or funds to develop their own programs. The Commission plays a lead role in assisting NSOs to formulate policies, practices, programs and resources to address ethical issues and enhance ethical conduct in Australian sport. It consults and works closely with national sporting organisations, state/territory departments of sport and recreation and other agencies to develop strategies to deal with sport-specific issues related to harassment, discrimination, sexual assault, child protection, inappropriate parent, coach, spectator and athlete behaviour and other similar issues.

The ASC's *Essence of Australian Sport* (2012a) was introduced from 2002 as an over-arching statement that defines the core principles of sport in Australia – Fairness, Respect, Responsibility and Safety. It was written in consultation with the sport industry, to provide a statement on what sport in Australia stands for and to educate people on the positive aspects, value and benefits of sport, and reinforce that

everyone has a role to play in promoting and displaying good sportsmanship and fair-play values. The ASC assisted state/territory departments of sport and recreation agencies and sporting organisations, through its programs and resources, to adopt and implement this initiative into their strategic planning, program development, processes and policies. The *Essence of Australian Sport* (EoAS) replaced the various codes of behavior/conduct/ethics that the Commission previously developed, with the exception of the Junior Sport Codes of Behaviour, which is still suitable for those organisations that principally deal with children and young people. Experience has shown that the implementation of EoAS into state/territory programs was sporadic and often state-based programs were preferred, which resulted in duplication and confusion for stateholders. From 2011, the Commission redirected their attention and promotion of the *Essence of Australian Sport* to a renewed partnership with the *Play by the Rules* program, whose vision is to promote safe, fair, inclusive environments in sport and recreation and mission is to build the capacity and capability of sport and recreational clubs/associations to prevent and deal with discrimination, harassment and child safety issues in sport (*Play by the Rules*, 2011a). ‘Safe, fair and inclusive’ sport has now evolved to be a catchall phrase to encompass the elements of values, ethics, integrity and inclusion that make up Australian sport.

Play by the Rules is a national program, which provides online information and resources, education courses and campaigns to help make sport safe, fair and inclusive. The Australian Sports Commission, state/territory sport and recreation departments, along with state/territory equal opportunity agencies, the Australian and New Zealand Sports Law Association and the NSW Commission for Children and Young People are partner agencies to *Play by the Rules* and help to promote the program, its resources and training through their networks along with their own anti-discrimination and inclusion programs (*Play by the Rules*, 2013). Originating out of the South Australia Equal Opportunity Commission in 2002 as a program to assist sporting organisations know their rights and responsibilities around discrimination issues, *Play by the Rules* has now developed educational and training opportunities relating to a broad range of issues and roles in sport, including online and face-to-face courses that address child protection, harassment, discrimination and member protection. It has a range of procedures and processes available for managing and dealing with complaints and grievances about discrimination, harassment, child

protection issues and other breaches of their sport's policies, rules and Code of Behaviour. Through harnessing the combined knowledge and networks of the sport and recreation and anti-discrimination sectors, *Play by the Rules* has worked to influence attitudes and create positive cultural change in sport and recreation environments. Recent internal surveys and evaluations indicate that it is now seen by the sport and recreation industry as the pre-eminent program to deliver news, resources, online training and national media campaigns around safe, fair and inclusive sport to individuals and organisations (*Play by the Rules*, 2013). From my experience managing this program from 2010-12, *Play by the Rules* is one of the best examples of 'collective impact' in sport, where various national and state/territory agencies across different fields work and contribute funding towards a common goal – promoting safe, fair and inclusive sport.

Three tiers for sport

In essence, there are three levels in the federated Australian sporting system - National Sporting Organisations (NSOs), State/Territory Sporting Associations (Organisations) (SSAs/SSOs), and club/community (grassroots) level. A government funding body aligns with sport at each of these levels, such as the Australian Sports Commission (ASC); State/Territory Departments of Sport and Recreation (DSRs); and local government authorities (LGA) that assist across both district/regional and club community levels (Westerbeek, Shilbury, & Deane, 1995). NSOs represent their respective sports at the national and international level, and provide direction and support to the SSAs/SSOs, who in turn provide direction to their affiliated associations and clubs. Hoye and Auld (2001) describe SSAs as "non-profit service oriented organisations" with the main role "to provide services to its members, whether they be individuals or organisations" (p. 108). SSAs provide the link between the aims of both the NSO, the State/Territory Government DSRs, and the achievement of these aims at the grassroots level (Burton, 2009, p. 21). With respect to Burton, I have seen countless examples across many sports of NSOs and SSOs at loggerheads, which can often be the case with sports that have federated systems.

To understand the issues and challenges, it is vital to recognise how sport operates and how governance issues are managed at the community level, including in metropolitan, regional, and remote community settings. Local sporting clubs and

associations are the responsibility of volunteers in the main. These are people who tend to be time and resource poor, and may have a plethora of competing priorities; foremost which is running the club, keeping it financial, finding sponsors, attracting new members and volunteers, and running competitions. As one interviewee (7) for this project said:

I think the real challenge for sport in trying to create these safe, fair, inclusive places, is we expect a professional service delivered by people that are time-poor; good people, but time-poor, so that's a challenge.

It is in this environment that government agencies are hoping to influence and converse with sports and their participants about safety, fairness and inclusion. While creating awareness, ensuring adherence to policies and codes, and influencing attitudes and behaviour are crucial to the continuing integrity and reputation of sport, the reality I have found from my work and coaching experience in sport is that these issues (safety, fairness and inclusion) sit way down the list of priorities in community sport. The challenge is to raise the relevance and importance of good choices and behaviour as core elements of a positive sporting culture (Oliver & Lusted, 2014).

Member protection

Member protection is a term that is now widely used throughout the sports industry. It describes the practices and procedures that sporting associations have put in place to protect their members (including players/participants, administrators, coaches and officials) from harassment and inappropriate behaviour. The ASC has developed a Member Protection Policy template designed to assist sporting organisations to write their own sport-specific policy to reduce and deal effectively with complaints of harassment, discrimination, child protection and safety. The template provides a general framework of:

- Key policy position statements (on issues such as anti-harassment, discrimination, racism etc.).
- Organisational and individual responsibilities.

- Codes of conduct that is relevant to all state/territory member associations, clubs and individuals (including race, religion, inclusion, gender, disability).
- Guidelines on state/territory child protection legislative requirements.
- Processes such as complaint handling, tribunals and investigations (“National Member Protection Policy Template,” n.d.)

The ASC and *Play by the Rules* have also set up free online training courses and face-to-face workshops are organised in various states or territories that train people to become Member Protection Information Officers (MPIOs). The MPIOs play an important role in sport; they are the person responsible for providing information and options to an individual making a complaint or raising a concern, as well as support during the process. They are an integral part of the sports integrity system.

All national sporting organisations have member protection policies and codes of conduct in place as part of their ASC funding agreements, which are disseminated to state/territory and regional sporting associations, and community clubs. These policies reaffirm the sporting bodies’ commitment to eliminating discrimination, harassment, child abuse and other forms of inappropriate behaviour from their sport and ensuring that everyone is aware of their legal and ethical rights and responsibilities. However, the adoption of member protection policies themselves is just the first step in providing members and participants with protection. The successful implementation and enforcement of these policies requires the cooperation and commitment of sporting associations and participants at all levels. To this end, various national and state/territory sporting organisations have developed their own websites, information kits or national membership administration systems, which contain a variety of game development policies and procedures, and administrative resources to assist regional associations and affiliated clubs with implementing and understanding them (Oliver & Lusted, 2014). While the MPP template provides a positive, clear outline for NSOs to follow to ensure they ‘tick the boxes’ around good governance, inclusion, child safety and non-discrimination, anecdotally the ASC has been hesitant to sanction or withhold funding from NSOs who do not meet the MPP requirements annually.

Sporting organisations, associations and clubs have a legal and moral responsibility to create an environment where participants are included and be safe from any form of abuse while participating in sport. The systems set up through government agencies as outlined in this chapter are working hard to support them in this area, however many challenges remain (which are outlined in the following section). The next section of this chapter investigates what ‘safe, fair and inclusive’ sport actually means to sporting participants, how important these elements are in the bigger scheme of sports’ priorities and whether the sport these people have chosen fits this description.

The defining terms in sport

The World Anti-Doping Agency defines the spirit of sport as the celebration of the human spirit, body and mind which is characterised by the following values: ethics, fair play and honesty, health, excellence in performance, character and education, fun and joy, teamwork, dedication and commitment, respect for rules and laws, respect for self and other participants, courage as well as community and solidarity (www.wada-ama.org/en/what-we-do/the-code). These principles are reflected in the Australian Sports Commission’s *Essence of Australian Sport*, which outlines how players of sport at all levels should strive to uphold the principles of fairness and operate in the spirit of the rules, never taking an unfair advantage, and making informed and honorable decisions at all times (2012a).

The question of what ‘safe, fair and inclusive’ sport means has different connotations to researchers, practitioners and the different people involved with this research project, depending on their definition and the weight they gave to each of the three elements of the question. As one interviewee (7) said: “I think the words safe, fair and inclusive would mean something totally different to everyone coming to the game.” Taken as a whole, the entire phrase was summed up by many of the respondents to the online survey to encompass a fun, welcoming, positive, friendly, non-threatening environment, where people felt respected and that they belong and are supported. Emphasis was given to ensuring people of all abilities got an equal opportunity and fair go in a positive environment. One survey respondent said:

Safe, fair and inclusive sport is about creating an environment that allows each and every member of the community to participate in one form or another. In doing so, every member should have the right to feel as though they belong to the team, club or sport and that their participation and contribution is valued.

Another said it is:

A positive sporting environment which offers participation from any and all, without discrimination based on talent, race, gender, where participants can expect to be involved without increased risk of physical, emotional or mental abuse or distress.

Interviewee (16) summed it up by saying:

One of the most important things, even if they can afford it, and it is the right location, is if they don't enjoy it or they don't feel safe, it's unlikely that they will stay. If any of those three things - safe, fair, and inclusive - are not there then you don't feel welcome.

I agree with this summation, as I have personally heard many tales from grassroots sports administrators during my tenure as National Manager of *Play by the Rules* of children leaving sport as these elements were not present. The Australian Sports Commission's Junior Sport Framework Review (2013a) came to the same conclusion that people will not stay involved in sport if they don't feel safe or included.

Safety is paramount

Safety has a range of meanings in sport. It can refer to physical safety from injury or concussion, emotional safety from harm or bullying, or can relate to cultural safety; which refers to the environment in which sport operates and the behaviours and standards adults adhere to safeguard children's sporting experience. The most serious end of the safety spectrum in sport is child abuse. All states and territories in Australia have a system whereby, generally, adults working with children, on a paid or unpaid basis, are subject to some level of pre-employment screening to determine their suitability to work with children (including as volunteers in sport). In the majority of states, individuals need to apply for a Working With Children Check (WWCC) before they may work in child-related

employment. The sources used for screening checks vary across states and territories, but may include a police check, criminal history check, relevant employment proceedings and/or findings from professional disciplinary bodies. While the system has tightened up significantly in recent years, a number of individuals and organisations have raised that the WWCC should be nationally and consistently applied (www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/).

Despite protective systems in place, issues of child safety and abuse have still occurred across Australian sport. In 2014-15, a Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse has heard incidents in the sporting arena of alleged child abuse and how institutions have responded to allegations of abuse. In particular, the Commission held a public hearing on 15 July 2014 in Sydney to examine the response of Swimming Australia Ltd to allegations of child sexual abuse (www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au). Unfortunately, there is little evidence that the new child protection processes have led to an increased awareness by children about their rights, the behaviour they should expect from adults and who they should turn to if they experience abuse.

The recent focus on physical safety from concussion and violence in sport has also attracted much publicity and debate. A Murdoch Children's Research Institute study on concussion showed hundreds of children have been treated for sports-related head injuries at the Sydney Royal Children's Hospital in the past six months (Hagan, 2013). Another study, published by researchers from Edinburgh University and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), found that although "participating in organised sport is a positive experience for most children and young people ... a negative sporting culture exists, is accepted 'as the norm' and is perpetuated by peers, coaches and other adults" (Taylor, 2014). The study also reported widespread emotionally harmful treatment (75 percent) and unacceptable levels of sexual harassment (29 percent).

According to Hemphill (1998), violence in sport, whether among participants or spectators, remains a central issue in local, national and international sport. While Victoria's former Health Services Commissioner, Beth Wilson, (2010) says we still read of ugly crowd incidents and the papers still publish images of bruised and bloodied players. Violent incidents involving drunken and drugged players are also

still frequent. For many children sport is a chance to be with friends and experience freedom away from the confines of school or home. This has associated benefits, as children who take part in organised activities are more likely to experience a sense of well-being and achieve success, and participating in sports promotes resilience and self-sufficiency. However, the ways children experience sport is shaped by adults; who determine the content, rules and expectations (Hadi, 2014, para. 7).

Safety issues are certainly an important factor for how many people interviewed for this project determine which sport they choose to participate in, particularly in relation to junior sport. As one interviewee (10) said: “I think there is a perception of safety just around some physical injury and there is definitely an aspect around ‘is it conducted where I’m happy for my child to be” - in an environment where clubs and staff ensure safety issues are met appropriately and participants are not exposed to unnecessary risks. This sentiment echoes my involvement as a coach in junior sport and my interactions with parents in my role as National Manager of *Play by the Rules* when I regularly spoke to grassroots sporting organisations, and is summed up many project respondents’ views around safety. Interviewee 24 said:

I will go back to rugby league as one example. With the number of Islander boys that are coming through the system at the lower ages, and because of their body mass and their physical size, a lot of parents are now becoming more concerned about the impact of those large kids on their kids who tend to be a lot smaller framed.

Many survey and interview respondents for this project alluded to the importance of modified games in sport to suit the size and weight of players so that everyone can participate in an environment that will allow them to play and also reduce the chance of injury. This is an issue junior sporting participants and their parents confront on a weekly basis in grassroots sports such as rugby league and rugby union which have a large (and growing) demographic of children with Pacific Islander backgrounds playing the sports.

In relation to the various aspects of safety in sport, survey respondents also surmised this to mean effective policies and procedures, including ensuring appropriate risk assessments and incident management procedures are used, and the

highest level of duty of care is applied across all areas of sport service delivery. Several respondents also took safety to mean they do not feel intimidated or bullied, that it is conducted in an environment free from abuse, violence and harassment, and clubs have policies for racial vilification, child protection and codes of conduct. While I would agree that policies are very important to provide a clear path for peoples' rights and responsibilities, they are impotent unless the people involved in sport are aware of what the policies contain and how they can use them if issues arise. From my experience with grassroots sport in Australia, the essential elements to ensure children are safe in community-based sports is that they have implemented comprehensive risk management and child protection programs which outline the organisations' duty of care to every child who participates and identifies best health and safety practices through an emergency action plan, Working with children background checks, training for coaches and volunteers in first aid and concussion risk management, and codes of conduct and behaviour that are promoted and enforced.

Drugs and supplements

Another safety issue raised in various reports and by project interviewees was the increase in doping and Performance and Image Enhancing Drugs (PIEDs) in sport.

While there has always been public awareness of the use of prohibited substances in sport by athletes at the elite level, both domestically and internationally, the Australian Crime Commission (2013) report *Organised Crime and Drugs in Sport* revealed the extent to which this issue had infiltrated to the grassroots level of sport and the potential that it may involve junior sports participants. The report outlined how new generation PIEDs, which were previously thought to be only used by elite athletes, were now widely available and being used by a broad cross-section of the sports community and community generally. It revealed: "in addition to elite athletes using peptides and hormones, these substances are also being used by sub-elite athletes competing at various levels of competition, for example at the state and club level" (p. 8). It also highlighted how sub-elite athletes are now considered a high-risk group for doping due to: "the highly

competitive environment in attaining a position in elite sport, and the ability to make significant gains in strength and power through the use of PIEDs” (p. 18).

The report’s findings are alarming on many levels: not only because of the health implications for athletes, but the use of Performance and Image Enhancing Drugs serves to undermine the principles of fair play, and may act to weaken the community’s enduring faith and belief in sport.

From my personal experience dealing with grassroots sporting clubs in my roles at *Play by the Rules* and the ASC, it is clear that pressure is mounting on talented children at younger ages these days (from their parents, coaches, and friends) to be the best or to make the next level in sport. This need to excel very early in their careers if they want a future in sport poses the question whether this is heightening a ‘win at all costs’ culture and a seriously unhealthy fear of failure or missing out in young athletes? While not condoning its use, the prevailing attitude ‘if you don’t take it, you won’t make it’ and ‘no risk, nor reward’ arguably makes drug and supplement use the rational thing to do for many at the elite or sub-elite level.

My view reflects that of Grange, who says to tackle drugs in sport in a comprehensive and holistic manner we must first understand the values, beliefs, and motivations of those who take them as well as the social environments where drug use is tolerated and even promoted.

We need to have a conversation with sportspeople about the ‘why’ – because this offers the strongest anchor on attitudes, and subsequently, behavioural choices. The objective should be to influence people to make good choices based on consequences, health, and not least, what it is that they want sport to mean to them and to others, including a broadened definition of winning (Grange, 2013, November 28, para. 13).

Safety is a concern at all levels of sports, but perhaps more so for young kids whose bodies are still maturing and developing. The effects of supplements and image and performance-enhancing drugs on a young person's body can be extremely dangerous and even life-threatening. Part of the moral responsibility of administrators, coaches and parents of young athletes is to make sure they

understand that the choices they make with regard to their bodies can have lasting effects – both positive and negative.

Fair play?

Values such as fairness, ethics, honesty and sportsmanship have special relevance to sport. Fair play can mean more than simply the absence of cheating, it also means conducting yourself in accordance with what the sport values, even when the rules do not specifically require it (Loland, 2002). “Fair play also has a regulative value within sport; only in the context of fair play can a worthwhile competition take place in which the values athletes pursue through sport have the possibility of being realized” (T. H. Murray, 2010, p. 2). T. H. Murray says there are two ways to understand the relationship between the rules of a sport and the value, meaning, or point of the sport. “The first conception, the constitutive view, holds that the rules constitute or establish what matters in the sport” (2010, p. 4). According to this view, the values of the sport are dictated by the rules. There is no further or deeper meaning or point to be discovered (Burke & Roberts, 1997). “An alternative conception of sport is the ‘values-centric’ view; where the rules are seen as reflecting a deeper shared understanding about the values, meaning or point of the sport (T. H. Murray, 2007, p. 4). To witness the sportsmanship shown during the 2003 Cricket World Cup semi-final against Sri Lanka, where the umpire ruled Australian batsman Adam Gilchrist not out, but Gilchrist ignored the ruling knowing it to be incorrect and left the field is to me to see the value of fair play at its finest. Or take for example, the famous event at the Australian National Championships of 1956, where John Landy, the mile world record holder at the time, had a split second to decide whether to stop and assist fellow runner Ron Clarke who had fallen mid-race or carry on towards the finish line. He chose to value his team-mate and sportsmanship, and in the process elevated his stature and that of his sport. In this way, sport can contribute to social capital through acting as a vehicle to transmit pro-social values such as fairness, sportsmanship and rule following.

Most people interviewed for this project indicated that they wanted (irrespective of their own or their children’s ability) to get a fair and equal go in whatever sport they chose. But what is ‘fair’ and what is conforming to a ‘spirit of fair play’? Is it fair to select your best team in a final, even though it is your star

player's turn to be reserve for that game? What is fair for the player/team? Fairness has much to do with the choices people involved with sport make – including what they perceive is right and wrong. Fairness was seen by survey respondents to mean sound administrative practices and protections. Comments from survey respondents included:

Sport in which the rights, dignity and safety of participants is protected by effective governance practices.

Well administered and with strong and well publicised guidelines to participation (e.g. codes of conduct etc.).

The systems are in place to appropriately handle disputes.

Once again, these responses highlight a reliance on systems, practices and policies to protect fairness. But as Bourdieu highlights, these existing systems may be the issue in the first place, with these structures underpinning who benefits and who is included in the network. Fairness was also highlighted as an 'equity' issue, with one survey respondent saying: "There are many people that don't get an equitable chance to play sport, so it is about trying to ensure that these people are able to participate." This view reflects those of Tatz in *Obstacle Race: Aborigines in sport* (1995) and myself. There are arguments by those such as Gladwell (2013) that "We want sports to be fair and we take elaborate measures to make sure that no one competitor has an advantage over any other. But how can a fantastic menagerie (such as sport) ever be a contest among equals?" (para. 7). Shuster and Devine (2013) support this view arguing "There is nothing 'fair' about natural, genetic, superiority – few will ever play tennis as well as Federer, outrun Bolt, or outcycle Wiggins – which is why sport can't exist on the muddy level playing field of fairness" (p. 39). While recognising that the term 'fairness' is very subjective, I concur with Roger Pielke Jnr (2013), who believes that sport is governed by rules, including those governing performance enhancement, and where to draw the line on what 'fairness' is, is reflected by broad social values and the values of the sports community.

Getting inclusion right

Inclusion also has a broad range of definitions and means different things to different people. In essence, inclusion refers to proactive behaviours that make each person feel welcome and a part of an organisation. Inclusion is about ensuring that sport caters for the range of backgrounds, cultures, ages, abilities or socio-economic circumstances of people in the community who may wish to participate in various activities or roles in a club. Inclusion often gets mixed or interchanged with diversity. Organisations can be diverse in many ways (i.e. they can have members with differences in ethnicity, gender, age, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, education, religion or financial status), but that doesn't automatically mean that they have created an inclusive club environment. In simple terms, diversity is the mix; inclusion is getting the mix to work well together. When we critically analyse the concept of inclusion in sport, particularly through the lens of Bourdieu, one quickly realises that the sport is a double-edged sword. Sport may provide a basis for building of local networks and bringing different sections of the community together:

. . . but for every community that has rallied together around an inspirational team, there is a community that has been torn apart by blind allegiances. For every individual that has been empowered by participation in sport, there is another that has been further marginalised by the ways that class, race, and gender are structurally embedded in our sportscape (Guest, 2015, para 3).

Many survey respondents for this project agreed that sport can provide a level playing field and bridging and bonding connections (as do Putnam, 2000; Suzuki, 2007; Coleman, 1990; Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008), whereby people from different cultures, genders, ages, abilities and backgrounds can come together, support each other and find a common thread. As one interviewee (5) said:

I think that whole notion of sport as a unifying factor has been really, really important . . . sport represents the equaliser, the way of being able to get on with people on a different basis, without the assumptions in terms of who you were, or what you were, because of your name or your background.

Another interviewee (25) said:

If you can welcome someone who's not yet the normal person in your social circle, and you can throw yourself a sporting team together, it's a starting point for actually being exposed to differences, and usually with exposure comes greater awareness and then greater acceptance.

These comments reflect similar ones in research by Spaaij et al. (2013) and Darcy et al. (2014) and highlight the positive aspects of sport providing a basis for individuals to form friendship bases.

However, Interviewee 24 said:

I don't think it's adopted effectively across sports and particularly at the elite level where inclusion doesn't even exist. We know that because elite sport is about exclusion; it's about kids and adults who are particularly good at a certain sport, so therefore it excludes everybody else.

The ASC (2011a) has found that "an emphasis on winning and being competitive has increasingly been found to be in conflict with attitudes towards inclusiveness and community engagement" (p. 6). This view is also reflected in my work across junior sport and in the work of Godwell (2000) and McCarroll (2013). Many of the programs and opportunities in sport are focussed on a small percentage of participants who show competitive promise, whereas the majority who are involved for reasons predominantly focussed on the social and health aspects are not supported or encouraged in sport. The practicalities and realities around creating inclusive environments were also topical for interviewees. Interviewee 2 said:

I think the perception of inclusive is very broad. When we started talking to our clubs around engaging diverse groups and others, initially we got a real push back. They said 'we are an open organisation, we are an open club, anyone can come and join'. But I think what they don't understand is that they've also got their own culture. The club environment has its own culture, which is foreign to everyone else. Unless you're being a little bit more open and providing opportunities of entry, rather than people just off their own back coming in, it takes a big step to go and walk into a club that you're foreign to, to actually join. So we rephrased it around, it's about not necessarily anyone can join, but what are you doing to actively encourage people or open up those opportunities to have a little less appearance of being closed?

These concerns reflect those of Bourdieu and Coalter relating to the process underpinning the reproduction of unequal access to resources, class related patterns of educational achievement and the unequal distribution of power (Coalter, 2007b). Many sporting clubs and organisations understand that to be inclusive is best practice and brings with it many benefits. However, many give lip service to the concept and do not go out of their way to ‘build bridges’ and rely instead on new participants ‘climbing the fence’ to get in. Is this because they don’t understand what to do socially or is it just too hard to commit to? Further research on this question may help to explore the facilitating and inhibiting factors to inclusion.

How important is safety, fairness and inclusion?

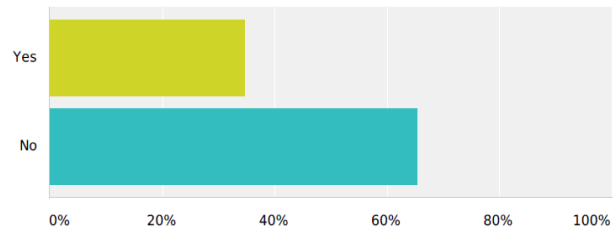
Why do people choose to participate in one sport over another? In the decision making process, are the safety, fairness and inclusive practices of that particular sport determining factors in this choice or not? The answer to the first question is as diverse as the number of sporting activities in this country: people’s choices are influenced by their parents, their friends, access and barriers to different sports, cost, and physical attributes (ASC, 2012b, 2013a). Van Bottenburg, Rijnen, and van Sterkenburg (2005) suggest:

Exercise and sport are thoroughly social phenomena, which take place and find their meaning . . . within a broader societal context . . . The choice to take part in sport, how, where, what and with whom is directly related to the issue of how people see and wish to present themselves . . . socio-culturally determined views and expectations also play a role here (p. 208).

The answer to the second part of the question can, in part, be answered by the responses to a question posed in this project’s online survey. As mentioned previously, the term ‘safe, fair and inclusive’ has been used as a catch-all phrase to represent preferred sporting environments (as recognised by government agencies and NSOs).

Q6 Was your decision to be involved in your chosen sport influenced by how safe, fair and inclusive it is?

Answered: 101 Skipped: 113



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	34.65%	35
No	65.35%	66
Total		101

Figure Four: Bar chart on survey responses for Question 6 of the research online survey (Was your decision to be involved in your chosen sport influenced by how safe, fair and inclusive it is?).

Almost 35 percent of survey respondents indicated that how safe, fair and inclusive a sport was, was a determining factor for them on whether they were associated with a particular sport or not. As interviewee 12 said:

Lots of us hear those stories of people who abandon a sport, not just a club, not just an organisation because it isn't safe, it is unfair, and it doesn't include them.

This comment reflects the 'dark' side of social capital, which Numerati and Baglioni (2012) define as "situations in which trust, social ties and shared beliefs and norms that may be beneficial to some persons are detrimental to other individuals, sport movements, or for society at large" (p. 594). Anyone who has been involved with sport for long enough as a parent, coach or administrator will be aware of stories such as this.

The term 'inclusive sport' was characterised by survey respondents as: friendly, welcoming environments to all regardless of sex, ethnicity, religion, intellectual/physical ability and sexual preference; where everyone is included, everyone is treated equal and made to feel part of the team. Interviewee 11 said:

Inclusive is, for me, about ensuring that sport caters for the range of abilities that might be out there, the range of backgrounds, cultures, and experiences that might come to participate in particular activities. So it's really about best practice for what sport should be so that everyone can get the most out of it.

This view is supported by Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) who argue that “people do not make rational considerations with respect to health consequences however important they might find these, but . . . base their choices primarily on the consequences this has for their own identity, their relationships with others and the appreciation or rejection that this may bring to mind” (p. 16). The responses to this question indicate the importance of how sports are perceived in these areas and the weight that parents and participants are put on these factors:

Sport is just done because it's close or because other people are doing it, but to be actively making a choice about fair and inclusive, says something about what people want and expect from a sport (Interviewee 17).

Another Interviewee (12) said:

What is the point of winning a game? What is the point of having a team? What is the point of running a competition if people aren't happy, if people don't feel welcome, if we aren't developing the broader sense of what it means to participate in these activities? It's not just about winning; it's how we do it that's incredibly important.

These views reflect the backlash against recent events in sport involving the Essendon Football Club and Cronulla Rugby League Club, where a ‘win at all costs’ ethos has permeated sport causing some to question sports’ value and relevance. Comments from survey respondents for this project also included:

In my early days I don't think I really thought about that, [but now] I work in this sport and wish to ensure that it is safe, fair and inclusive.

It did not impact my decision to play the sport initially, but has had some impact in me remaining in the sport.

The critical ethnography approach used in this project allowed me to evaluate the survey result from Figure Four and then ask interview respondents whether they

considered the figure of 35 percent was high or low. Most indicated that they were surprised by how high the figure was. However, when asked about this survey result Interviewee (18) said:

I would have thought that safe, fair and inclusive, particularly the safe and fair part, would be a major determinant in whether or not you were involved in a particular sport, particularly sport for your kids.

This highlights that despite safety, fairness and inclusion being considered a prerequisite for positive participation in sport, other factors from my experience, include location, and involvement or family and friends, are greater influencers.

Is your sport safe, fair and inclusive?

Participants of the project’s online survey were also asked to describe their satisfaction on whether the sport they were involved in was ‘safe, fair, and inclusive’. Of the 101 respondents: 72 were satisfied; 23 neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; and six were dissatisfied. This small percentage of those “dissatisfied” contradicts the large number of complaints received annually by sports about these issues.

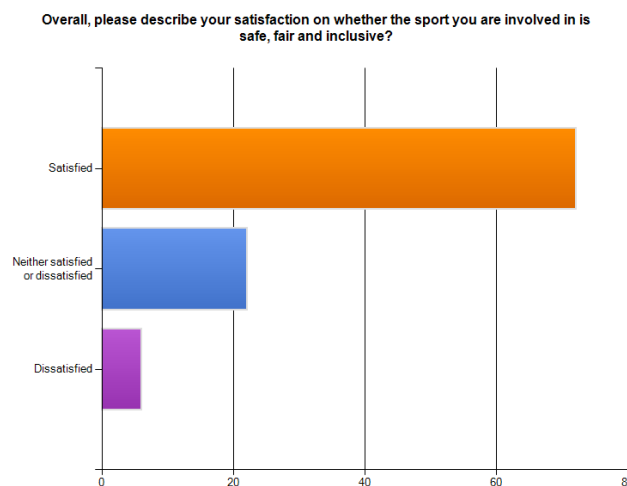


Figure Five: Bar chart on survey responses for Question 5 of the research online survey (Overall, please describe your satisfaction on whether the sport you are involved in is safe, fair and inclusive?).

Interview respondents provided insightful accounts of what a safe, fair, and inclusive environment entailed and frequently connected it back to the individuals within the sport/club that worked to make this happen. Interviewee 17 said:

It's about a feeling of belonging, so no matter what your background, you can go there and you'll feel welcomed because I think that initial sense of welcoming and belonging will either allow people in or shut them off right at the gate. I guess it goes on to other things about being in a supportive environment where you learn and where you play and where you improve and where you're given encouragement and you're given a fair go in terms of selection, and about the fact that there are strong values in a club where the people are made to feel welcome.

Interviewee 23 said:

I think when it happens at the local level it really comes down to a bit of a visionary type of leadership at the president or the committee level. It doesn't necessarily come down to a policy from the code level, from the national level or anything like that. Although that would play a role, I really think where I have seen it done [is where] people make things happen. It just comes down to those key people in the club or the association that are willing to stick their neck out a little bit and drive it. I think it's around who and how and what they are actually doing to achieve it, rather than just resting on the laurels that sport will achieve it by itself.

Another Interviewee (2) said:

I think there will be an individual in the club which is part of the community, which is engaged or connected with other community groups and see that they have something valuable to offer and engage them that way. I think that's often probably the most valuable way of getting engagement.

As Vermeulen and Verweel (2009) suggest “social potential of sport lies rather in the opportunities that sport activities (both organised and spontaneous, although both in different ways) provide to individuals to construct their identities and find out their positions towards others in the processes of both in- and exclusion” (p. 1214). From my experience, good leadership from outside or within a

sporting organisation can often change the status quo and create an environment for social connections to foster and inclusion to flourish.

There were also general comments from the online survey participants pointing out that things were good at the elite end, but some local clubs and associations are not quite so inclusive, and it will take a while to weed out those with ordinary attitudes from the local level. This raises a good point, where generational change or the change in Boards and management of sporting clubs from previous poor cultures has resulted in new open attitudes and perspectives, which can then provide a basis for new common shared norms and networks. The Hawthorn Australian rules football club is a good example in Australian sport of what can be achieved when attitudes evolve and inclusiveness is embraced. In recent years the club has reinvented their playing group by embracing players from an Indigenous background, with the likes of Shaun Burgoyne, Chance Bateman and Lance Franklin represented on their lists. The club now sets the benchmark in the AFL for Indigenous recruitment, retention and focus on the well being of this cohort.

More work required

The ASC's *Integrity in Sport Literature Review* (2011a) found that integrity in sport issues that were well covered by programs and services include those around: safety, disability, behavioural issues, Indigenous participation, CaLD groups, youth and discrimination (p. 8). The review highlighted that there were a range of good resources, both hard copy and on-line, supporting the delivery of the programs, including: kits, brochures, posters, stickers, certificates, CD with templates, ground announcements, online courses, group sessions, clinics, TV commercials, branded apparel, forums and webinars. It indicated that delivery is also supported by strong partnerships between national and state sports and state departments of sport and recreation, and other agencies such as the Australian Drug Foundation, Police, Departments of Child Protection, Equal Opportunity Commissions and Screening Units. The review concluded that most programs can identify the benefits that relate to their initial purpose, but not all can be directly quantified - although much of the impact is seen as an improvement in culture (ASC, 2011a). A similar conclusion was reached by Coalter (2007a), Cashman and Hess (2011), Darcy et al. (2014) and Spaaij et al. (2013) in their research and surveys.

Many respondents to this project also told of the existence of a range of positive programs and resources, and generally agreed that sport was making a greater effort to be more inclusive for different groups. While I agree that there are a plethora of programs and resources and a large number of new agencies focussed on integrity and inclusion issues in sport, there has been little evaluation of their effects or the culture changes that they claim to have improved.

Several interviewees for this project said there were more rules and codes provided around safety, fairness and inclusion, but lamented the old personal touch around the rules, and suggested they were taking the place of common courtesy or basic communication. One interviewee (18) suggested:

Instead of giving someone an induction to the club and welcoming and making them feel good, we put a code of conduct in front of them. But let's actually do it with a culture of welcoming and show how good we are because we've got all these things in place, and [how] this is going to help you, and help us, and support everyone.

Another interviewee (14) added:

I think we're an increasingly litigious society and there is a need to have codes and policies and to put them on the wall. But no-one's going to read them. I think policies and a lot of codes of conducts and member protection policies, child protection policies, and all of those things we need. They're incredibly necessary. They're required. [However, they] can be quite alienating for a lot of people and it's kind of inaccessible for a lot.

These comments emphasise that policies and codes are only useful and effective if they are promoted and communicated to sports participants and club membership. This is a view supported by Oliver and Lusted (2014) who make the point that a code that sits on a shelf in a clubhouse or is buried deep on a website is useless and ineffective. Several interviewees also stressed the importance of sporting organisations and clubs getting to know their demographic in the community as a prerequisite to knowing how to then engage with them (a point also raised by Onyx, 2014). One person said:

I definitely think a club should be the reflection of its community. And if it doesn't reflect its community the chance of survival over time is going to be minimal. That

[ASC] market segmentation [survey] taught me the fact that you could put some blanket things in place in your sport, but in reality what you need is to understand the demographics of your community, because it is so localized (Focus Group A, Interviewee 1).

Another interviewee (11) said:

What helps us deliver stuff with good outcomes is knowing what the local community looks like and where we can go to effect change in particular communities.

Interviewee 2 made the important point:

I've seen a number of instances where clubs are going to broader member engagement. What they actually find is they may have a vision about wanting to go and do something, but they don't actually have the support as a club. What the good clubs are doing, when they're actually getting that information, they're actually using that to drive what they want their culture to look like and their people...why they're there and why they are a part of it, and reinforcing that message as they go.

This is a crucial point, as unless sports understand their changing demographic and why this demographic does or doesn't participate in their sport then it's a bit hard to know how to engage with them. Once sports gain a basic awareness of the needs of the different people and groups, and display their willingness to embrace them and cater for their differences, then they can begin to engage with the different partners in the community. This form of social capital sees sport as a basis for bringing different sections of the community together.

Several interview respondents blamed 'project overkill' on the ineffectiveness of inclusion and engagement, and questioned the motivations behind instilling change. As interviewee (12) explains:

Here's a pilot, here's another project. Here's another product. But what we're about is looking at longer-term culture change about how we engage. It's a complex notion with no simple answer, but I guess that's our interest in terms of the sorts of conversation how we embed that change within sport and move it away from just something lots and lots of sports are driven by a motivation to suddenly do something because there might be some dollars attached to it.

Another added:

Every sport is turning up on the doorstep . . . saying ‘Hey, we’ve got this great pilot that’s got government funding. We really want 20 of your kids to go through this one-size-fits-all program where we are going to make the kids sit. They’re not going to be obese. They’re not going to take drugs. The boys will understand domestic violence’. You know, they’re trying to be all things to all people, which is wonderful. But there are so many sports operating in one space now (Interviewee 14).

The same person (Interviewee 14) suggested the solution could be:

That the combined results of many could actually be a lot more effective than what’s operating in isolation. We don’t know what we don’t know in that space. But there are many organisations and settlement services and multicultural youth centres that are. Working with those groups and the intermediaries to reach those groups are key to the success of any kind of engagement program.

This multi-agency or collective impact approach was certainly reflected in the outcomes of surveys conducted by CMY (2009), SCOA (2012) and in the *What’s the Score?* report (AHRC, 2007). I have seen the effects of this cross/multi-agency approach used at *Play by the Rules*, and the evidence from an evaluation report conducted in 2014 shows that working in this manner has resulted in greater effectiveness and promotion of the various programs and resources.

Brad McCarroll, Director of Mutual Sport and Head of Business Strategy for Football United, a successful program which uses football for social development, says (2013):

Increasing the accessibility of sport for the disadvantaged has basically been made the responsibility of national sporting organisations with resources for such programs driven by funding and participation plans with the Australian Sports Commission (para. 1).

McCarroll is concerned that these organisations also have numerous responsibilities for running their national competitions, national teams, elite player pathways, and overseeing the complexity of the community sport system that includes: volunteer

management, coach and official training, and funding and sponsorship support. He says (2013):

With a small proportion of a participation grant from the ASC these organisations are then expected to implement programs and initiatives that overcome the barriers to participation for parts of society that are the most difficult to engage. The sports then implement a range of traditional 'Development of Sport' practices which is only scratching the surface (para. 1).

McCarroll (2013) also argues that multicultural/Indigenous officers with national or state/territory-wide responsibilities, small grant programs, reduced fees, online resources for volunteers, translations, webinars and promoting club participation do not address the depth and breadth of the social issues and will almost always see the interests of the sport put in front of the interests of people. His views serve to highlight the complexities of competing priorities of governments and sporting organisations, and complement my own experiences working with government agencies and NSOs.

It was clear from the responses of the majority of this project's participants (and from my personal experiences) that there is still much to be done, but many positive outcomes have been achieved to date:

Inclusion in sport is just one of those ongoing things that I think is always going to have a certain high level of investment in it. There's a whole host of areas to address, and they range from up-skilling your deliverers to building awareness and understanding, to breaking down barriers and cultural perceptions, to ensuring that you have resources and training that can be delivered to all levels of your sport. I think one of the more important things that needs to happen is to share the positive experience or the positive examples of what's happening out there as best practice and try to create a greater awareness of what people can be doing in order to make things safe, fair and more inclusive across the board (Interviewee 11).

This view reflected many people in sport I engaged with at *Play by the Rules*, who requested case studies and best practice examples on inclusion to share with their clubs and members. Interviewee 16 highlighted that:

People now need to take ownership themselves and not rely on agencies to deliver outcomes or programs to them. I think what we need to try and create is an environment whereby people can feel that if they're not in a sport with a safe and fair environment then they can do something about that, rather than waiting for it to be done to them.

One of the topics highlighted was the attention that sports were now dedicating to influence and promote a positive culture within their organisations. This is analysed in the following section.

All about culture

The perception of self that is held by a person will influence their actions, thoughts, behaviours and interactions with others (Erikson, 1968). For this reason, identity is firmly rooted within the person yet inseparable from the 'communal culture' in which the person belongs, which Erikson (1968) describes as the context of relationships with significant others (family, peers and community). Culture is always in flux and changeable, and "individuals acquire a culture when they live as members of a society or a group" (Dudgeon, Garvey, & Pickett, 2000, p. 6). For Zakus et al. (2009), sport teams are networks, competitions are networks, and leagues are networks. Sport inherently holds and can develop the key common elements of social capital if the culture is right.

The key words in sport at present are integrity, ethics and culture. It has become evident through the interviewees for this project that sports realise their survival and growth is dependent on focussing on these core elements; much more so than they were ten, or even five years ago. It is not enough for sports to provide modified games and encourage new participants, they need to provide a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience, otherwise parents and children may join a different code or choose not to participate in sport at all (AHRC, 2007). As Taylor and Toohey (2001) stress "sport providers need to open their doors to all members of the community and actively encourage inclusive practices, rather than just acting as passive purveyors of sport" (p. 212). If the negative aspects around these issues are not addressed it could lead to a decline in club membership and also the number of people volunteering in grassroots sport clubs (Nichols, Taylor, James, King, Holmes, & Garrett, 2004). The recent release of the *Bluestone Review – A review of culture*

and leadership in Australian swimming (Grange, 2013), commissioned by Australian Swimming after the disastrous 2012 Olympics campaign, highlighted a toxic culture which eroded the sport over a long, sustained period of time. Cycling's reputation, brand and culture has also been badly damaged following the Lance Armstrong doping revelations in 2012 and repeated drug violations by elite cyclists. In recent years, the Australian cricket and rugby union teams have also suffered underwhelming performances blamed on poor cultures within management and playing rosters. In the sporting context, culture has now become critical.

In basic terms, culture can be described as the 'personality' of a sports organisation. It guides how they do business, and in turn, how people normally behave. It is made up of an integrated pattern of human knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviour. It is something we teach, learn, pass on intentionally or otherwise, and is something that affects and underpins every aspect of organisational life. Organisational culture can exert a strong influence on the behaviour of individuals. If the 'workplace' an athlete enters into is an easy fit with their personal culture, they do not have to expend much energy on fitting in or being seen well by others. If it is very different, there can be a strong dissonance and they may find themselves slightly less willing to be open and honest, or to push towards positive goals. When culture is openly espoused and lived by a sports organisation and its leaders and standards are clear and expected, those people who choose not to invest in belonging to the culture become apparent quite quickly.

The *Bluestone Review's* author, Dr Pippa Grange, defines culture as: "a complex, multi-faceted and multi-layered phenomenon that is socially learned and transmitted between people" (2013, p. 3). She says it is "all about behaviours, beliefs, symbols, norms, and expectations" and suggests, "it grows over time and can be directed and shaped with strong leadership and sound methodologies" (2013, p. 3). However, the reality is that "rarely do potential, or for that matter existing volunteers, consider how they and their club will or should deal with negative cultural challenges" (Sports Community, 2013, para. 7). As Interviewee 8 for this project said:

I think people have started to understand what culture is a little bit more. I think previously, when people have referred to culture, what they're actually talking about

is just a set of behaviours or behavioural norms. I think people are starting to understand it in broader terms now as symbols, language, representations, behaviours and standards, individual character, and a whole range of things, but also systems, policies, ways of transferring knowledge and history. I think people are getting smarter at that and I think therefore they're investing across the board in developing something sustainable that they put that label of culture on.

In the *Bluestone Review*, Grange (2013) argues that there are layers to culture, and what is normal in one area of life may be different in another. She says:

A person can belong to and associate with several different cultures at once and believe different things about each, even behave differently in each. This is not necessarily about being inauthentic, it is about understanding that culture has its own ecology, and if you want to change it, you must consider all of the layers (p. 40).

Previous research suggests that a monolithic culture is typical of the majority of sports clubs in Australia (Hanlon & Coleman, 2006) as sport participation tends to favour interaction among identical people. The entrenchment of a culture of similarity reveals an underlying system of shared values, beliefs, and assumptions that results in closed group membership. Core values of such a club culture include parochialism/ethnocentrism, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and a view of difference as deficit (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). A key challenge for those seeking to promote diversity and equity in sport, then, is to transform ingrained organisational cultures and practices so that they come to value and support diversity (Spaaij et al., 2013 p. 15).

Influencing the culture of sport

Following evaluation of the interviews from the participants for this project, one can conclude that more time and effort is being spent by sporting organisations, clubs and administrators on the concept of a positive club culture and how they are more pro-active in addressing issues such as: excessive drinking, the use of illicit or performance enhancing drugs, discrimination, harassment, vilification, abuse and bullying. One research interviewee (9) summed it up by saying his sport always had an accidental culture: "You know . . . it was what it was, and if you joined our sport you did, or if you didn't then bad luck." Now he said, they are dedicating more time

to creating a deliberate culture within their sport – “a positive one that they really want to present to people.”

For many participants for this project, this comment resonated with their recent experiences around culture and sport. Most interviewees agreed that this new focus on culture was happening across most sports; with clubs and codes at every level understanding its importance. Interviewee 12 said:

I think it's absolutely true of sport now in terms of creating that culture in a more deliberate and planned approach; not necessarily at every level. Some sports are fighting for survival. Some sports are fighting for bums on seat. Some sports are in a small marketplace and need to position themselves well. Some sports see their broader responsibilities. It has been very interesting to hear the discussion, the talk, the language. That stuff around being safe and inclusive, about being welcoming and inclusive, about trying to deliberately build a sense of diversity is what's perceived as just core business now.

Sporting organisations including the AFL, Australian Rugby Union, NRL, Netball Australia and Cricket Australia have recently set up integrity units to protect their sports against illicit drug use and match fixing. Cycling Australia and Swimming Australia has just undergone major reviews of their governance and organisational culture, and are planning structures and processes to address many of the issues highlighted in their review report recommendations (*Bluestone Review*, 2013; *Cycling Australia Review*, 2013). Other sports such as triathlon, rowing, cycling, surf lifesaving and athletics are all looking at their current structures, processes and the governance of their sports as they head into a new era where more is expected from sport than just the delivery of participation opportunities. As one interviewee (9) said:

Culture fits with image, and I think all sports are looking to protect and develop an image of what they see themselves being. And to be able to portray that, you have to have a culture that matches it.

But the point is, culture is more than brand, public relations or an image issue. For culture to be a means and not just an end, it needs to be a deep-seated ethos that portrays what an organisation and its people believe in, stand for and portray in their actions, consistently every day.

Integrity in sport - why does it matter?

Integrity is a complex term that takes on different meanings in different environments and contexts. It has been described as “a form of self consciousness within the individual” (Mason, 2001, p. 47); whereby the individuals must actively take responsibility for their own moral decisions. Similarly, Teehan (1995) defines integrity as “the result of unity between a person’s actions and his or her moral image, where individuals must consider the consequences of their behaviours and actions, both for themselves and their communities, and for both the short and long term” (p. 857). Integrity in sport is largely associated with concepts of fair play, respect for the game, sportsmanship, positive personal values of responsibility, compassion for the other, and honesty in adhering to rules (ASC, 2011a). The Australian Sports Commission’s *Essence of Australian Sport* (2012a) statement highlights that it is vital that the integrity of sport is maintained. “The main responsibility for this lies with decision makers at every level of sport, who should ensure that all policies, programs and services are based on the principles of fairness, respect, responsibility, and safety” (p. 2).

A number of questions have arisen around integrity and ethics in sports in Australia over the past decade, predominantly as a result of increased media and public attention of athletes, organisations and administrators in both on-field play and off-field behavioural contexts. In sport there is always a complex relationship between competition, a desire to win and integrity. Activities and behaviours that define sport as lacking integrity include: creating an unfair advantage or the manipulation of results through performance enhancing drugs, match fixing or tanking (a practice of deliberately losing to gain a better draw or better draft picks). These actions can serve to undermine the integrity and belief in sport by athletes and the wider public. The actions of those subverting the rules through match-fixing have been extensively documented recently by authors such as Chris Eaton (Director of Sport Integrity at the International Centre for Sport Security) and investigative journalist Declan Hall.

Much of the investment by sports around integrity recently has been focused on improving and enforcing ethical behavior through policies, codes of conduct, frameworks, integrity units and officers, and training. Efforts of a more regulatory

nature have focused on the creation, communication and articulation of new rules and standards, against which athletes are monitored and punished for deviance. Experts such as Grange (2013) and Gladwell (2013) suggest that more emphasis should be directed to teaching moral reasoning and ethical decision making skills for athletes, coaches and support personnel to help mitigate these integrity issues. Many sporting organisations and clubs are now introducing policies and procedures that are the beginnings of what Grange (2013) calls an ethical framework. This is described as “a higher order document that sits above codes of conduct, behavioural policies and rules, and outlines what the club’s goals and ambitions are through defining the beliefs, values and principles that will guide acceptable and unacceptable behavior.” However, many involved with sport still take the attitude “this doesn’t affect us” and some are naive and/or ill-equipped to deal with contemporary issues such as these in sport. It is not easy to change attitudes or behaviours from administrators that may have existed for many years, however a layered approach of gradually improving policies and subsequent actions is a recommended path to pursue.

While most policies and procedures focus on what constitutes negative behavior and outline the punitive actions that will occur to address these, the most effective policies are proactive and focus more on defining positive behaviours and how this will be achieved. “Great club cultures arise through conscious behaviours that result in members and supporters having a positive and pleasant experience at the club” (Sports Community, 2013, para. 12). Several interviewees for this project raised the important point that they believe it’s not the sport that represents a safe, fair and inclusive environment, but what occurs in individual clubs, leagues and associations. As Coakley, Hallinan, Mewett, and Jackson (2008) emphasise, “sport is the site for socialisation experiences, rather than [the] causes of specific socialisation outcomes” (p. 109). Many interviewees agreed that it is the individuals associated with administering, coaching and volunteering that creates these positive environments and cultures. Matching views shared by Atherley (2006), Interviewee 7 said:

The things that make social capital, the links and the bonding, are actually the individuals within that sport. It’s the coaches or it’s the officials or that particular

club and that culture. It's not sport per se, it's the things within it. And they change within a sport from club to club or person to person.

This is perhaps one of the most crucial insights into answering the question whether sport contributes to the generation of social capital in communities. This response serves to throw greater weight behind the conclusion that many, including Coalter, have found previously, that sport by itself does little; how it is given meaning, good or bad, inclusive or exclusive, is enacted by the individuals who form the wider network and connections that sport comprises.

Conclusion – a safe, fair and inclusive future in sport?

In a fast changing, ever-evolving Australian sporting environment which is being impacted by online and technological progress, globalisation of competitions and massive incentives to perform, sport is being bombarded by unprecedented challenges from many directions, whether it be doping, match fixing, the increased use of supplements or day-to-day issues around governance, fair play or inclusion. The pressure to succeed at younger ages from parents, coaches and sporting clubs and an unhealthy fear of failure or missing out is resulting in a 'win at all costs', 'no risk no reward', 'whatever it takes' attitude that has enveloped modern sport at all levels and has led to some recent prominent integrity issues.

Many athletes, coaches and administrators would argue that the single most important element of sport is to win. While not disregarding this function, this overlooks the important meaning and purpose of sport to participants such as making friends, getting fit and healthy, improving confidence, abilities and developing positive personal attributes. A recent study (Visek, Achrafi, Manning, McDonnell, Harris & DiPietro, 2015) showed that 70% of kids involved in organised sports drop out by the age of 13. Often, the reasoning is that they aren't "having fun anymore" and they've lost interest. The study conducted in 2014 by George Washington University asked why children participate in sports - over 90 percent of children responded that they participated because it was *fun*. The children were asked to describe what fun meant for them, and 81 different explanations arose throughout the study. Trying your best, being treated with respect by the coach, and getting playing

time were the most important factors that kids defined fun by. Winning was ranked by children as the 48th most important reason why they participated.

Evidence from many surveys and reports (ASC, 2010, 2011a, 2012b, 2013a; AHRC, 2007; Atherley, 2006) make it clear that the collective impact of the programs and strategies from governments, NSOs, SSAs/SSOs and clubs are helping to increase the knowledge and skills of individuals and organisations in preventing and dealing with governance and member protection issues, such as discrimination, and child safety, and promoting inclusive policies and practices.. However, there is little evidence of their affect or quantifying the cultural changes that are claimed. What this awareness does, in alignment with Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital, is "sensitizes us to the importance of class and exclusion in the analysis of the functioning of some sports organisations and the dangers inherent in ignoring cultural boundaries that often divide communities via seeking to impose formulaic, mythopoeic, solutions on misconcieved problems (Blackshaw & Long, 2005).

The surveys and reports, supported by the interview and survey respondents for this project, make it clear that work in this area is in its infancy and that some sports are making much greater progress than others, mostly due to greater funding or staff dedicated to such programs. Sporting organisations and members at all levels should now recognise with greater clarity and resolve that when sport is taught correctly with an emphasis on safety, fairness and fun, and sporting clubs provide an environment that is welcoming to all, then people will come to participate and volunteer and social networks will occur. An enjoyable early experience in sport, whether through organised or recreational activities, will result in an increased chance of lifelong participation with that sport, be it as a player, coach, administrator or official (ASC, 2013a). Or put another way, if social capital is positive, the commitment and longevity of volunteers in a club can occur over long periods of time (Cuskelly, Harrington, & Stebbins, 2002; Nichols, Taylor, James, Holmes, King, & Garrett, 2005).

Is sport safer, fairer and more inclusive than when I researched the sporting landscape in 2006 for the *What's the Score* report? There are definitely more programs and resources, the WWCC system has become more integrated and rigorously enforced by agencies nationally, there is more education on policies and

values/ethics in sport generally, integrity issues have been recognised as a relevant area of concern by sporting organisations with policies and staff now dedicated to addressing contemporary issues (drugs, governance and match fixing), and inclusive, diverse and welcoming cultures are seen as best practice which sports are focusing increased attention and resources on. However, violence and abuse continues unabated in sport, the issue of child safety and concussion is still dealt with inconsistently across different sports and there are still concerns at the efficacy of the WWCC system. Perhaps most concerning is the ‘win at all costs’ ethos pervading sport, the affect this is having on participation and how the value of sport is now perceived. Inclusion, while recognised with greater importance, still tends to be seen as a marketing/media issue within sporting organisations rather than a core social and business imperative. Until the status quo changes around attitudes towards the importance of safety, fairness and inclusion matters, or new leadership ushers in cultural change, safety, and integrity issues will continue to occur and true inclusive sporting environments will remain the exception rather than the rule.

As sports sociologist Jay Coakley says (as cited in Reed, 2011):

Unless we work to create the sports we want in the future, sports will represent the interests of those who want us to play on their terms and for their purposes. This leaves us with an interesting choice: we can be consumers who accept sports as they are, or we can be citizens who use sports as contexts for actively making the world a better place (p. 7).

For the critical theorist this raises several questions: What choices are we making to make sport, safer, fairer and more inclusive? What are sporting codes, governments and NGOs doing to facilitate participation and inclusion for Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds? How far have we come? What bridges have been created and what barriers still exist?

CHAPTER 5

RACISM IN SPORT: AN OLD ADVERSARY

Racism clearly is embedded within Australian sporting culture and played a major role in denying Aboriginal people their place in the sporting arena. Racism remains a major issue within Australian society and . . . despite the staggering achievements of Aboriginal sporting success in recent decades, it has not changed the horrific social inequality that impacts upon the great majority of Aboriginal lives today (Maynard, 2014, p. 81).

Sport has been both a blessing and curse for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background in Australia. Much like wider Australian society, it has been a double-edged sword of opportunity and exclusion, in hope and disappointment, tolerance and discrimination. As Cashman says “If Australia was indeed a paradise of sport, it was more so for some Australians; for men more than women, and Anglo-Celtic Australians more than other immigrants and Aborigines” (1995, p. 4). Sport as an institution is neither separate nor isolated from the whole of society. Godwell (2000) explains:

“Just as nineteenth century Australian society was an ignorant, Eurocentric and racist society, so too did nineteenth century Australian sport assume the same traits. It is from this start that Australian sport developed into the behemoth that preoccupies much of Australian society today. So, just as there is racism in Australian society so too is there racism within Australian sport. Just as there is racial discrimination within Australian society, so too there remains discrimination because of race within Australian sport. Just as there are stereotypes that reinforce racist conceptions of peoples in Australian society, so too there exist stereotypes that reinforce racist conceptions in sport.”

In spite of this, some of the most prominent areas of legislation and injustice in sport have grown out of struggles over racism. For example: the period of apartheid sport in South Africa (present and evident from the eighteenth century until 1994 at least) which gave rise to the slogan that you ‘cannot have normal sport in an

abnormal society’; the practice of colonialism in many parts of the world which formed the backcloth to sporting relations between many countries; the popularity and coverage of sport as a vehicle for protest through campaigns and activism as evidenced by the black power protests at the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games (Dagas & Armour, 2012); and legislation such as the Race Discrimination Act and Racial Hatred Act which provide a legal framework to investigate and act against racism in all areas of society including sport; codes of conduct and behaviour in sport focussed on racism such as the AFL’s Rule 35.

This chapter provides an insight into the institutional and structural racism that has pervaded Australian sporting history for ATSI peoples and still exists across different sporting codes at the elite and grassroots levels. It also investigates and analyses racial abuse and vilification in sport for Indigenous and CaLD people and how the recent programs, campaigns and education in this area are working to address these forms of racism. The chapter will then outline the laws and programs aimed at countering this intolerance and prejudice, and illustrate how they are crucial in influencing harmful social attitudes and reinforcing positive behaviour. It also looks at the extensive race issues that exist in sport in Europe and how they are being addressed. Finally, it aims to answer the question whether sport is an effective vehicle to address racial issues, and if so, how.

Race, ethnicity and racism

The first issue to recognise when discussing race and sport is there is difficulty in relying on race and/or ethnicity as exclusive social categories; particularly as there is a widespread view that there is no scientific basis to ‘race’ (Adair, Taylor, & Darcy, 2010). “Most people think of *race* as a biological category – as a way to divide and label different groups according to a set of inborn biological traits (e.g. skin colour or shape of eyes, nose or face). Despite this popular view, there are no valid biological criteria for dividing races into distinct categories” (Paradies, Chandrakumar, Klocker, Frere, Webster, Burrell, & McLean, 2009, p. 14). There is also difficulty around the term *ethnicity*. “Individuals are born into ethnic communities but may reject this connection, recasting themselves with a different sense of self” (Adair et al., 2010, p. 309). As Cornell & Hartmann suggest, “racialised individuals are categorised socially as ‘Black’ and ‘White’, for example,

but are not at liberty to reinvent themselves in terms of skin colour” (2007, p. 39). However, physical appearance is not the only indicator of ‘race’; some, while fair-skinned in looks “may claim for themselves a ‘racial’ identity that connotes blackness, or at least non-whiteness, such as with a small, but significant minority of Indigenous Australians” (Adair et al., 2010, p. 309). In the modern Australian context, cultural identity is not fixed and is always changing. Our identity is defined by many things to different people all of the time – by our peer groups, our family, the job we work in or the sports we play. In a post modern society, cultural identity in Australia is so much more than merely a person’s race, religion or ethnicity.

Another difficulty when discussing race and identity is “There is no singular Indigenous Australia. Thus, anything written at the level of broadness . . . will tend towards generalisations that risk eliding the diversity and richness of the Indigenous experiences in Australia” (Tunstall, 2013, para. 2). Tunstall also makes the point that “Indigeneity is an open question in and of itself. It is a matter of personal and community identification that has significant ramifications for social justice and the allocation of resources” (para. 3). Words which undermine Aboriginal identity are commonly used as insults and tools of social exclusion (such as ‘coconut’), as accusations of supposed privilege and favouritism applied to those perceived as or accused of being ‘real blackfellas’ (Gorringe et al., 2011), in doing so “a sense of division is created between individuals, groups, communities and even geography” (p. 5).

While the term *racism* has always generated much theoretical discussion between fields as wide as psychology, biology and philosophy, common understanding and definition has been hard to find amongst scholars. As Omi and Winant (2002) have highlighted:

The distinct and contested meanings of racism which have been advanced over the past three decades have contributed to a crisis of meaning for the concept today . . . the absence of a clear ‘common sense’ understanding of what racism means has become a significant obstacle to efforts aimed at challenging it (p. 134).

In this thesis I subscribe to the view that “Racism is conceptualised as comprising avoidable and unfair phenomena that lead to inequalities in power, resources and opportunities across racial or ethnic groups. It can be expressed

through beliefs and stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination, and occurs at many social levels, including interpersonally and systemically, and as internalised racism” (Berman & Paradies, 2010).

Bradbury (2013) contends that the social and cultural arena of elite level football (soccer) is often held up in popular public and mediated discourse as an increasingly “post-racial, meritocratic and egalitarian space where ‘race’ no longer matters and where racial inequalities are a thing of the past” (p. 296). Such assumptions, Bradbury says, draw heavily on the achievements of high-profile minority footballers as evidence of the inclusivity of the sport (or minority sportspeople more broadly), and its capacity to offer opportunities for personal advancement and social mobility for minorities in ways that might be denied in other areas of public life. While his comments are specific to elite level football, they could equally apply to other professional sporting codes such as the National Football League in the US, or the AFL and NRL in Australia. He makes the point that:

... the development, organisation and practice of elite level football does not take place in a social, cultural or political vacuum, but rather, it is reflective of and reflects back upon a series of historically inscribed and deeply racialised power relations embedded within societies in which it takes place. Further, the sport remains a site in which the complex configuration of overt, culturally coded and more institutional forms of racism and discrimination impinge upon and are generated in and through its practice and encounters (p. 297).

While a steadily growing body of academic and policy-based research has developed over the last 30 years examining issues of overt racism in sport (particularly in Europe), there has until relatively recently been a much more limited focus on examining issues of institutional racism in sport. Much of this research has examined the ways in which processes and practices of institutionalised racism have impacted negatively on limiting the participation of minorities in the game as players (Bradbury, 2013), although this has widened more recently to studies on the limits as coaches, officials, leadership positions and organisations themselves (for example, the *Netball Australia Audit of Indigenous Engagement*, 2013b), although more

academic attention is required in these areas. The *ASC Integrity in Sport Literature Review* (2011a) also highlights that:

. . . through much of the literature concerning sports in Australia, whiteness is an omnipresent but seemingly invisible category through which the discussion is framed. Research is available that reveals racial discrimination in Australian sport and a fruitful avenue might be to investigate what role the construction of whiteness plays in sporting environments when it is clearly the privileged athletic racial identity (p. 34).

Given the popularity of sport in Australia it is surprising how little published academic critical analysis has emerged in relation to race and sport (Tatz, 1995; Hallinan, Bruce, & Coram, 1999). There is however, a range of research citing the adverse health conditions associated with racism, including internal stress and subsequent mental health and chronic physical health problems, and attempted suicide (Paradies et al., 2009). Systematic reviews report links between self-reported racism and poor mental health (including depression, anxiety and psychological distress); poor physical health (including hypertension, cardiovascular reactivity and chronic health conditions); and increased substance use (Paradies, 2006). Racism can affect health through many pathways, including reduced access to positive health determinants such as education and employment; reduced self-efficacy and self-esteem; increased stress, substance use and self-harm; reduced social support; and detrimental effects on cultural identity (Priest, Paradies, Gunthorpe, Cairney & Sayers, 2011). For Indigenous Australians, who have experienced historical and contemporary racism, colonisation and oppression, the effects are substantially intensified. The few studies exploring the effects of racism on the health of adult Aboriginal Australians identified associations between self-reported racism and poor health, including self-assessed poor health status, and physical (Larson, Gilles, Howard & Coffin, 2007) and mental health outcomes, as well as substance use (Paradies, Harris & Anderson, 2008).

Is racism still an issue in Australia?

Although many minority population groups experience racism in Australia, the lived experience of racism is considered most protracted among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, who have been described as “by far the most ‘outsider’

group in Australian society” (Awofeso, 2011, p. 3). Social exclusion associated with colonisation, oppression and historical and contemporary racism continue to create barriers for this group to participation in education, training and the national economy (Hunter & Jordan, 2010; Paradies, Harris, & Anderson, 2008; Reading & Wien, 2009). Gardiner (1999) says it is important to underline the ‘obsessional character’ of this white Australian code of racism:

The scores of pieces of legislation passed by white parliaments to control Indigenous existence; the protectorate boards handed authority to determine all aspects of daily life in terms of residence, employment, marriage, travel, language, dress; the constant surveillance of Aboriginal communities by police, welfare and their agents; the ceaseless attempts by white authority to define and redefine Aboriginal identity – to name but a few areas (p. 153).

Race relations in Australia started to change in the final quarter of the 20th Century. The Tent Embassy in Canberra in 1972 drew international attention to discrimination against Aboriginal people. Protest actions against the 1982 Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, where the Bjelke-Petersen government was still using racist legislation unequalled outside of South Africa, helped to keep race relations on the national and international agenda, as did protests against the bicentenary of white colonisation in 1988. In 1992 the High Court in its Mabo decision recognised native title in land and reversed the doctrine of *terra nullius*, on which decades of Aboriginal dispossession and mistreatment had been based. In 1993, the Native Title Act confirmed the court’s decision (Hess & Stewart, 1998). It was a different world for Aboriginal people from that experienced for the previous 200 years, but was racism still an issue in the sporting domain?

Former federal Race Discrimination Commissioner Dr Helen Szoke said in a Harmony Day speech in 2012 that racism in sport was still an issue in Australia. She said: “Many people in Australia continue to battle with both overt racism and the more hidden forms that have come to replace it” (Szoke, 2012, March 21). Dr Szoke went on to describe the many settings it occurs - one of those being sport. This view is backed up in Australia’s largest survey on racism titled *Challenging Racism: The Anti-Racism Research Project* conducted by the University of Western Sydney and involving 12 years of in-depth study and comprehensive surveys of more than

12,500 Australians. The study found that Australians are largely tolerant people who are accepting and welcoming of other cultures, however 84 percent of people agree that there is racial prejudice in Australia and 16.4 percent experienced racism at a sporting or public event (Dunn, Forrest, & Burnely, 2010). The research also found that more than one quarter of Australians express anti-Aboriginal sentiments, and one in five Aboriginal people polled said they were often treated with disrespect and mistrust. This is also supported by the Australian Human Rights Commission who have seen a 59 percent increase in complaints about racial hatred in the last year (AHRC, 2012); and a Victorian Health Promotion Foundation report (Russell, Pennay, Webster, & Paradies, 2013) showing that almost half of the survey respondents from non-English speaking backgrounds had experienced discrimination at a sporting or other public event based on their ethnicity. Another major research project, the *Mapping Social Cohesion National Survey* (Markus, 2013), compiled by Monash University and backed by the Scanlon Foundation and the Australian Multicultural Foundation, released in October 2013, which tracked social harmony and Australia's large-scale immigration program, reported discrimination on the basis of race, ethnic origin or religion increased to the highest level since the surveys began in 2007. Mackay (2013) says: "Outbreaks of racism disturb us because they revive our deep-seated worries about whether we are taking too big a risk with multiculturalism; whether we have been too relaxed about the standards we expect from new settlers; whether we have given up too much in our embrace of diversity."

A history of racism in sport in Australia

Indigenous people in Australia contend with an ongoing legacy and practice of racism, which is neither confined to, nor excluded from, the realm of sport (Gardiner, 2000). Both Haebich and Tatz have shown that in the late 1800s and early to mid-1900s, rations, curfews and reserve life created massive everyday hardship and poverty (Gorman, S., 2010). Tatz (1995) says that those who displayed ability in sport were able to supplement their seasonal incomes and rations with semi-professional foot races or boxing matches to survive. Therefore, these people were able to become more socially mobile and gain some begrudging acceptance in the broader community, which then afforded them some degree of status (Gorman, S., 2010).

As Tatz explains: “The lives of Aboriginal sportspersons, at any period of Australian history, help illustrate the discriminations faced by *all* Aborigines living at that period” (Tatz & Tatz 2000, p. 9). Removal and institutionalisation are not distant memories; consider some of the relatively recent great West Australian rules players, notably Maurice Rioli, Graham Farmer, Billy Dempsey, Ted Kilmurray and Syd Jackson had such beginnings and many spent decades searching for their biological parents, for origins and identity. Jackson was removed at the age of two; he found his mother when he was 37. Removal, and the resultant wholesale trafficking in adoptions, continued until very recently (Tatz, 2003). Tatz’s (1987) observation that “they’re Australians when they’re winning, and Aborigines at other times” (p. 90), sums up the public treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sportsmen and women over the last century. As celebrated AFL player Polly Farmer once remarked to his former non-Indigenous state team-mates: “The difference between me and those blokes is that when I retire from football, I’m just another boong³” (Hawke, 1994, p. 102).

Racism is also present in sport through the practice of racial vilification, which in Australia is called 'slagging' or 'sledging', as a tactic to disadvantage an opponent through insult or distraction. This kind of practice has received quite a deal of publicity in Australia in recent years, with Aboriginal players in particular being abused, but then asserting their rights (Godwell, 2000). Gardiner (2000) says:

Racial abuse is a form of coercion: it misrepresents, pigeonholes and objectifies its target. Constructed of and through imaginary stereotypes, it projects both fantasies and fears of difference, and has an innate immorality. But in Australia this form of racial abuse is highly loaded. It is one inflection of a colonialist racial discourse expressing both power and history; a discourse that has attempted to impart codes of conduct for, and deny the human rights of, Indigenous people for 200 years (p. 153).

Fans targeting players, and players targeting other players with racist vilification and abuse, is not new and has a long history in Australian sport. In the 1890s, Frank Ivory played two rugby union matches for Queensland against NSW, and “the half caste from Maryborough” was abused by the Sydney crowd because of

his colour. A century later, sections of the audience at Lang Park still rant about “coons.” Or take the example of Eddie Gilbert, a Queensland fast bowler who took 5 for 65 against the touring West Indies in 1929 and once bowled Donald Bradman for a duck in 1931, was excluded from higher honours because of his Indigenous background (Edwards & Colman, 2002). Or Doug Nicholls, the champion Fitzroy Australian Rules football winger, and later the Governor of South Australia, who tried out and was rejected by Carlton Football Club in the late 1920s because of his colour and a claim “that he smelled” (Hess & Stewart, 1998). Evonne Goolagong (Cawley), perhaps the most internationally famous Indigenous sportsperson in Australia before Cathy Freeman, also experienced racism. During the 1980 Wimbledon tennis tournament a senior Victorian politician at the time said he hoped she “wouldn’t go walkabout like some old boong” (Tatz & Tatz, 2000, p. 29). One of the few Indigenous people to play soccer at the elite level, Charlie Perkins, whose earnings from sport helped pay his educational expenses en-route to becoming Australia’s first Aboriginal graduate has acknowledged that he was more readily accepted by the European migrants than by white Australians (Hay, 1994).

There is also a history of racism and significant barriers to participation in sport for people from CaLD backgrounds, albeit not quite the same exclusion from teams, leagues, events and society as ATSI people have experienced. The 2007 *What’s the Score? report: A survey of racism and cultural diversity* (AHRC) highlighted how many new arrivals may feel intimidated or uncomfortable about approaching a club without the support of friends or peers and find racism as one of the major barriers to participation in organised sport. The Settlement Council of Australia (2012) also identified racism as one of a number of barriers that limit migrants and refugees’ engagement in sports and impact on the success of sports programs.

Taylor (2004, p. 455) adopted Bottomley, de Lepervanche and Martin’s (1991) ‘rhetoric of exclusion’ to describe the kinds of racism more encountered by migrants and refugees. This rhetoric of exclusion “facilitates a pathway of cultural assimilation to safeguard host values and lifestyle” and reflects the “assimilation policy of the post Second World War period where migrants faced not outright rejection, but rather substantial pressure to conform to the social structure and

activities of the dominant white culture” (Cazaly, 2013, p.117). This type of cultural racism is most closely related to the examples provided by CaLD background participants in sport in this thesis. For example, footballer Olsen Filipaina, who joined the Balmain Tigers Rugby League Club in 1980, said that racial taunts ruined rugby league for him. "There were very few Polynesians playing in the Winfield Cup and the way people treated me was unbelievable," Filipaina said. "Racial sledging was on every week. I was called a black bastard, a nigger and had cans thrown at me." (Lane, 2006).

Many people interviewed for this project agreed that racism in sport was an issue; although not systemic, but rather a reflection of society where pockets of racism and incidents occur on occasion. Godwell (2000) came to a similar conclusion: “Just as there is racial discrimination within Australian society, so too there remains discrimination because of race within Australian sport . . . just as there are stereotypes that reinforce racist conceptions of peoples in Australian society, so too there exist stereotypes that reinforce racist conceptions in sport” (p. 3). Many of the interviewees for this project thought that the racism issues they had encountered were basically community issues just played out on a sporting field, and considered that sport was a vehicle to try and reduce racism, rather than sport being the issue. One interviewee (8) said:

I’m not sure that racism is any more of a hot-bed in sport than it is in society generally, but it’s just really visible. Perhaps it’s just being demonstrated in a visible bite-sized way within sport.

Another (Interviewee 25) added:

I don’t think there's any more racism in sport than in greater society. Sport just has a visible platform for it to be showcased, particularly in professional sport where there are cameras.

Interviewee 11 agreed:

It does get a lot of coverage and it does create a lot of emotional issues for particular sports that experience it. I don’t think it's a widespread systemic problem, but at the same time, it's probably a bit of a reflection on broad culture anyway, though I think it's a cultural issue more than a sport-specific issue.

Head of Sport and Recreation Tasmania, Craig Martin, (interview with the author, 2012, February 10) said:

Over the last few years though, thanks to people like Michael Long and Nicky Winmar saying ‘enough is enough’ and making a stand on the issue, sports now have formal processes to deal with racial vilification and importantly to prevent it from happening by educating.

One interviewee (17) for this project said:

I think there’s a sense that there is kind of a non-acceptance policy of racism these days which is really good. That’s also reflected at the club level [where they] have very strong policies around that. I guess the key is about implementation and how you make that real and actually make sure that issues of abuse or vilification are dealt with quickly and fairly, but also very strongly.

Grange makes the point (interview with the author, 2012, February 12):

At the elite level, it’s not the issue it was even a decade ago. The great achievement in elite sport is that people now understand that racism is harmful. It’s no longer just a question of whether racial attitudes and actions are disrespectful; it is recognised as deeply painful and damaging for those people at the receiving end of it.

While these comments contain some merit, the fact that racial vilification and abuse still occur regularly in sport indicate that it is still an issue.

Countering racism in Australian sport

Much has and is being done to counter racism and racial abuse and vilification in sport in Australia. There are currently laws protecting people against race discrimination in all areas of life, including sport. The *Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth)* aims to ensure that people are treated equally, regardless of their race, colour, national and ethnic origin, descent, ethnic or ethno-religious background. The *Racial Hatred Act 1995 (Cth)* extends the coverage of the RDA to allow people to make a complaint if they feel they have had racially offensive or abusive behaviour directed at them. As the current Race Discrimination Commissioner Tim Soutphommasane (2013) says:

The legislative expression of Australian multiculturalism is the federal Racial Discrimination Act. It writes into our laws that Australia is a nation where people from all parts of the world can find a place on an equal footing. The act is more than just an instrument for guaranteeing equal opportunity for all, regardless of their race. It is also a statement that there must be racial tolerance in a multicultural society. That we regard civility as a cardinal value and social cohesion as a necessity (paras. 2, 3).

There is also legislation in place in every state and territory making discrimination and harassment in relation to a person's race, colour, national and ethnic origin, descent, ethnic or ethno-religious background unlawful. Under racial discrimination legislation, a sporting organisation may also be held vicariously liable if people representing the organisation (such as coaches, board members, managers, officials etc.) behave unlawfully in the course of their duties. The sporting organisation would need to show that they took all reasonable steps to prevent the unlawful act (e.g. established codes of conduct, member protection policies and procedures, and provided education and training to their members) to avoid liability.

All national and state sporting organisations now have a range of member protection policies and codes in place to address concerns and complaints of discrimination, harassment, vilification and other inappropriate behaviour, which is supported by training and education. *What's the Score? A survey of racism and cultural diversity in Australian sport*, (AHRC, 2007) reported on the various programs, events and education that sporting organisations have introduced to deal with and educate about racism in their sport and the positive affects that these have had. It highlights that many sports realise that their long-term future is dependent upon embracing all people; irrespective of their age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion or ability.

The Australian Sports Commission has also played a lead role in assisting the sport industry to formulate policies, practices, programs and resources to address race issues and enhance ethical conduct in Australian sport. The Harassment Free Sport Strategy and the *Essence of Australian Sport* statement have been key initiatives to assist sporting organisations address harassment, discrimination and abuse issues. The *Play by the Rules* program also complements the national, state

and territory strategies by providing online information, education and campaigns for making sport safe, fair and inclusive, which according to former Race Discrimination Commissioner Graeme Innes “have definitely had a positive effect” (interview with the author, 2012, February 10). As one interviewee for this project (26) also said:

If you ask me to compare it to others, I think that the work that’s been done around racism in sport is light years ahead of perhaps some of the other issues that might exist in sport, whether that’s the treatment of women or perhaps consumption of alcohol, or some things that can lead towards other undesirable activities. I think, for whatever reason, the work to address racism in sport is really well advanced. I don’t know that it will ever get to a point where we don’t need that kind of work to continue.

However, many would argue that the prevalence of incidents that occur today would suggest that there is much work to be done and greater awareness and education required.

Ongoing incidents of racial abuse

It is not very difficult to find recent examples of discriminatory behaviour and racist abuse on and off the field in sport. In the 2005-06 season, crowd racism emerged at the WACA ground in Perth as spectators hurled a range of racist insults at black members of the South African cricket team. This behaviour continued at the Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney Test matches. The visiting Sri Lankan team also had a group of drunken fans hurling abuse at their fielders during a one day game with Australia in Adelaide (Oliver, 2007). In 2010, Timana Tahu quit the NSW State of Origin team to take a very public stand against racism in rugby league, after his assistant coach Andrew Johns reportedly called a rival Indigenous player a ‘black c...’. At the time, Tahu said: “Leaving Origin was a really big decision for me . . . I believe I am a role model for children and I did this to show my kids this type of behaviour is wrong. This isn't about me or Andrew Johns, it's about arresting racism and standing up for my beliefs” (Passant, 2011). The issue occurred again in 2011 with West Tigers NRL player Benji Marshall was allegedly racially taunted in public, there was an incident of a spectator racially abusing AFL’s Port Adelaide winger Danyle Pearce at a SANFL game along with reports of racial abuse against

Hawthorn player Lance 'Buddy' Franklin at an AFL game in Launceston. Sudanese-born rookie, Majak Daw, from North Melbourne was also the victim of racial abuse from a spectator during a VFL match.

There have been some very high profile incidents at the elite level of sport in recent years in both Australia and the UK, such as those in English professional football involving Luis Suarez and John Terry (both accused of racially abusing opponents) and AFL player Adam Goodes, who was racially vilified by a 13-year-old girl at a home and away fixture in April 2013, which was incidentally the 'Dreamtime at the G' event, an annual game that celebrates Indigenous participation in the game. Goodes was also racially vilified several days later by one of the AFL's most powerful people, Collingwood Football Club President Eddie McGuire, who suggested on radio that Goodes should promote the musical *King Kong*. These incidents of direct and casual racism, and the scrutiny of the handling of such cases, have received endless column inches in their respective national press (Oliver & Lusted, 2014). Even until relatively recently, overt racist chanting and abuse was commonplace at football stadia in both these countries, to the extent it was often considered a key component of fan cultures, particularly those influenced by far right fascist politics in the 1970s and 80s (Garland & Rowe, 2001). A recent TV documentary showed footage of overt racist and homophobia chanting on the terraces of English professional clubs, highlighting that such abuse still continues (Dispatches, 2014).

Fan-based forms of racism and discriminatory abuse seem to have been emboldened through the use of social media and networking sites such as facebook and Twitter in recent years. Former England footballer Stan Collymore recently decided to leave Twitter because he felt the site was "not doing enough to combat racist/homophobic/sexist hate messages" (Riach, 2014, para. 3). A BBC TV documentary also claimed that 40 percent of black professional footballers in England had been subjected to racist abuse on twitter (Dispatches, 2014). Or take the example of National Rugby League player Greg Inglis, who had offensive and racial slurs posted about him and his wife on social media site, Instagram, in 2013.

These are some of the very public incidents of racial abuse at the elite level. What is not so well published is at the grassroots level on any particular weekend at

local sporting fields around the nation there will invariably be cases of racist taunts by players, bullying by spectators, parents yelling verbal abuse at kids (*Play by the Rules*, 2011b). Former Race Discrimination Commissioner Graeme Innes said (interview with the author, 2012, February 10):

We see regular instances of it [racism] in elite level sport, and all the feedback I received while I was Race Discrimination Commissioner is that it is still endemic at lower levels.

While Szoke notes (interview with the author, 2012, February 11):

The real worry is how to address this [racism] at the level of local clubs, where there may not be the mechanisms to build the positive culture that is being attempted at a more elite level.

Several interviewees for this project said they had encountered racism at the grassroots level:

We've got examples of where we had a futsal team of mostly Sudanese kids that copped a hard time – they were winning and they copped a hard time from the other teams and complaints and all that sort of thing, which largely came down to a racial issue (Interviewee 23).

Another interviewee (24) said:

I think at the local level a lot more racism happens but goes unchecked. As an example, a mate of mine coaches an under 14 soccer team. He's Spanish and Chilean and a lot of the individuals that play in his club are of quite a variety of nationalities. He tells me that it is not as blunt as someone coming out and saying, 'You wog' or something like that. It is often said in the individual's dialect for example, so he can pick it up, but other kids may not hear it.

Racial abuse by players and spectators

In the introduction to a booklet and DVD developed by Cricket Victoria, Football Victoria and Netball Victoria in partnership with the Department of Victorian Communities (*Bouncing Racism out of Sport*, 2006), Michael Long explains how some players try to rationalize their abuse:

Players often make racial comments because they feel the other player made them miss a mark, lose the ball or miss a shot at goal. Sometimes these comments are used as ‘jokes’ or to ‘let off steam’ (p. 2).

As former Collingwood captain Tony Shaw famously remarked once:

I’d make a racist comment every week if I thought it would help win the game. I couldn’t give a stuff about their race, religion or creed. If they react, you know you’ve got ‘em ... It’s no different calling a bloke a black bastard than him calling me a white honky, and it only lasts as long as the game. (Wilson, 2013, para. 2)

However, the old adage ‘what’s said on the field, stays on the field’ is just not acceptable anymore - there are no excuses or rationalizations for racist comments from one player from another. Journalist, author and former international rugby union player Peter FitzSimons also highlighted this point when he raised concerns about three former international Indigenous rugby league players and their views on former Souths and Parramatta rugby league player Dean Widders publicly discussing a racial vilification incident. He wrote:

Another line of defence has come from former league stars such as Colin Scott, Sam Backo and Tony Currie, who said that when they were playing they, too, were sledged for their Aboriginality, and yet their view was that they were happy to leave it on the field. Gentlemen, with respect, it's not just about you. The point of nailing those who utter such sledges is not just to ensure that Aboriginal players are protected from racist nastiness - it is to make sure that all Australians understand they are in a culture where this is no longer acceptable (SMH, 2006).

“While we revel in the heroic acts of our sportspeople, which often bring hope and glory to the wider community that follows them, there is also a dark aspect to sport; attracting wild revelry by spectators, including the attitude by some that it’s an avenue to say and act however they want to” (Oliver, 2012, p. 69). These people know this kind of behaviour wouldn’t be tolerated in other areas of the community or society in general, but somehow think it’s acceptable because it occurs on the weekend at a sporting event. McNamara’s (2000) describes a 74-year-old fan’s justification for sledging:

Of course I sing out 'black bastard', but I don't mean it. It's all part of being at the footy on a Saturday arvo. The media makes too much of (racial taunts). It's just a way of letting out your feelings (para. 25).

Anthropologist Peter McAllister (2011) describes the racial abuse that AFL player Lance Franklin received in 2011 from a spectator as 'dumb': "Dumb because nobody takes it anymore and dumb because it gets racist fans kicked out of game they presumably love" (p. 43).

***Racism, it stops with me* campaign**

One Australian initiative that has had a positive affect in raising awareness and debate about race issues in sport and wider society is the *Racism, it stops with me* campaign. In 2011, the Australian Government committed to develop and implement a National Anti-Racism Strategy for Australia to promote a clear understanding in the Australian community of what racism is, and how it can be prevented and reduced. The strategy was developed through a partnership led by the Race Discrimination Commissioner, a member of the Australian Human Rights Commission, which draws on the expertise of a range of government, Indigenous and multicultural community bodies. *Racism, it stops with me* sets out a three-year plan for the government to work with community partners to combat racism across schools and higher education, the media, government service providers, workplaces, the internet and sport. Hundreds of organisations from business, sport, education, local government and civil society groups, and thousands of individuals have joined the campaign since its launch in 2011 (<http://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au>).

In 2013, the *Racism, it stops with me* campaign and the *Play by the Rules* program partnered to produce a TV Community Service Announcement (CSA) for sporting organisations to play at their events and to promote on their websites and through their social media forums. The TV CSA features a cast of Australia's best known sporting heroes including: Sally Pearson (athletics), Adam Goodes (AFL), Liz Cambage (basketball), Greg Inglis (rugby league), Peter Siddle (cricket), Mo'onia Gerrard (netball), AFL Indigenous All-stars team, Archie Thompson (soccer), Cameron Smith (rugby league), Drew Mitchell (rugby union), Timana Tahu

(rugby league), Nick Maxwell (AFL) and some grassroots athletes of different ages and backgrounds. They reinforce the simple message - *racism, it stops with me*.

As the writer and producer of the CSA, I was waiting with anticipation on 24 May, 2013, for the AFL to play the first viewing of the CSA on the big screen at the Melbourne Cricket Ground, as part of the Indigenous Round game between Sydney and Collingwood in front of 90,000 spectators. Towards the end of the game, Sydney Swans player Adam Goodes stopped and recoiled at a teenage girl in the crowd on the boundary line who called him an 'ape'. The television broadcaster then proceeded to play the CSA in the commercial break, which featured Goodes as one of the main participants. During an emotional press conference the day after the incident, Goodes said: "I don't think I've ever been more hurt by someone calling me a name than I was last night. Not because of what was said, but because where it came from a 13-year-old girl. And it just hit me that, you know, it's not a Collingwood issue, it's not an AFL issue, it's a society issue" (as cited in Duffy, 2013). The CSA has now received over 250,000 views on YouTube, has been shown at a range of national sporting events, however its contribution to growing awareness and debate around the issue of racism at all levels of sport has not been investigated. In my seven years at the Australian Human Rights Commission I had never witnessed the depth and breadth of national discussion around racism and its effects in the media and general community as I did throughout the Adam Goodes incident.

Incomprehensively, Collingwood Football Club President Eddie McGuire made a casual racist remark several days after the initial incident, where on radio he suggested Goodes should promote the musical *King Kong*. Goodes was dismayed and disappointed at again becoming the target of a very similar racist remark (Duffy, 2013). Collingwood player Harry O'Brien was also horrified and offended at McGuire's comment. He said of the incident:

It doesn't matter if you are a school teacher, a doctor or even the president of my football club, I will not tolerate racism, nor should we as a society. I'm extremely disappointed with Eddie's comments and do not care what position he holds. I disagree with what came out his mouth this morning on radio. To me, Eddie's comments are reflective of common attitudes that we as a society face. To me, Australia is very casual with racism (as cited in Duffy, 2013, para. 21).

AFL CEO at the time, Andrew Demetriou, said (2013, May 27):

The Sydney Swans champion triggered a national discussion about the personal impacts of racism; an issue that needs to be confronted if we are to create greater awareness and understanding across the community (para. 4).

Despite Goodes fighting the racism with dignity and compassion towards the young girl who had made the remark, the public conversation ebbed and changed during the week that followed, from support to condemnation towards him. The *Sydney Morning Herald's* Chief Sports Columnist Richard Hinds wrote (2013, May 28):

Somehow it was no longer the colour of his skin, but its width, that was the issue. Too thin. Too sensitive. 'Come on, Goodesy. You've got the entire crowd behind you. You've played a blinder. Why pick on some little kid who called you a silly name?' (para. 6).

The debate around casual racism and its affects raged on for the next week. Television host Charlie Pickering (2013) made one of the most insightful comments at the time of the Goodes incident:

I know that attitudes of white racial superiority weren't just attitudes, they were structural planks of our legal framework. Prejudice wasn't just a kind of bigoted ignorance, it was the law. For decades upon decades upon decades upon decades, Indigenous Australians lived in a land, their land, where in the eyes of the law they were literally classed as animals. And I know that goes some way to explaining why calling someone an ape is more than just a bit of juvenile name calling (para. 7).

This seemed to highlight that it is fine to support causes such as reconciliation for Indigenous peoples and Sorry Day, but when an Indigenous person calls out a white person for racism it is seen as too confrontational.

The Goodes on-field incident occurred 20 years after former St Kilda player Nicky Winmar famously lifted his shirt when Collingwood fans racially vilified him, pointed at his bare skin and proudly declared that he was black and proud to be black (Gordon, 2013). Michael Gordon (2013) describes what followed from that event:

Senior columnists and editorial writers condemned what had happened and called for zero tolerance of racist remarks; the then Collingwood President unwittingly added to the controversy, saying, ‘As long as they [Aborigines] conduct themselves like white people, well, off the field, everyone will admire and respect them’, then set about making things right; a United Nations conference was told how Winmar’s action should be a catalyst for action against racism in all its forms (para. 10).

Gilbert McAdam, a team-mate who was alongside Winmar on that famous day admitted how painful he found the combination of racism and playing football:

Anywhere else you can take them to a court. On the footy field, who hears you? It really hurts us when they say things about our colour. As a white person, you can't know how much it hurts us. We're really proud of what we are (as cited in Wilson, 2013, para. 20).

The Goodes incidents, just like the Winmar incident before it, definitely got the issue of racism onto the front pages of the national newspapers and in front of many peoples’ consciousness, but has it changed anything? Sports writer Greg Baum (2013, May 26) sums up the answer to this question in a succinct way:

Two images from 20 years apart both of an indigenous man, a footballer, pointing in the face of racism suggest that nothing has changed; that we have gone nowhere, as a code, as a sport, as a society. In fact what they show is there has been fundamental change, though it is far from complete. Then Winmar stood alone against a crowd, ignorant and vile. Now the AFL crowd stands with Goodes as an individual (paras. 1, 4).

Recent race issues in sport in overseas

Institutionalised racism and race discrimination is not unique to Australian sport; the negative effect of sports participation for racial and ethnic minorities on social mobility, self-esteem, and group identity in relation to baseball, basketball, gridiron football, boxing, athletics and soccer has a long history in countries such as the United States and Europe.

Edwards (1969) referred to racism in the college sport system in the US. He said ‘I soon found out, as do most black athletes at white schools, that white ‘teammates’ can practice with you five days a week for hours on and yet at night refer

to you as 'coon' and 'jiggaboo' and then jump all over you on Saturday afternoons talking about team spirit.” Despite the exceptional performances of black athletes of the era, like Tommie Smith, Lew Alcindor, and O. J. Simpson, Edwards pointed out their phenomenal performances would never result in them "proving themselves" in the eyes of white racists. From a white racist perspective black athletes would always be "niggers." As Edwards (1969) said "the only difference between the black man shining shoes in the ghetto and the champion black sprinter is that the shoe shine man is a nigger, while the sprinter is a fast nigger."

The key current issues include: racial disparity in the payment of professional athletes, stacking (discrimination in allocating players' positions in team sports), retention barriers (discrimination in retaining sub-star minority athletes), and continuing practices of racial exclusion or tokenism (Washington & Karen, 2001). A study by Koch and VanderHill (1998) pointed to unequal pay for equal ability in the National Basketball Association (NBA) and suggests that the NBA's black players are paid from \$17,000 to \$26,000 less than white players. Stacking, or allocating minorities to playing positions that have less centrality and control, has also been documented in US sports such as college and professional football and professional baseball, and women's volleyball (Eitzen, 1999). Preference for whites in certain playing positions has also been evidenced in high school football, sometimes with corrosive effects on a community's race relations (Hersch, 1989).

Hoberman (1997) has suggested that the skyrocketing social mobility and rise of many American black athletes, who represent only a minor percentage of the US population, distort public perceptions of the opportunity structure for blacks, causing many whites to assume that blacks no longer face discrimination. After all, the global celebrity of Muhammad Ali (boxing), Tiger Woods (golf), Le Bron James (basketball), Lewis Hamilton (motor racing) and Cathy Freeman (athletics), seems to suggest that elite sports provide an avenue for social mobility and have eradicated residual racism. However, the notion that sport is a readily accessible avenue to upward social mobility is a myth that continues to fuel the Great Sporting Myth (Coakley, 1998).

In Europe, the ugly side of football (soccer) has emerged in recent times with a spate of racial incidents causing the United Nation's former High Commissioner

for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, to affirm that racist insults and chants, Nazi salutes, petitions against players and denial of hiring based on colour or ethnicity have no place in sport. She joined other soccer officials and players in calling for an end to the crime of racism in sport by saying:

These deplorable acts of bigotry and violence have no place in the 21st Century. They are an affront to human rights that are illegal under international human rights laws (as cited in Heilprin, 2013, para. 13).

Reports from fans across Europe consistently show that racism exists in football. Online site YouGov (2013) interviewed fans and the general public in England, Scotland, France, Germany, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands in 2013 about their attitudes to racism and homophobia in football. They found that 92 percent of Italian football fans and 91 percent of English fans think that racism exists in their country. According to another poll produced by ComRes (2012), 40 percent of respondents agreed that racism is widespread in English football, an increase on 31 percent in June 2012, and the majority of people (57 percent) said it would be impossible to eliminate racism from football.

Lopresti (2012) argues that the rest of the soccer world is not as well-equipped to deal with instances of racism as the English are:

In the United Kingdom, racially abusing another person is a criminal offense, and punishable by law. Such laws are harder to come by in other parts of Europe, particularly places like Italy (para. 4).

For example, AC Milan player Kevin-Prince Boateng recently kicked the ball into the stands and led teammates off the field to protest being abused by fans of Italian fourth-tier team Pro Patria during an exhibition match in 2013. He said (as cited in Heilprin, 2013):

Racism can be found on the streets, at work and even in football stadiums. There were times in my life when I didn't want to deal with this subject. I tried to ignore racism, similar to a headache that you know will go away if you just wait long enough. But that was (a) misconception. Racism does not go away. If we don't confront it, it will spread (para. 7).

Mario Balotelli, an Italian born player to immigrant parents from Ghana, has also received much racial abuse from both Italian and foreign fans. Lopresti (2012) laments that fines are small and offenders are lightly punished:

Such slaps on the wrist will not prevent the scourge of racism from continuing to be a major stain on the Italian game. The message needs to be sent to fans in Italy - and other countries in the south and east of Europe where racism is rampant in the game - that this type of behaviour will not be tolerated (para. 10).

In Germany, the Borussia Dortmund football team has inspired legions of hardcore fans known as 'ultras.' Der Spiegel (2012) tells as the team's fortunes have risen, the right-wing extremists have gained a foothold in its fan base, causing issues during matches. While Landskrona, the biggest fan club of the Zenit soccer team in St. Petersburg, recently published an open letter saying "it would not accept dark-skinned players being all but forced down Zenit's throat" (Bohlen, 2013). The article tells how St. Petersburg fans have long been accused of preventing club managers from signing up black players, a fact that the letter confirmed in writing: "For us, the absence of black Zenit players is an important tradition that underlines the team's identity and nothing more" (Bohlen, 2013, para. 3).

Tacking action to kick it out

The Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and its member national associations issued a resolution underlining European football's commitment to combating racism at the XXXVII Ordinary UEFA Congress in May 2013. The resolution pledged that UEFA (2013) and the associations would step up their efforts to eradicate racism from football by calling on players and coaches to make a full contribution to the campaign, and urging referees to stop or even abandon matches in the case of racist incidents. As part of a zero tolerance stance towards racism, strict sanctions are demanded in the resolution against officials, players, and supporters guilty of racist behaviour. Head of UEFA, Michel Platini, says ("Football must lead anti-racism fight," 2013):

There's a real problem with racism in some regions of Europe, for sure. Football reflects society's values but also, unfortunately, its prejudices, fears and mistrust.

But it's precisely because football is often more open to diversity than wider society that it enables advance that would be more difficult in other areas (paras. 13, 16).

While UEFA and FIFA have long had prominent and well-promoted anti-racism campaigns, including a *No to racism* campaign in 2013, their actions so far have done little to push back against the tide of racism. Recently retired FIFA President Sepp Blatter caused controversy in 2011 by suggesting race-related incidents could be settled with a post-match handshake. As D. Taylor says: "UEFA have previously fined teams more for kicking off a few seconds late than for supporters making monkey noises and holding up swastikas" (2013, para. 4). Herein lies the hypocrisy of international bodies in sport who make noise that racism should be addressed as a matter of urgency and then do not back this rhetoric up with strong leadership and sanctions.

Is sport an effective vehicle to tackle race issues?

Former Social Justice Commissioner Bill Jonas (1999) says that in Australia, as in many other countries, we confer special status upon the institution of sport and, by association, upon its protagonists. In the comparative utopia of track and field and pool and court he argues, "Indigenous people do enjoy a freedom from discrimination, an opportunity to succeed, and a degree of government support and public acclaim often denied them elsewhere" (para. 11). Godwell (2000) also argues:

For Australia's Indigenous peoples sport presented one of the few avenues for positive life experiences and provided an occasion to affirm social relationships between families, communities and Indigenous societies (p. 2).

The fact is, coaches, officials, parents, spectators and club administrators have a moral, and sometimes legal responsibility to take action when it comes to racist behaviour. From my experience, slowly but surely the attitudes and behaviours in sport, that were until recently considered tolerable (if not acceptable), are changing. In an interview with the author (2012, February 10), Head of the Department of Sport and Recreation in Tasmania, Craig Martin, explains:

I can sadly recall going to the football here in Tasmania when I was very young and people regularly racially vilifying Indigenous players. Yes, there has been progress made . . . it's because Indigenous sportspeople such as Michael [Long] and Nicky

[Winmar] made a stand, and as a result, sports administrators have followed their lead by putting in place strong sanctions and education and awareness programs.

While former Race Discrimination Commissioner Helen Szoke is also positive (interview with the author, 2012, February 11):

There has been enormous progress made. It is important to see leading sports people, players and administrators indicating a zero tolerance of racism in sport and to see issues being addressed quickly as they arise.

Pippa Grange says progress has certainly been made both on and off the sports field (interview with the author, 2012, February 12):

The lever for on-field change has been policy and rule, such as Rule 30 [now Rule 35] in the AFL code of conduct on racial and religious vilification. Off-field change has been more to do with sharing stories, especially through popular media, and breaking down stereotypes.

While there is some merit in these views, I also agree with Kell (2000) who argues one of the myths of Australian society is that sportsmen and women are able to gain maximum reward and acceptance for their skills and ability: “This meritocratic notion assumes that race, gender, ethnic background and economic status simply disappear on the sports field” (p. 37). He also claims that many Australians, including those managing the newly-globalised professional sports, are blind to the collective and personal behaviours that identify Australian sport as racist. For example, Klugman and Osmond (2013) raise the issue of false stereotypes:

Aboriginal players are still routinely spoken of in terms of their magical abilities and special talents in ways that ignore the countless hours they have spent honing their skills. This might seem harmless, but it points to continuing assumptions of racial difference that emphasise natural ability and underplay work, intellect and culture (paras. 13, 14).

Dr Sean Gorman (2011, April 6) adds:

Many of us are guilty of over-generalising when it comes to football ability and skill. Notions of sporting magic are seemingly the exclusive domain of Indigenous Australians (read: men). They are not (para. 6).

Kell (2000) argues that a new form of social Darwinism pervades certain sports, hinting that racial attributes make groups either fit or unfit for certain sports. “It is a pernicious view that suggests that white men can’t run fast and that Aboriginal people are prone to go ‘walkabouts’ in the heat of competition” (p. 155). There has been much research on how black males in team sports are segregated informally (or stacked) along racial lines. Loy and McElvogue’s (1970) pioneering US study found black athletes over-represented in the outfields of baseball and in the defence and offence backfields of American football. Stacking is defined as “the placement of white athletes in key positions associated with core traits such as intelligence, leadership, decision making, calmness and dependability and the location of non-whites in peripheral positions” requiring attributes such as explosive speed, unpredictability and infrequent participation (Giulianotti, 2005, p. 74). Hallinan (1991) and Hallinan and Judd (2013) argue that Aboriginals in rugby league and Australian rules football are also stacked in non-central positions, while Miller (1998, p. 138) suggests that in New Zealand rugby, Polynesians are deemed to lack mental coolness, inevitably affecting their positional allocation. In English football, black players were under-represented in central midfield and featured particularly as attacking wingers where pace and unpredictable play are prioritised (Maguire, 1991).

A close look at the sport industry reveals undeniable patterns of minority segregation. Although minorities are overrepresented as players, they continue to be underrepresented as coaches, athletic directors, general managers, team owners, and in other positions of leadership and control (Lapchick, 2003). The 'Rooney Rule' is often brought up as an example to follow in regard to diversity and recruitment in sport from minorities. The rule comes from American Football and is named after the Rooney family - owners of the Pittsburgh Steelers. Dan Rooney drafted the rule that teams were required to interview at least one minority candidate when filling a head coaching position - or be fined. Prior to the rule, the National Football League in the US had 70 percent black players, but only 28 percent in any sort of coaching position (and only six percent of the head coaches). The result is now 12.5 percent of head coaches are black. (Cruise, 2013). In April 2013, English Football League

Chairman Greg Clarke met the Professional Footballers' Association and agreed to discuss new measures aimed at increasing the number of ethnic minority managers at the league's 72 clubs. No such affirmative action policies exist in Australian sport to promote people from minority groups into coaching positions.

Conclusion – where to from here?

Much of the overt exclusion and racism has declined since the 1970s and 80s as sporting organisations have moved to address this behaviour through stronger policies and programs. They have also tackled racial abuse and vilification through spectator codes of behaviour, fines, membership cancellations and complaints processes being available to seek redress, although as described in this chapter, incidents still occur on a regular basis. Public attitudes have also changed in that abuse and discrimination is not regarded as 'a part of the game' anymore or something you do on a Saturday afternoon to 'let off steam'. But in some respects, this form of discrimination has simply evolved and found a new forum in which to fester – online and via social media. There have been several high-profile cases involving racial slurs on sportspeople on social media that have been highlighted in this thesis. What is the answer? Once again, strong policies and sanctions, greater education and awareness, and constant vigilance to stand up and denounce each incident when it occurs.

Another rising concern is spectator abuse and vilification at sporting events. Mackay (2013) says when these incidents occur: "They are not symptoms of a deep-seated racism in Australian culture: they remind us that we are not immune from racism and that it, like many other dark urges that have the power to undermine a civil society, must be exposed, admitted, discussed and, ultimately, leashed. Former head of News and Current Affairs at the ABC, Peter Manning makes the point:

I remember being at a crucial Bulldogs versus Roosters [rugby league] semi-final a few years ago when a bunch of Roosters fans in the Sydney Football Stadium members enclosure began taunting champion goal kicker Hazem el Masri because of his Arab and Muslim background. Their abuse was disgusting and, despite objections, continued all match. . . . How much of this abuse exists because the abusers are sure their insults reflect the feelings of the crowd around them? (Manning, 2006, paras. 6, 7)

Manning's anecdote poses an important question that raises the concern - where does it go from here? If people think it is the accepted norm to say what they want at a sporting event, then the potential next step is to *act* how they want. Will racial abuse lead to physical violence against players and/or other spectators? Do we really want to go down the path of football in Europe where incidents and injuries involving spectators and the police are commonplace? (Testa & Armstrong, 2010)

Many sporting programs at the government and sports organisational level now aim to: increase and retain the number of Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds actively participating in structured sport longer term; build genuine community sports capacity; promote and provide the necessary support for mainstream sporting pathways, and address incidents of racism and discrimination of sportspeople (AHRC, 2007). Yet despite all of the programs, policies, training and resources, incidents of racial discrimination and abuse still occur in Australia (and overseas) on a regular basis from the elite to grassroots levels across a range of sports every season. The short-term and intermediate impacts from current sporting projects and programs are resulting in individual and social development around racist attitudes and opinions, as evidenced by the reaction of the players and the public to the Adam Goodes racial abuse incident and Greg Inglis online racial slurs. As for evaluating whether these strategies are resulting in longer term social outcomes such as reduced discrimination and sledging, the proof is not so clear. In fact, recent surveys (Markus, 2013; Dunn, Forrest, & Burnely, 2010) would indicate this is not the case.

Paradies et al. (2009) argue that "Social norms are constantly changing, therefore harmful social norms can be shifted and positive norms reinforced" (p. 32). The key is to be vigilant and persistent, to constantly educate on what is and isn't acceptable behaviour, and to call racism or vilification for what it is whenever it occurs so that positive cultures are engrained and reinforced in sport. As Grange states (interview with the author, 2012, February 12):

Sport has in many instances played a role in reproducing violence, division and exclusion along racial, gender and other lines. The reconciliatory role of sport is not automatic, but one that needs to be cultivated.

This is perhaps one of the most enduring conclusions from this research – that for positive change to be effected through sport, practitioners and administrators need to be proactive and constantly reinforce education and awareness.

CHAPTER 6

THE MODERN SPORTING EXPERIENCE FOR INDIGENOUS AND CaLD PARTICIPANTS

Picture a young man fleeing from the war-torn northern Pakistani province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa arriving in Australia as a refugee, who goes on to receive Australian residency. He then goes on to wear the ‘baggy green’ for the Australia Test cricket team. An impossible tale? This true story is the journey of leg-spinner Fawad Ahmed, who arrived in Australia on a short-term visa in 2010, only to go on and make the national team in 2013 (Sygall, 2013). Imagine a grassroots Australian football team from Western Sydney that is comprised primarily of Muslim women. It couldn’t happen? Another true story - The Auburn Tigers are mostly comprised of women from a Lebanese background, but there is also Fijian, Bosnian, Turkish and Afghan members too (Lalor, 2011). Or what about a proud Indigenous footballer who has campaigned against racism and violence against women, is pushing for Indigenous constitutional recognition and was 2014 Australian of the Year. Impossible? Not for Adam Goodes. Stories such as these, once unlikely in world sport and very unlikely in Australian sport are becoming more common by the day.

It used to be the case that many of our recognisable sporting heroes were white, Anglo-Australian men. As Joe Gorman (2013, July 11) said, “Growing up a sports kid in Australia was to cheer for Shane Warne, John Eales, Allan Langer and Greg Norman. Things were all pretty straightforward” (para. 3). However, the changing faces of our Australian sporting teams are beginning to reflect some of the tectonic demographic and immigration shifts in this country. Names such as Khawaja, Daw, Geitz, Houli, Naitanui and Fimmano are just some of the new stars that are starting to represent modern Australian sport, including those traditionally Anglo codes such as cricket and netball.

This chapter looks at the levels of participation in sport by Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background, and discusses the contemporary barriers and challenges they encounter and whether the sporting landscape is changing. It then critically analyses the various structures, policies and programs that have been established by government agencies, NGOs and various sporting organisations to make sport more inclusive and non-discriminatory for these groups.

The changing demographic of a ‘sportsperson’

Australian sportspeople with Indigenous and CaLD backgrounds continue to break down barriers on the domestic and international scene. In 2013, Scott Gardner, whose father is Scottish and mother hails from an Aboriginal community near the tiny northern NSW town of Goodooga, became the first Indigenous Australian to play on the USPGA Tour (Read, 2012). Patrick Mills, whose father is a Torres Strait Islander from Thursday Island and mother is an Aboriginal Australian from the Ynunga people of South Australia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patty_Mills), plays in the National Basketball League in the United States. Liz Cambage, who has a Nigerian father and Australian mother, plays in the Chinese Women's Basketball League (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liz_Cambage). While cricketer Fawad Ahmed, along with winning 2013 Australian Muslim sportsperson of the year, made his debut for the Australian Cricket team in the same year (Sygall, 2013). An eclectic mix of players is also represented in the make-up of Australia's major professional sporting competitions: Football Federation Australia's A-League boasts players from 56 ancestries (FFA, 2012, October 19); the AFL had 69 players from an Indigenous background in the 2013 season (AFL, 2013a); and it is estimated that between 9-13 percent of the NRL consists of players who recognise their Indigenous heritage and 30 percent who come from a Polynesian background (Australian Rugby League Commission, 2012).

The average ‘Aussie’ sportsperson is finally starting to represent the changing diverse character of this country, or what Australia's leading demographer Bernard Salt calls “a fusion culture” (2012, para. 7). With one in four Australians born overseas, and one in five having at least one parent born elsewhere (ABS, 2013), multicultural Australia is no longer a niche market. The implications for sport are clearly the potential for inclusive, participation growth - Indigenous and CaLD

communities are key sources of players, fans, officials, coaches, administrators and volunteers - all who are critical to continued growth. For all sports, diversifying their participant base and fostering an inclusive culture will be crucial to their survival (J. Gorman, 2013, July 11).

A diverse range of events has also sprung up to celebrate Indigenous and multicultural participation in sport. These include: the NRL's *Close the Gap* round, the AFL's Dreamtime at the G event and Multicultural round, Cricket's Imparja Cup, the Harmony Day round in netball, the Masala Cup in soccer, the Australian Sikh Games, and the Australian South Sudanese Basketball Championships to name a few. There is evidence to suggest that "sport and sporting events are the ultimate cross-cultural mixing pot where respect for ability and camaraderie of teamwork overcome intolerance and exclusion, and where we cheer on our champions no matter what the colour of their skin or the sound of their surname" (AHRC, 2007, p. 6).

Sport should be based on an ethos of participation, competition and opportunities being fair and equal. But in many cases this isn't the reality. Some make it to the top levels of sport in competition, administration or as officials, but many more do not because of structural and institutional barriers. As highlighted in Chapter 5, there has been a long history of endemic institutional racism, exclusion, and significant barriers to participation in sport for Indigenous people and player and spectator insults and bigotry for people from CaLD backgrounds.

Sport for all?

"Sport is a mirror of many things. It reflects political, social, economic and legal systems" (Tatz & Tatz, 2000, p. 7). But does it reflect the changing face of contemporary Australian society? As the demographic make-up of the Australian population has changed in recent decades, participation in sport has also become increasingly diverse. However, there are still particular groups in society who have traditionally low levels of participation in sport and physical activity. These include Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds, particularly women from these groups.

An ABS survey of *Children's Participation in Cultural and Leisure Activities* (2009) identified a noticeable difference in the participation rate of children born in other countries compared with those born in Australia or in a main English-speaking country. Around two-thirds (64 percent and 62 percent respectively) of children born in Australia and main English-speaking countries participated in organised sport outside school hours, whereas the participation rate for children born in other countries was 40 percent (ABS, 2009). ABS figures (2011b) also show there is a noticeable difference between Indigenous boys and girls aged 4-14 years: with over half (51 percent) of all boys and less than half of all girls (43 percent) participating in organised sport.

While sport is considered by many to be an integral part of their lives and identities, many others don't engage and feel excluded from taking part. The latest ABS Census (2010a) showed that seven million Australian children and young people aged 5-24 years (50 percent of this population group) had no involvement or minimal engagement with organised sport. As McCarroll (2013) argues: "This 50 percent of non-participants are more likely to be from multicultural, non-English speaking and/or Indigenous backgrounds; live in single parent households; live in low socio-economic areas; are unemployed or have an unemployed parent; and/or are female" (para. 5). He adds: "Unfortunately those not engaged with the system are the ones who, arguably, would benefit the most from the array of social outcomes sport can provide" (para. 4).

Indigenous Australians and sport – a love/hate affair

A history of physical violence and dispossession, Stolen Generations, social deprivation and segregation, discriminatory protective laws and racial exclusion provides some context to the treatment of Indigenous peoples in Australia. This legacy has led to the reality that "indigenous peoples face common experiences of marginalisation and exclusion in the states in which they live. This is reflected in significantly lower standards of living and often, feelings of dislocation and disempowerment" (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2005, para. 7). This is definitely the case in Australia, where the life expectancy gap between the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population and other Australians was estimated to be 18 years for males and 12 years for females (Australian Institute

of Health and Welfare, 2011), although there are claims these figures have decreased in recent years.

Indigenous Australians are grossly over-represented as service users of both the health-care and judicial systems. Compared to the non-Indigenous population, Indigenous Australians experience higher mortality and morbidity rates; lower life expectancy; poor education outcomes; low socio-economic status; and poor employment opportunities (Bradley, Draca, Green, & Leeves, 2007). Indigenous youth (aged between 15 and 24 years) were more likely to be overweight or obese than non-Indigenous youth (37% and 27% respectively), and twice as likely to be obese (15% and 6% respectively) (ABS 2012-2013). For Indigenous Australians, “being overweight or obese, being physically inactive and consuming a diet low in fruit and vegetables have been estimated to contribute to the high rates of cardiovascular disease, diabetes and chronic kidney disease experienced by Australia’s Indigenous people” (AIHW, 2011, p.1). Compared with non-Indigenous Australians, Indigenous Australians are more likely to have certain types of health conditions and, for many conditions, experience earlier onset. They also have a continued high occurrence of certain diseases that are now virtually unreported in the non-Indigenous population, such as trachoma and acute rheumatic fever. The figures are horrific: about 1 in 8 (13%) Indigenous Australians aged 2 and over reported having cardiovascular disease as a long-term condition in 2012-13; 11% of Indigenous adults had diabetes, a further 4.7% were at risk of developing diabetes; while the proportion having long-term kidney disease was 3.7 times as high as the proportion of non-Indigenous people (AIHW, 2015).

The devastation that was created by the colonising forces and their policies in Indigenous communities over the last 200 years “has come to the surface as violence: domestic, interpersonal and now suicidal, a phenomenon virtually unknown in Aboriginal societies until 30 years ago. It has also appeared as sexual assault within families, drug-taking, alcohol abuse and corresponding involvement with the criminal justice system” (Tatz, 1999). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are experiencing suicide within their communities at approximately twice the rate of the rest of the population, and the AIHW report (2015) on the health and welfare of Australia’s ATSI peoples shows that 15-18 year old Aboriginal teenagers

are five times more likely to take their own lives than other Australians of the same age. The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Suicide Prevention Strategy (2013) have a holistic and early intervention focus that works to build strong communities through more community-focused and integrated approaches to suicide prevention, which sport plays a role. As Tatz (2012) says, sport can make a significant contribution to reducing youth suicide and improving aspects of health and well-being in many communities. He has advocated for research to be done on the linkages on delinquency and self-harm rates between Indigenous communities that have organised sport and seasonal sporting events against those communities who do not, “to prove that when where there is sport, and heavy sport activity, the rates of delinquency and harm go down, and when the season is off the rates skyrocket” (Tatz, *Committee Hansard*, Sydney, 21 November 2012, p. 2.).

Sport can be a very powerful way of engaging Indigenous people and providing positive outcomes in the areas of health and welfare. The Heart Foundation has pointed to the health benefits to Indigenous Australians of sport and physical activity among Indigenous Australians, including a reduction in risk for chronic disease, coronary heart disease and stroke, bowel and breast cancer, diabetes and depression. (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013, *Submission 58*, pp. 1-2). While sporting events and carnivals, have helped to promote greater responsibility in managing health conditions and support greater awareness of issues impacting on health in communities.

However, according to Tatz (1999) “many embattled communities - most of them remote from, even denied, services taken for granted in urban centres - are surviving and some are finding paths to a sense of flourishing. There is a new-found determination, especially among the women, to overcome some appalling odds, to fashion lives which have purpose and meaning.” In McCoy’s (2008) book *Holding Men: Kanyirninpa and the Health of Young Aboriginal Men* that explores how Indigenous men understand their lives, health and culture, he uses examples from Australian rules football, petrol sniffing and imprisonment to reveal the possibilities for lasting improvements to men’s health based on Kanyirninpa’s expression of deep and enduring cultural values and relationships. McCoy (2008) says that desert people

strongly maintain their own health belief system; this is not denying the importance of Western medical health care, but to stress that it is inadequate to address the well-being of these people by itself.

Indigenous participation in sport

In 2006, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population was estimated to be about 517,000, constituting 2.5 percent of the total Australian population (AIHW, 2011). Approximately one-third (32 percent) of all ATSI people live in major cities, 43 percent live in regional Australia and 25 percent live in remote areas (AIHW, 2011). By comparison, only three percent of other Australians live in remote areas (Altman & Gray, 2005). Some literature indicates that ATSI people living in rural and remote settings experience more disadvantage (Marmot, Friel, Bell, Houweling, & Taylor, 2008; Tedmanson & Guerin, 2011) as there is often limited infrastructure and programming to provide leisure and other pursuits (Cunningham & Beneforti, 2005), at times leading to engagement in unhealthy or negative activities (Cappo, 2007).

Although Indigenous Australians have lower rates of participation in sport than non-Indigenous people, the *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey* (ABS, 2008) found one in three Indigenous people aged 15 years or over had participated in sport or physical activities in the last year. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men aged between 15 to 24 years had a participation rate of 53 percent, which decreased to 18 percent for men aged 45 years and over. Of all ATSI women aged 15 to 24 years, 36 percent took part in sport and physical activities, with the rate decreased to 11 percent for women aged 45 years and over. These figures make sport a potentially powerful vehicle for encouraging Indigenous communities to look at challenging personal and community issues (AIHW, 2011).

Almost half (47 percent) of Indigenous children aged 4-14 years in 2008 had played organised sport in the previous 12-month period (ABS, 2011b). For Aboriginal boys in this age group, the three most popular sports were Australian rules football (17 percent), rugby league (16 percent) and outdoor soccer (10.5 percent). For Aboriginal girls in this age group, the most popular sport was netball (13 percent) followed by competitive swimming (seven percent) and basketball

(seven percent) (ABS, 2008). The enjoyment or fun that active or passive participation in these activities generated is both intrinsically beneficial and a powerful hook for engaging communities in programs with other social or personal development objectives (Hartmann, 2003). The evidence suggests that providing locally relevant sports and recreation programs can be useful in building a sense of purpose, hope and belonging in these communities (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2011). For example, Indigenous sporting festivals and events such as the Imparja Cricket Cup or NAIDOC Netball Carnival can act as “fulcrums for social and traditional cohesion” (Cameron & McDougall, 2000, p. 4), however, the activities must be appropriate and implemented effectively (Cairnduff, 2001; Tonts, 2005, Rynne & Rossi, 2012).

NRL welfare and education officer Dean Widders commended the importance of events such as the annual Indigenous players camp, which is aimed at making players feel more comfortable about their Indigenous heritage, and to teach them about their history. He said:

Knowing where they're from, knowing what they represent, it gives them strength and motivation to realise their roles as mentors and role models for our people. Hopefully it means they go back and they behave better in their clubs, they play better, they train harder, and they also think a bit more about putting more into their life and doing more for our community and putting better pathways into the game for Indigenous people (as cited in Kennedy, 2014, paras. 9, 10).

The 2009 Crawford Report on Australian sport found that in Australian Indigenous communities numerous agencies have attempted to instigate community development programs and promote sport-specific initiatives. “While there have been some notable successes, there have also been duplications, inefficiencies and short-term investments, with the result that very few of the investments have achieved sustainable outcomes. These issues have contributed to stress in the communities as they struggle to absorb competing interests” (Crawford, 2009). Many initiatives fail to make use of knowledge and systems that already exist - resulting in parallel systems and overlaying of new initiatives upon old. The net result is that inefficient processes limit the impact of all initiatives (Crawford, 2009). While some national, state and territory sporting organisations have (to varying degrees) Indigenous sports participation officers and programs, or general

inclusion staff and projects in place, there remains a range of barriers to participation in sport for ATSI people. Tatz highlights economic and structural barriers, especially for remote Indigenous communities:

Denial of competition takes several forms. One is structural: because of their place in the political, legal, economic and social system, Aborigines and Islanders rarely get onto squash courts or Group 1 golf courses or into ski lodges. They never hang glide, play polo, ride bikes for Yamaha or drive cars for Ferrari. The second form is institutional: on settlements and missions - where many Aborigines have lived - there was, literally no grass. There were no facilities such as coaches and physiotherapists, and scholarships are not part of their vocabulary or experience (2000, p. 7).

People from CaLD backgrounds and sport – an unsettling experience

In 1901, the Australian population (excluding the Indigenous population) was 90 percent from Britain, Ireland and other British sources, five percent from Northern Europe, four percent from Asia and other coloured areas, and one percent from Southern and Eastern Europe (Murphy, 1993, p. 25). Through its policies and through the conventions that surrounded it, including *The Immigration Restriction Act*, the Australian Government created such a disincentive for non-British immigration that it was “almost completely effective between the 1890s and 1960s” at excluding non-British migrants (Jupp, 1995, p.48). Through the restriction of assisted passage to “British subjects of European race and United Kingdom origin”, and the introduction of quotas on non-British migration and the restriction of citizenship rights to British subjects, the Australian Government maintained Australia as a white nation, as envisaged at Federation (Jupp, 1995, p. 70). The effectiveness of the White Australia Policy did little however, to calm Australians’ fear of migrants, particularly following the anti-immigrant sentiment following World War 1 and 2 (Jupp, 2002). At the end of the Second World War, the vast majority of the Australian (non-Indigenous) population remained British nationals (99.46 percent) according to the 1947 Census (ABS, 1948) and British and Irish migrants represented approx. 75 percent of the migrant population in 1947.

The post-war period in Australia saw a substantial shift in government immigration policy. With Australian birth rates at an all-time low, the recognition

that an increased population for primary industry was unlikely to be met without immigration, which led to a new imperative “populate or perish” (Markus, 1984, p. 33) and a renewed immigration program driven by assisted passage migration of British migrants and from the Displaced Persons (DP) camps of Europe (Murphy, 1993). The program brought over 170,000 migrants to Australia; Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Croatians, Hungarians, Czechs and Russians, but they were carefully selected to ensure assimilability (Jupp, 1995, p. 74). However, when the program was concluded in 1953 there remained a strong need for continued high immigration levels to accommodate an expanding manufacturing industry and the government saw the unskilled rural labour from Europe as an ideal workforce (Jupp, 1995, p. 75). But once again, the Australian public were not in favour of large-scale immigration, particularly from more ethnically and culturally diverse regions. As Murphy (2000) has suggested, the experience for migrants was very different: “There were those who met blank walls of discrimination and rejection, those who worked to build up their own communities and those who set to carve a place out for themselves in a new place made home” (p. 157). The White Australia Policy was formally abandoned in the early 1970s and programs and policies of ‘multiculturalism’ were introduced soon after.

Many migrants found that sport was one way to maintain their own cultural links, with many forming social and sporting clubs to allow them to continue their cultural traditions in Australia, even in the face of pressure to assimilate (Jupp, 1995, p.76). Therefore, many migrants chose not to take part in the dominant sporting culture, either because they were unfamiliar with or uninterested in the sports of football or cricket, or because they were deliberately excluded (Cazaly, 2013, p. 74). Instead, they set up their own sporting clubs, particularly soccer clubs that helped migrants to maintain their cultural traditions. Soccer clubs “enabled people to interact, to establish patronage links, support networks and social contacts” (Mosely, 1994, p. 200).

CaLD participation in sport

As highlighted, the trajectory of sporting organisations in Australia has, in the main, paralleled the same phases in government immigration and multicultural policies, and until recently, most major sports remained relatively mono-cultural

(ASC, 2012b). A national survey of 252 sport associations in 2002 found although most sport clubs (72 percent) indicated that they were open or friendly to cultural diversity, only a small number (12 percent) could actually point to specific policies that encouraged or valued cultural diversity (T. Taylor, 2002). However, things have changed substantially in the last 10 years since Taylor's survey: sport often plays a critical role now in promoting multiculturalism and the settlement experience of migrants and refugees (CMY, 2009; SCOA, 2012). There are many programs and policies that promote diversity and inclusion, which will be explained further in Chapter Eight.

As the Australian population has changed in recent decades, participation in sport has also become increasingly diverse. However, statistics show that people born in Australia were more likely to participate in sport and physical recreation than those born in other countries (67 percent and 59 percent respectively) (ABS, 2011-12). The *Survey of Children's Participation in Cultural and Leisure Activities* (ABS, 2009) showed that the participation rate of children between 5-14 years from couple families where both parents were born in Australia is 69 percent (comprising 75.7 percent for males and 62.6 percent for females), compared to 41.5 percent for both parents born in other countries (comprising 50 percent for males and 32.4 percent for females). While these participation figures are not as high as people born in Australia, they are still considerable, demonstrating the value of sport in many CaLD peoples' lives.

ABS figures (2009) also show that the most popular organised sports for children aged 5 to 14 years born in other countries were swimming (13 percent) and outdoor soccer (12 percent). While there appears to be considerable numbers of people from CaLD backgrounds who participate in sport, much of this is occurring on an informal, social basis in trusted environments, such as schools, leisure and community centres, and not in an organised club environment. The available research (AHRC, 2007; SCOA, 2012; CMYI, 2005, ASC 2012a) indicates that new arrivals to the country prefer to play sport with people with whom they have a close relationship, such as their friends and peer groups, rather than joining an established club. In addition, many new arrivals may not know what sporting clubs exist in their

area, or how to go about joining a club. Many may also be turned off by the constant flow of negative stories of racial abuse they see in the media.

According to the *Mapping Social Cohesion* report (Markus, 2013), most people think the increasing diversity in Australians is a good thing - with 84 percent of respondents agreeing that multiculturalism has been good for Australia. This figure is somewhat surprising given the strong commentary in some sections of the mainstream media in recent years about the negative impacts of asylum seekers and refugees. Social commentator Hugh Mackay (2013) says:

We're tribal creatures, driven by our deep insecurities to be suspicious of 'otherness'; to mistrust the stranger; to be threatened by difference. So we love to congregate in groups - religious, ethnic, geographical, social, cultural - from which we can draw a sense of identity and emotional security (para. 3).

The result of this tendency to form close-knit tribal groups in areas such as religion, sport and cultural activities is that we may exclude those who are not like us, resulting in a less unified and cohesive community (Maxwell et al., 2011; Spaaij, 2009a, 2009b; Bourdieu, 1986). The experience of resettlement for new arrivals in Australia is testament to how difficult and daunting it is to integrate into a new society, with individuals and families required to adjust to a different culture, language and social systems. The Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY, 2010) has found young refugees may be faced with additional burdens such as the physical and mental impact of torture and trauma, and the loss of family members. With these daily challenges, children's involvement in sport and recreation is not seen as a high priority for newly-arrived parents, and family or cultural commitments may also take priority over physical activity (p. 12).

The *What's the Score* report (AHRC, 2007) found that family, community or religious commitments could also pose barriers to participation. Young women from a CaLD background are particularly limited from participating in sport due to barriers within their own communities and those that they face from sporting organisations. Other challenges that limit women's participation in sport include: language barriers (a particular problem for newly-arrived migrants and older women), limited information, limited resources and limited transport (AHRC, 2007). Previous research by Taylor and Toohey (2009) has noted the difficulties faced by

Muslim women in trying to access sporting opportunities that allow them to participate wearing the *hijab* or with no males present. Taylor says “it is often the case that they are not interested in participating in a sport that forces them to abandon or hide their cultural distinctiveness as a condition for involvement” (2004, p. 472). She adds:

Valuing cultural diversity and creating opportunities to make contributions to the construction of a sport and allowing expressions of unique cultural identity through dress or other symbolic representations are lost when sports are culturally homogeneous (p. 470).

While many barriers and challenges remain for Indigenous and CaLD participation in sport there are a range of government and sports policies and programs in place aimed at addressing these issues, which will be the critical focus of the next section of this chapter.

Government frameworks, policies and programs

Indigenous sports programs are funded through a number of Commonwealth agencies, including departments of health, education and Indigenous affairs. Multicultural sport programs are funded through a range of federal health and education agencies and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. State and territory governments also fund a range of inclusion programs for Indigenous and CaLD communities, including the Multicultural Women’s Sport Leadership program in NSW, Aboriginal Outdoor Recreation Program and Indigenous Sport Program in Tasmania, Deadly Sports Program in Queensland, Australian Rules Multicultural Community Program in Western Australia to name a few.

The vision for sport articulated in *Australian Sport: The Pathway to Success* (Australian Department of Health and Ageing, 2010) highlights the importance of understanding and removing existing barriers to participation through the creation of inclusive environments where participation can grow. Examples of this may include improving access to premises for people with disability, removing sexist materials from club amenities, or addressing non-inclusive language on sports websites. The government's policy approach acknowledges the (Australian Government. Independent Sport Panel & Crawford, 2009) ‘Crawford Review’ observations, that

the potential for sport to contribute to closing the gap in Indigenous health and wellbeing is widely recognised. The ASC has also developed and implemented structures and programs to help NSOs and community groups encourage more Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds into Australia's sporting landscape. ASC Chair John Wylie confirmed this focus in saying:

Creating a fairer, more respectful, increasingly responsible and safer sporting environment for all Australians has been one of the Commission's goals since it was formed in 1985. Reducing barriers to sports participation for all Australians, including those from CaLD backgrounds through programs, working with NSOs and funding sport at all levels is an important part of Australia's cultural evolution (Wylie, 2013, para. 3).

Indigenous programs in sport

The 1991 Inquiry into Aboriginals Deaths in Custody recommended, among other things, that sports programs be developed to further social and anti-crime goals. Since that time increasing levels of government funding have been directed at sports programs aimed at addressing Indigenous disadvantage by attempting to 'close the gap'. The Australian Productivity Commission's 2012 Indigenous Expenditure Report estimates that total direct Indigenous expenditure at a national level in 2010-11 was \$25.4 billion, accounting for 5.6 per cent of total direct general government expenditure. Of this figure, Indigenous programs for Recreation and Culture for 2010-11 accounted for just under half a billion Australian dollars (Productivity Commission 2012). The National Indigenous Reform Agreement endorsed by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in 2008, commits all governments to the following six 'Close the Gap' targets to address the disadvantage faced by Indigenous Australians, these include:

- to close the life-expectancy gap within a generation,
- to halve the gap in mortality rates for Indigenous children under five within a decade,
- to ensure access to early childhood education for all Indigenous four years olds in remote communities within five years,
- to halve the gap in reading, writing and numeracy achievements for children within a decade,

- to halve the gap in Indigenous Year 12 achievement by 2020, and
- to halve the gap in employment outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a decade (www.coag.gov.au/closing_the_gap_in_indigenous_disadvantage).

In the Closing the Gap progress speech by former Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, to the Australian Parliament on 26 February 2009, the need for partnerships across all sectors of the Australian community to help close the gap in Indigenous outcomes was highlighted, including sport. Rudd said:

And that is our fourth pillar: the building of partnerships across all sectors of the Australian community to help to close the gap. Where the wider community - including business, the education sector, sporting groups and the community sector at large – become partners in bringing about measurable change in Indigenous communities and Indigenous lives (2009, paras. 157, 158).

The Department of Regional Australia, Local Government, Arts and Sport (DRALGAS) believe that sport and active recreation have indirect benefits under Closing the Gap building blocks, including:

- *Health* - by encouraging a healthier lifestyle that includes physical activity. The Department of Health and Ageing (DoHA) funds a number of programs that contribute to improving the health and wellbeing of Indigenous people through sport and physical activity, including: *the Indigenous Chronic Disease Package* that aims to close the gap in life expectancy within a generation by reducing major risk factors for chronic disease. As part of the package, *Regional Tackling Smoking and Healthy Lifestyle Teams* promote and support good health, including through sporting role models who promote smoke-free healthy messages. *The Healthy Communities initiative* also provides funding to local councils to implement community-based, healthy lifestyle programs targeting disadvantaged populations and unemployed adults. Many of these programs benefit Indigenous people.
- *Economic participation* - through employment opportunities for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, such as sport and recreation officers.

- *Safe communities* - by providing an alternative to anti-social behavior: the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) funds several initiatives, some of which are not Indigenous specific, that use sport as a mechanism to improve outcomes for Indigenous Australians, including the *Respectful Relationships strategy* that aims to prevent sexual assault and domestic and family violence through education. Under this strategy, funding has been provided to National Rugby League and the AFL. FaHCSIA also fund *Community Action Grants* under the National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010-22, which provides support to communities in reducing violence against women. Netball Australia was funded to educate on healthy relationships and violence prevention, train coaches and implement a peer education and mentoring program for Indigenous young women. The AFL was funded for an education program and National Rugby League was funded for a communications program.
- *Governance and leadership* - by funding initiatives to build capacity of Indigenous communities to deliver sport and recreation activities (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013, p 10).

The Federal Government's Office for Sport helps facilitate this outcome and is responsible for two main Indigenous sports programs:

- *The Indigenous Sports and Recreation Program (ISARP)*: which supports community participation in sport and recreation activities that help to improve the health and physical wellbeing of Indigenous Australians and those that contribute to broader social benefits for participants and their communities. Some ISARP projects are spread across large areas of Australia, such as Athletics Australia's Athletics for the Outback and the Indigenous Golf Association of Victoria's 2012 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Golf Championships project. Other programs are directed at specific areas, such as funding to AFL Cape York Limited (Qld), South Australian National Football League and Australian Football League

(AFL) (Victoria) Limited. Activities funded by ISARP grants in recent years have included athletics, Australian rules football, basketball, boxing, golf, hockey, lacrosse, netball, rugby league, rugby union, soccer, softball, surf lifesaving, surfing, swimming and tennis. (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013, p. 14).

- *The Indigenous Sport Development Officers Program (ISDOP): which aims to increase the active participation of Indigenous Australians in sport and physical recreation and encourage Indigenous community ownership and management of sport and physical recreation activities, including through skills development. There are 50 Indigenous Sport Development Officers (ISDOs) nationally. The Office for Sport funds 28 of these ISDOs dispersed around Australia and employed by state and territory departments of sport and recreation, with the exception of Queensland. The Queensland Government is working with 38 Indigenous communities to form Sport and Recreation Reference Groups (SRG) that will act as a coordination point comprised of key stakeholders in the community. The ISDOs liaise with Indigenous communities in their region to assess sporting needs and priorities and coordinate the delivery of programs, resources and services in partnership with the mainstream sporting industry and the relevant state and territory departments of sport and recreation. The ISDOs develop a range of partnerships between sporting organisations, clubs, Indigenous community organisations, local governments, state and territory government agencies, and schools (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013, p. 12).*

I agree with Tatz, in that Indigenous sports officers should be in every Indigenous community and should assist to organise sporting activities, competitions and coordinate funding (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013, *Committee Hansard*, Sydney, 2012). There needs to be more Indigenous sports officers on the ground to help to facilitate these activities and facilitate ownership of the programs to local communities.

Following the release of *Australian Sport: The Pathway to Success* report (Australian Department of Health and Ageing, 2010), the ASC changed its approach to Indigenous sport program development and delivery. Current practice reflects the move from a targeted programs approach (focused on different participation groups) to a more inclusive approach to developing the sporting opportunities for all under-represented population groups, including Indigenous people. The ASC now funds and supports NSOs to coordinate and deliver sport participation and development programs for Indigenous Australians, and are responsible for two programs related to promoting sporting activities to this group. They include:

- The Elite Indigenous Travel and Accommodation Assistance Program (EITAAP), which assists Indigenous sportspeople and their sponsoring organisation to attend national or international events and competitions.
- Participation funding grants to national sporting organisations to support participation by Indigenous Australians (www.ausport.gov.au).

The Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) also has a number of programs that use sport and other activities, such as dance and performing arts, to improve educational and employment outcomes for Indigenous youth, and funds two Indigenous sports programs: *Sporting Chance*; and *Learn Earn Legend!*. Up to December 2012, DEEWR also funded the *No School, No Play program*. The DEEWR programs contribute to key Closing the Gap targets around education and employment outcomes.

Sporting Chance is an Australian Government initiative that started operation in schools in 2007 and supports programs that use sport as a vehicle to increase the engagement and participation of Indigenous students. There are 59 school-based sports academies and five education engagement strategies that make up the initiative. One notable example of the Sporting Chance program is the Clontarf Foundation which exists to improve the education, discipline, self-esteem, life skills and employment prospects of young Aboriginal men and by doing so, equip them to participate more meaningfully in society. Clontarf Academies use the passion Aboriginal boys have for football to attract the boys to school, especially those deemed 'at risk' Through a diverse mix of activities including sport, the full-time, local Clontarf staff mentor and counsel students, while the school caters for the

educational needs of each student. This has resulted in 90 per cent year-on-year school retention rates and over 75 per cent of graduates being engaged in employment or training within six months of graduating. (Standing Committee on Recreation and Sport, 2012, p. 6). The National Aboriginal Sporting Chance Academy (NASCA) runs two academies: the Walan Barramal Sporting Chance Academy in South Sydney, and the Gambirrang Sporting Chance Academy in the Dubbo region. In late 2011, the Australian Council for Educational Research conducted an evaluation of the Sporting Chance program and found that the program was meeting its objective to improve educational outcomes for ATSI students using sport and recreation.

The *Learn Earn Legend!* program encourages young Indigenous people to remain in education and be aware of and explore career opportunities. The focus is on school-to-work transitions and aspiration building, and the program utilises elite sportspeople to act as role models or ambassadors. The initiatives supported under the *Learn Earn Legend!* banner are not sporting programs, nor do they encourage students to become sports people. *Learn Earn Legend* projects focus on senior students in Years 10 to 12 in order to address decreasing retention rates and to improve employment outcomes by providing young Indigenous people with a vision of their potential pathways beyond school. *Learn Earn Legend!* also supports several sporting events and programs such as the NRL Indigenous All Stars team and its annual match against the NRL All Stars, Former Origin Greats, employment and careers expos, the AFL's Dreamtime at the G game and associated matches, and Local Legends ("Learn, Earn, Legend!," n.d.).

The Commonwealth Government provided \$2 million to the *No School No Play* initiative to support eight national sporting organisations to promote school attendance. Programs were based on partnerships between sporting organisations, parents and communities of secondary school students. The goal was to assist Indigenous students to increase their Year 12 attainment through reward and incentive initiatives, mentoring and personal development and community engagement. DEEWR reported that in December 2011, *No School No Play* projects were being delivered to 2,727 students, of which 2,540 were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. On average, approximately 80 percent of *No School No Play*

participants were reported to have improved school attendance and school engagement. Despite this, the program ceased in 2012. Basketball Australia expressed its disappointment at the discontinued funding of the program and reported that in 2011, 80 per cent of the participants in *No School No Play* through Basketball Australia improved their engagement with school, and 90 per cent improved the numbers of days they attended school. There were still reports in 2013 of *No School No Play* programs operating without government funding. Some sports still work with schools to run *No School No Play* programs. (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, p. 24). If this program was having this level of success it begs the question why funding was ceased?

A detailed critical assessment on whether government and sporting programs are effective in closing the gap targets is provided in Chapter Eight.

Voices on the ground – Indigenous programs

Responses to the online survey for this project regarding peoples' knowledge about programs and policies set up to ensure people from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds have a 'safe, fair and inclusive' sporting experience showed that almost a quarter (25 people) were unaware of any programs at national, state/territory and club level. This figure is startling considering most of the people who responded to the online survey indicated that they are directly involved in sport in different capacities. General comments included:

None in particular that I am aware of, but there are certainly no barriers to their participation.

No particular program, we welcome all comers.

Not sure, everybody is welcome to play if they choose to.

Some respondents were more direct and said that there were no such programs in their sport. Further to this, an additional 24 people provided general recognition that their sport was inclusive, but were vague on any specifics. Comments included:

There is no restriction on who can join a team and no restrictions on who can register as a player.

We have trial equipment available for anyone to use to try the sport.

People of all nationalities are treated equally and made welcome into our sport.

[Our sport is] reasonably priced, so affordable to all.

Taken together, almost 50 percent of the survey respondents for this project were not specifically aware of the details of any programs or policies within their sport aimed at providing a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience for Indigenous people. This defensive response was also evident when I was researching the *What's the Score?* report for the Australian Human Rights Commission in 2006/07. Several interviewees from sporting organisations surveyed for that report indicated that they had not developed specific initiatives to promote an inclusive environment, but justified the remark with comments similar to those provided for this research - in that their sport was inclusive to everyone, and as such, specific policies or programs weren't required. While these responses are aimed at portraying a positive image that their sports are inclusive and don't require any intervention, they could otherwise be viewed as defensive and reactionary, and serve to protect the status quo. As a critical theorist, I suggest that this may be missing an opportunity to help promote inclusion further in their sports and thereby a chance to influence participants on these issues. Maintaining the status quo is merely reinforcing the existing power structures and attitudes, which could be seen as failing to progress individual or wider social outcomes.

By way of contrast, over 50 percent of respondents to the online survey for this project did provide examples of positive programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in their chosen sport. Some of these included:

- The Richmond Football Club's development of the Korin Gamadji Institute, which is at the forefront of Indigenous youth cultural and leadership education.

- Basketball Australia's *No school, No play* program for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and underperforming groups, and education, scholarships and assistance programs to help participants access the sport.
- Football United and the Rugby Youth Foundation have practical programs that engage Indigenous children and youth.
- The Netball Victoria *Netball for All* program allows participants from all backgrounds to take part in netball, including subsidised membership where cost may be a barrier.
- Touch Football Australia has specific programs that provide the opportunity for Indigenous participants to be involved in accredited courses (referee and coaching) and general administrative education to assist in setting up touch football competitions in remote communities.
- Noogal Toengorrt Tani – a cricket program developed and managed by Indigenous people for Indigenous people, and the Imparja Cup, which serves as a national championship for Indigenous cricketers.
- Yachting Queensland has been involved in training Indigenous people to increase job opportunities.

CaLD programs in sport

The fact is, in the twentieth century people from CaLD backgrounds remain underrepresented in Australia sport. Cultural differences, attitudes (interpersonal, institutional and internalised) and a lack of awareness, knowledge and accessibility are all issues that have contributed to this (Skene, 2012). As Australia becomes more culturally diversified, sports preferences are likely to change (ASC, 2013b) and will need to be catered for. As such, the ASC has developed an *All Cultures* program to support coaches, administrators, and sporting clubs in this area by:

- Helping to build an understanding of the issues that affect the level of involvement of people from a multicultural background.
- Providing practical strategies to recruit and retain this target group in sport.
- Modeling successful strategies and programs currently adopted by a variety of sports across Australia.
- Provide data on available support network and resource centres.

- Making available important support tools such as guidelines and templates (“All cultures,” n.d.).

While the *All Cultures* program provides some support to NSOs to assist them with programs to increase participation from the CaLD demographic, it is no replacement for the previous Multicultural Unit with the Commission, which provided expertise and support and drove CaLD participation strategies in sport for many years.

The Australian Government has also implemented a range of programs through the Department of Immigration and Citizenship that promote CaLD participation and inclusion in sport, these include: the Diversity and Social Cohesion program, and the Building Community Resilience Grants program. While these programs have supported some excellent work by sport and community groups over the years, including Netball Australia’s One Netball program and a range of initiatives to promote inclusion in sport from ‘at risk’ Muslim youth, the funding is short-term which affects sustainability and longevity of programs, and evaluation on the outcomes has been lacking.

Another federal government program, that uses sporting events to showcase their commitment to diversity and inclusion is Harmony Day. Celebrated annually since 1999, Harmony Day coincides with the United Nations International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The day is observed as an opportunity to advocate for community unity, cohesiveness and cultural respect for all Australians from all backgrounds. Many sports including netball, Australian rules football and rugby league support the Harmony Day theme and all hold their own Harmony Day events and games around the country to promote themes of multicultural harmony and social cohesion. While well supported, particularly by sport, Harmony Day seems to lack a coherent theme or objective on what it wants to achieve and has not evolved. Promoting food and activities from different cultures is one way of celebrating diversity, however it doesn’t address the more harmful aspects of eliminating racial discrimination in society, and therein misses a crucial opportunity.

Voices on the ground – CaLD programs

Some respondents to the online survey for this research project did not show a great level of knowledge or awareness of any programs or processes in place to

ensure people from a CaLD background have a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience. In fact, almost a third of respondents (31 people) said they knew of ‘none’ or were ‘not aware’ of any. Comments to this effect included: “there is no restriction on who can join a team and no restrictions on who can register as a player” and “the desire to play gets you included.” Some saw talent development and leadership programs as performing this role, while others said it is the coaches and players who ensure people from a CaLD background are welcomed and included. One survey respondent’s comment summed up the lack of awareness by some, despite many such programs existing in the sport:

The Kanga Cup run by Capital Football in Canberra is the only program within football that I am aware of which supports CaLD ideals. The FFA partners with Football United, an organisation that uses football for social development to address CaLD issues, but I was unaware of this until I performed a web search.

This indicates a lack of communication and coordination between national, state and local levels that is common across federated sporting systems. Some survey respondents described programs that are in place but weren’t very complimentary. Comments included:

Usually school-based (programs) that are in place, however their scope is minimal and doesn't tend to operate in regional or rural areas.

Various levels of the game have set up two or five year plans on this, but [they’re] not really implemented in the regions where I participate.

Though we run a CaLD program, our sport is very WASP and blue collar, which makes it a tough nut to crack on a sport-wide basis.

From my experience, short-term, narrowly-focussed programs that receive little internal support are some of the main factors contributing to the ineffectiveness of inclusion programs in sporting organisations. Many people suggested more general inclusive programs for various disadvantaged groups, which promote and encourage inclusion for all. This strategy of focussing on one general inclusion program rather than having separate programs for different groups will be discussed later in the thesis. Online survey respondents also made it clear that efforts are being made to

make sport more inclusive for people from CaLD backgrounds, with supportive comments such as:

We have ensured our club is reflective of the local community, we have made access to the sport affordable, minimised barriers to participation, celebrated successes and adopted cultural aides to assist with our junior program.

Other positive comments included:

Clinics and staff are trained to assist in providing opportunities that recognise differences and make adaptations to the game to simplify and create fairer games.

Effort is put into understanding what new players expect from their participation.

In the main, these efforts suggest a more organic grassroots evolution of inclusive programs, rather than a national, systemic, integrated approach that is required.

Is modern sport inclusive for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background?

Despite comprehensive policies by governments and sporting organisations at the federal, state/territory and grassroots levels to increase Indigenous and CaLD participation in sport and address historic barriers the policy rhetoric of diversity and inclusion has often not translated into practice, with some groups remaining marginalised despite institutional goals of equal opportunity (Adair, Taylor, & Darcy, 2010). Research by Spracklen, Hylton and Long (2006) has found the status of diversity in the policy frameworks of sport organisations is frequently not matched by an equivalent status in the way in which sport is managed and delivered on the ground, where equality standards are seen at best as supporting work already being done, but at worst as an unwarranted interference. In their submission to the 2013 Parliamentary Inquiry into the Contribution of Sport to Indigenous Wellbeing and Mentoring, Netball Australia highlighted:

The main impediment is that the sport sector has been devoid of an overarching strategic framework and/or policy positions and the long-term investment that is required to achieve sustainable and successful Indigenous policies and programs (be they culturally inclusive, mainstream or Indigenous specific) (2013c, p. 2).

In a similar vein, Professor Tatz said to the same Inquiry, we need:

. . . to look into the constant shuffling of sport between government departments, with each one passing the buck, so to speak, to other departments, saying, 'We're not into sport; we're into housing,' or, 'We're into health; it's not about sport,' etcetera. Government departments are obstinate in refusing to see a correlation between the two (2012, p. 1).

These views reflect my frustration at the recent government approach of putting 'sport' into large health portfolios where it is lost amongst the massive focus on 'big ticket' areas such as Medicare and National Disability Insurance Scheme (NIDS).

Coalter's investigation of sport in Scotland (2002) came up with the conclusion that government departments, sporting organisations and NGOs need to work together to achieve optimal long-term results around inclusion and diversity. The Centre for Multicultural Youth (2009) also suggest that many Australian sporting organisations, which have the skills and resources required to provide programs to migrants and refugees, also lack an understanding of CaLD groups and of the settlement services which would be able to help in the organisation of such programs. Similarly, many settlement services lack in-depth knowledge of the sporting sectors or programs currently on offer. The Centre suggest this lack of understanding of each other's systems and programs has led to a failure to communicate and/or collaborate effectively, and is exacerbated by the fact that responsibility to provide sporting opportunities to migrant and refugee communities does not fit within any one service area.

There was a wide range of views from interviewees for this research project on this question of whether sport is inclusive for Indigenous people and/or those from CaLD backgrounds. Responses varied according to the sport, its culture, the club, it's personnel, even the geographical base the sport had, as to what activities and programs they were doing and the level of engagement with these groups. Interviewee 25 thought that the typical club environment in Australia was a "very white, Anglo-Saxon, middle to upper class, drinking environment," and thought sport generally was actually quite exclusive rather than inclusive. They said:

It's very much set up for a very specific group of people that can afford it, that fit into that social sector, that accepts drinking, that accept a bit of banter, heckling, self abuse ... A lot of people feel that's what sport is about, and it's why they like it.

Vermeulen and Vermeer (2009, p. 1215) say there is hardly any room for naive optimism when it comes to sport participation being able to fix structural social problems of stigmatisation, discrimination and inequality. The social potential of sport lies rather in the opportunities that sport activities provide to individuals to construct their identities and find out their positions towards others in the processes of both in- and exclusion. However, as the comment above highlights, we tend to engage with those who mirror exactly who we are at the exclusion of those who don't.

Several interviewees saw targeted inclusion as a recent phenomenon, particularly for CaLD groups, and weren't convinced of its effectiveness. Interviewee 11 said:

From a systemic point of view, I think it's quite a recent thing to go out and target activity towards population groups or disadvantaged groups. I think it's got quite a lot to do with federal objectives and funding objectives that have come to the organisations rather than driven from within.

Another interviewee (8) said:

Definitely there's more [inclusion] there, the quality of it though is where the effort needs to be. I think that people have an understanding that there is inherent value in it and potentially value to the sport in commercial terms or participation terms, but I'm not sure yet that *how* people are doing it is to the standard that will really create great outcomes. So I think it's still often seen as an add-on or almost like a sport CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility] effort rather than a genuine partnering - a genuine investment in creating environments that are the same for CaLD or Indigenous people.

Many consider that the main motivation for a lot of sports reaching out to Indigenous and CaLD communities was as a strategic way to increase participation. As Interviewee 17 said:

It's not enough to realize that Australia is a much different place to where it was 20 years ago, even 10 years ago, and if sports want to thrive, then they really need to reflect the communities in which they operate. I think there is a sense that sports are putting in place strategies to engage with different communities, but in most cases, it's very much about that goal to boost participation, which is not a bad thing.

These are recurrent themes highlighted throughout this thesis that mirror my experiences educating NSOs and SSOs around the value of inclusion and diversity in sport – lack of purpose, funding, motivation, an apathy to the importance of these issues and a reluctance to address entrenched attitudes and structures. Ultimately, it comes down to the individuals who run the sports (at all levels) – they need to be supported and resourced to maintain inclusion programs, whether for Indigenous, CaLD, disability or gender areas. Sports need to be self reflective of their processes and their clubs, and identify what the gaps in participation are. They then need to go out and talk to the community and find out what the barriers are for these groups. Sports should be the one to take the initiative to go out into the community, rather than waiting for the community to come to them. Most importantly, as Fink and Pastore (1999) argue: “For diversity initiatives to be truly embedded within the organisation, those in power must be convinced of diversity’s relationship to organisational effectiveness” (p. 314). Many interview respondents shared the view that positive actions to promote inclusion were taking place and were being supported by strong leadership. Interviewee 12 said:

I think we've seen it largely in the past as a product of demographics - which community, which suburb are you in, which town are you in and how does it reflect in your sport? We're starting to see more than just the natural product of demographic now. I think we're seeing much more deliberate strategies around that, and that's reflected in the nature of the activities, and the nature of the people who are involved.

Similar sentiments were shared by Interviewee 21:

Five years ago, if you said 'CaLD markets' they would have looked at you with a blank stare, but pretty much everyone who's in sport now knows what it means.

Another said (Interviewee 12):

I think the demographics or the profile of the people who are actually running sports and running clubs, particularly at the community level, is changing too. Once people from non-English speaking backgrounds are involved in decision-making roles then you remove traditional awkward stereotypes in terms of who we want to be in our club.

Professor Bill Fogarty also made the important point:

We need to look at the models that are actually working. What is it about Deadly Sisters⁴ that is working? What are the things that you think could be working better? How applicable are they to other codes and other areas? The final really big thing is around the grassroots capacity. What are the models that are working really well? Again, what are the parts that are adaptable and what are the parts that are not adaptable? Clontarf [The Clontarf Foundation] is a fantastic thing and it has become the catch-all phrase of a great model, but does it work in other codes? We do not know. How well is it really working for girls and women? We do not know (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, *Committee Hansard*, Melbourne, 22 November 2012, p. 25).

Breaking down barriers in sport

The qualitative and quantitative research from the ASC's *Market Segmentation for Sport Participation Study* (2013b) identified a number of barriers to participation, or further participation in sports clubs. For adults aged 14-65 years, the barriers were both perceptual and rational. The perceptual barriers revolved around how they view clubs, club members and perceived requirements of being a member. Clubs can be seen to be too competitive and there are a number of people who just don't feel they fit with clubs. The general consensus from interviewees for this project was that sporting clubs in the main operate an open door policy to those with sufficient ability and commitment, however the door doesn't swing so freely for others. Spaaij et al. (2013) came to similar conclusions in their research and suggest that there is an inherent tension between the promotion of diversity and the pursuit of sporting excellence in sport:

⁴ Deadly Sista Girlz is program that assists Aboriginal women and their families who may not be able to access mainstream health fitness and wellbeing programs. For more information see <http://www.deadlysistagirlz.com.au>.

Policies that promote diversity might encourage people from diverse backgrounds to participate, and thus potentially enhance sports performance. However, such policies might also reduce team performance, depending on how the team views ‘success’, and result in divisions, fractures, and discontent (p. 5).

This can also lead to issues of team selection and conflicts of interest within clubs. Increased inclusion of Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds in sport while an end in itself is irrelevant if these new participants are exposed to discrimination, harassment and vilification. As McCarroll (2013) argues: “Isn’t enabling participation in each respective sport by working to remove barriers, the number one social and moral responsibility of these organisations, and a better focus for scarce/core resources?” (para. 9).

As part of this research project, online survey and interview participants were asked whether they thought sport played a role in breaking down barriers and reducing discrimination, or whether they thought it acted as the antithesis to this and actually served to reinforce existing structural barriers, entrench biases and practices, and create a setting for discrimination and vilification to thrive. Of the online survey respondents, over 51 percent (52 people) agreed that sport did break down barriers for Indigenous and CaLD groups (or had the potential to), with many citing belief in the all-powerful concept that sport was a ‘level playing field’. Seven people suggested it created barriers, eight people said ‘it depends’ and 17 people thought that sport had the potential to do both - depending on the sport, its culture and the people involved in managing the environment. Many who supported the power of sport to break down barriers also qualified their statement that there was a long way to go and much more to be done.

There were differing opinions from those surveyed on whether sporting organisations should be concentrating on attracting different minority groups or whether the focus should be about how clubs are inclusive of all people regardless of where they’re from and develop generic participation programs. Interviewee 16 said:

My gut feel is [to] include them in that mainstream environment rather than having separate programs. What I’m seeing in Australia is that there’s more separate stuff happening even though the intent is to become mainstream, which I think potentially could cause a bit of conflict.

Interviewee 19 said:

It's certainly an opportunity to build common ground through informal relationships if there is an existing divide. But I think it has to be done under a combined or inclusive one program, rather than separate programs.

Interviewee 24 had a contrary view:

We are going more and more away from culturally appropriate and place-based sports solutions towards that one size fits all. Which we know it doesn't work, yet it's being pushed.

While one survey respondent summed it up in the following way:

In some respects it helps to break down barriers where people from different cultures play together in the same team and work together for the same cause, which is sport. In other ways it can also create barriers when teams/players from one culture compete against teams/players from another culture, particularly when those cultures are historically or politically opposed. Ultimately, no matter what anyone says or does, it all comes down to the individual's perception of how they feel and what influences may have impacted on that person's opinion, emotions and level of respect. Acceptance of other cultures really is all about respect.

Participation in and through sport can help individuals to develop competence in the sometimes subtle and situational processes of inclusion and exclusion; and to learn that where someone is included, others are excluded. As Bourdieu (2000) points out, developing social capital is also a matter of distinction, being seen and recognised by others. Sport does provide ways to be included, and to attain (self) recognition and self-esteem (in short, an identity) by being recognised as skilful in sport for instance (Vermeleun & Vermeer, 2009, p. 1215). However, as Adair, Taylor and Darcy (2010) point out: "The domain of sport, whether at professional or community levels . . . continues to be dominated by groups that wield the greatest power; sport, in this sense, still helps to perpetuate the marginalisation and subjugation of, for example, women, ethnic minorities and Indigenous people" (p. 308).

Several interview respondents for this project highlighted the need for greater awareness to and about target populations:

When you talk about Indigenous and cultural backgrounds, some of the barriers are more about awareness and understanding of how to engage, rather than the sport actually actively keeping people out of the sport (Interviewee 11).

Interviewee 4 said:

Some of the barriers don't necessarily stem from the sport's capacity to cater for these people. It's perhaps getting the information out there that these clubs and sports want you to play for them. I think that's probably where a lot of our focus has been in the last 12 months, is establishing that rapport with the people who represent these targeted populations.

Another interviewee (14) added:

We don't know what we don't know in that space. We are not experts on engaging Sudanese communities. But there are many organisations and settlement services and multicultural youth centres that are. Those relationships and working with those groups and the intermediaries to reach those groups are key to the success of any kind of engagement program.

This is another recurrent theme throughout this thesis – that partnerships and cross-agency, collective impact type projects are required to ensure greater effectiveness and efficiency in relation to inclusion and diversity projects.

Need for funding/sustainable programs

Many government grants aimed at core disadvantaged groups (such as Indigenous or CaLD groups) are focused on getting more people to play a sport, and success is often defined by the number of new participants over a certain project period. However, sustainability requires stable staffing and adequate resources, both in terms of finance and equipment (Cunningham & Beneforti, 2005). Long-term funding is crucial to set up programs and build momentum, as trust often needs to be built first (Cameron & MacDougall, 2000; Hartmann, 2003). Finally, for a program to become truly sustainable in the long term, the community needs to run it (Cunningham & Beneforti, 2005).

Interviewee 20 agreed that funding program support is a challenge:

My worry is that sports will develop a priority population-type program, but their basic services are going backwards. The big ones (sports) that are resourced, they're fine, but the smaller sports, it's really about how you dedicate your funds and resources and your people when you've got to do all those things.

Professor Colin Tatz adds that it is important to note that the capacity of the sport industry is limited:

It is largely volunteer run and there are often expectations that because one sport has the funding to assist, other sports will have the same capacity. Most sports at a state level do not have specific funding for Indigenous participation (2012, p. 3).

No measurement, no idea

In their submission to the Government's Inquiry into the Contribution of Sport to Indigenous Wellbeing and Mentoring, Adair and Stronach suggest that:

Without reliable information about who is playing what sports in Australia - and why those sports are or are not attracting Indigenous or CaLD participants - it is difficult to determine what specific programs need to be developed to increase the participation rates of different groups. Sporting organisations need to make this data collection a priority (2013, p. 3).

I raised the same point in the *What's the Score?* report (AHRC) in 2007:

While there is a plethora of information available on the general number and characteristics of Australian people who participate in sport and recreational activities (including age, gender, frequency, and type of participation), very little data is available on the participation rates of Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background. It is clear that information provided by a census would enable sports to be more strategic in their planning and provide an in-depth analysis of exactly who is playing their sport and how they can tailor their education, schools, Indigenous and CaLD programs to have the greatest impact (p. 275).

Interviewee 24 for this project also agreed, saying:

The biggest missing piece in a lot of these projects is how you set the measures at the very beginning and who's responsibility is what. How do you measure it, and more importantly partnering with an agency or an organisation who's responsibility

is it to measure. What is the impact of their participation? What is the improvement in the social and human capital? And then in the end be able to draw a connection between the participation and the outcome that the department actually wants to see.

Through examining the demographic determinants of sports participation we can start to think about the potential role of sport in building communities and social capital in a more effective, targeted fashion. One of my new contributions to this research field will be looking at what the AFL, Netball Australia and Cricket Australia has done since the 2007 *What's the Score?* report (AHRC) in regards to data collection and reporting of participation figures, particularly for Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background, which will be reviewed in the next chapter.

Conclusion – the evolving face of sport

Since colonisation, Australian national identity has been based on an ideal of cultural exclusiveness located within an Anglo-centric paradigm. The formation of personal and group identity via cultural forms such as sport has served to facilitate and maintain this desired cultural similarity (T. Taylor, 2004, p. 468).

This statement has been an accurate description of the sporting experience for Indigenous people since Federation, however the changing faces of our Australian sporting teams are starting to reflect some of the major demographic shifts in this country in recent years, and our Indigenous and CaLD sportspeople are clearly breaking down barriers on the domestic and international scene. Finally, the eclectic mix of faces you see on the streets of any capital city in Australia are starting to be reflected in the make-up of our professional and grassroots sporting competitions.

The experiences relayed by the interviewees and survey respondents for this research project also indicate that the proposition by Tracy Taylor in 2004 that sport pays little attention to diversity and inclusion has definitely changed in 2014. To answer the question whether sport is breaking down barriers, particularly for Indigenous people and those from CaLD groups, the evidence suggests that awareness on the issues and effects are increasing, and the traditional attitudes around inclusion and practices of exclusion are slowly shifting in sporting organisations. In addition, government and sport policies and programs are actively

engaging participation from Indigenous and CaLD groups, and barriers are being recognised and addressed to differing degrees in different sports, associations and clubs (which I will detail in the next chapter).

Sport clearly has the potential to perform an important bridging and bonding role between people across different classes, ages and backgrounds, and can foster a spirit of inclusion leading to the creation of social capital. However, as research literature and many respondents for this project have highlighted, there is much work to be done at both the elite and grassroots levels before inclusion and equality are embedded as core behavioural and structural elements in sport. There was an overarching belief from interviewees for this project that sporting clubs in the main still operate an open door policy to those with sufficient ability and commitment, however the door doesn't swing so freely for others. T. Taylor reinforces that the challenge for modern sport is to expunge its past practices of exclusion and create a space in which Indigenous, ethnic and cultural differences are accepted and valued. She says: "Inequalities in power and opportunity are more likely to be minimized if sport organisations move to achieve cultural integration and foster affiliation and reciprocity" (2004, p. 472).

The nation has evolved and changed for the better from the recognition and contribution of Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds - there are no excuses or rational reasons for sport to not change with it.

CHAPTER 7

COMPARING AND CONTRASTING SPORTING CODES IN AUSTRALIA

In 2002, sport seemed to share the national mood promoted by the then Prime Minister John Howard of being relaxed and comfortable (Brett, 2005). Issues of cultural diversity and inclusion for Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds were not even on the radar for most NSOs in Australia at the time (T. Taylor, 2002).

In 2006, I followed up on Taylor's earlier research and surveyed 17 Australian NSOs to see if and how they were addressing racism and what programs and policies they had implemented to promote cultural diversity and inclusion in their codes. In the resulting *What's the Score?* report (AHRC, 2007), I found that sport was very important to members of Indigenous communities and can be a vital pathway to improving their social and economic well-being. Sport, I also found, was a very important vehicle for helping migrants and refugees to become involved in the community and interact with others from different backgrounds – a form of social conduit. I concluded that Indigenous people and those from a CaLD background encountered racism and discrimination, and remained under-represented in the numbers participating in sporting organisations and competitions, the range of sports participated in, and very few had represented at the elite and national level of these sports.

Seven years on since this report was published and the statistics show that Australia's racial and ethnic demographic make-up has changed substantially. The sporting landscape has also changed enormously with new strategies and policies being adopted at the different government levels, new ways of addressing inclusion and promoting participation of marginalised groups by the Australian Sports Commission, and national and state/territory sporting organisations placing increased

emphasis on inclusion and diversity to attract and retain participants in an increasingly competitive market. For the sports industry, this social and demographic transformation over a relatively short space of time has created challenges and opportunities in engaging participants and fans from a complex range of CaLD backgrounds (Skene, 2012) and Indigenous communities.

This chapter will critically assess how far sport has come in the seven years since the research for the *What's the Score?* report was conducted, by evaluating and interpreting the views and experiences from online survey respondents and interviewees for this project, many who operate at the 'coal face' of programs in sport. The following chapter looks briefly at the aim of various sports to be recognised as '*the Indigenous game*' and/or '*the sport of migrants*'. It then compares and contrasts three major Australian sporting codes (Australian rules football, netball and cricket) and their organisations (Australian Football League, Netball Australia and Cricket Australia) to determine whether their policies and programs have been effective in promoting inclusive practices and creating non-discriminatory environments, and whether this has translated into increased participation from these groups. The reason why I have chosen these main sports to research and compare is because they represent the country's biggest summer and winter sports, demographically have male and female cross-participation and geographically are played extensively throughout Australia (ABS, 2011-12; Cricket Australia, 2013b; AFL 2013a; Netball Australia 2013c). While I understand this is a limited sample of sports and participants to research, their size, number and diversity goes some way to providing an adequate representation of data across the population. I have also tried to provide references to the policies and programs of a range of other sports and national sporting organisations to allow for wider contrast and comparison.

The challenge to engage Indigenous people in sport

It has long been claimed that Australian rules football is *the* national Australian game (Sandercock & Turner, 1982; Hess & Stewart, 1998). More recently Poulter (2009) and Flanagan (2011) have proposed the notion that Australian rules has Aboriginal origins and was developed from an Aboriginal game called *Marngrook*, and as such, is *the* Indigenous game. This controversial claim has

generated much debate, including Hibbins' suggestion that the purported Aboriginal beginnings of Australian football are a "seductive myth" (2008, p. 45).

Flanagan (2004) suggests that one of the purported founders of the game of Australian football, Tom Wills, had a close relationship with Indigenous Australia. He claims Wills spoke the language of the people with whom he grew up, the Tjapwurrung, he knew some of their dances, and the first games he played were with local Aboriginal children. He says it is also well documented that the Tjapwurrung played the Aboriginal football game *Marngrook*. Atkinson and Poulter (1993) argue that part of the reason that Indigenous people appear to draw on and take strength from football is the spiritual connection that they attribute to the game. They cite the skills demonstrated by Aborigines stem from a connection to the traditional Aboriginal football played at corroborees in which teams were decided by a player's totemic or spirit being. In the contemporary context, "the importance of football as a meeting point for Aboriginal communities, similar to the corroboree, is reflected arguably in the recently formed Rumbalara (meaning, the end of a rainbow) Football Club in Shepparton, Victoria" (Coram, 1999, p. 161). In contrast, T. Collins (2011) says:

[T]he AFL's record of racial equality is no better than that of its major rival, the National Rugby League. Moreover, some of the arguments used to support the Wills/MarnGrook story are based on racially stereotyped conceptions of the 'natural affinity' of Aboriginal players for Australian Rules (p. 13).

Former Australian soccer representative and television football analyst Craig Foster (2013) attempted to make the case in a recent online article that it's time for official recognition that football (soccer) is Australia's true Indigenous game. He claimed: "The simple but profound historical fact is that, of any ball sport in Australia that exists today, the earliest depiction of Aboriginal Australians at play with a ball most closely resembles football" (para. 2).

Indigenous players have also been associated with rugby league almost since its inception. The first Indigenous player to play the game was George Green, who

played for Eastern Suburbs from 1909-11.⁵ The first Aboriginal footballer to tour overseas was Glen Crouch, who played 11 games for Queensland in a New Zealand tour in 1925 (AHRC, 2007). Today Indigenous players are part of every National Rugby League club and include many household names. The Australian national team that defeated New Zealand in the 2012 Anzac Test for example, contained four ATSI players – Jonathan Thurston (Aboriginal descent from Brisbane, Queensland, who was named as halfback of the Australian Aboriginal rugby league team of the century), Greg Inglis (Aboriginal descent from Kempsey, NSW, and former Rugby League World International Player of the Year), Justin Hodges (Aboriginal descent from Cairns, Queensland) and Sam Thaiday (of Torres Strait Islander descent). However, it should be pointed out that the trickle of ATSI players in Sydney first grade rugby league occurred only after the 1960s, and only started in the Victorian Football/AFL in the late 1970s.

It is the less-well known and less popular sports of boxing, wood chopping, touch football, athletics and in darts, where ATSI over-representation is spectacular. Tatz (1987, p. 5) says it is in boxing particularly that we find not only the greatest number of top-level sportsmen, but also an over-representation, proportionately, of Aborigines. Famous names such as Frank Roberts (Australia's first Indigenous Olympic boxer), Jeff Dynevor (the first Aboriginal athlete to win a Commonwealth Games gold medal), Dave Sands (who won the Commonwealth middleweight title and is a world boxing hall of famer), Jerry Jerome (the first Indigenous Australian to win a major boxing title - Australian Middleweight Champion), Tony and Anthony Mundine (holders of numerous Australian and world titles), Lionel Rose (the first Indigenous Australian to win a world title), Ron Richards (who held the Australian heavyweight, middleweight, light heavyweight title and Commonwealth middleweight title), Robbie Peden (former IBF Super Featherweight Champion) and Daniel Geale (former IBF, IBO and WBA Super Middleweight Champion) leap out of the history books. According to Tatz and Tatz (2000):

Boxing seemed to offer a chance of self-identity, some dignity, certainly a collective pride and a heightening of Aboriginal consciousness for both the city and the

⁵ Note that Green's identity is debated. See Historian Andrew Moore for details on the subject.

riverbank people as they barracked for their heroes. In several incidents it did all these things, but in a limited and transient way (p. 148).

Boxing author and referee Ray Mitchell has stated previously that there are more Aboriginal boxers per head of their population than amongst any other group in the world (Tatz & Tatz, 2000).

Darts has also found space for Aboriginal people with talent, including Horrie Seden, Ivy Hampton, Eileen Foster (Wilson) and Chermaine Bailey, all who represented Australia on several occasions (Tatz & Tatz, 2000, p. 30). Hockey is also a sport where Aboriginal representation has been strong – Nova Peris and Lorelle Morrissey became the first two Aboriginal women, and Baedon Choppy, the first Aboriginal man, to play hockey for Australia; with Peris going on to win a gold medal at the Atlanta Olympics. Peris also represented Australia at athletics – the feat of representing her country in two sports has been achieved by very few Australian sportspeople.

Tatz says there are several reasons for these choices of sport:

The attraction of money as professionals; the easier access to 'stadium' sports as opposed to entry into private cycling or tennis clubs; the lesser class requirements involved than in cricket and rowing; the relative ease of starting a career - a football (however grim the ground), a pair of gloves (even without a ring), a stint in Jimmy Sharman's boxing tents; the increasing number of Aboriginal participants as role models; the mass following of these three (ostensibly) 'working-class' sports and the often giddy swiftness of stardom, popularity, and 'whitening' involved; finally, the framework of a different racism: not exclusion because of blackness (as with Queensland's Aborigines from amateur athletics because they were black), but inclusion as a special black breed of gladiators and entertainers. Perhaps Aborigines feel greater social comfort in team or brotherhood games; possibly they prefer 'mainstream' activities and 'mainstream' sports.

Tatz (2012) has also previously highlighted the economic and structural barriers that contribute to sporting choices, especially for remote Indigenous communities:

The almost total absence of sports facilities in many remote communities like Lombardina, Doomagee, Mornington Island, Santa Teresa. Salt pans and sticks in the ground are what pass for football arena, no gyms or indoor courts. No lights, no showers, no coaches, no equipment are the order of the day. The presence of some playing fields but no equipment, no local organised competition, no travel money to get to competition, no sponsors, no financial resources apart from beer canteen profits. (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, *Submission 2.1*, 2012, p. 3)

While mainstream sports and government agencies engage and invent new programs and modified games, they seem to lack an understanding of history and what does and doesn't work for ATSI people. The efforts of the many Indigenous people who have succeeded in these sports mentioned above shows firstly their massive efforts to shuck off the shackles of racism and engage, and secondly, highlights that innovation in participation and inclusion can only take hold if it fits the cultural configuration of a society and recognition and understanding that the configuration in ATSI society is replete with a very different set of experiences.

The 'sport of migrants'

Football Federation Australia CEO David Gallop (2012) recently argued in an online article that no other sport can truly reflect the unique multiculturalism of our country. More than any other sport, football (soccer) has been described as the savior of many migrants to Australia, and its influence is extensively documented (Hallinan & Hughson, 2009; Hughson, 2000; Mosely, Cashman, O'Hara & Weatherburn, 1997; L. Murray, 2013). Murphy (1993) observed: "Sport was probably the best path to reducing the barbs. . . . one is less a 'wog' if one can display even a modicum of prowess at running or at football" (p. 188).

The story of Australian football (soccer) began in the 1880s when British settlers brought the game to the mainland colonies of Australia. It was very much a migrants' game, with a strong Scottish influence in many areas (Hay & Murray, 2014). Gorman (2015) asserts that: "Football was genuinely multicultural well before multiculturalism was public policy. The ethnic social clubs that emerged in the post-war period provided some of our greatest clubs and players." Les Murray (2006b) made the point that when he arrived in Australia he would: "argue with kids at school and they all were convinced that rugby league was the most popular world

sport. That shows how isolated Australia was. Soccer had to be introduced by migrants. We've come a long way" (para. 1). During the 1950s and 60s, post-war migrants from all over Europe joined the British as the flood of 'new Australians' transformed football across the country and the game boomed (Mitchell, 2006). Hughson (2000) claims that: "the expression of ethnic identity through soccer support is a postwar cultural tradition in Australia" (p. 8), and according to Mosely (1994):

The soccer club was frequently the first organisation established by a migrant community. The reason was simple. Single young males who formed the vanguard of most migration were not only passionate for the game, but desperate for companionship (p. 199).

Les Murray (2006a) says it was also a way to continue links with their old country and play the game they loved. The club names often reflected the players' cultural background - the Czech club was *Prague*, the Jewish club was *Hakoah* and the Italian club was *Apia*. Ironically at times, soccer's mission is almost the reverse of other sports "seeking the elusive 'mainstream' Aussie, (and) becoming a sport that appeals to more than immigrant minorities" (Niall, 2013, para. 7). Joe Gorman (2013, February 28) makes the point that in 1988, the Australian Soccer Federation commissioned the Bradley Report, which amongst other things, recommended that the governing body create the image that soccer was not ethnic. However, it wasn't until 1996 that Soccer Australia Chairman David Hill wrote to all National Soccer League clubs explaining that in order to participate in the competition for the coming season: "All clubs shall be obliged to remove all symbols of European nationalism from club logos, playing strips, club flags, stadium names and letterheads" (J. Gorman, 2013, February 28, para. 7). Historian Andrew Howe says (as cited in Micallef, 2012) that while football (soccer) has seen some disturbing incidents in the past, from referees being bashed unconscious to ethnic-based violence, or players having their houses firebombed and mass brawls in the stands, "it's testament to the game - the administrators, clubs and fans - that it has cleaned itself up considerably over this time" (para. 11).

In terms of ethnicity, football (soccer) has arguably become the country's most representative sport. The first multicultural audit of the 200 players across 10

clubs in 2011-12 in the national A-League competition revealed an extraordinarily diverse player base, with 56 ancestries represented and 68 percent of A-League players having one or more parents born overseas – way above the national average (Football Federation Australia, 2012, October 19). Players populate the national team, the Socceroos, with names like Schwarzer, Ognenovski, Bresciano and Cahill. Twenty-five years ago, football's ethnic image limited its growth and penetration. Now, its ethnic diversity is seen as a unique selling point and administrators market the sport as the face of Australia (Bryant, 2013).

Not to be outdone, the new slogan for the AFL multicultural program, *Many cultures, one game*, is reinforced by their television commercials and marketing material. Stewart, Hess and Dixon (1997) regard Australian rules football as particularly appealing to immigrants because: it was the most prominent sport played in the suburbs where newly-arrived migrants settled; clubs developed good links with particular ethnic communities; it provided financial rewards at the elite level, and; the players became role models for young men from their communities. However, as Booth and Tatz (2000) highlight, many ethnic players also faced assimilation pressures and racist taunts and labeling. Historian Geoffrey Blainey (2003) once made the observation that footy (Australian rules) is a genuinely Australian invention, and therefore has a leg up in the hearts and minds of Australians. No doubt the other sporting codes would take umbrage at this view. As J. Gorman says: “More than just an identity, multiculturalism has become a marketing tool for all sports in their quest to be all things to all men” (J. Gorman, 2013, July 11, para. 5).

In the battle for new participants and the mantle as the sport for all Australians, many of the sporting codes have increased the rhetoric, marketing, campaigning and programs targeting Indigenous and CaLD communities. Many sports are trying to emphasise their historical links with our nation's first inhabitants and migrants and refugees to justify their claim as the Indigenous game or the migrants' sport, and thereby enhance their reputation and allegiance amongst these groups. The resultant hyperbole and questionable claims of connections and origins has resulted in a sporting public more confused than ever. As Mosely et al. (1997) argue in *Sporting Immigrants*:

[O]ne of the chief dynamics of modern Australian society has been the impact of post Second World War immigration. As a study of the nation's sporting heritage has proven so fruitful in other areas, such as tracing the evolution of Australian nationalism, further studies of a much neglected area, the exploration of the role of sport in the lives of Australia's immigrants and the impact of their involvement on the sporting and cultural life of the nation, must surely be a continuing imperative (p. xviii).

With the exception of football (soccer) where much research has been focussed, it is clear that there is a need for greater enquiry into the experiences and challenges of migrants and refugees in wider Australian sport. The more research in this area, the greater chance that much of the confusion around fact and fiction in this area can be clarified and shared.

The next section critically analyses and evaluates netball, Australian rules football, and cricket and their national bodies to determine whether their policies and programs have been effective in promoting inclusive practices and creating non-discriminatory environments, and whether this has translated into increased participation from these groups.

NETBALL (Netball Australia)

The first game of netball was played in England in 1892. Ladies used broomsticks for posts and wet paper bags for baskets. Their long skirts, bustle backs, nipped waists and button up shoes impeded running and their leg-of-mutton sleeves restricted arm movement making dribbling and long passes difficult (Taylor, 2001). In 1898, the court was divided into thirds, the number of players increased from five to nine and a smaller ball (a soccer ball) was used. The first set of rules was published in 1901 and 'netball' officially came into existence in that country. Once established, the game developed locally in British Empire countries and soon each country had its own separate rules and distinct methods of play (www.netball.asn.au). Since its inception, netball has been one of a limited number of sports that were easily accessible for girls to play in schools and in the community. By its very design netball was able to gain public acceptance and popularity (Taylor, 2001, p. 57).

Netball was originally called women's basketball and has now grown to become Australia's most popular women's team sport. The All Australia Women's Basketball Association (AAWBA) was formed in August 1927, with the first official national championships held in Melbourne the following year. In 1970, the name of the game was changed to netball, which resulted in a change of name to the All Australia Netball Association (AANA), which subsequently changed to Netball Australia in 1993 ("History of netball," n.d.). Netball Australia is responsible for the development, promotion, governance, and control of netball throughout Australia. In conjunction with its eight state and territory members, the national body oversees all levels of participation and competition, including the management of player pathways, elite competitions, and the national coaching and umpiring programs. In 1995, netball became a recognised sport by the International Olympic Committee ("History of netball," n.d.).

Netball is now played by over 20 million people in more than 80 countries worldwide and is most popular in Commonwealth nations. It is ranked as Australia's leading women's participation team sport, with over 1.2 million players, and is the top team-based sport in the country for 15 to 24 year olds. Netball Australia has more than 330,000 registered members, 5,000 clubs nationally, 570 associations and eight member organisations. 1.975 million people in Australia say they are interested in netball, which equates to 11 percent of the population aged 14+ (Netball Australia, 2013c, p. 3). Significant steps have been taken to ensure the sport's junior participation numbers continue to rise; the NetSetGO! junior introductory program was developed to provide a fun and safe environment for junior players to experience netball and develop their skills, fitness, social skills and sportsmanship. The program experienced significant growth in 2012, with increases across Indigenous, CaLD and disability exposure programs. In 2014, Netball Australia 80,000 children took part in some form of NetSetGO programs at schools, local clubs and associations across the country (Netball Australia, 2012).

Participation in netball from Indigenous people and CaLD individuals

The majority of the top 10 nationalities of migrants and refugees settled in Australia since 2010 from non-English speaking backgrounds, are not from Commonwealth countries and have previously had little exposure to the sport of

netball prior to their arrival in this country (ABS, 2010b). According to a Netball Australia *Audit of current CaLD engagement with netball in Australia* (2013a), netball at every level (playing, volunteering, coaching, umpiring) is far lower than the average of the Australian-born population, and until 2011, little strategic emphasis had been placed on engaging CaLD communities. This is confirmed by research conducted by research company Gemba in 2012 that showed very low levels of cultural diversity amongst netball participants; with 17 percent more participants of an Australian-born background relative to the overall Australian population (as cited in Netball Australia, 2013c). In 2004, Tracey Taylor (2004) made the point that:

The lack of women and girls from culturally diverse backgrounds in netball is of particular interest given that it was founded and built on a premise of being a sport designed in a way that allows for ‘every woman and girl’ to play (p. 458).

In a 2007 study, CaLD women were found most likely to be involved in informal (physical) activities, followed by organised physical recreation and thirdly, organised sport (Cortis, Sawrikar, & Muir, 2007). Although the top nine preferred physical activities for CaLD females are informal, non-affiliated activities like walking (55 percent) and swimming (18.3 percent), the most popular organised sport amongst CaLD women is netball (3.7 percent), ahead of outdoor soccer (3.5 percent), basketball (2.6 percent) and volleyball (2.2 percent) (ASC, 2012b). Knez, Macdonald, and Abbott (2012) highlight that for young Muslim women in particular, school is the only environment where formal physical activity will be experienced. Therefore, schools running inclusion NetSetGO! programs within school hours provide an excellent and important opportunity for many young CaLD girls to experience the game.

According to Netball Australia’s *Audit of Indigenous Engagement* (2013b), Indigenous people living in metropolitan and regional centres across Australia have access to good netball facilities, coaches and officials that are provided by clubs and associations affiliated with Netball Australia. Netball is considered very popular by female Indigenous Australians: for Aboriginal girls aged four to 14 years it is the most popular sport (13 percent), followed by swimming (seven percent) and basketball (seven percent) (ABS, 2008). However, it is somewhat of a myth that

participation of Aboriginal girls and women in netball continues to grow at the community level after the age of 14. The numbers reaching higher representative levels and professional or state/national teams is also very low, indicating barriers in recruitment and/or retention. In the main, Netball Australia's audit (2013b) found that overall, grassroots netball clubs and associations require greater awareness and understanding of Indigenous Australians and that the facilities in remote areas are inadequate.

Despite the game's popularity, Netball Australia management, players and member organisations paint a consistent picture of a culturally homogenous sport across all levels (2013a). In 2004, academic Tracey Taylor investigated the cultural diversity and 'rhetoric of exclusion' in netball in Australia and found that women born in other English-speaking countries recalled feelings of inclusion and limited cultural dissonance and indicated that netball helped them feel a part of their new community and gain social capital via participation. Taylor also found that although experiences of explicit exclusion or racial discrimination were virtually nonreported, some women felt a strong sense of cultural conformity to Anglo-centric expectations of behavior. She also found that women and girls from culturally diverse backgrounds spoke of reinforced difference and cultural assimilation in their netball experiences (Taylor, 2004).

First-generation mothers not familiar with netball, or those with low levels of English proficiency, were not asked by so-called mainstream mothers to assist with the coaching, managing, or canteening duties and therefore felt excluded. This situation furthered their daughters' sense of difference and in some cases led to alienation, as maternal involvement is a culturally expected aspect of the netball club system. For many first-generation, culturally diverse women, the inclination to participate in netball was more often than not overwhelmed by fears of rejection, discomfort at not being able to understand the English instructions, and uneasiness at not being able to fully express their thoughts in English (Taylor, 2004, p. 468).

In a country where 45 percent of the population are either born overseas or have a parent who was (ABS, 2013), netball participation is not very representative of our national cultural identity. While general inclusion awareness has improved at Member Organisation and national levels (particularly where CaLD funding has been provided for organisational change programs around diversity awareness), little

has changed in terms of the cultural diversity of netball's broader community of players, board members, paid employees, and volunteers.

Barriers to participation

Australia's population is changing in size and diversity, as are the communities in which netball operates. For the game and its members to flourish and grow, netball needs to continue to identify and implement strategies to make its environments more accessible and inclusive for all. While many people can access netball, there are many Australian communities that find the barriers to participation more difficult to overcome, particularly in regional and remote areas. These communities can include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CaLD) communities and people with a disability.

A range of barriers has been identified which prevent certain groups from having equal access and/or participating in netball. These include:

- Negative attitudes towards new members who join a club.
- Little cultural diversity in players, elite representatives, coaches.
- Lack of diverse role models.
- Transport issues (lack of accessible and safe transport to venues).
- Language barriers to approach and become involved in the sport.
- Lack of knowledge or understanding of the sport and/or club structures.
- Cultural and religious differences and expectations.
- Timetabling of activities and competitions (weekends or late at night may not be the best time to attract certain groups).
- Limited opportunities to transition from NetSetGO or school netball to clubs.
- Limited 'Come and Try' days to learn more about the game.
- Cumulative costs of registration fees, uniforms and equipment.
- Inflexibility of uniform requirements (to allow head scarves etc. as required).
- Inflexibility of the traditional model of how netball is played.

- An emphasis on winning and competition has also increasingly been found to be in conflict with attitudes towards inclusiveness and community engagement (Netball Australia, 2013a).

One Netball

Since 2011, creating positive environments for inclusive participation has been a whole-of-sport, strategic aspiration for netball in Australia (Netball Australia, 2013a, p. 2). CEO Kate Palmer said: “If we want to be relevant in the future we need to tackle this question of 'are we welcoming?' 'Are we inclusive to every single person that's living in this country?'” (“Netball Australia marks 2013 as providing a foundation for the future,” 2013, para. 5).

Funding was first received for a ‘One Netball’ program in 2012 from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship under the Diversity and Social Cohesion program. One Netball aims to address barriers to participation and provide equal access to all levels of the sport for people from CaLD backgrounds, people with disability, Indigenous Australians and marginalised and disadvantaged people. The goals of One Netball are to:

- Build capacity within netball to extend the reach of netball into diverse communities.
- Engage Australia’s netball community in a discussion about creating more inclusive environments.
- Invest in programs and activities that create connection within communities.

Funding for One Netball has allowed a Community Engagement Manager to be employed at Netball Australia and enabled the development of several initiatives under the One Netball program, including: engaging an Advisory Group⁶, a coordinated approach to netball’s celebration of Harmony Day, involvement in the *Racism, it stops with me* campaign, and the creation of the Netball Inclusion

⁶ The author declares that he is a member of the Netball Australia One Netball Advisory Group since 2012.

Network to share netball-specific resources and information to target groups. Two CaLD pilot programs and the creation of netball-specific CaLD resources have been delivered to 5000 netball clubs and 570 associations nationally (Netball Australia, 2013a, p. 11). The *Connected Clubs & Communities* workshops and training are another component of One Netball. Delivered nationally by trained presenters to netball audiences at various levels, the workshops address the basic principles of creating inclusive environments and show how to establish connections with new diverse communities and participants to encourage long-term involvement in the sport. A Netball Australia review of the workshops has found that participants have greater understanding of the value of inclusion to their organisations and how they can apply the learnings to attract new members from diverse backgrounds.

CaLD-specific policies and programs

There are a range of CaLD netball programs around the country that are resourced and supported by strong relationships with NGOs, such as the Edmond Rice Centre (Perth) and the Centre for Multicultural Youth (Melbourne) with the goal of attracting more people from CaLD backgrounds to the sport. Netball Victoria's Netball For All strategy and Netball Western Australia's Local Parks program are both successful partnerships with CaLD community organisations. Local pilot projects, conducted by Netball Victoria in 2012-13 in Dandenong and Brimbank, show that tailoring netball programs to suit the needs of CaLD communities can result in increased awareness of the sport and greater participation rates. Netball NSW has established new relationships with various migrant resource centres and multicultural programs and clubs running pilot programs to attract this demographic of women (Netball Australia, 2013a, p. 10).

With a long history of the game in New Zealand and Pacific Island countries, it is no surprise that netball tournaments for Pacific Island communities are well supported across Australia. These include: the Oceania Cup (NSW), Pacific Unity Festival (NSW), Pacific Sports and Arts Festival (WA) and the Melbourne Pacific Netball Cup (VIC). These events are often promoted as cultural celebrations with traditional music, dancing and food stalls, and uses sport as the vehicle to bring the communities together. An African Netball Tournament was also held in Victoria in early 2013, bringing together teams to represent several African countries in an

informal setting (Netball Australia, 2013a, p. 10). The importance of community generated sporting events such as these above are highlighted by Schulenkorf, Thomson and Schlenker (2011), who suggest that they act as a form of community solidarity/identity building through the deeply embedded nature of the event in the community.

Indigenous policies and programs

Australian netball has had few Indigenous representatives through its history, in fact only two have represented Australia at international level - Sharon Finnan OAM and Marcia Ella-Duncan OAM. Finnan represented Australia in 20 Tests and was part of the 1991 and 1999 World Championship-winning teams, while Ella-Duncan played 18 Tests and was also the first Aboriginal scholarship holder at the Australian Institute of Sport in Canberra. A 2012 Cultural Diversity Index study by research company Gemba showed that participation in Australian rules football and netball is more likely to skew towards those with an Anglo-Australian heritage. The AFL, however, has a higher than average participation rate amongst ATSI participants, whereas netball does not (as cited in Netball Australia, 2013a, p. 8).

In 2004, the National Netball Indigenous Advisory Group was formed to provide advice to Netball Australia on matters relating to the promotion and development of the game of netball for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This was followed in 2005 by an audit to analyse the various netball programs being conducted for Indigenous Australians and look at barriers to participation. The audit identified a range of barriers, including: lack of engagement of Indigenous people by netball authorities; lack of access to facilities, and; providing safe, inclusive and equitable environments (Netball Australia, 2013c, p. 3).

A three-year Community Action Grant from the federal Government has helped Netball Australia to support the David Wirrpanda Foundation since 2012 to deliver sessions on healthy and respectful relationships through their Deadly Sista Girlz program, which engages ATSI girls between 8-17 years. The Indigenous Sport and Recreation Development Officers Network has been the biggest contributing factor to the successful rollout of netball's Indigenous grassroots strategy NetSetGo!2. However, Netball Australia has stated that the linkages between the

national sporting organisation and Indigenous Sport Development Officer network had weakened due to a shift to providing general strategic and participation support, rather than a 'brokering' role (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013, p. 16). There are also netball *Sporting Chance* program providers and projects, but Netball Australia says that the involvement of girls in academies under the *Sporting Chance* program is likely to be complex. For example, in a review of the program in 2009, the one girls-only academy, Role Models Western Australian Clontarf Girls Academy, indicated that the lack of purpose-built boarding accommodation in remote areas led to a high turnover of girls at the school. The review found that research was required into the needs of Indigenous female students and their motivations. Further, specific strategies for females needed to be developed (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013, p. 21).

Indigenous events also play an important role in netball. The Australian Indigenous Schoolgirls Netball Carnival is an initiative of the Budgies Australian Netball Indigenous Corporation (BANIC). Every year, states and territories bring their players ranging in ages from 11-19 years to compete in the national carnival. From there, Australian Indigenous Teams (known as Budgies) are selected and they compete in various carnivals throughout the year. At the state level, Netball WA has a multi-faceted Indigenous Netball Program for participants between 5-17 years that supports and builds capacity in athletes, coaches, umpires, and volunteers. In Victoria, in 2012/13 the Rumbalara Football Netball Club received an Indigenous Sport and Active Recreation Program grant to assist in football and netball participation (Netball Australia 2013b). While in 2015, the Korin Gamadji Institute Program will be run in association with Australian Catholic University and Netball Victoria. The program promotes leadership and professional development to Aboriginal women aged 13 to 18.

For Indigenous researcher Darren Godwell (2000), he says that Aboriginal people personalise their culture and their traditions in many ways, including through Aboriginal sports carnivals. Examples of such carnivals or events for netball include: the Australian Indigenous Schoolgirls Netball Carnival, NAIDOC Netball Carnival and NAIDOC All Stars Team, the Ronny Gibbs 7's rugby league and netball

tournament, and Victoria's annual Indigenous football and netball carnival. Sports carnivals provide a rare contemporary chance to reaffirm connections, the importance of Elders, geographic lineage, Aboriginal heritage, language, family and kinship affiliations and cultural differences. Connection to place, people and symbolism of Aboriginal-only sporting competition also helps Indigenous people to identify sport with existing values and cultural practices (Netball Australia, 2013c, p. 9).

Netball Australia "recognises that working in Indigenous communities is a complex area, intensified by historical, social, community, family, and individual factors, along with geographic variation across urban, rural, and remote communities. For Indigenous girls and women, accessing sport programs and services are far more multifaceted, but no less attainable" (Netball Australia, 2013c, p. 2). In 2013, Netball Australia undertook an audit of Indigenous engagement within the sport to gain an understanding of a range of issues that needed to be explored more fully, including: existing non-affiliated sporting structures that currently or could potentially support Indigenous netball programs/activities; structures and organisations that engage Indigenous women in physical activity, including school retention programs, sporting academies etc.; Indigenous funding resources available to netball at all levels, as well as their current utilisation by the netball community (Netball Australia, 2013b). Following the audit, Netball Australia has established an Indigenous Advisory Committee to seek the national views of Indigenous Australians. It has also consulted with existing netball organisations, including the Budgies (the Indigenous Australian schoolgirls netball team), the Australian Netball Indigenous Corporation and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Netball Association (ATSINA) about the focus of participation, development opportunities and pathways for Indigenous Australians (Netball Australia, 2013b). Netball Australia has also begun the development of its first Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) with guidance from prominent Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sporting and community identities.

While progress in many areas is positive, Ella-Duncan (2014) says few Aboriginal players progress to any career in the industry, either on or off the court:

There are many talented Indigenous players out there and we've waited far too long to see more representation at the highest level. Netball as an institution has been a bit too comfortable with its city-centric competition, focusing on building pathways and development programmes to major cities. These avenues provide invaluable opportunities but an extension of these development programmes out regionally is essential (para 15).

Member protection/codes of behaviour

Netball Australia promotes and supports the principles of fairness, respect, responsibility and safety through their Anti-Doping Policy, National Policy on Match Fixing in Netball, Member Protection Policy and the Integrity in Netball Framework and associated rules. The framework, rules and policies aim to “strike an appropriate balance between rules-based and values-based approaches that will prevent serious integrity violations on the one hand, and promote integrity through stimulating understanding, commitment and capacity for ethical decision-making on the other” (“Integrity Framework Policies,” n.d.). Netball Australia have been a leading organisation in Australian sport in the area of integrity measures, with their Board approving the formation of a Netball Australia Integrity Unit in November 2013 to oversee integrity frameworks, policies and rules.

Netball Australia have also developed and implemented a Junior Netball Policy (2006) and Member Protection Policies, which are aimed at providing safe and supportive environments and provide equal opportunities for all young people, and include sections on ethnicity and Indigenous Australians. They have also developed role-specific Codes of Behaviour that are documented in their Member Protection Policy. This policy aims to inform people involved in netball of their legal and ethical rights and responsibilities in relation to anti-discrimination and harassment: including age; disability; family/carer responsibilities; gender identity/transgender status; homosexuality and sexual orientation; irrelevant medical record; irrelevant criminal record; political belief/activity; pregnancy and breastfeeding; race; religious belief/activity; sex or gender; social origin; trade union membership/activity. All netball organisations are required to have a Member Protection Regulation (MPR) to deal with issues surrounding screening people for

the right roles in netball and ensuring that clear and adequate processes are in place for dealing with a harassment complaint (“Member Protection Policies,” n.d.).

Through strong leadership and effective policies and programs there are very few integrity or discrimination issues that occur in netball in comparison to other sports in Australia. This raises the question, in times when integrity and governance issues plague male-dominated sports in Australia, such as Australian rules football, rugby league and rugby union, why do female-dominated sports such as netball fare so positively in regard to these issues? Is good management the main factor? Does the fact that the male sports usually have a high media profile and are highly financially incentivised contribute to negative integrity issues? In-depth research would surely contribute to greater understanding on these questions.

Census/data collection

Netball Australia has previously not conducted a census to determine player membership or participation, as such there is no specific data on the number of Indigenous people or those from CaLD backgrounds who participate in the sport. There is currently no standard registration form for all players nationally, as a result, registration forms differ from state to state (and in some cases, from club to club), making accurate inclusion data collection non-existent at worst, and unreliable at best. However, this is set to change with the introduction of a national online registration system from 2014. The motivation for this is to know the demographic who do and don’t play the sport so that programs can be developed for target groups. As Head of Strategy and Government Relations at Netball Australia, Nadine Cohen, points out:

We need to get our strategic positioning right and provide tools to the community to understand and deliver sport in a non-Anglo-Saxon manner. It is a long way of saying that we . . . need to understand what we want to achieve first and how we are going to achieve it (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, Committee Hansard, Melbourne, Submission 91, 2012, p.13).

A new focus for the women’s game

From the evidence cited, it is apparent that Netball Australia recognise that being one of the highest participant sports in the country, with a largely female participant base, creates an inimitable opportunity in which to use the sport as a channel to encourage and include Indigenous and CaLD women and girls in fair, safe, inclusive and respectful sporting environments. Until quite recently, Netball Australia has relied upon a traditional homogenous, white Anglo-Australian predominantly female group to make up the participants, coaches, administrators and officials of their game. Any programs or events focussed on engaging with Indigenous Australians or those from a CaLD background had developed quite organically and not as a result of dedicated strategic intent.

This has changed markedly since 2012, with the development of a National Participation Framework and the introduction of the One Netball program and work towards a focussed Indigenous strategy. This new focus on inclusion and diversity is being led and supported from the top echelons of the organisation. Rather than an add-on strategy with related short-term activities, it is being acculturated throughout the netball community, which will only increase the chances of sustained outcomes into the future.

Netball Australia CEO Kate Palmer says: “The real challenge for our sport is to ensure that all Australians feel like they belong, feel welcome and can connect with their community whatever their background and wherever they live, play and work” (Netball Australia, 2012, p. 8). While it is too early to measure the effects of Netball Australia’s new inclusion strategies and have any reliable qualitative data on Indigenous and CaLD participation, the programs and policies developed to date indicate a commitment to creating inclusive, non-discriminatory netball environments that are not at the whim of short-term funding or staffing grants, which will greatly enhance the chances of achieving intermediate and long-term outcomes and goals.

AUSTRALIAN RULES FOOTBALL (AFL)

The first football club, Melbourne, was formed in 1858 – the year of the code’s first officially recorded match between Scotch College and Melbourne Grammar School (“History of Australian Football,” n.d.). The game quickly blossomed - the Victorian Football League (VFL) was established in 1896 and the following year the league’s first games were played among the foundation clubs - Carlton, Collingwood, Essendon, Fitzroy, Geelong, Melbourne, St Kilda and South Melbourne. Jump forward almost a century, and the VFL was changed to the AFL (Australian Football League) in 1990 to reflect the game’s national reach and expansion, and incorporation of teams from outside of Victoria (“History of Australian Football,” n.d.).

It is widely acknowledged that Australian rules football is Australia’s pre-eminent football code in terms of numbers of players, non-playing membership of football clubs, spectator attendances at annual competitions and total impact on the Australian economy; though in terms of participation more men play golf, cricket and tennis (ABS, 2010b). The AFL is the peak body responsible for managing and administering Australian rules football. It supports a game development network consisting of: 94 regions in Australia; 2659 clubs, 12,922 teams in 272 leagues; 2600 AFL Auskick (the entry level program for children) centres and 23,168 school-based teams (AFL, 2013a). The AFL’s Annual Report (2013) shows that national participation increased to 938,069 – an 11 percent increase from the previous year; AFL Auskick was 172,548 (down 5.63 percent); club football was 321,280 (up 2.10 percent), the school football programs included 402,562 (up 20.27 percent); and the AFL 9s had 41,679 participants (up 232 percent).

Indigenous participation – from Marngrook to Goodes

The AFL is seen as having a close affinity with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community, who have always been drawn to the game of football and its culture (this history has been detailed previously in this thesis). The *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 June 1860, p. 13) notes that there were Indigenous athletes playing Australian football in 1860 in a team referred to as the ‘Gippsland Blacks’. While this demonstrates that Indigenous athletes were playing Australian rules just

two years after the sport was codified in Australia, their presence in the sport from 1860 up until the early 1980s was minimal. Gardiner (1997) estimated from the establishment of the Victorian Football League (VFL) in 1890 until 1980, there were fewer than 25 Indigenous players. For many years it has been believed that the first Indigenous player was Joe Johnson, a Fitzroy defender. However, this assumption was proven incorrect - Albert 'Pompey' Austin played for Geelong in 1872 (S. Gorman, 2010). Gorman says:

Since the 1930s the game has only seen a few Indigenous players in the VFL in each era: Doug Nicholls (Fitzroy: 1932-37), Norm McDonald (Essendon: 1947-53), Polly Farmer (Geelong: 1962-67) and Syd Jackson (Carlton: 1969-1976). In a sense, then, these players were all pioneers as they each created a space so that others might follow (2010, p. 18).

One of the early prominent Aboriginal footballers was Doug Nicholls. He tried out with Carlton in 1927 only to be told that he was too small for VFL football. "There was an alternative explanation - apparently Carlton players did not like playing with an Aboriginal teammate and complained that he smelled" (Hess & Stewart, 1998, p. 241). Nichols went on to represent Victoria in interstate football and subsequently became a community leader, campaigning for Aboriginal rights. Later during the 60s and 70s, Geelong's Graham 'Polly' Farmer, one of the game's greatest Indigenous players, revolutionised the game with his use of the handball and was named in the AFL Team of the Century (Hawke, 1994). The experience of these players represented that of many Indigenous players throughout the period – one of exclusion and overt racism.

In modern times, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander players make an enormous contribution to the game. While Indigenous people make up 2.5 percent of the total Australian population; from this, 90,000 participants are involved with AFL programs around the country or six percent of all participants (AFL, 2013a). To date, there have been 195 players known to be of Aboriginal descent who have played AFL football, and in 2013 there were 68 players of Aboriginal descent on AFL lists (nine percent) ("About AFL and the Indigenous Community," n.d.). This compares with the 2005 National Census of Australian Football Participation where only 3.5 percent of football players were 'Aborigines or Torres Strait Islanders'. This growth

recognises both the ability of players of Aboriginal descent and the clubs' efforts to recruit them.

However, it was not until the early 1980s that the VFL/AFL saw an influx of Indigenous players, which brought with it supporter hostility and culminated in the famous fixture between St Kilda and Collingwood in 1993, when Nicky Winmar raised his jumper revealing his black skin to a hostile Collingwood football crowd. "For the broader community it began the process of sparking great debate about racism in football and society. The reason that Winmar's stance has transcended football and the fact that we are still talking about it is the power of its measure: "You cannot ignore me anymore", it silently screams. (Gorman, 2010). Racial abuse between players on the field in the AFL then attracted considerable attention by the sports' governing code and the media following the first formal complaint lodged by Essendon's Michael Long in 1995. As a result, the AFL deemed that a system of education and resolution was required for such incidents. In 1995, they became the first sporting body in Australia to adopt procedures to deal with racial and religious vilification when they developed *Rule 30: A Rule to Combat Racial and Religious Vilification* (now known as Rule 35). With innovations such as Rule 30 and the leadership and actions of people such as Essendon's Michael Long, former Brisbane player and assistant coach Michael McLean, former St Kilda and Western Bulldogs player Nicky Winmar (the first player of Aboriginal descent to play 200 AFL games), and Sydney Swans player Adam Goodes, the football community has gained a greater understanding of the issues confronting Aboriginal players. Their achievements have also made them role models for other Indigenous people.

Indigenous programs and events

The AFL has developed many policies, programs and events to enhance their relationship with and provide opportunities for young ATSI people to participate in the game. They have also used the strength of the AFL and its role models to increase awareness of programs in areas such as education, health, safety, and welfare. In 2008, the AFL developed an Indigenous Framework to outline its philosophy, practice, and programs with respect to development in Indigenous communities; the underpinning principle of the framework is partnership. In their submission to the Parliamentary Inquiry into Indigenous Health and Wellbeing

(2013) the AFL made the point that: “The contribution and guidance of key Indigenous staff in leading our program development has been key to the AFL’s success” (AFL, 2013b, p. 1).

Each year, the Footy Means Business program provides talent and employment opportunities for 50 young Indigenous men from all over Australia. The AFL, in conjunction with the AFL Coaches Association, developed an Indigenous coaching academy in 2013 to further develop Indigenous coaches in the AFL system. Seven Indigenous coaches participated in the inaugural academy, which included participation in the AFL coaches’ conference, work experience at an AFL club and level 2 coaching accreditation (“Footy means business program,” n.d.). However, with very few Indigenous coaches represented in the game it is clear that there is much work to be done to replicate the impressive figures on the field, off the field.

The AFL *Kickstart* program commenced in 1997 in the Northern Territory, the Kimberley region of Western Australia and North Queensland, and is now conducted in all states and territories. The program consists of five key integrated elements, including: health, education, participation, partnerships, and community capacity building (“Kickstart Championships,” n.d.). Research conducted by the Curtin University Indigenous Research Centre in 2000, showed that the AFL *Kickstart* program increased: self-esteem and confidence; community cohesion and sense of purpose; individual well-being and awareness of healthy lifestyle issues and; school attendance and academic achievement. The research also showed that the program decreased: community level vandalism; alcohol and substance abuse and; anti-social behaviour and crime at public events and locations (Walker & Oxenham, 2001).

In every state and territory there are also Indigenous programs run at regional, community, and state level. State and regional development managers at state carnivals and competitions select most participants involved within the national programs. Each state selects a team of 25 Under15 players to take part in a tournament in the National Kickstart Championships, where they display their talent in hope of being selected to join the national Indigenous Flying Boomerangs Squad, who then compete overseas in an international tour event (AFL, 2013b).

First developed in 2012, the AFL's organisational and campaign theme of 'Australia's Game' aims to capture the idea that Australian Football was born here and reflects the finest qualities of the country and its people (AFL Annual Report, 2013a, p. 83). It has also been adopted to tell the story of each of the AFL's annual schedule of themed rounds (Indigenous, Multicultural and Women's round) and marquee matches. The AFL has also developed a range of events to showcase the skills of Indigenous players, at junior and elite levels, while also celebrating the importance and influence of Aboriginal culture. Every two years, the AFL and the AFL Players Association invite up to 80 players from around the country to participate in a camp that focuses on career development and leadership. During the week, players also attend training and vie for selection to play in the AFL Indigenous All-Stars Match against an AFL club ("AFL All Star Camp," n.d.). Other showcase events include the annual Sydney vs. Essendon match for the Marngrook Trophy and the Dreamtime at the G game played between Richmond and Essendon.

Few would question the outstanding success of the AFL's Indigenous programs and events - 11 percent of players from ATSI backgrounds making up the playing list for AFL teams is exceptional. Their programs, policies and philosophy of viewing their investment with Indigenous Australia as a partnership only serves to enhance the potential for ongoing success. Despite this, there still remain many misinformed views about Indigenous players in the AFL (and the general public) based on false beliefs, biases and stereotypes. As former Port Adelaide player Che Cockatoo-Collins said:

There consistently seems to be a generalisation with Aboriginal people and issues, whether it be the AFL or the wider community. They are selective perceptions based on false beliefs such as: Aboriginal players do it easy; Aboriginal players could make it only if they assimilated into white society; and Aboriginal players are treated differently and receive special treatment. To those who believe we receive special treatment, let me educate you - equality does not mean you treat everyone the same. What effectively is being said is, 'We as Aboriginal people wanting to play the great game of AFL cannot do it without good caring white folk like you'. This attitude denies the hard work families and individuals have made in almost two decades to reach their dream (Cockatoo Collins, 2012, paras. 10, 11, 20).

New best practice guidelines for supporting Indigenous players titled *Many stories, one goal*, produced by the AFL Players' Association (2013) following research by Dr Sean Gorman from the Centre of Aboriginal Studies at Curtin University, will go some way towards helping clubs to understand some of the issues and challenges and how to work through them.

Another issue is the lack of Indigenous people working in the AFL. According to the AFL's Community Engagement Manager, Jason Mifsud, only one Indigenous person is on a club executive; no Indigenous people are on club boards; and out of the 150 coaches, only two are Indigenous (Mifsud, 2012). Stronach (2013) says a concerted effort is needed from those in positions of influence to facilitate a shift in attitudes, policies and practices. This is important to enable Indigenous voices and perspectives in the game, provide examples of Indigenous people who have reached the top of their profession for others to aspire to, and to provide a pathway and support for those wishing to take this course.

CaLD participation

Australian rules football has a long tradition of multicultural players at the elite level. In 1854, Ballarat had become a thriving Chinese colony and many loved Australian rules football. Dr Rob Hess, a leading historian of early Australian rules football history, says there were some amazing Chinese small town football pioneers, including Chin Kit for Ironbark in 1882 and Thomas Chin Chee for Inglewood in 1895 (2009). The Chinese Goldfields Leagues that started in Ballarat in 1892 soon swept across Victoria and by 1903 James Hing of Echuca Football Club became the first Chinese player to win a premiership (Hess, 2009). In 1899, football fever spread to Melbourne's Chinese community - a series of Chinese community games were held to raise money for St Vincent's Hospital, including the first international game of Australian rules football between 'Chinese and Hindoo' teams (Skene, 2015). In 1901 the White Australia policy stopped any new Chinese immigration and those that remained faced official discrimination. Ballarat's Chinatown was demolished, the regional Chinese communities moved into Melbourne and the Goldfields Leagues ceased to exist, the only legacy being the nickname of the Golden Point Football Club, the "Rice Eaters" (Skene, 2015). In Melbourne, Chinese players broke into elite football including Carlton's Wally

Koochew, Geelong's George Tansing, St Kilda's Ernie Foo and the most famous of all, the fighting footballer, North Melbourne's Les Kew Ming (Hess, 2009).

As Australia's post-war migrants flocked to their new country, it was soccer, rather than Australian rules football that they were attracted to. Establishing clubs all over the nation, they developed an elite national competition and carved a space in Australian sporting culture that was allowed to be 'ethnic'. While Australian rules football maintained its role as the dominant football code in Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia, the premier competition the VFL continued to reflect the dominant white Australian culture (Cazaly, 2013, p. 74).

Italian and Greek surnames came to be among those listed on Australian rules football team sheets from the mid 1950s when players like Sergio Silvagni, Tony Ongarello, John Bennetti and Alec Epis were beginning to become stars of the Australian game. "Those players gave the broader community greater exposure to migrant names and represented a visible example of migrant success in Australia (Cazaly, 2013, p. 75). There have been many great players from multicultural backgrounds who have excelled at the highest level of the game, including: Ron Barassi, Peter Daicos, Carl Ditterich, Robert DiPierdomenico, Glen Jakovich, Alex Jesaulenko, Sam Kekovich, Tony Liberatore, Wayne Schimmelbusch, Sergio and Stephen Silvagni, Paul Van Der Haar and Murray Weideman to name a few. Through their participation, the football field was beginning to reflect the increasingly diverse Australian community. A total of 121 players from a multicultural background (i.e. having at least one parent born overseas) were among the 817 listed AFL players in 2013 - making up 15 percent of the AFL playing list. Richmond Football Club has the most multicultural players with 30 percent and Carlton has the least with 4.54 percent ("About AFL and the Indigenous community," n.d.).

While the AFL has had many elite players from various European backgrounds, Andrew Demetriou says it is a different story among Australia's Asian and African communities: "There are certainly parts of the community we haven't had much success in at all. It would be terrific if we could start to recruit some players out of the Asian community. We can see some real potential in the African community" (as cited in "AFL wants to break more race barriers," 2006, paras. 4, 5,

6). There are some new players from African backgrounds emerging in the AFL, such as Majak Daw (Sudan), but in the competition's 116-year history, only 19 of the 12,000 plus players have Asian ancestry (Wu, 2012, para. 5). He says this is despite the 2011 ABS Census showing that 2.4 million Australians or 12 percent of the population identified they had Asian ancestry.

Australian rules football remains one of the sports of choice for diverse communities, with up to nine percent of current AFL team lists from multicultural backgrounds. Concerted efforts through their multicultural program have seen this figure grow over the last 5-10 years as the game's reputation for welcoming and engaging CaLD communities has gained greater traction each season. However, academic Ian Syson (2013) says that when you look at this more closely the cultural diversity does not stack up:

For example, of the 817 listed AFL players, only 22 were born overseas, just below 3 percent. This can be compared with the general Australian population in which 25 percent were born overseas. The AFL claims a higher figure in relation to those of a 'multicultural background' - about 15 percent of listed players fit the AFL's multicultural criterion of having at least one parent born overseas. So the AFL falls down here as well, because more than 45 percent of the Australian population fits this criterion (paras. 4, 6).

This reflects a growing trend across all sports of inflating their participation figures of Indigenous and CaLD players to match their marketing hype.

CaLD programs

The AFL has long recognised that Australian football has the capacity to bring together people from diverse cultural backgrounds. Through its Multicultural Program, the AFL is building strong bonds with diverse communities to develop ways to encourage their involvement in the game and the wider community. The three key objectives of the program are to:

- Introduce Australian football as part of settlement and integration.
- Implement community capacity building in CaLD communities.
- Influence community leagues and clubs to embrace multicultural diversity ("About the AFL Multicultural Program," n.d.).

AFL clubs are key partners of the multicultural program, with dedicated multicultural development officers who work to build understanding and awareness by running customised programs in schools with high levels of CaLD students nationally. Other program activities include: organisation-wide cross cultural competence training, role model development through its player ambassador program, Welcome to the AFL, a first-touch fan development program, and a number of new talent development pathways, including CaLD community academies and representative teams (“About the AFL Multicultural Program,” n.d.). In 2013, over 25,000 multicultural people visited an AFL game through the Multicultural program. The AFL has also established designated Multicultural AFL Auskick centres for participants to experience the national introductory program. Other highlights for 2013 included:

- Engaging in 50 multicultural festivals.
- Implemented the Multicultural Schools Program in over 200 schools, reaching over 20,000 students.
- Eight hundred and fifty students involved in the Multicultural Schools Cup.
- Eight Islamic schools participated in the Bachar Houli Cup.
- Sixty secondary schools participated in the AFL 9s multicultural competition.
- The Multicultural State Academy Camp reached 500 participants.
- The inaugural AFL Multicultural Round was conducted nationally (“Multicultural,” n.d.).

A range of resources and programs have been developed to help local leagues and clubs located within diverse communities to take action to ensure their activities are welcoming and inclusive. The AFL’s Multicultural Program has 11 Multicultural Development Officers (MDOs) based in Victoria, Western Australia and South Australia, who work closely with AFL clubs to deliver programs that encourage participation in the game within multicultural communities and schools. Essendon captain Jobe Watson, Melbourne’s Jimmy Toumpas, Collingwood’s Patrick Karnezis, Greater Western Sydney Giants’ Stephen Coniglio and the Western Bulldogs’ Lin Jong joined current AFL multicultural ambassadors Nic Natanui, Bachar Houli, Karmichael Hunt, Majak Daw and Alipate Carlile in 2014 in representing and promoting some of the many diverse backgrounds across the game

(“AFL Multicultural Program Ambassadors,” n.d.). There is no doubt that these activities have been successful, as indicated by the increased diversity of players and spectators in the game.

However, implementing a multicultural plan and program in any sport is not without its challenges. Winning the confidence of the players and their families, considering the problems of communication, transport, cultural background and explaining how Australian football is played, are just some of the challenges the AFL faces. Incidents of racial abuse and vilification, such as those by former Western Bulldogs player Justin Sherman against Gold Coast Suns’ Joel Wilkinson in 2011, and that encountered by Sydney Swans player Adam Goodes during the Indigenous round game in 2013, do not instil confidence that these issues are being eradicated. Although, the programs and member protection policies highlighted above are helping to increase awareness of the rules and issues on and off the field at all levels of the game.

Member protection/codes of behaviour

In 1995, at the famous Anzac Day AFL match between Essendon and Collingwood, Damian Monkhorst racially vilified Indigenous player Michael Long, which led to an official complaint and long mediation process. Following this, the AFL became the first sporting body in Australia to adopt procedures to deal with racial and religious vilification when they developed *Rule 30: A Rule to Combat Racial and Religious Vilification* (Rule 30 has since been updated in the AFL policies to be Rule 35). The rule was ground-breaking in sport at the time as it prohibited vilification on the grounds of race or religion and established a process to deal with any complaints, as well as setting out annual education programs to be conducted for all clubs and officials.

To reinforce its message to the football community that such behaviour is not acceptable, the AFL upgraded Rule 30 in the 1997 season to include new conditions for conciliation, education and confidentiality. The rule had new penalties, and its provisions extended to employees of AFL clubs with on field access, as well as players. In 2009, this rule was expanded from prohibiting vilification on the basis of race, religion, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin to also prohibit vilification

on the basis of a special disability (which includes a disease or illness) or sexual orientation, preference or identity. The new areas covered by the Rule were added to the AFL's Racial and Religious Vilification education program. Under the rule, an umpire, player or club can raise a complaint. Initially, the matter is dealt with through confidential conciliation between the persons involved, but if it cannot be resolved in that way, it is referred to the AFL Tribunal or the AFL Commission for determination. After a first offence, the AFL Complaints Officer may send any complaint about a player straight to the Tribunal or the AFL Commission ("Vilification and Discrimination," n.d.).

In 2012, a new community-based Vilification and Discrimination Policy was introduced across the country. The policy highlights that no league participant or club official shall engage in conduct which may reasonably be considered to incite hatred towards, contempt for, ridicule of or discrimination against a person or group of persons on the ground of their race; religion, gender, colour, sexual preference, orientation or identity, special ability or disability. The rule sets out a complaints process for people who have been vilified or who have heard vilifying language and would like to make an official complaint. It also outlines the rights and responsibilities of any individuals, clubs or leagues that may be involved in a vilification complaint ("AFL National Discrimination and Vilification Policy," June 2013). AFL clubs are required to conduct inductions and annual education programs for all players, coaches, officials and other employees, with further education required following any attempted resolution through conciliation.

Census/data collection

A national census has been conducted on an annual basis since 1993 to monitor player participation rates across the 94 development regions of Australia. The census is compiled with the cooperative efforts of the peak Australian rules football organisations in each state and territory. These organisations are responsible for recording the number of teams and/or registered players within their jurisdiction for each program area, including: AFL Auskick, club football (encompassing junior, youth, and open classifications), school football (encompassing primary and secondary schools), recreational football programs, veteran's football and women's football. The census only includes formal participants and players in organised

competitions and programs. It does not include football matches or competitions arranged by organisations other than football clubs, associations or schools, nor does it include participants in social/informal football activities (as cited in AHRC, 2007). The 2005 National Census of Australian Rules Football Participation revealed that: 6.7 percent of football players in 2005 were people of non-English speaking origin, and 3.5 percent in 2005 were Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders (as cited in AHRC, 2007). The figures today have increased dramatically as highlighted by the data above.

Leading the way

There is no doubt that the AFL has led, and continues to lead the way for other sporting organisations in the development and implementation of policies, programs and campaigns to protect the integrity of their sport and address any forms of discrimination or abuse since Rule 30 (now Rule 35) was introduced 20 years ago. The code's engagement with Indigenous and CaLD communities and individuals, and efforts to break down barriers to the issues affecting their participation, supported by large funding and staffing support, are second to none in Australian sport.

However, a recent report by academics Sean Gorman and Dean Lusher examining the effects and outcomes of Rule 30 (now Rule 35) highlights that while the attitudes of players in the AFL have improved there are still issues underneath the surface. The comprehensive study, conducted over three years examined Indigenous and multicultural diversity through interviews with AFL players. The report showed that all AFL players and coaches interviewed understand that player-to-player vilification is unacceptable, with the vast majority of the players and coaches able to critically engage with issues of direct vilification and definitely saw it as a thing of the past (as cited in Pierek, 2015). However the report says that numerous players still could not identify what casual racism (or homophobia or sexism) was and when it does manifest what should their reaction be. Further to this was the players' general lack of understanding of historic social movements, such as reconciliation and multiculturalism. Gorman says "Given that the AFL has major themed rounds based around these two concepts, the Indigenous round and the multicultural round, it seems strange that the answers relating to reconciliation and

multiculturalism were not better understood” (as cited in Pierrek, 2015). Another feature from the report is that Indigenous players felt more marginalised from their clubs than their non-Indigenous teammates. The authors said that this was evident from the data that Indigenous players are often, though not always, seen as occupying the social margins of the club (as cited in Pierrek, 2015).

This thesis reinforces the point that, as with any organisation, regardless of their budget or staffing, dealing with inclusion and discrimination issues requires constant education and vigilance.

CRICKET (Cricket Australia)

Cricket is part of Australia's national psyche and is firmly entrenched as part of traditional Anglo-Australian/settler culture. The game has been played in the country for over 210 years, with a report in the Sydney Gazette on 8 January 1804 suggesting that cricket was already well established in the infant colony (Craddock, 2013). The first central administrative body for cricket in Australia was established in March 1892, when delegates from the state associations of New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria established the Australasian Cricket Council. The Council disbanded seven years later, and the Australian Board of Control for International Cricket was formed in 1905. The organisation changed its name in 1973 to the Australian Cricket Board, and in 2003 it became Cricket Australia - the governing body of the game in Australia ("Cricket Australia history," n.d.).

Cricket is Australia's main summer sport in terms of participants, spectators and media coverage. The 2013 Australian Cricket Census showed that a record 951,933 participants played the game in 577 associations and 3,737 clubs at local grounds, schools and indoor centres across Australia in 2012-13. The overall national growth of 8.2 percent is underpinned by significant growth in female, club cricket and entry-level participation (Cricket Australia, 2013b). Famous Australian players such as Sir Donald Bradman, Keith Miller, Richie Benaud, Dennis Lillee, Alan Border, Shane Warne, Steve Waugh and Ricky Ponting are idolised by many, and some of the great Test Matches (such as the infamous 'Bodyline' series) have become important moments in our nation's brief history. In fact, Bradman's domination on the international cricket field has been adopted as an idealised expression of Australian resilience and identity (Hutchins, 2002), particularly during the 1930s and 40s.

The Cricket Australia Board has adopted a *Strategy for Australian Cricket* (2011-2015) and central to this is a vision for cricket to be Australia's favourite sport. To achieve this goal, the strategy contains short and long-term targets that are collectively designed, along with on-field success, to ensure that cricket is a sport for all Australians of all backgrounds (Cricket Australia, 2013a). Cricket Australia, through its state and territory bodies, has been striving in recent years to engage Indigenous Australians, immigrant groups and other diverse communities to

encourage them to participate. Indigenous and multicultural players have figured prominently in newly-created community cricket scholarships, campaigns, and promotions. Cricket Australia CEO James Sutherland confirms this focus:

The world's changing quickly. It's diverse, it's competitive, we as a sport just like any sport or business for that matter need to be conscious of the needs and wants of our fans, our customers, our supporters and adapt to those. We need to be prepared to innovate and look for ways in which we can satisfy people's needs. The broader or more diverse the nature of the community, the more challenging it is to be a sport for all Australians (interview with Sutherland as cited in Brettig, 2011, para. 18).

However, cricket's traditional 'male, pale and stale' demographic has been hard to shake. As the late cricket writer Peter Roebuck (1999) reminds us:

Apart from a few dubiously treated Aboriginals in decades past, and some sons from families of European origin, cricket has been unable to convince new communities that it is a game worth playing (p. 31).

Indigenous participation

As the British Empire extended throughout the sub-continent in the 1800s, the sight of the cricket pitch came to signify colonisation as much as a Union Jack flag flying from a parade ground flagpole. Of all sports, cricket in particular was seen as a way to teach the native Aboriginals the fundamentals of their British colonisers' life and to turn them into 'gentlemen' – as a descendant of one inmate put it, 'manliness, sportsmanship and gentlemanship' – as it had in other colonies such as India (Edwards & Coleman, 2002). There are records of Aboriginals playing cricket in Sydney in 1795 and Tasmania in the 1830s.

One of the first organised Aboriginal cricket programs started at the Church of England Mission at Pooninie on the Eyre Peninsula, South Australia, in the early 1850s. Throughout the 1860s cricket spread through settlements and missions where they helped make up numbers at informal cricket matches. Despite being seen as a way of civilising the Aboriginals, some proved adept at the game and white cricketers Tom Hamilton and William Hayman organised an all-Aboriginal team at Lake Wallace in the Western District of Victoria with the side playing against white club sides in 1866. Hamilton and Hayman then showcased the Aboriginals' skills by challenging the mighty Melbourne Cricket Club at the MCG on Boxing Day that

year, which drew a crowd of 8000 on the first day. Three members of the team – Cuzens, Bullocky and Johnny Mullagh were later chosen to represent Victoria against Tasmania. (Edwards & Coleman, 2002).

Mulvaney and Hardcourt (1968) provide fascinating insights into the all-Aboriginal tour of England in 1868. The Aboriginal team played 47 matches throughout England over a period of six months, winning 14, losing 14 and drawing 19; a result that surprised many at the time. Their skills were said to range from individuals who were exceptional athletes down to two or three other team members who hardly contributed at all. The outstanding player was Johnny Mullagh. He scored 1,698 runs and took 245 wickets. An admired English fast bowler of the time, George Tarrant who bowled to Mullagh later said, "I have never bowled to a better batsman." In addition to playing cricket, the Aborigines frequently put on an exhibition of boomerang and spear throwing at the conclusion of a match (Mulvaney & Hardcourt, 1968).

The team arrived back in Sydney in February 1869 and later that year the Central Board for Aborigines ruled in 1869 that it would be illegal to remove any Aborigine from the colony of Victoria without the approval of the government minister. This effectively curtailed the involvement of Aborigines in the game. In other parts of Australia, Aborigines persevered with the sport but continually ran into difficulties with officialdom. The first Aboriginal player to suffer from establishment culture was Alec Henry. Henry, a fast bowler, who represented Queensland, took 8-14 in a pre-season game that led to predictions that he would have a place in the Australian side against the visiting English. Unfortunately, an umpire judged that he was throwing and his place in the national team never eventuated (Mulvaney & Hardcourt, 1968).

Tatz, Mulvaney, Whimpress, Connolly, Gorman and many others highlight that in men's first-class domestic cricket only a couple of Aboriginal players have featured since competition began in 1892: these include Murrungunarriman (aka Twopenny) and Unaarrimin (aka Johnny Mullagh), who were on the 1868 tour of England; Jack Marsh (Whimpress, 2005), and the super-quick bowler Eddie Gilbert - who twice bowled out Don Bradman. Both Gilbert and Marsh were heavily discriminated against by other players and officials, and were made to endure

persistent innuendo about the legitimacy of their bowling action (Edwards & Colman, 2002). Of the 7,076 Australian male cricketers listed in first class records between 1850 and 1987, only 10 are Aboriginal. Only two men, Jason Gillespie and Dan Christian, and one woman, Faith Thomas, have been selected for Australia (Connolly, 2012).

Figures for 2011-12 from Cricket Australia's submission to the Government's Inquiry into the Contribution of Sport to Indigenous Wellbeing and Mentoring demonstrate that while cricket may be Australia's number one participation sport, in terms of Indigenous participation, much greater work is required in this area. Junior participation amongst Indigenous Australians shows only five percent of boys and one percent of girls aged 4-14 play the game (Cricket Australia, 2013d). Academic Paul Stewart, who is also the chairman of the Victorian Indigenous Cricket Advisory Committee, thinks that the idea that cricket is a white man's game hasn't completely gone away: "[It's still sometimes seen as] a white, middle-class activity that's not open to embracing Indigenous cricketers within the club culture. From my experience, boys I know tend to drop off the radar because of that. Racism has played a part in some instances" (Connolly, 2012, para. 21).

Former captain of the Western Australia Imparja Cup team, Matt Abrahamson, whose maternal grandmother was from Yamatji country around Mount Magnet, says he grew up in Perth consistently being the only Aboriginal player in his teams and makes the point: "If a person isn't feeling part of something bigger, socially speaking, it becomes hard for them to continue" (Connolly, 2012). He argues:

As easy as it might seem to get a bat, a tennis ball and a garbage bin and have a slog with your mates it's a huge leap between that and club cricket – with its turf pitches, leather balls, correct technique and etiquette, enormous demands on player's time, and significant monetary requirements.

His comments reflect the issue of translating unorganised sport participation to that of joining a sporting club and participating in a formal, organised structure.

CaLD participation - changing the status quo

The national cricket side has also been slow to represent Australia's multicultural demographic. Six members of the first Australian side to play a Test Match were born overseas, while in 1885, Sam Morris, born in Tasmania to West Indian parents, became the first black man to play Test cricket for Australia (Cooper, 2013). The national side has remained firmly Anglo-Australian in origin since then, except for Len Pascoe (Yugoslavian descent), Dav Whatmore (born in Sri Lanka), Kepler Wessels (born in South Africa) and Andrew Symonds, who has a Caribbean heritage (Cooper, 2013). While current players Lisa Sthalekar, Moises Henriques, Fawad Ahmed and Gurinder Sandhu (representing heritages from India, Portugal and Pakistan) are not quite household names in Australian cricket yet; together they personify a cultural diversity that has long been absent from the national team. Matt Dwyer, Cricket Australia's national game development manager, says:

The single greatest opportunity for us is to have a team that represents multicultural Australia . . . and the quicker we have that team to give kids that aspiration, the snowball effect from that will be significant (as cited in Cooper, 2013, para. 5).

The governing body does seem to have increased their activities to engage with new emerging groups. Sam Amaliki, Cricket Australia's newly-appointed Senior Manager of Community Engagement, highlights this in a recent speech (Amaliki, 2013):

Australian cricket is embracing the increasing diversity of the Australian population, placing itself as a sport for all Australians. A sport that truly reflects society and attracts new fans, players and people to the game regardless of age, gender, cultural backgrounds or ability.

However, as Dwyer says:

If you've got a multicultural background and you walk into a traditional cricket club, it could be the last bastion of the stale, pale and male environment. But now clubs are being encouraged to diversify and be more welcoming, to open their doors to the sort of opportunity this brings. If we don't become more diverse and welcoming to people of diverse backgrounds, we'll be arcane in 100 years' time (as cited in Cooper, 2013, para. 20).

Indigenous and CaLD programs

Cricket Australia are currently developing a National Community Engagement Framework aimed at delivering strategies for female, Indigenous, multicultural and disability communities, including programs across the participation and elite pathway systems and organisation-wide initiatives. As part of this, Cricket Australia's Diversity Council (established in 2012) is currently developing a diversity and inclusion strategy to address the needs of Australia's diverse society, while a National Indigenous Cricket Strategy working party is making progress in developing a strategy to create more pathway opportunities and role models for Indigenous Australians ("Indigenous Cricket Strategy," n.d.). In addition to the senior manager community engagement role, Cricket Australia has a diversity manager and two Indigenous cricket officers (Amaliki, 2013). A Multicultural Leadership Program has been developed to provide leadership opportunities within migrant communities and present them with the chance for deeper involvement in the game. Through the program, 12 multicultural cricket ambassadors have been selected to introduce young people from culturally diverse communities to cricket and influence mainstream Australian cricket clubs to embrace multicultural communities. The ambassadors will work with multicultural communities, schools, cricket clubs/associations and multicultural organisations on a range of projects ("Multicultural," n.d.).

Cricket Australia figures show that of the 160,000 children who took part in entry-level programs last year, about one-sixth were from non-traditional cricketing backgrounds (Cricket Australia, 2013b). Initiatives such as the Mosaic Program run in NSW and Harmony in Cricket in Victoria are taking the sport to newer communities through schools and clubs, and providing alternative pathways to existing schedules and modified structures to overcome cultural, lifestyle, and education barriers. To address the language barriers prohibiting people from engaging in the sport, Cricket Australia has produced an information booklet (*A Sport for All*), which is available in 25 languages ("Multicultural," n.d.).

Australian cricket also continues to make advancements in the promotion and development of Indigenous cricket through pathway programs that aim to increase the number of ATSI people playing the game, and assisting in the identification of

talented Indigenous cricketers to help them to further develop their cricketing skills. Some of these programs include the national Indigenous development squad, Indigenous scholarships and events such as the Imparja Cup (“Indigenous,” n.d.). The first Imparja match was held in 1994 following discussions with Indigenous cricketers regarding the desire to host an annual cricket match between Alice Springs and Tennant Creek. The purpose of the event was to promote Indigenous cricket in the Northern Territory and to enjoy a cricket match with family and friends. The competition has grown significantly from a five-team competition in 2001 to a 37 team, five-division competition in 2013 (“Imparja Cup,” n.d.). For all its growth, it has stayed true to its original ideals of Indigenous people coming together, exchanging cultures and interacting socially.

Member protection/codes of behaviour

Cricket Australia seeks to protect the governance of the sport through a Code of Behaviour for players and player support personnel. The code has been adopted and implemented as part of the national bodies’ continuing efforts to maintain the public image, popularity and integrity of cricket by providing: an effective means to deter any participant from conducting themselves improperly on and off the field-of-play or in a manner that is contrary to the spirit of cricket; and providing a robust disciplinary procedure where all matters of improper conduct can be dealt with fairly, with certainty and in an expeditious manner. Cricket Australia also developed a Racial and Religious Vilification Code in 2013 that establishes a framework for handling complaints made by players who believe they have been subjected to racial or religious vilification by another player (“Codes of Behaviour,” n.d.).

Census information

Each year the National Census of Australian Cricket is undertaken by an independent auditor in collaboration with Cricket Australia and each of the state and territory cricket associations. In the National Cricket Census, participants are defined as playing in a minimum of four games/sessions in the one season. It has become an important information system for game development, setting targets, and monitoring successes and trends for the long-term enhancement of the game. In 2012-13, the

census revealed that there were almost 952,000 participants compared to 605,000 in 2008-09 (2013b).

A survey of clubs is also conducted every two or three years to provide supplementary information to assist in confirming assumptions made in the national census: for example, on the average number of players per team, on socio-demographic characteristics that states/territories do not record (such as Indigenous and multicultural participants) and on multiple participation (to assist in calculating the difference between cricket participants and cricket players).

In 2005-06, a survey of Australian cricket clubs calculated that Indigenous players made up 1.35 percent of junior players and 1.94 percent of senior players (Cricket Australia, 2006). The Survey of Cricket Clubs in Australia (2004-05) showed that 11.25 percent of juniors and 6.76 percent of seniors were from Non-English Speaking Origin (Cricket Australia, 2005). However, Western Australian Imparja Cup captain Matt Abrahamson makes the point (as cited in S. Gorman, 2011b):

Cricket Australia does not capture ethnicity as a demographic so we cannot even tell what number of Aboriginal players are playing the game. All the strategic plans we hear about seem a bit pointless if you can't measure it. It's sheer guesswork (p. 135).

This is about to change though. As part of its new National Community Framework, Cricket Australia aims to ensure that all participants in their entry-level programs, as well as club cricketers, respond to a series of diversity questions on the MyCricket registration system. This is crucial to Australian cricket setting future aspirational targets in terms of their engagement of Indigenous and multicultural communities. Cricket Australia will also conduct an audit of elite cricket from U/13 state and territory development squads through to Grade/Premiers cricket, identifying female and male talent with Indigenous and multicultural heritage, so they can develop mentoring and development programs to support these players in the future (Amaliki, 2013).

Cricket - caught behind?

More recently, Australian cricket has made a concerted effort to improve its access to a wide-range of non-traditional participants. It is encouraging to hear the

rhetoric from Cricket Australia of engaging Indigenous and CaLD communities, and see the new inclusion programs and activities taking place in cricket organisations at all levels around the country. However, cricket is starting on this path much later than many other Australian sports and has a way to go to reach some of the outcomes already being achieved elsewhere.

The successful Mosaic and Harmony in Cricket programs have shown what can be achieved in regards to engagement with CaLD communities, which has been continued at the national level with the National Community Engagement Framework. The focus on engaging immigrants and refugees to the game makes good sense considering the highest rate of new arrivals to the country are from the South East Asia region (ABS, 2013), comprising countries where cricket is already one of the most popular pastimes.

The Australian National University and Cricket Australia have also launched a new program in 2014 to encourage more ATSI people to play cricket. ANU Professor Mick Dodson and Dr William Fogarty from the National Centre for Indigenous Studies, with support from Cricket Australia, are travelling around the country to examine how Indigenous communities engage with cricket. Professor Dodson said “Our research team wants to find out how we can get more Indigenous people around the country involved in cricket, at both an amateur and an elite level. We believe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people can make a renewed mark on the game” (“Encouraging Indigenous cricketers,” 2014, paras. 3, 4).

Time will only tell whether the traditional face of cricket changes from predominantly white to complexions that more resemble the nation’s Indigenous and multicultural mix.

Activities in other sports in Australia

The three major sporting codes detailed previously in this thesis aren't the only ones that have had a history of exclusion and discrimination targeted at Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds. Nor are they unique in developed new programs and policies to help make their sports more inclusive and non-discriminatory. The following section briefly looks at the historical dimensions of other sports in Australia and compares and contrasts what they are doing in this space.

Football (soccer) is the biggest participation team sport in Australia. In 2013, an audit on the sport by Gemba found that 1.96 million Australians were actively involved in the game as a player, coach or match official. However, in 2012 the estimated number of registered players identified as being Indigenous was approximately 2,600 (FFA, 2013). There have been five Aboriginal national men's team players (six if we include John Moriarty who was selected, but didn't play because Australia was expelled from FIFA after his selection) and eight Aboriginal players for the Matildas (the national women's soccer team) (Syson, 2014). Syson says "an argument could be made that this is more representation than might be expected, given the external pressures encouraging young Aboriginal men into other football codes and the near absence of historical knowledge within the game about Aboriginal precursors" (2014, para. 32). Football Federation Australia has developed a *Dreamtime* program (Indigenous Football Development Strategy) that provides the plan to get more Indigenous Australians playing football (soccer) and involved in coaching, refereeing and administration. The new strategy, introduced in 2012, aims to build on the successful initiatives of recent years, including the staging of two Indigenous football festivals, as well as the delivery of school-based, education-focused programs (FFA, 2012, April 3). Through the development of their National Multicultural Strategy, the FFA are also building links between their pool of A-League role models into the communities to assist with multicultural integration and inclusion outcomes, which form part of their *Harmony Through Football* program. It is too early to assess the outcomes of these new initiatives.

The story of Indigenous rugby league players has for the most part reinforced the notion that Indigenous athletes were discriminated against, although this fails to

locate this discrimination in a wider sporting context (Evans, Wilson, Dalton & Georgakis, 2015). Typical of this was the work undertaken by Hartley (2002) who argued that the Redfern All Blacks Rugby League Football Club “provided the Indigenous community of Redfern with a vehicle of resistance to depressed socio-economic conditions, to racial discourses and to discrimination” (p.149). Established in 1944 and playing in the South Sydney District Junior Rugby Football League, the club flourished in a time when the official policy of assimilation was at its peak in a game that was Anglo-Celtic in origin. There is no doubt that the Redfern All-Blacks had confronted racism and there is no doubt that Hartley’s (2002) analysis is correct that rugby league was not a crucible of tolerance. What Hartley overlooks is that even though this racism occurred in the game itself, the code had allowed Indigenous teams and players into the competition; a situation which did not occur in other sporting codes or in other political and economic domains at the time (Evans et al., 2015). So advanced were relations in rugby league (compared to other domains) that by 1973, an Indigenous player, Arthur Beetson, captained the national team (Cottle & Keys, 2010). Rugby league has been very proactive in recent years in engaging Indigenous and multicultural communities through their One Community program and Indigenous All Stars events. The Rugby League National Census 2011 identified many Indigenous people in various roles across the game, including: 5.8 percent of all registered rugby league players in Australia (aged 4-19+ years), 12 percent of NRL players, 21 percent of State of Origin players, and 35 percent of the Australian National Team (Australian Rugby League Commission, 2012, p. 6).

Rugby league and rugby union originally attracted players with English, Irish and Aboriginal backgrounds, while later, the codes attracted players whose parents and grandparents came from Lebanon, Italy, Greece and Malta. Now Islanders are beginning to dominate (Lane, 2006). “In the 2011 Census, less than 0.3 percent of the Australian population were speakers of Pacific Island languages. Yet in the NRL, in the same year, 30 percent of contracted NRL players possessed Islander DNA with bloodlines from Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and Cook Islands” (Badel, 2013, paras. 16, 17).

Programs at the state level in sporting organisations are also proving very successful, such as the Remote and Indigenous Hockey Program (RIHP), which is

designed to increase the participation of remote and Indigenous communities in Queensland and is delivered by Hockey Queensland. Over the last 10 years, this program has developed from an introductory hockey program (2001) to an inclusive statewide program (2012) that has been used as a successful model for other states, and involves a range of partners that support health, education, employment, and cultural outcomes. RIHP delivers to over 3000 participants in a one million square kilometre delivery area, conducts five regional competitions from 48 communities, and has delivered accreditation and training to over 150 coaches and umpires (“Indigenous hockey player numbers are growing rapidly,” 2013).

In 2013, state basketball organisations in Victoria, NSW, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia have provided an opportunity for young girls and women of CaLD backgrounds to participate in an introductory basketball program *Engaging Women from Diverse Cultural Backgrounds in Basketball*, and in turn, link them into mainstream basketball at their local associations (“Basketball promotes diversity,” 2013). Many activities have been conducted to promote a culture of diversity, along with promoting the Female Shooting Hoops Introductory Program (SHIP), which engaged with 290 participants across the five regions.

Surfing Victoria’s long-term efforts to increase Aboriginal participation in surfing were given a major boost under VicHealth’s Participation in Sport and Active Recreation grants (PICSAR), allowing them to broaden community projects across the state. More than 1,000 people participate in their Indigenous Surfing Program each year, including more than 130 competitors in the annual Woorrangalook Victorian Indigenous Surfing Titles. Surfing Victoria expanded its Indigenous Surfing Program on several fronts to overcome barriers and create new opportunities for participation. They employed a full-time Indigenous Aquatics Officer, trained more than 20 Aboriginal Victorians in surf riding coaching and surf rescue, and developed existing programs. Surfing Victoria also addressed barriers to participation by providing resources and equipment for Aboriginal children, often through partnerships with the surfing industry (VicHealth, 2013). Other research by Rynne and Rossi (2012) has shown the positive benefits and social impacts that surfing programs can provide on Indigenous communities.

Voices from the field

Survey responses for this project overwhelmingly agree (82 percent) that the programs and processes created by sports have been effective in creating positive behaviours and a positive culture in their sport, with comments such as:

I believe pathway opportunities and the programs in place are only growing more and more each year and are starting to promote not only positive behaviour and culture messages, but also healthy messages too.

Half of the survey respondents (41 percent) added some form of proviso, such as the programs have been beneficial, but there is much work to be done and they are still in their infancy. One person said:

Every bit helps build the underpinning foundation to provide a positive culture, but it is really demonstrating the values at the club level that will make these effective.

Another said:

Changing culture is a long process so it is important to keep promoting inclusion, respect and fair play. It is also important that we continue to promote and acknowledge good sportsmanship and fair play and penalise instances of unacceptable behaviours.

The importance of retaining people in sport through the promotion of fun, fair play and good governance have been highlighted previously in this thesis. The fact is, exclusion, discrimination, violence and abuse still occur in Australian sport, so changing entrenched cultures remains a formidable challenge. Several people made the point that it is qualified, effective people who determine whether the programs are successful or not:

I do not believe that policies and rules alone have any great bearing on culture, what is required are intelligent education programs and the strong active advocacy of philosophies by club leaders.

Another believed that the programs would only succeed:

By consistently assessing and encouraging feedback from officials, coaches, members, families and continually upskilling and upgrading courses to promote continuous improvement in our organisation.

Seven people thought that sport had been ineffective in achieving these goals, with one saying: “I think the culture is more competitive and more directed at the mainstream and high achievers than it ever has been.”

In regard to the question whether these programs and processes implemented by sports have been effective in reducing discrimination and harassment, survey respondents were again unequivocal that sport does provide a much more inclusive environment now, where there is greater involvement and acceptance based on performance, not race or culture. 61 percent of survey respondents said their sports’ programs have had a positive effect, with some qualifying their statement, such as:

We have only just begun. Tip of the iceberg. They are screaming with silent resistance which equals inaction. The younger generations get it more so as they have been brought up on gender equity and less discrimination.

Sixteen percent of online survey respondents said that the question was not applicable to them as there was no discrimination in their sport or they were unsure of any such policies or programs, 10 percent said the programs do not do much to reduce any discrimination that might occur, with one person saying “I doubt that most people at district level are aware of such policies, let alone put them into practice.” Another person highlighted:

I don't know if its possible to completely stamp out discrimination and harassment, and nice as it would be to say that it could happen I don't know what else could be done to promote and adapt this message any stronger than it already is.

‘Silent resistance’ is common in grassroots sporting clubs and organisations. My main focus in sport throughout the last five years has been to promote education and awareness on these issues to try to influence attitudes and behaviours. The process is slow, but evidence from *Play by the Rules* evaluations show that understanding is greater, as are the perceptions from individuals that there is a need for more inclusive sporting environments and that they have the skills to make these changes in their own clubs and associations.

Retaining and gaining new Indigenous/CaLD participants

Without reliable information about who is playing what sports in Australia - and why those sports are or are not attracting Indigenous or CaLD participants - it is difficult to determine what specific programs need to be developed to increase the participation rates of different groups. Sporting organisations need to make this data collection a priority (AHRC, 2007, p. 19).

The statement above was also an observation made from the report that I researched and wrote in 2007 (*What's the Score*), however it seems little has changed in the interim seven years in this area. During the Inquiry into the Contribution of Sport to Indigenous Wellbeing and Mentoring, the Committee attempted to determine the participation rates for Indigenous Australians in each of the sporting codes. Evidence was received from a broad spectrum of sporting codes and organisations across Australia, including the Australian Football League, Australian Rugby League Commission, Cricket Australia, Netball Australia, Hockey Australia, Tennis Australia, Swimming Australia, Basketball Australia and Australian Rugby Union. However, it became clear that only a handful of the sporting codes could provide this information to the Committee (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs & Saffin, 2013).

Considering the latest ABS Census figures for the resident ATSI population, the over-representation of Indigenous players at the top level in the AFL and NRL is a glowing endorsement of how the codes are promoting their game to these communities and groups. The same however can't be said for cricket, netball or many other sports in Australia at this time, partly because the governing bodies for these sports have no accurate data to make this determination.

This is about to change; both Netball Australia and Cricket Australia are in the process of implementing new online registration systems that will make information around Indigenous and CaLD participation available. Without this information they are plotting their ongoing strategic and development activities to an unknown membership; with it they can start to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of their programs to Indigenous and CaLD groups to see if they are retaining or increasing participation from these cohorts.

Voices from the field

As part of this research project, a question was posed to survey participants on whether they think the programs and processes implemented by their sports have been effective in retaining and/or gaining new Indigenous and CaLD participants. Fifty seven percent (58 people) of survey respondents agreed (to varying degrees) that participation had indeed increased, with comments such as: “The number of young participants with culturally diverse backgrounds entering the game would indicate that their programs have been most successful” and “I have seen some Aboriginal and Islanders come to the sport through their program who may not have without it.” But is this merely a reflection that changing demographics in society are organically changing the make up of sport? As Director of Mutual Sport and Head of Business Strategy for Football United, Brad McCarroll, suggests (interview with the author, 2012, February 16):

. . . communities in general are far more diverse, meaning there is less distinction between cultures. As these younger generations become teenagers and adults - negative racial attitudes become less.

This theory reflects the fact that Australia now comprises citizens who identify with more than 270 ancestries and around 45 percent are either born overseas or have a parent who was (ABS, 2013).

Several people indicated that they couldn’t answer this question as they didn’t have the data available, while some were less convinced: “I think they are effective in retaining members. Gaining new participants remains an issue.” Ten percent of respondents did not think that participation from these groups had grown in their sport, with one saying:

At the junior level there has likely been a positive effect on participation due to good code of conduct behavioural guidelines being strongly promoted. I think this has little effect on retention of Indigenous or CaLD participants and little effect on attracting new Indigenous or CaLD players to clubs. As with many sports it seems that new players of Indigenous or CaLD backgrounds often tend to develop their own teams within sports in order to feel comfortable participating.

This comment reflects a growing trend in some sports of teams being created comprising entirely of players from a particular CaLD background, for example, a basketball team made up of players from Sudanese migrants, or cricket teams made up from players from an Indian or Sri Lankan background. In a way, this is a form of cultural ‘self stacking’ and in some cases has led to racial abuse from other predominantly Anglo teams in the cricket and basketball competitions described above. This poses a range of questions about diversity in sport and what processes best lead to positive inclusion that could benefit from deeper enquiry.

To answer the question whether the programs and processes implemented by sports have been effective in retaining and/or gaining new Indigenous and CaLD participants, the statistics would suggest that they have, although as stated, data collection and analysis on participation and membership of these groups is in its infancy for many sports.

Conclusion – the sports that will thrive in the future

Significant progress has been made by sporting organisations in Australia in recent times in addressing the barriers for Indigenous and CaLD communities and encouraging participation from these groups through a variety of policies and programs. As the changing demographic begins to impact sports in different ways, there is no doubt that those who adapt their programs to align with immigrant cultural and lifestyle preferences, and address barriers directly will grow their base of players, volunteers and officials, and hopefully as a consequence improve the experiences of all involved.

As Skene (2012) says: “organisations who will achieve the greatest success in enabling Indigenous and CaLD community-structured sporting participation in the new demographic paradigm will be those who overcome barriers by building sustainable, long-term, vertically integrated programs based on genuine community engagement and leveraged partnerships” (para. 56). The sports that will continue to thrive in the future will also be the ones who pay close attention to the statistics and data at their disposal and then take actions accordingly.

Through comparing and contrasting the different sporting codes’ programs, policies and practices in regards to reducing discrimination, breaking down barriers

and creating positive cultures and behaviours (particularly for Indigenous and CaLD groups), I have attempted to paint a picture of the current sporting landscape to show how far these have progressed since I researched similar issues seven years ago when I wrote the *What's the Score* report (AHRC, 2007). It is hoped that this information will help better inform the future direction of policy and practice for governments and sporting organisations in this area to show what is and isn't working and why.

Let us hope when we do the 'mirror test' in years to come that Australian rules football, netball, cricket and all other Australian sports' players, administrators, coaches, officials and fans more closely reflect the social and cultural make-up of the broader community in which we live, the barriers to participation continue to be removed, and the codes have the ability to effectively measure and report this. In this way, Australian sport and its organisations can be confident that the data they are collecting individually will be sound, so that in 10-20 years time we can truly see a social and cultural sporting tapestry emerge.

CHAPTER 8

A WIDER ROLE FOR SPORT?

Sport shouldn't be built up as the God of all things wonderful. It's only going to happen if it's a perfect environment with all the policies, procedures and the best coaches and the best everything. And that's not reality. If the environment's right these things will flourish, but take a photo and hang it on the wall, because tomorrow it may not be so. (Interviewee 7)

This quote gets to the core of this thesis' conclusions: that there are effective structures and strategies in place in government agencies and most sporting organisations. Further, there are strong codes, member protection policies and sanctions to frame peoples' rights and responsibilities in sport, and there are many good people who administer, volunteer and coach in sport who do it for the right reasons and have the right attitude to inclusion. But the reality remains that despite all of these 'blocks' in place, exclusion, discrimination and abuse still occur on a regular basis across the sporting landscape. When everything is aligned and there is an engrained ethos of inclusion, and when sports and sports role models are proactive in challenging the existing status quo and addressing discrimination and attitudes that have existed in sport for a very long time then the system works and positive progress is made. But as one participant for this project said "take a picture" because it might change tomorrow, if a different person comes into that management, coaching or administration role. This is the nature and reality of sport.

Much is asked and expected of sport these days. In a speech by Dr Doris Corbett, then President of the International Council for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance, she observed:

Sport has universal value, and is a social movement striving to contribute to the development of a peaceful and better world. Society expects many important and worthwhile things from sport and uses sport to support various fundamental social values and ethical principles such as equality for all people, fair play, respect for the

loser, friendship, solidarity, justice and democracy, international peace and understanding (Corbett, 1999).

To expand this notion further, but to contextualise the reality, Skinner, Zakus and Cowell (2008) suggest that over the last two decades sport and recreation policy makers have had to adjust to neoliberal governments and globalisation processes as they impact on social and economic activities, including those related to social inclusion and community development. Sport they now argue must fulfil two roles: “the traditional sport development system for community and elite sport programs, as a function of government legislation, policies, programs, funding and sport management” (p. 254). In addition, a second role has evolved due to these conditions and institutional frameworks “where sport is employed as a platform to deal with societal issues and provides opportunities for disadvantaged members of society” (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008, p. 254). Sport is now seen as a powerful tool in sustaining increases in school attendance, reducing crime and violence, minimising substance abuse and improving social cohesion. (Standing Committee on Recreation and Sport, 2012, p. 2). When Australia’s former federal Sports Minister Kate Lundy was appointed to her role in March 2012 she was also gushing in what the power of sport could achieve: “I have always been passionate about the capacity of sport to forge communities, build acceptance and overcome social boundaries. Sport is far more than the sum of its parts and is a critical area of social policy” (Lundy, 2012, para. 6). For some, the power of sport knows no bounds.

There is a range of scholarly evidence and support from online survey participants and interviewees from this project to suggest that involvement in sport does offer opportunities for beneficial social outcomes at the individual, community and national levels (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Atherley, 2006; Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009; Tonts, 2005; Driscoll & Wood, 1999). Individuals can find opportunities for social interaction, build relationships and networks and be influenced by positive role models through participating, volunteering or as spectators, administrators or officials. Sporting organisations, associations and clubs have the ability to increase social capital through offering a hub for social connections in neighbourhoods across the country. As Boxhill writes “Sport serves to form a social union in a society of social unions” (2003, p. 1). While governments

at federal, state/territory and local levels can direct policies and funding targeted at achieving greater inclusion, and reducing discrimination.

Many sports highlight the importance of their code as a vehicle to positively impact wider social issues, such as education, employment, crime and health, and have developed and implemented a range of campaigns and events to promote social causes on issues as diverse as: reconciliation, the *Close the Gap* campaign to reduce Indigenous health inequalities, gender equality and violence against women, homophobia, mental health, bullying and racism. However, some scholars (Coalter, 2007b; Hartmann & Depro, 2006; Cairnduff, 2001; Cunningham & Beneforti, 2005) argue that these activities are extending sport outside its scope and that there is no clear empirical evidence that interventions in these areas are effective or indeed closing the gap. I agree with Coalter (2007a) who highlights that increasing demands are being made of sport to contribute to this broader social regeneration agenda, however it is not clear what contribution sports clubs can play in this agenda (p. 538).

International director of *Play the Game* at the Danish Institute for Sports Studies, Jens Sejer Andersen, said in a 2012 speech:

I am not a believer. I do not believe that sport is doing good by itself, I do not believe it necessarily brings peace to the world, I do not believe it automatically improves mankind, I do not believe it inevitably promotes understanding between cultures, I do not believe it always makes young people behave better (Anderson, 2012, para. 4).

The question around the potential of what sport can and actually does deliver remains as contested as ever. This chapter aims to contribute to this discussion by detailing why people get involved in sport, what they purport to get out of it, how they develop their social networks and connections, and the degree to which sport contributes to wider social capital generation in communities. The responses to these questions feed into further enquiry on whether sport is a suitable vehicle for encouraging awareness and debate on various areas such as health, physical and social issues; all of which have particular relevance for Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds.

Why get involved in sport?

Membership in Australian political parties may be on the wane (Jacobs, 2010) and participation in church attendance is decreasing (Leigh, 2011) - but our love of playing, watching, coaching or volunteering in sport has endured and continues to stay consistently strong from year to year. This poses the question: Why do people become involved in sport and what do they aim to get out of it?

The answer to this is not simple - adults and children become involved in sport for a myriad of different reasons. Studies have identified a number of factors that facilitate participation in sport, including such things as a supportive family, accessibility to local sports clubs, and the construction of appropriate learning environments (Bailey & Toms, 2010). Many children play sport at clubs to be with their friends or because they aspire to play sport at a professional level in the future (Stewart, Nicholson, Smith, & Westerbeek, 2004). Some parents' assist in sport clubs for their children, and they often continue as volunteers after their children finish in the sport (Shilbury, Deane, & Kellett, 2006). Veterans may participate in clubs to attempt to relive their past achievements and give back to the sport they enjoy (Gray, Ranger, & Tindell, 1985).

The reasons for engaging in sport also differ across varying age levels. Research conducted with primary school aged children in Australia shows that key motivations for sport and physical exercise participation are "enjoyment and fun, socialisation and skill development" (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 44). Similarly, another Australian study that interviewed seven and eight year old children found that motivations and notable experiences primarily surrounded "teamwork and safe play, followed by sport being a fun activity" (Macdonald et al., 2005, p. 202). The ASC's *Junior Sport Framework Review* (ASC, 2013a) suggests that the majority of young people engage in sport because it "provides enjoyment through socialization, cooperation, competition, engagement and skill development" (p. 5). However, it also highlights how "junior sport can also be a site where inappropriate values can be reinforced such as: aggressive, overly competitive and unsafe behaviour, as well as cheating, vilification, violence, physical intimidation and discrimination" (p. 6).

Research with adult sport participants that investigated life skills associated with sport participation found that “interviewees retrospectively cited peer interactions and an expanded social network as the most meaningful aspect of their former participation in youth competitive sport” (Holt, Tamminen, Tink, & Black, 2009, p. 167). Social interaction is highlighted as an important motivating factor driving sports participation, including opportunities for working together, gaining social acceptance (Smith, Balaguer, & Duda, 2006), making friendships (Light & Lemonie, 2010), and meeting new people (MacPhail et al., 2003). Survey respondents for this project in the main concur with the research literature, with many agreeing that sport gave them a sense of belonging, whether as part of a team, club or community, creates a level playing field where everyone can be involved and teaches them to respect others. One survey respondent said:

It allows people to come together, socialize, have fun and get some exercise. This can build a sense of community and self worth in people who otherwise may be lost to the system.

However, as Bourdieu and others suggest regarding social capital, not all participants are fortunate enough to be benefactors of such opportunities. Evidence suggests that not all sporting contexts are equally valuable in supporting children’s engagement in sport (Bailey & Toms, 2010). The ASC (2013a) highlights that sport providers need to make equitable decisions so that opportunities for individuals are not affected by ability, body shape, disability, ethnicity, gender, geographical location, socio-economic status or sexuality. As one interviewee (7) said:

I think it's a conundrum sport, that there is so much going on with it. We love drama. We love to see it. We also expect a lot from it. Possibly we expect too much because it does not bring out the best in human nature, but then there's moments when it's the epitome of the best of human nature.

The next section looks at the analytical framework used throughout this thesis - social capital and its different forms, and whether there is evidence from this research and project participants to suggest that engagement with sport and sporting clubs can contribute to the development of social capital in communities.

Networks, norms and trust

Social capital has been noted as a specific phenomenon that can help bind society together by transforming individuals into members of a community with shared interests and assumptions about social relations (Newton, 1997). By Bourdieu's definition: "social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resource which is linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (1986, p. 248). He points towards as an example of how individuals network to facilitate business; a social practice that is not available to all members of a community given the exclusive nature of many sports. For Washington and Karen (2001) an understanding of sports participation is:

The conscious and unconscious orientations of different groups toward engaging in distinctive (as conceived by their social group), potentially rewarding (economically, culturally, and socially), and reinforcing (especially their positions in their local community) practices (p. 210).

According to Coleman (1990), social capital is "not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (1990, p. 302). For Putnam, the primary purpose of social capital is different to Bourdieu and Coleman's in that he sees its focus is to secure effective levels of democracy and operations of the economy. His theory of social capital is based on "features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995, p. 67) and highlights participation in communities as a core element. However, participation alone is not useful if inequalities still exist. In his book *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) talks of declining levels of social capital and uses sporting examples such as the decline in youth participation in team sport and organised sports leagues, and the rise of individual activities such as jogging. Australian politician Andrew Leigh makes a similar point in his book *Disconnected* (2011); finding active membership of organisations in Australia almost halved to 18 percent between 1967 and 2004. Putnam stresses that its networks and reciprocity are "generally good for those inside the network, but the external effects of social capital are by no means

always positive” (2000, p. 22). However, the ASC’s market segmentation research (2013b) contradicts this claim showing a rise in participation in unorganised sport and recreation from people from a CaLD background and a concerted strategy to lift membership in organised sport through various programs.

Putnam (2000) makes a clear distinction between two forms of social capital: *bonding* (the ties and interaction between like people); and *bridging* (the inter-group links). He suggests that bonding social capital occurs when people with similar backgrounds, interests, and values enter into relationships and work together to achieve shared goals. To the contrary, bridging social capital is seen as outward looking and inclusive and has real potential to forge connections between different groups. It is argued that individuals who are connected through bridging capital have a greater range of associates and greater opportunities for broader community engagement (Frank & Yasumoto, 1998; Paxton, 1999). Woolcock (2003) took this theory further by identifying the concept of linking social capital. He says that this plays an important, but different role, to bonding and bridging capital, which he contends are concerned with horizontal social relationships, as opposed to linking capital, which is about vertical connections between the different levels of social strata. However, my view more closely aligns with Bourdieu (1986) and with Vermeulen and Vermeer (2009), who counter that from the perspective of local processes and accounts of participation in sport activities, bonding and bridging appear to be differentiated and complex even up to the point where the difference between bonding and bridging may not be clear at all. Bonding ties in sport do not, as is assumed in policy and theory, form closed and homogeneous networks. Members of sport clubs have multiple identities and flexible identifications that operate ongoingly and are fluid. In that sense, bonding ties are as much pre-existing resources for identities as emergent products of interactions and sport practices. (p. 1214).

Blackshaw and Long (2005) suggest: “The ‘like us/unlike us’ presumption that lies at the heart of the distinction between bonding and bridging is hard to appreciate given the multi-dimensionality of any individual (sex, age, class, occupation, ethnicity, sexual orientation, political belief, abilities, interests)” (p. 245) and we see the different mix of demography in sport these days based less on the

specific age, class or ethnicity of individuals. Nobel laureate and economist Amartya Sen (2008) also contends that in this globalised world we have a multiplicity of cultured identities that are defined by a multiplicity of factors. Therefore, any attempt at interpretation of identities will result in inaccuracies and falsehoods.

We see many examples in sport of what Numerati and Baglioni (2012) define as “situations in which trust, social ties and shared beliefs and norms that may be beneficial to some persons are detrimental to other individuals, sport movements, or for society at large” (p. 594). Just as economic capital can have positive and negative implications, so too can social capital (Black & Hughes, 2001) and can be linked to problems such as racism, sectarianism, social exclusion and corruption (Field et al., 2000). A recent example was the ties, beliefs and norms that were shared between Lance Armstrong and his cycling team over several years and resulted in his life ban from the sport in October 2012.

Creating social capital through sport

Australian sport at any level could not function without the army of volunteers that contribute on a daily basis. Voluntary work meets needs, expands opportunities for democratic participation, personal development and recreation within a community and helps to develop and reinforce social networks and cohesion (ABS, 2010d). Research suggests that volunteering in the community is an important contributor to the development and maintenance of social capital (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Although sport volunteering has not been proven to have a direct correlation to social capital, this sector does play a key role in the development of sustainable social capital and community capacity (Atherley, 2006). After all, sporting groups, clubs, associations and schools that rely on volunteer labour for working bees, canteen duties, barbeques and other activities provide important social roles and forums (Maybery, Pope, Hodgins, Hitchenor, & Shepherd, 2009).

The academic research and studies into sport’s contribution to social capital and increasing opportunities for inclusion are collaborated by the online survey respondents for this project. Of the 101 respondents surveyed, 80 agreed that that sport contributes to social inclusion, 21 people though that it both contributed to inclusion and exclusion, depending on the sport, conditions and people involved, and

only one person thought that it contributed to exclusion. This once again reinforces the argument which I concur with that we cannot assume sport will promote positive outcomes, the people who administer, coach and volunteer in sport must proactively shape it to achieve outcomes. While most respondents saw the positive potential for sport to break down barriers and include different groups in society, including women, people with disability, those from a CaLD background and Indigenous people, many also saw the dual potential of sport to include and exclude. As one person surveyed said:

When sport is done correctly it contributes to social inclusion in a very powerful way, when done badly it can exclude just as powerfully.

Another person said:

Sport can be used as a vehicle to engage people and provide an outlet and release from the pressures of everyday life. It can operate as an avenue to obtain community information, participate in educational programs and learn many life skills. Adversely, it can also exclude people. This may be due to cultural problems at clubs, it may be for financial reasons or because they don't have skilled people in positions to assist those looking to participate.

A major limitation of social capital that has been identified is its failure to adequately address issues of power and structural inequality (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991; Baron, Field, & Schuller, 2000). Researchers including: Putnam (2000), Jarvie (2003), Black and Hughes (2001), Delaney and Kearney (2005), Tonts (2005) and Atherley (2006) make the point that strong bonds within sporting clubs or organisations can make them homogeneous in their membership, but at the same time relatively hostile towards outsiders. In fact, sport in parts of rural Australia can sometimes be sharply divided according to class, status, race, and ethnicity (Whittaker & Banwell, 2002). This thesis has demonstrated many examples to support these views in chapters three, five and seven.

While there has been much debate on the concept of social capital and its measurement in the study of society, with a marked increase in the number of studies using social capital in recent years, we are still learning more about the benefits of engagement with sport, and there is still limited research on how this engagement

contributes to the development of social capital (Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009; Darcy et al., 2014). This thesis has shown examples how individuals can connect and create social contacts or networks through and in sporting organisations, and how this network can then be used to measure social capital or the value that an individual gains from their social network (Bourdieu, 1986). However, I agree with Coalter (2007a) who says that “more research is required to explore the processes of social capital formation in sport clubs” (p. 537) and the role sport and sport clubs play in building social capital and community capacity. Cashman (1995) also suggests that sport’s role in the development of social capital and its relationship to the social inclusion agenda and community development in disadvantaged communities has not been systematically studied in Australia. Further research is also needed that highlights the various aspects of voluntary community sport organisations that make them unique within their community, and the roles they potentially play in building bridging social capital and enhancing community capacity (Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009).

A wider role for sport in promoting social, physical and health outcomes?

It has been established in previous chapters from a range of scholars that sport can play a very important role for people from CaLD backgrounds in Australia and often provides a vehicle for integration, belonging and inclusion in the community. The Settlement Council of Australia says “sport plays an integral part in settlement for many migrants and refugees and offers well-documented physical, psychological and social benefits to participants” (2012, p. 1). Celebrated football (soccer) commentator Les Murray (2013) tells his story of inclusion and assimilation:

Refugees, and their sons and daughters, have been an integral part of football’s development in Australia for over half a century. The first wave came from post-War Europe in the 1950s while the current wave is coming from trouble spots in Africa and Asia. While my parents struggled to make ends meet and did their best to make a new life for their family, my two brothers and I spent all our down time from school playing football as a sweet distraction from the hostilities of migration and a need to assimilate. When I was selected to represent my school, at age 12 as a very average number 8, I felt all my Christmases had come at once and my assimilation was complete. Football was my pathway to becoming Australian. Now the kids from

Sudan, Congo, Iraq and Afghanistan are doing the same. For many of them football is their lone source of hope, whether they are in one of those sprawling tent cities in Africa or in our own pathetic detention centres (paras. 6, 11, 12).

Ager and Strang (2008) also assert that establishing social connections with those of other national, ethnic or religious grouping is essential because it opens up opportunities for intercultural understanding and social cohesion. Sport “provides a site for socialization and community building for many young people, parents, volunteers, coaches, and spectators” (Spaaij et al., 2013, p. 2). There is also strong evidence that some NSOs are having success in this area (as outlined in Chapter Seven). In 2014, Netball Australia’s role in creating a fair, safe and inclusive environment for all players was recognised with the Sports Leadership Award at the Australian Migration and Settlement Awards. Netball Australia’s Community Engagement Manager Julia Symons said at the time:

For a young girl who has recently arrived in Australia, involvement in a sport like netball can help her to build connections within the community, develop her self-confidence, give her friendships, and enable her to have fun in a safe and inclusive environment (Netball Australia, 2014, para. 5).

But can sport also be used to promote wider issues in the general community? Many online survey responses for this project think it can. When asked if sport improves community harmony, 84 respondents said ‘yes’, 12 said it does ‘both’ and four said ‘no’. Most responses highlighted how sport provides communities with something in common: a common interest, common goal, common desire, and a common language. Sporting clubs, many suggested, attract diverse membership and help an individual to meet, interact with, understand, respect and appreciate diverse members of their community. As one respondent said:

It brings people together. It creates a bond because we all have to work together as volunteers within the club to create a safe place for the players and spectators, whether that be as trainers, coaches, umpires and player managers. When there is time there are opportunities to socialise and to celebrate or commiserate together.

Sport also plays a role in promoting the positive aspects of multiculturalism and citizenship, and through events and campaigns such as Harmony Day (outlined in detail in Chapter six). One project interviewee (15) said:

I attended one of the first games that Western Sydney played in the AFL. They used the opportunity for a citizenship ceremony, and had given the new citizens front-row seats in the new arena. ‘What a wonderful expression of welcome,’ I thought. The beauty of that is that it’s not in a small room, which might be recorded by a camera. It’s in front of literally thousands of people giving legitimisation to that.

Recent international sporting events held in Australia, such as the 2015 International Cricket Council Cricket World Cup, Football’s 2015 Asia Pacific Championships Asian Cup, and the 2015 Netball World Cup have integrated strategies to promote their sports and engaging local communities around the values of multiculturalism and inclusion as part of their activities. Many sporting organisations, including the AFL, FFA, NRL and Cricket Australia, have also produced education resources for participants and schools around the concept of harmony and inclusion in their sport. For instance, in March 2014 the Harmony Game Schools Pack: a resource for primary school teachers to teach young people about the value of cultural diversity to Australian society was released around the country. The game was developed by the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and is a partnership between SBS, Football Federation Australia and the Australian Government (FFA, 2014). While these initiatives are positive, evaluations on their outcomes are hard to find, and as one interviewee (11) suggested, sport could do a lot more:

I think sometimes sports, particular sports organisations, might take a bit of a band-aid approach to contributing to these types of things. It's easy to put an athlete ambassador on a poster to promote a cause, what's harder is to create systemic change in the organisation and the structures and the deliverers in order to get good social change. I think that's where sport can do more, some sports in particular.

Can sport promote *Close the Gap* targets and reconciliation?

Sport and recreation has been noted in research literature as having the potential to reduce levels of substance use and self-harm, and to improve social cohesion in Indigenous communities (Tatz, 1995, 1999, 2012; Cairnduff, 2001; Cameron & MacDougall, 2000) and provide improvements in school retention, attitudes towards learning, social and cognitive skills, physical and mental health and wellbeing (AIHW, 2011). Evidence shows that sporting events can also foster

intercultural exchange: which can occur between different Indigenous groups (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2011), and also between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups (Higgins, 2005). However, Beneforti and Cunningham (2002) warn that indicator development on outcomes from sport and recreation programs (for the general population and more so for Indigenous populations) is in its infancy. Research evidence on the links between sport and recreation programs and various health and social outcomes is also limited and they suggest that more work is needed to provide stronger evidence of these relationships.

The concept of sport as a tool to contribute to Close the Gap building blocks and targets is rooted in recognition that sport has unique attributes that enable it to contribute to community development. Sport's universal popularity; its ability to connect people and communities; its capacity as a communication platform; and its potential to empower, motivate and inspire make it a development tool that can be used to contribute to a range of objectives (Right to Play, 2008, p. 6). Sport initiatives that contribute to Close the Gap building blocks and targets connect with other non-sport component opportunities (i.e. health services, education and employment) to enhance their effectiveness. These initiatives are integrated with local, state/territory and national initiatives that contribute to these targets so that they are mutually reinforcing (Standing Committee on Recreation and Sport, 2012). Components of successful high-quality sports development initiatives include well-organised events and leagues, good coaching, fair officiating, and pathways for further skill development (Right to Play, 2008, p. 3).

In June 2013, the Commonwealth House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs tabled a report into the contribution of sport to Indigenous wellbeing and mentoring. Many individuals and organisations that contributed to the report affirmed that sport is a powerful vehicle for engaging Indigenous Australians in positive activities that lead to positive non-sport outcomes such as education, employment, health and wellbeing. At the conclusion of the Inquiry (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013), the Committee Chair, Janelle Saffin, wrote in the report's forward:

Overall, the evidence from the inquiry supported the theory that sport has a positive impact on Indigenous wellbeing and mentoring and can contribute positively to

achieving the *Close the Gap* targets in areas such as health, education and employment. The Committee recognised that the benefits gained from sport was more than about simply increasing Indigenous participation in sport - it was about engaging the local community as a whole. Community involvement included encouraging Indigenous people to become involved in the administration, umpiring and coaching positions in addition to playing sport (p. v).

Close the Gap co-chair Jody Broun also said (“Indigenous stars’ heartfelt plea,” 2013):

Sport plays a critical role in helping to close the gap, with many examples of lives being turned around through involvement in a local sporting club, with its community focus and health benefits for players (para. 17).

Many sports have shown their support for the *Close the Gap* campaign to reduce health equality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians by holding annual events and games. Rugby league became the first sporting code in Australia to sign up to the *Close the Gap* campaign in 2009, and NRL clubs acknowledge the *Close the Gap* round annually with match day activities, specially-designed jerseys and events.

Progress on the *Close the Gap* targets is steady, but the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is still large. There is some evidence, in the form of critical descriptions of programs and systematic reviews, on the benefits to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities from participation in sport and recreational programs. These include some improvements in school retention, attitudes towards learning, social and cognitive skills, physical and mental health and wellbeing; increased social inclusion and cohesion; increased validation of and connection to culture; and crime reduction. (Ware & Meredith, 2013, p. 1). For example, in Yuendumu, Northern Territory, a peer-led conversation in the men’s place about sexual health sometimes follows football training sessions that are designed for social and community building purposes (Blagg, 2008). Ware and Meredith (2013) highlight some points to consider with sports programs in Indigenous communities:

- Some sports activities can contribute to exclusion on the basis of race, class or gender. For example, football tends to exclude females, so adjunct programs need to be run, or more inclusive activities selected.
- Expecting too much from a program (for example, having an expectation that a sports program will eliminate substance abuse or antisocial behaviour). Programs need to be linked to other services and programs to maximise positive outcomes.
- Expensive activities, or those that do not engender broad community interest, can increase social exclusion.
- Promoting the wrong focus, for example, badging a program as a health program rather than a games program reduces its attractiveness to young people.
- Programs that are not developed in conjunction with the target community are less likely to have buy-in (p. 2).

Sport and recreation agencies have the capacity to support communities in designing and implementing programs specifically to contribute to Close the Gap building blocks and targets. It is important to develop the skills and abilities of people who are living in regional and remote communities so that they can manage, coordinate and deliver their own sport and recreation events and activities. However, evidence from methodologically rigorous studies is hard to find and often claims are overstated. The small number of research evaluations carried out to date have not employed methodologies suited to determining causal relations between sport and outcomes. Research carried out by Cunningham and Beneforti (2005) indicated that this was a difficult and problematic area:

It is evident from the literature review that indicator development relating to outcomes from sport and recreation programs (for the general population and even more so for Indigenous populations) is in its infancy. Research evidence on the links between sport and recreation programs and various health and social outcomes is also limited (p. 96).

While there is some evidence that Indigenous sports participation is associated with higher general and mental health rates (Dalton, Wilson, Evans & Cochrane, 2014) and it is undoubted that sport and physical activity is instrumental

in wellbeing, it is also clear that there has been little change in the health status of Indigenous Australians (Australian Institute of Health and Wellbeing, 2012) and we are yet to see comprehensive evidence of their effectiveness. Despite good intentions and having a set of statistical indicators and targets provides a basis to measure whether progress has been achieved in various indicators over certain time frames, the Close the Gap program warrants serious questioning whether it is more geared towards providing governments and bureaucrats with a cleaner conscience than it is to seriously uplift the situation in Aboriginal communities.

Sport and the reconciliation process

The significant role that Indigenous culture in sport has on individuals and communities is also emphasised by the positive impact sport has on promoting awareness of the reconciliation process. Reconciliation through sport, and the creation and implementation of Reconciliation Action Plans (RAP) were discussed throughout the government inquiry into the contribution of sport to Indigenous wellbeing and mentoring. The Committee (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013) considered sport to be a great leveller that can also assist in bringing about reconciliation for all Australians. In its submission to the Committee, Reconciliation Australia (2013) said:

Sport is an important part of Australian life. It can break down racial and socio-economic barriers and offers a unique opportunity for all Australians to participate as equals. Sport is based on the principles of teamwork, fairness and equality, which are also fundamental principles of reconciliation. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participation and achievement in sports provide a platform for reconciliation, and can contribute to improvement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander wellbeing (p. 2).

On 21 November 2004, former AFL player Michael Long embarked on a historic trek from his home in Melbourne to Parliament House in Canberra to put Indigenous affairs back on the national agenda by talking to the then Prime Minister John Howard. The Long Walk has become a public vehicle for Australians to express their commitment to reconciliation and a united Australia. Several AFL clubs have also put their support behind the Recognise campaign (a national conversation about updating Australia's Constitution to recognise ATSI peoples).

Former Adelaide Crows AFL player Andrew McLeod (2014) said on the Recognise website:

It is something which is very close to my heart, being an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. When you are a well-known footy player, recognition happens to you a lot. But our country's Constitution hasn't yet recognised the 40,000-plus years of Australia's history and the people who forged that impressive part of our shared story (paras. 5, 6).

Many sports and sporting clubs have also developed RAPs as a way of integrating their Indigenous policies and strategies in their organisations. The following sporting organisations have endorsed RAPs registered with Reconciliation Australia: National Rugby League (NRL) and Australian Rugby League Commission (ARLC); Brisbane Broncos; Melbourne Storm; Ipswich Jets; Northern Pride Rugby League Club; Essendon Football Club; Richmond Football Club; Fremantle Football Club; West Coast Eagles Football Club; Subiaco Football Club; Cricketing Old Greats (COGS) Australia. While the following sporting organisations were in the process of developing a RAP at time of publishing this thesis: Australian Rugby Union; Queensland Rugby Union (Including the Qld Reds); Gold Coast Titans; Australian Sports Commission; and NT Cricket (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, p. 93).

While developing and implementing a RAP in an organisation does not instantly resolve historical race issues or discrimination against ATSI people, what it does do is publicly formalises an organisation's contribution to reconciliation by identifying clear actions with realistic targets and is developed in consultation with ATSI communities, organisations and leaders (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, p. 92). As Professor Mick Dodson (2012) said, the purpose of a RAP is:

This is the way we do things around here. We actually spend some of our budget on encouraging participation of Aboriginal people. We spend some of our budget in raising awareness and educating people about Aboriginal history and Aborigines' place in society. We spend money on paying people who are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to be lecturers, professors and researchers; to be undergraduates, postgraduates and general staff workers (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, p. 14).

Are the issues in sport reflective of those in society?

The underlying question in determining if sport can play a wider (negative or positive) role in society is whether it is in fact a reflection or microcosm more generally of society or it is a unique space with its own norms and behaviours, objectives, and goals. Is sport merely the product of the sorts of beliefs and social constructs that exist within our community or something different? Have we created a range of expected behaviours that are so normalised in daily life that they are merely played out on the sporting field and in the grandstands, or does sport provide a special environment where participants and fans feel they can legitimately behave according to a different set of codes and norms?

To answer these questions, one needs to simply look at the issues and behaviours (both good and bad) that occur every weekend on our sporting fields, in our pools and on our tracks (at all levels) and think how these are also reflected in our workplaces, social settings and our homes. Boxhill (2003) suggests that sport serves to bring out the best and worst in people: “Just as there is corruption in society, there is corruption in sports; just as there is violence in society, there is violence in sports; just as there are drugs in society, there are drugs in sports” (p. 9). On the other hand, she writes: “just as there are rules of conduct in society, there are rules of conduct in sport; just as there are successes and heroes in society, there are successes and heroes in sports” (p. 9).

Tatz (1995) surmised: “Sport is not divorced from life, from the civic culture of a society, from its institutions and processes, its economic, legal and educational systems, its national policies and foreign relations” (p. 342). Boxhill (2003) also contends “because sport is a microcosm of society, it dramatizes the social order. Sport represents the social order in miniature, exhibiting a ‘slice of life’ in an exaggerated and dramatic form, much as a play dramatizes an episode from life. Sport mirrors or reflects society, its virtues and vices, but unlike a mirror, it is active; it affects what it is a reflection of” (p. 1). Interviewee 14 for this project has similar views:

I think those issues are going on in the workplace as well where days are longer so they don't display in such an obvious way. But I think that sports, by nature of the

physical activity, the passion, the sort of physical nature of a lot of the sports as well, it brings it to a boiling point faster than a lot of the work environments or other environments. But it is that melting pot where over a shorter space of time it escalates and come to the fore a hell of a lot quicker.

Or as Interviewee 7 said: “It's a reflection of what happens in broader society with a Bunsen burner underneath it.” When you mix in the competition and parents involvement around their children, the emotions are going to be higher, and as Interviewee 7 said: “If you're going to have a flare-up it'll be big and it'll be public and it'll be ugly.”

One focus group member (Group A) tells the story of fans in English football:

We used to get guys who would come in to play darts. Really, good guys who were polite every time they came to the pub. When I used to go watch [my team] play football, I'd see the same guys carrying chains, with knives, and get imprisoned. And they'd go back the next week as an accountant or whatever and play darts as nice guys. And you wouldn't believe the transformation over the weekend. Saturday was the haven, where they had the routine beer just before the match. They'd be sorting out what they were going to do in terms of attacking the other team's spectators.

Another interviewee (26) working in health issues around sport told a similar story that described sport as an outlet or reward for a week of good behavior in respect to eating junk food or consuming alcohol (a similar behavioural leave pass).

People feel in their minds [sport] is a site in which they can have a break. Many people would say ‘I don't drink four beers and have two pies at any other time in the week, so as a reward for all my other good behaviour, this is the place in which I can be comfortable to actually do some of the things that I want to do as a reward’. It's like they step into, in their minds and in the way in which they conduct themselves, they step into a different character almost.

These views reflect my experience working in sport and several interviewees for this project, who highlighted the contradictory behaviour of sports fans with their adherence to socially acceptable behavior outside of sport, which then changed when they became involved in sport on the weekend - which one person described as a

form of 'behavioural leave pass'. Speaking on the topic, former Hawthorn AFL champion Dermott Brereton said he could never understand why supporters felt they had the right to lean over the fence at a game and shout obscenities at players. Make those comments away from the playing field, he said (P. Smith, 2011), and you would get a physical and verbal clip around the head for your rudeness. However, journalist Patrick Smith (2011) highlights the confused and somewhat hypocritical views on what is and isn't acceptable behaviour of players and spectators (using Brereton as an example):

This phenomenon of fans feeling empowered by football to make inexcusable comments is just a mirror of the rights players like Brereton felt they had when they crossed the white line. Brereton was happy to knock opposition players senseless even though to resort to such physical violence away from the ground would be assault, plain and simple. Intrinsic to many sports is a complicity by the community to enshrine behaviour which is accepted and endorsed by a game's rules and philosophy, yet away from the field of play would be a breach of the laws of the land (paras. 6, 7).

Sportspeople as role models for wider social issues

In Australian society, sportspeople are commonly elevated to the status of modern day gods, and with this exalted position comes the assumed responsibility to act as a role model for their sport and the wider community. However, not all sportspeople act responsibly, with many athletes often acting contrary to sport and club expectations.

All of the sporting organisations surveyed for this research project have programs whereby prominent athletes competing in their sport contribute to community projects and use their position to promote participation in sport, the adoption of positive lifestyles and act as role models for others to follow. The importance and effect of sportspeople promoting social justice issues cannot be underestimated. Consider the following examples throughout sporting history: Cathy Freeman waving the Indigenous flag at the Sydney 2000 Olympics; Nicky Winmar and his gesture pointing to his skin to indicate that enough was enough in respect to racism in the AFL in 1993; the African American athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos who gave the black power salute at the 1968 Mexico Olympics, along with

Australian Peter Norman who wore an Olympic Project for Human Rights badge in solidarity with the other two athletes (Corbett, 1999). All of these actions have left a powerful ongoing legacy.

Indigenous Australian athletes have played significant roles in advancing reconciliation, paralympians have promoted the rights of people with disability, and many individual sportspeople have associated themselves with particular human rights and social justice causes through charitable donations (Sidoti, 1999). In 2012, swimmer Ian Thorpe was awarded the Australian Human Rights Commission Human Rights Medal for his work helping Indigenous Australians and young people. In 2014, Adam Goodes was named the Australian of the Year for his marvelous feats on the sporting field and for his work as a domestic violence awareness ambassador, working with kids in youth detention centres, and establishing the Go Foundation to create Indigenous role models in all walks of life. Groups of athletes have also joined together to show their unified support for social causes in recent times. For example, the Federal Government's *Racism, it stops with me* campaign in 2013 featured a range of sportspeople across various codes promoting inclusion in sport and condemning discrimination and racism. In 2014, another group of sport stars campaigned against homophobia in a *You can play* campaign for *Play by the Rules*. These are just several of the many social issues that utilize high-profile sportspeople to add authority and publicity to their causes.

In their submission to the Australian Government's Inquiry into the Contribution of Sport to Indigenous Wellbeing and Mentoring, the David Wirrpanda Foundation said that sport and mentoring programs must use Aboriginal people as role models and mentoring staff, as this ensures that the programs are driven by Aboriginal people and are culturally appropriate:

All of our Aboriginal role models are either current or former elite athletes or high achieving positive role models in the community. Working with sports organisations as partners ensures a sustainable collaboration that will create a lasting legacy. Mentoring needs to be the key component of all programs to really have an impact on a participant's life, and role model mentors must be trained appropriately (HoRSCATSIA & Saffin, 2013, p. 2).

The importance of sportspeople lending their voices to these social and human rights issues is seen as invaluable by many interviewees for this project. As one interviewee (24) said: “[If it’s] a high profile sports person conveying a key message around culture diversity, homophobia, bullying in sports, people tend to believe it a lot more.” However, another person (Interviewee 10) highlighted how professional sports are constantly being pushed to be good corporate citizens and make sure their players are good corporate citizens: “Almost, they’re being pushed to be better than the average person because they’re up on a pedestal”.

Soccer, Australian rules football, rugby league and rugby union offer young Indigenous and CaLD men countless role models to idolise and professional sports careers to aspire to. However, the absence of CaLD female role models in representative sporting teams is seen as a contributor to low participation rates of CaLD women in sport (AHRC, 2007). In research conducted into barriers to sport and participation among Indian and other ethnic minority women in Australia, researchers found that promoting an image of cultural diversity in sport can significantly stimulate the interest and participation of women from these groups (Sawrikar & Muir, 2010). This highlights the fact that changing this imagery can have a positive impact towards engaging and appealing to a wider and more diverse audience.

In several studies, the absence of minority female role models has been identified as a contributor to low participation of marginalised women in sport (AHRC, 2007; CMY, 2010; Centre for Culture, Ethnicity & Health, 2006). In netball for example, there are very few role models for girls from marginalised ethnic groups to emulate (Taylor, 2002; Vescio, Taylor, & Toohey, 1999). Despite netball’s relatively small culturally diverse elite player base, one only needs to look at the impact of former Australian national team player Mo’onia Gerrard’s active role in promoting netball to Pacific Islands and Indigenous communities, to see the positive impact that netball role models from CaLD backgrounds can have. For example, hundreds of netballers from across Tonga converge on the village of Nukunuku each year to showcase their talents in the annual Mo’onia Cup, which was initially set up by Gerrard and reflects the phenomenal growth of the game in this country in recent years. (Netball Australia, 2013, November 29).

Is too much being asked of sport?

The oft asked question of whether too much is being asked of sport and whether it is unrealistic to consider it the cure of all ills on and off the field requires close examination. The expectation for many is that “sport is perceived to have the potential to alleviate a variety of social problems and generally to ‘improve’ both individuals and the communities in which they live” (Coalter, 2007b, p. i). Because of the breadth and depth of awareness and affection for sport in Australia, it often finds itself asked to act on social issues that might seem well outside sport's remit. The AFL's former Chief Executive Officer, Andrew Demetriou, summarised this in response to the AFL's activities in relation to homophobia with the sarcastic response: “next we'll be sorting out the pygmies in Tanzania” (as cited in “Let's not expect the AFL to tackle problems out of its league,” 2012, para. 3). AFL Commissioner Sam Mostyn also made the point:

Football isn't government and it isn't football's role to solve all social matters and we need to acknowledge that. But football plays such an important role in the lives of indigenous people across the country and it has done for a very long time ... we can touch so many people and bring a story to many more Australians. We just have to be very cautious about the extent to which we can help with the broader issues. Step quietly and carefully and do a lot of listening and understand where football can play its role and where it can't.' (Niall, 2014, paras. 20, 21)

Many interviewees for this project recognise the role sport can play in being at the forefront of highlighting social issues and initiating awareness and debate, but agreed that there is sometimes too much expected of sport in terms of solving all of society's challenges. As one interviewee (9) said:

I think sport is a good way to start the conversation. I think there's too much pressure on sports to provide the answer. I don't think that any sport should be lumped with changing the way the rest of society views people or trying to overcome any issue of disadvantage. I think that is unrealistic. Sport is there to provide opportunity for participation in active activity. I think sport has been successful, in a short period of time, in getting the message out there and trying to change some attitudes. There is now an expectation that they become part of the solution.

As an example, the AFL produced a range of videos to promote at football matches throughout the 2014 season featuring stories to promote greater awareness of important social issues such as mental health, racism, homophobia and the role of women in the game. The resources form part of the AFL Club Education Program, which aims to ensure that all AFL players, coaches and staff are aware of their responsibilities when it comes to such issues. However, it is still under pressure from some to be more socially proactive due to the immense influence the game has. As former champion netballer Liz Ellis said:

I wouldn't expect the AFL to tackle Middle East peace because it's not relevant to them, but I would suspect that there's homophobia and there are probably gay footballers playing AFL. So I would think that this would be something that is quite relevant to the AFL. You can't pick and choose (as cited in "Let's not expect the AFL to tackle problems out of its league," 2012, para. 6).

One interviewee (26) for this project added:

I think it [sport] is a useful domain because I think you're couching a possibly difficult conversation in an arena whereby people have an opinion. It provides a slight door opener to otherwise maybe uncomfortable, or at least issues, that people wouldn't otherwise pick up off the street as general conversation topics, but when it comes up in the context of a major sporting code there's an entry point to the conversation that might not otherwise be there.

Another interviewee (8) said:

It is a door opener and sport has an enormous contribution to make to the conversation about the way that we live and social and cultural change there. I do think it allows us to connect with 'the other' and in the connection and the normalisation of diversity and the building of tolerance around that, I think that is extraordinarily valuable to any social community.

This view of sport acting as a conduit or 'door opener' for wider discussions on social issues was heard repeatedly throughout this project and reflects my experiences working in sport for many years on sport and human rights campaigns and education.

Many people commented how sporting organisations were not only creating a sense of community - they were building it. As one interviewee (11) highlighted: “[It’s] not just what’s best in what sport does for a community, but I think simply just that it creates one.” Interviewee 23 mentioned examples of this:

You see links between Muslim refugee kids and Indigenous kids, how friendships evolve and become something simply because you put sport in the middle of it. When designed right, it can overcome diversity issues, it can overcome disadvantage, it can give people something to focus on that they might not otherwise have had the opportunity to focus on, through sport.

Some interviewees also suggested we need to keep in perspective sport’s fundamental role – participation and having fun with friends. As Interviewee 8 added:

We talk so much about the more highly-politicised aspects, particularly around racism or inclusion, but we miss out the idea of fun. I think one of the most important things sport can do for a community is let people be free and have fun, because out of that comes so much else that’s really good, particularly in that connectedness. It’s actually sport that has been the thing that has provided a way for people to feel inspired, feel hopeful, feel connected, have something to look forward to, laugh again - and that to me is more powerful than anything else.

This reflects earlier comments and survey outcomes on the importance of emphasising the fun aspect of sport to keep children engaged.

Lessons about sport and social capital

During a visit to Australia in 2010, Professor Fred Coalter, an expert on sport and social capital, said claims made about the social impacts of sport are frequently not supported by robust evidence. He argued that a number of factors, including policy-making processes, a desire for economical solutions, and a degree of evangelism from sport led to a limited understanding of the social benefits of sport programs in a range of contexts. Coalter said that this lack of robust evidence tends to produce policies best described as ill-defined interventions with hard to follow

outcomes.⁷ One interviewee (24) for this project highlighted the importance of measuring the impact of what sport can deliver:

I will continually argue that unless you are measuring what you are doing and whether it's working or not why do you continue to do it; and more importantly, you measure it because you want to know whether it works so that if anyone else is doing it you are giving them the tools to be able to make it work effectively.

Coalter asserts in *The Social Benefits of Sport* (2005) that to achieve the full potential of sport, it is necessary to be aware of a number of factors that we must not take for granted, but take into our own hands. These include:

- *Managing for outcomes:* It is essential to be clear about the assumptions underpinning the provision and the nature of expected outcomes (Coalter, 2002) - as highlighted by interviewees for this project certain sports and physical activities may be better than others at achieving particular outcomes for different individuals and groups. Once sports understand these assumptions they can more effectively manage their programs and activities to maximise the possibility of reaching desired outcomes.
- *The nature of the sporting experience:* Sport is not a homogeneous, one-size-fits-all product or experience. It will vary widely, as will the effects on its participants.
- *Supervision, leadership and management:* As highlighted by survey and interview participants for this project, there are core elements that will impact greatly on the nature and extent of the effects of projects. Evidence points to the importance of sports leaders, especially in obtaining positive outcomes among young people at risk (Nichols & Taylor, 1996; Witt & Crompton, 1996; Godber, 2012).
- *Frequency, intensity and adherence:* Any effects on sports participants will be determined by how often people participate, the intensity of participation

⁷ The Centre for Sport and Social Impact co-hosted a seminar with VicHealth in Melbourne, Victoria, on 7 December 2010, where Professor Coalter spoke at and provided these comments.

and their degree of adherence over time. While these factors are known to be important to obtain fitness and health benefits, they also have implications for the development of sport and social skills, and changed attitudes and values (Coalter, 2005, p. 5).

Coalter (2010) says that similar overstated claims are also found in the broader international sport for development literature. He suggests that although there is a theoretical logic to some of these sorts of claims, there are also some inherent dangers. These include:

- confusing potential micro-level individual outcomes with community and broader macro-level impacts;
- ignoring wider socio-political contexts within which sporting organisations have to operate;
- seeking to solve broad gauge problems via limited focus interventions;
- encouraging mission drift by sport-for-development organisations wholly dependent on aid from a variety of aid agencies, with often overly ambitious non-sporting agendas. (Coulter, 2010, p. 295)

Hartmann & Depro (2006) say that direct causal claims about benefits of sporting programs are problematic, because such benefits are often diffuse, long-term and therefore difficult to measure. Therefore, it is important that policymakers and researchers continue to refine indirect measures, as well as build a body of documented and evaluated programs that demonstrate effectiveness through these indirect measures. Longitudinal studies of program outcomes would help to capture and assess the magnitude of those benefits of sports and recreation programs that appear to take longer to emerge than the average program funding cycle would allow (Ware & Meredith, 2013). Coalter (2011) says there is a need for a range of inter-related, conceptually and methodologically robust research at various levels, including:

- Sport's potential contribution to social cohesion and the development of various types of precisely defined social capital in differing socio-economic and cultural contexts.

- The contribution of professional sports teams to civic life.
- The role of sports in developing social capital within schools and the impact on behaviour and educational performance.
- The potential role of various types of sports events to develop social networks and forms of social capital.
- The value of sport in promoting quality peer relationships.
- The role of peers in facilitating, or delaying, sports transitions and their centrality in athletic and global self-identities (Coalter, 2011, p. 3).

This thesis has attempted to contribute to the growing body of work on sport's contribution to social capital through detailing the contribution of a range of national sporting organisations to civic life (detailed in Chapter Seven) and through the insights and experiences of the project interviewees and their networks and communities. It has also highlighted the contribution that sportspeople, sporting events and campaigns have contributed to enhancing social networks and furthering discussion and debate on wider social issues. It is acknowledged however, that further detailed and longitudinal research is required in this field.

Conclusion - the future is in our hands

While some scholarly literature and interviewees highlighted in this thesis contend that too much is being asked of sport outside its narrow gamut to encourage participation and health outcomes, the reality is that sport, like other institutions in society, does not exist in a social vacuum and is exposed to a wide variety of social issues through its extensive community of participants and supporters. Rather than turning a blind eye to this or remaining indifferent, many sporting codes and sportspeople are now using their profile to actively engage and contribute to challenging social issues, such as education, employment and health, and have developed and supported a range of campaigns, events and educational resources to promote social issues such as: multiculturalism, the benefits of citizenship, Harmony Day, reconciliation, constitutional recognition for Indigenous people, the *Close the*

Gap campaign to reduce Indigenous health inequalities, gender equity and violence against women, bullying, homophobia, mental health and racism.

My views correspond with the majority of interviewees and survey respondents for this project in that sport is an effective vehicle for encouraging promotion and discussion on these social and health issues. However, as Coalter (2005) and some interviewees for this project have highlighted, we need to be careful not to build sport up as a cure for all our social ills, otherwise we are setting it, and ourselves up to fail (Ware & Meredith, 2013). As Grange (interview with the author, 2012, February 12) reminds us:

Sport has in many instances played a role in reproducing violence, division and exclusion along racial, gender and other lines. The reconciliatory role of sport is not automatic, but one that needs to be cultivated. While sport alone can't solve complex social issues, it is one of the many tools that can address race issues and contribute to social inclusion, and has the potential to provide a positive impact on the lives of Indigenous peoples and those with CaLD backgrounds.

If there is one enduring point from this research it is that sport is neither the sinner nor the saviour. It is how we choose to use it as a tool that determines what the outcomes will be: this includes the outcomes it seeks to achieve around any social, physical or health issues it engages with. Sport alone can't achieve social goals or solve complex issues, it is the players, coaches, volunteers and administrators who are the heart and soul of sporting organisations at elite and grassroots levels around the country that hold the key to what sport is capable of delivering. The outcomes are literally in their hands at every training session, every game, every function, and at every governance and policy review. This point is perhaps best surmised in Andersen's speech that was cited at the start of this chapter. In the second part of his speech he says:

What I do believe is that sport is a very powerful tool at our disposal. It draws its strength from some of our most basic instincts and emotions; it mobilises our passion; it focuses our mental and physical energy; it sets up frameworks within which we can test ourselves as individuals or as teams; it allows us to meet each other in very direct physical ways; and it surely has the ability to gather the attention of the world on certain occasions. Whether it serves good purposes or bad purposes,

whether it does us harm or perform wonders, that all depends on how we use this forceful tool (Andersen, 2012, para. 5).

Sport is neither good nor bad - what it can achieve now and into the future is in *our* hands.

CONCLUSION

SPORT: MOVING INTO UNCHARTED WATERS

When sport is done correctly it contributes to social inclusion in a very powerful way, when done badly it can exclude just as powerfully. (Survey participant)

Sport can achieve so much for individuals and society if it is managed well. After all, sport has long been considered an ideal medium to teach social and moral values such as teamwork, respect for others and for the rules, fair play, equality, honesty and fun. However, recent research from USADA (2012) has shown that although adults perceive a benefit in sport reinforcing key values, overall they believe that sport is currently doing the opposite. Most sporting organisations have policies and codes in place to address player, staff and management conduct, governance laws to protect against corruption and inequity, and programs and staff to educate on discrimination, integrity and athlete welfare issues. Despite this, year after year sport loses more of its lustre (and participants) as ethical and integrity violations, toxic cultures and the desire to win at any costs continues to be reported on in the media and threatens the inherent value and ongoing support of sport in Australia. It also takes the focus away from the important work sports and sportspeople do in and with the community to engage and give back.

Sport has significant challenges to face as it navigates the uncharted waters that are sport in the 21st Century. However, there are also wonderful opportunities to adapt and evolve, and showcase what it can do for individuals and the community and make a real impact across society. But it is crucial to get this right, just at a time when sport is being confronted by new challenges posed by illicit drugs, doping, match fixing, discrimination, poor governance and fierce competition from other lifestyle choices.

In 2007, I wrote “All sporting organisations surveyed now have a range of member protection policies and codes in place to address concerns and complaints of

discrimination, harassment, vilification, child abuse and other inappropriate behaviour” (AHRC, 2007, p. 22). Seven years later and I have again revisited this prior research to determine the key questions for this thesis: Have the policies, programs and structures that government agencies and several major sporting organisations (Australian Football League, Cricket Australia and Netball Australia) developed and implemented encouraged safe, inclusive and non-discriminatory sporting environments, and if so, how? Have they been successful in attracting and retaining new participants, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and those from CaLD backgrounds, and have they reduced exclusion and discrimination against these groups, and if so, how? And finally, can sport promote awareness and debate around wider social, physical and health issues, and in the process, contribute to the development of social capital in communities?

The detailed knowledge and experience contributed to this project from the 101 online survey respondents, 32 interviewees and two focus groups participants, many who work at the coalface of the integrity, discrimination and inclusion space in sport, have provided the ‘gold’ for this thesis. Their insights, stories and quotes have been critically analysed to help me to answer these vexing questions and come to the following conclusions. Bourdieu (1988, p. 153) referred to the "special difficulties that the sociology of sport encounters: scorned by sociologists, it is despised by sportspersons." This research report has been a journey of discovery where I have explored the extraordinarily valuable contribution from the theoretical work of academics and scholars in the many fields of sport research, and allowed me to make a small contribution to sport sociology literature in the process.

KEY FINDINGS OF THIS RESEARCH

Participation, member protection and culture

Evidence from academic research, ASC surveys and online survey and interviewee responses highlighted in Chapter Four show that the collective impact of the programs and structures from governments, NSOs, SSAs/SSOs and clubs are helping to increase the knowledge and skills of individuals and organisations in preventing and dealing with governance and member protection issues, so that sport is safer, fairer and more inclusive. However, the interview and survey respondents for this project make it clear that there is still much work to be done in this area, and there is little evidence to show that cultural change has been broadly achieved.

The high media profile and scrutiny of professional and grassroots sport in Australia now ensures that overt discrimination is regularly highlighted, and places pressure on the relevant governing bodies and sporting organisations to respond through media statements and public actions showing they are handling any such incidents swiftly and purposely. All ASC-funded NSOs have member protection policies and codes of conduct relating to inclusion, discrimination and safety as part of their funding agreements and are held accountable through reviews by the Commission each year. They are disseminated as Member Protection Policy templates to state/territory and regional sporting associations, and community clubs. Sports need to be constantly vigilant in this area and issues addressed adequately, otherwise it could lead to a decline in a sports customer base in the form of club membership, volunteering in grassroots sport clubs and wider sport participation (Nichols et al., 2004).

However, one of the main challenges is getting sports administrators to take the policies off the shelves of sports clubs or expose them from where they are buried deep in organisation websites where they are ineffective, and make members aware of their presence and how the complaints handling system can also work for them if they ever need it. The reporting and complaints system can be very inaccessible and alienating for many people: it is up to sports and administrators to make the policies and processes 'live' by promoting and communicating them to members so people have the confidence that the system is efficient and unbiased, and

they are motivated to report incidents of discrimination when they occur (Oliver & Lusted, 2014). *Play by the Rules* National Manager, Peter Downs, sums up the challenges (in an interview with the author, 2014, January 2):

The main issues we see at *Play by the Rules* in terms of reporting discrimination and handling complaints relate to 'reluctance' and 'awareness'. Generally speaking, things have to be pretty serious for someone to report on a discrimination issue. Much goes unreported. People do not want to be seen as a complainer for fear of being ostracized or making the situation worse. Hand-in-hand with this reluctance comes a general lack of awareness of complaint handling procedures. While most clubs and associations would have policies and codes of conduct in place, there is a great need to better educate club officials and members about proper procedures and the reasons why it is necessary to follow these when incidents occur. Having a policy or a guideline in place is one thing, understanding why it is there and how to use it, is another.

One of the standout findings from the surveys received for this research project was the response to the question why people choose to participate in one sport over another: with almost 35 percent of people saying that their decision to be involved with their chosen sport was determined by how safe, fair and inclusive it was. This is a surprisingly high figure that was summed up by one interviewee (12):

Lots of us hear those stories of people who abandon a sport, not just a club, not just an organisation because it isn't safe, it is unfair, and it doesn't include them.

Another important consideration is why children choose to stay or drop out of sport. A recent study showed that 70% of children involved in organised sports drop out by the age of 13. Often, the reasoning is that they aren't "having fun anymore" and they've lost interest (Visek et al., 2015). Winning was ranked by children as the 48th most important reason why they participated. There is no doubt that safeguarding children's sporting experiences that *they* want encompasses better parent behaviour, but it also involves coaches, administrators, team-mates and the overall culture of a sporting organisation. We need to find out how we can safeguard the experience of a child in sport by enquiring into what participants want and value most from sport, whether parents, coaches and administrators truly understand what the vast majority of kids want from sport, whether our policies and practices support

this, and how we can promote this further.

Another important finding from this thesis was the increased focus in sport at present on issues such as integrity, ethics, and culture. With many sports struggling in these areas, suddenly culture has become critical. NSOs know their survival and growth is dependent on focussing on these core elements, much more so than they were ten, or even five years ago. It is not enough for sports to provide modified games and encourage new participants, they need to provide a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience, otherwise parents and children may join a different code or choose not to participate in sport at all.

As sport organisations increasingly focus on performance excellence and winning at all costs, there is a parallel need to invest in education and organisational frameworks that are built on a solid foundation of values and ethics. Quite simply, the sports we value are the ones that recognise the importance of values, as they lead to sound cultures, strong leadership and promote inclusion and diversity. Experience has shown that when individuals' values clash or are incongruent with the core values of a sport or sporting organisations then the result is dissatisfaction, diminished performance and the likelihood of the person leaving the sport for life. This concept of values, ethics and sound cultures has led some countries, such as the US, UK and Canada, to develop programs and education resources which promote fair play, sportsmanship, respect and ethical decision-making in sport. With dedicated focus, Australia can also be a world leader in this new frontier of sport and performance at all levels of sport.

There is also a greater need to emphasise the importance of diversity and inclusion in sport from a business case perspective. As Spaaij et al (2013) highlight, in relation to cultural diversity, government, not-for-profit, and commercial actors in the Australian sports sector need to emphasise the potential gains in terms of:

- *Increased membership base and participation growth*: culturally diverse groups are a key source of paying club members, players, referees, coaches, volunteers, and spectators;
- *Talent identification*: increasing the participation base increases the talent pool, thus enabling improved performance on the field and providing

- opportunities for some culturally diverse people to transition into elite sport;
- *Marketing and branding opportunities*: lifting the image and profile of a sport or a sports club in the local community and beyond;
- *Sponsorship growth*: sponsors increasingly require sponsorships to have a whole of community focus as culturally diverse communities have economic muscle and spending power;
- *Increased revenue from fan development, merchandising and broadcasting*, especially for professional sports clubs;
- *Funding opportunities*: Engaging with culturally diverse groups enables sport organisations to access government funding and grants;
- *Social benefits*: fostering wider social interaction and intercultural harmony, thus contributing to the government's social policy agenda (p. 6).

This approach looks to inclusion and diversity as a potential source of increased revenue, market share, and other contributions to organisational performance. The danger is, that the costs may be perceived as outweighing the benefits.

Ongoing racism in sport

Many sporting programs at the government and organisational level now aim to do several things. Firstly, increase and retain the number of Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds actively participating in structured sport longer term. Secondly, build genuine community sports capacity. Thirdly, promote and provide the necessary support for mainstream sporting pathways, and address racism and discrimination against sportspeople (AHRC, 2007). Hence, while the institutional racism and exclusion of Indigenous people from teams, sport and society is not as evident as it was throughout the past 200 years, as identified in Chapter five, despite all of the programs, policies, training and resources, incidents of player and spectator racial vilification and abuse and discrimination still occur in Australia (and overseas) on a regular basis from the elite to grassroots level across a range of sports. The short term and intermediate impacts from relevant sporting projects and programs are resulting in individual and social awareness around the harmful effects of racist attitudes and opinions, as evidenced by the success of the *Racism it stops with me* CSA, and the reaction of the players and the public to the Adam Goodes racial sledging incident in 2013. As for evaluating whether these strategies are resulting in

longer term social outcomes such as reduced discrimination and racism, the proof is not so clear. Vigilant and persistent is required to constantly educate on what is and isn't acceptable behaviour, and to call racism for what it is whenever it occurs so that positive cultures are engrained and reinforced in sport.

Inclusion for Indigenous and CaLD participants in sport

There has been a long history of endemic institutional racism, exclusion, and significant barriers to participation in sport for Indigenous people and player and spectator insults and bigotry for people from CaLD backgrounds. Despite, and even because of this, sport is very important to ATSI people and those from CaLD backgrounds in Australia. It can also provide a vital pathway to improving physical, social and economic wellbeing, and often provides a vehicle for increased social networks and inclusion in the community.

Given the importance of sport to these groups, it was very surprising that almost 50 percent of respondents to the online survey for this research project did not show a great deal of knowledge or awareness of programs or processes in place to ensure people from an Indigenous or CaLD background have a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience. This finding suggests that if such programs exist in their sport they are not gaining much awareness or currency at the ground level where they are supposed to be implemented. It also highlights that if the respondents to this project, many who are directly involved in sport at various levels, do not know about programs or policies for these groups then what chance has the average club member got of knowing about such programs and potentially providing their support or changing entrenched attitudes and actions at their club? It was encouraging however, that the majority of respondents to the online survey and interviewees did provide a range of examples of positive programs for ATSI people and CaLD groups in their chosen sport. It is clear, as Australia has become more culturally diversified, that sports have adapted their products and programs and are catering for these groups in a way they never would have contemplated in the past 10 or 20 years. For example, we can see netball promoting their One Netball program to wider groups, the NRL implementing education programs around cultural awareness and cricket promoting their game to diverse communities from the Asian continent.

The next stage is to evaluate and critically assess the effects and outcomes of these interventions.

There were a wide range of views from interviewees on the question of whether sport is inclusive for Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds. Many shared the view that programs to promote inclusion were positive for sport and are certainly getting better. Most agreed that it comes down to the individuals who run the sports at different levels, and how they are supported and resourced to maintain various inclusion programs. Over 50 percent (52 people) of survey respondents agreed that sport did break down barriers for Indigenous and CaLD groups (or had the potential to), and an additional 17 people thought that sport had the potential to do both - depending on the sport, its culture and the people involved in managing the environment. Many of those interviewed suggested that there was a long way to go and much more to be done, and suggested a raft of ideas on how this could occur. As one online survey respondent said:

Inclusion will not work as a philosophy alone, it must be actively promoted to succeed, resources must be directed toward activities and projects specifically designed to promote inclusion.

Comparing key sports

The three major sporting codes (AFL, Netball Australia and Cricket Australia) investigated and contrasted in this thesis, and a range of other sports highlighted in Chapter Seven have developed new programs and policies to make their sports more inclusive and non-discriminatory, and increase participation. Survey responses for this project overwhelmingly agree (82 percent) that the programs and processes created by sports have been effective in creating positive behaviours and a positive culture in their sport. In regard to the question whether these programs and processes implemented by sports have been effective in reducing discrimination, survey respondents were again unequivocal that sport does provide a much more inclusive environment than they previously did, where there is greater involvement and acceptance based on performance, and not race or culture.

As to the question whether survey participants thought the programs and processes implemented by their sports have been effective in retaining and/or

gaining new Indigenous and CaLD participants – 57 percent (58 people) of survey respondents agreed (to varying degrees) that participation had indeed increased. I made the observation in 2007 that it is difficult for sports to determine what specific programs need to be developed to increase the participation rates of different groups without measuring the participation of these groups, and that sporting organisations needed to make this data collection a priority (AHRC, 2007) However, it seems little has changed in the interim seven years in this area. In general, sporting organisations in Australia still do not seem to have made the data collection of this information a priority. It is encouraging to see that both Netball Australia and Cricket Australia are in the process of implementing new online registration systems that will make information around Indigenous and CaLD participation available.

As the changing demographic of Australia begins to impact sports in different ways, there is no doubt that those who adapt their programs to align with various cultural and lifestyle preferences and address barriers directly will grow their base of participants. Taylor (2003) highlights that sporting organisations have been slow to capitalise on this growing market, and have clung to their traditional membership base instead - missing out on this opportunity. If community sport organisations are to survive and develop, they will need to widen their membership and become more culturally diverse (Booth & Tatz, 2000; Taylor & Toohey, 1998; Skene, 2012). Those that do not will become significantly diminished and possibly face long-term impoverishment.

Sport and social capital

Waleed Aly, a popular media commentator and previous member of the Executive Committee of the Islamic Council of Victoria, described his entry into Australian community life through sport:

Aged six, I was asked at my local football clinic to play football against 10 years olds. At seven, I was playing cricket in the under 12s and took a hat-trick. At school, people wanted to be on my team and all of a sudden I wasn't so foreign. In those formative years I was not playing a game; I was creating social capital (Aly, 2005).

Many survey respondents and interviewees saw sport as a vehicle and opportunity to allow people to meet others from different backgrounds, connect and interact on a

social level, and where they could create friendships and lasting bonds. The academic research and studies into sport's contribution to social capital are collaborated by the survey respondents for this project. Of the 101 online respondents surveyed, 80 agreed that that sport contributes to inclusion, 21 thought that it both contributed to inclusion and exclusion depending on the sport, conditions and people involved and only one person thought that it contributed to exclusion. While most respondents saw the positive potential for sport to break down barriers and include different groups in society, many also saw the dual capabilities of sport to include and exclude. In this way it aligns to Bourdieu's view of social capital, which provided the conceptual framework for this project.

This project examined the development of social capital in sporting organisations, and similar to Darcy et al.'s (2014) study with Surf Life Saving Australia, can confirm the development of collective and individual components of social capital through many of the examples elicited throughout this thesis. Despite this, I have also come to the same conclusion as many researchers in the field (Zakus, Skinner, & Edwards, 2009; Darcy et al., 2014; Cashman, 1995) that there is still limited research on how engagement through sport contributes to the development of social capital. As such, I concur with Coalter's (2007a) conclusion that "more research is required to explore the processes of social capital formation in sport clubs" (p. 547) and the role sport and sport clubs play in building social capital and community capacity.

People cause positive change, not sport

Does sport have the power to break down cultural barriers and build social bridges or is too much being asked of it? With many supporters, from government ministers to sports administrators, lining up to shout the plaudits of what sport can achieve, moderation and measurement is needed to balance the hyperbole. As one interviewee (24) for this project said:

I will bet you 100 percent that at no stage have they ever sat down and looked at the design of the program to ensure that what they are doing is going to achieve the outcomes. Because all they see is sport's the panacea - this is the outcome I want to achieve and sport will just achieve it because it is just sport. Well no, it doesn't work that way unless you actually know what you are looking for, how you measure it,

work with the right people and ensure that sport's role within a project is really, really clear. If it's not, forget it, it's not going to work.

Interview respondents provided insightful accounts of what a 'safe, fair and inclusive' environment entails and frequently connected it back to the individuals within the sport/club that worked to make this happen. Several interviewees raised the important point that they believe it's not the sport that creates a safe, fair and inclusive environment, but it is the individuals associated with administering, coaching and volunteering in the different sports, associations and clubs that create these positive environments and cultures. Research has also emphasised that "sport is the site for socialisation experiences, rather than [the] causes of specific socialisation outcomes" (Coakley, Hallinan, Mewett & Jackson, 2009, p. 109). As one interviewee (7) said:

The things that make social capital, the links and the bonding, are actually the individuals within that sport. It's the coaches or it's the officials or that particular club and that culture. It's not sport per se, it's the things within it. And they change within a sport from club to club or person to person.

Evidence was also provided throughout Chapter Eight on the effective role sport and sports role models can play in promoting Indigenous, multicultural and wider social and health issues. Many sporting codes and sportspeople are now using their profile to actively engage and contribute to challenging social issues outside of traditional areas, such as education, employment and health, and have supported a range of campaigns, events and educational resources to promote social issues including: reconciliation, citizenship, gender equity, anti-homophobia, mental health and racism. I agree with the majority of interviewees and survey respondents for this project who were of the opinion that sport is an effective vehicle for encouraging awareness and discussion on these issues – as to creating lasting cultural change; the jury is still out.

FUTURE ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Good governance and values

Much is expected of the people who participate in sport and those who run it, as the spotlight shines brighter on their performance, governance and culture. As US elite sports sociologist Dr Harry Edwards said recently:

We're moving into utterly uncharted waters and I'm not sure that these nineteenth-century (sporting) institutions can function within a twenty-first-century cultural and technological context, without utterly changing their structure, management and even their goals (as cited in Zirin, 2014, para 3).

With the range of challenges confronting modern sport many administrators will admit to being ill-equipped to deal with the issues, conflicts and crises that consume their daily working lives. But getting governance, culture, leadership, inclusion and integrity issues right is critical to ensure better team performance, fan and community engagement, corporate support, legal/regulatory/ government compliance and financial support, and ultimately the development of a respected and sustainable sports brand. Together, these elements drive value, sustainability and growth.

The next frontier in sport includes a focus on good governance, where leadership, culture and inclusion are all underpinned by sound ethics and values. There has been recent focus in the sporting world on the use of a relatively new management philosophy, created by internationally renowned management experts called 'Management by Values'. Management by Values is concerned with developing management systems that are capable of integrating values into organisational strategies, policies and procedures (Bell-Laroche, 2010). In the highly competitive world of sport, what distinguishes a good organisation from a best-practice organisation is the extent to which that organisation can not only express its values, but ingrain them into their culture so that they are shared and lived by all. Management by Values can assist sport leaders with not only avoiding the risks that prevent them from achieving their objectives, but more importantly, work towards creating a culture that is people-centred, values-driven and results-oriented.

7 Pillars of Inclusion

The most common challenges faced in the establishment of CaLD strategies or Indigenous programs within NSOs/SSOs are the lack of designated funding and staff. Where funding is on offer for these programs or staff resources from federal or state government bodies or other sources, it is often for one year, giving little chance for development, sustainability or long-term impact. Staff turnover in sport development teams often results in the interruption or stoppage of any Indigenous or CaLD-specific programs or broader inclusion activities. Rather than continuing this existing way of developing separate inclusion practices and programs in sport for different target groups (i.e. one for Indigenous communities, another for CaLD groups, another for disability and another for gender etc.), a more effective, efficient model has been developed. In 2013, I developed a new concept titled ‘7 Pillars of Inclusion’ (in association with Peter Downs from *Play by the Rules*), which focuses on strategy and planning for inclusion based around seven keys elements that are universally applicable to all target groups - access, attitude, choice, partnerships, communication, policy and opportunities. A range of instructive information, guides, templates and videos have been developed to explain these seven elements, and how they can be used to promote inclusion across all target populations and negate the need for duplication of programs, services and staff (“Inclusive sport,” n.d.).

In 2014, Netball Australia and Swimming Australia have implemented the 7 Pillars of inclusion model and are using it as the basis for their strategic commitment to be more inclusive of people from different backgrounds and abilities. Hopefully this will go some way to addressing the general practice where “sports clubs often emphasize one axis of diversity over others in ways that often overlook or ignore the intersections between gender, culture, (dis)ability, and racial/ethnic inequalities” (Spaaij et al., 2013, p. 9).

The next frontier of discrimination - online

Public attitudes have definitely changed in that abuse and discrimination is not regarded as a part of the game anymore or something you do on a Saturday afternoon to let off steam. However, as with many forms of vitriol, when you shut it

down in one medium it seems to crop up in another. This somewhere else is now social media (Oliver & Lusted, 2014).

Sportspeople in particular, are increasingly being subjected to vile, insidious abuse, harassment and discrimination online on every basis – whether it's race, gender, disability, sexuality, age, ethnicity or religion. Some athletes and coaches have publicly admonished (and sacked) for sending discriminatory tweets or Facebook messages (such as Australian swimmer Stephanie Rice who tweeted a homophobic slur in 2010), but the discriminatory and vilifying messages directed at many sportspeople via social media and its many forms has grown exponentially in recent times and shows no signs of abating. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and blogs are immensely powerful platforms that sports teams and sportspeople have become increasingly attracted to in numbers in recent years, due to their unique ability to provide exclusive real-time connections with fans that they now expect. London 2012, for example, was dubbed the 'Socialympics' due to the fact there were 100 billion posts on Facebook, five billion tweets on Twitter and 650,000 photos shared on Instagram ("Socialympics," 2012). Australian sports are following suit - the NRL's Brisbane Broncos have 274,000 Facebook followers (44,000 more than any club in Australia), while AFL club Collingwood has the biggest Twitter following (nearly 46,000) (Windley, 2013).

The free flow of information online results in a great deal of positive support, but also provides an open forum for the public, fans and athletes, to vent their opinions and criticisms. When built-up passion, excitement, disappointment and anger combine on social media, the results and behaviour can be simply disgraceful. In 2014, Brisbane Broncos rugby league player Ben Barba was racially abused by a fan on Instagram, and in the same week, West Coast Eagles AFL star Nic Naitanui was the victim of racially abusive tweets via Twitter (Oliver, 2014, March 27, para. 7). Racing commentators have also identified that the aggression of gamblers towards jockeys on social media is escalating, citing nasty tweets directed towards them via Twitter on a weekly basis (Chan, 2014).

Internet trolls targeting sportswomen and sports reporters are also widespread, with the level of sexual harassment and abuse that women experience for representing their sport or merely expressing opinions on social media is

alarming. Ellyse Perry, who has played for Australia at the international level in both soccer and cricket, was subject to online harassment in 2014 on a facebook site with comments referring to why she is out of the kitchen and questions of where to find her naked on the net (Oakes-Ash, 2014). Oakes-Ash says:

This barrage of online sexual abuse is nothing new in a world of compulsive social media with the keyboard as both sword and armour. In an age of Snap Chat and selfies, there's a growing tendency and an open invitation to judge women based purely on their physical and sexual worth (2014, para. 5).

This type of abuse also takes many forms in global sport. In a survey conducted in 2013 with English Premier League and Football League footballers by sport anti-discrimination agency Kick It Out, 91 percent agreed that social media has led to an increase in them receiving discriminatory abuse and felt these platforms must be policed and monitored more ("Current Premier League and Football League Stars," 2014). One of the real concerns is the effect this new form of abuse and harassment is having on our sports men and women's welfare. NFL running-back Rashard Mendenhall (2014) recently spoke about the level of hate he had experienced through social media and the damaging effect it had on his career and his personal life, when explaining why he walked away from the game at the age of 26. He said:

There is a bold coarseness you receive from non-supporters that seems to only exist on the Internet. However, even if you try to avoid these things completely - because I've tried - somehow they still reach you. If not first-hand, then through friends and loved ones who take to heart all that they read and hear. I'm not a terribly sensitive person, so this stuff never really bothered me. That was until I realized that it actually had an impact on my career. Over my career, I would learn that everything people say behind these computer and smartphones actually shape the perception of you - the brand, the athlete and the person (Mendenhall, 2014, para. 7).

So what is the answer? Hopes and expectations that discriminatory messages being broadcast across various social media platforms will be prevented or immediately removed remain just that - hopes and expectations. Many users bemoan a lack of timely action from the social media companies when it comes to dealing with abusive users. The offender in the Ben Barba incident described previously was

a country rugby league player and has since been banned from participating in rugby league activities until he completes a cultural awareness program. Queensland and Australian rugby league duo Johnathan Thurston and Justin Hodges have joined forces by calling for government and sporting authorities to stamp out racism, particularly via social media (Oliver, 2014, March 27, para. 14). Susie Boniface, one of the UK's most popular journalists on Twitter says: "Trolls are people who seek a reaction, and it justifies their reaction. The key is not to respond to these trolls. If it's something minor then ignore it - if it's really bad then report it to the police" (as cited in Masters, 2014, paras. 16, 18). This support is provided in the UK: football fans who abuse players or fellow supporters online have been warned they could face prosecution following guidance issued by lawyers and police after a series of high profile cases involving threats made on Twitter. Public condemnation of the perpetrators, banning club memberships, ongoing education and possibly even legal avenues - the battle to protect sportspeople against online abuse and discrimination will continue to be one of the main issues in sport in the coming years.

SUMMARY

The 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil showcased many powerful examples of the power of sport as a common denominator to bring communities together and have a world-wide impact on social issues. For instance, there were a number of United Nations agencies carrying out projects and activities related to the World Cup, including a campaign by the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) against trafficking and exploitation of children; a campaign against violence against women, *The brave is not violent*, coordinated by UN Women; and an awareness-raising campaign, *Protect the Goal*, by the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and the UN Population Fund (UNAIDS, 2014). While in March 2014, International Olympic Committee (IOC) President Thomas Bach and United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon signed a historic agreement aimed at strengthening collaboration between the two organisations at the highest level that underlined to share the same values of contributing to a better and peaceful world through sport ("IOC and UN Secretariat agree," 2014).

But even as the positive virtues of sport and its reputed power to build peace and promote social change were being trumpeted around the world, an ABC TV Four Corners investigation titled *In the shadows of the stadiums* (Rogers, 2014), revealed the spiralling cost of staging the World Cup tournament in Brazil and the affects on families who live in the shadow of the multi-million dollar football stadiums, who are forced to sell drugs and prostitute their bodies to survive. The paradox between the billions of dollars spent to win the World Cup bid and host the football games in Brazil is stark in contrast against a society where much of the population still lives in poverty and the poor are feeling more dispossessed than ever. The people living in Brazil's favelas may well ask - where is the legendary power of sport for them?

With this in mind, this thesis has shed light on the question whether sport does have the power to break down cultural barriers and build social bridges, particularly for Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds. The overall findings from this thesis support the view that sport should not just assumed to be the magic bullet for inclusion for everyone. However, if cultivated carefully sport can be an excellent medium for valuable public discussions and has the potential to assist in

positive awareness and debate on social, physical and health issues (as demonstrated through a range of examples in the chapters).

Through critically examining the generation of social capital in several sporting contexts, primarily using Bourdieu's model of social capital to examine dominant power structures and processes, this thesis has built on existing sport sociology knowledge and literature. It has also delineated understanding of the issues, challenges and solutions identified in promoting 'safe, fair and inclusive' sporting environments by providing for researchers and practitioners to better identify and tackle discrimination, exclusion and inequality where it is prevalent for Indigenous people and those from CaLD backgrounds in sport. The programs identified can also assist governments and sporting organisations to promote inclusive policies and practices, and contribute to addressing the under-representation of minority population groups in community sport settings.

This thesis identifies however, that more qualitative and quantitative research is required to ensure effective policies, programs and projects are implemented by NSOs and SSOs that positively affect the inclusion of Indigenous participants and those from CaLD backgrounds. Further, research on social capital and sport in national, state and community sporting contexts is also recommended to enable focus on the impact of successful strategies and practices that have led to increased participation and retention of these cohorts.

While my research has made comparisons between three major Australian sports (Australian rules football, netball and cricket) and how their policies, programs and practices have evolved since the AHRC *What's the Score?* report in 2007, wider analysis on a larger number of sports would provide far greater comparative data and stories from which to draw inspiration and conclusions from. As highlighted, one of the challenges in sport with regards to inclusion remains how to adequately address the needs and promote the inclusion of specific marginalised groups without neglecting the needs or excluding other social groups. Future research that considers how this may be achieved, such as evaluation of the impacts and effects of the 7 Pillars of Inclusion model, will prove useful in the development of future inclusion strategies in sporting organisations.

While this thesis has detailed many responses from the online survey participants and interviewees on what strategies are and aren't working in this space, there were very few voices represented from those most affected by these issues – Indigenous and CaLD people themselves. Future research that targets and incorporates the experiences and opinions of participants from these target groups is recommended, and may provide richer, direct insights into the issues and challenges faced.

Sport is currently navigating challenging tides. Social demographics are rapidly changing. Organisational and individual behaviours and responses on social and human rights issues are evolving. Traditional organisational cultures are dying and being replaced, and people's decisions on whether to participate in sport are being challenged by lifestyle demands and increasing competition from online alternatives. How governments, sporting organisations and the people who manage and engage with participants on a daily basis deal with these waves of change will determine how strongly their sports and clubs emerge in the future, and whether sport continues to retain its hallowed position in this nation's identity and culture. It will also determine whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and those from a Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds see sport as a space that promotes inclusive opportunities and protects against discrimination and if this then translates into greater participation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1



INFORMATION SHEET (questionnaire)

Project title: The Power of Sport:

Building social bridges and breaking down cultural barriers

Greetings,

My name is Paul Oliver and I am a PhD student at the Centre for Aboriginal Studies at Curtin University of Technology.

Welcome to my research project, which is focused on answering the question why people choose to participate in one sport over another, and to what degree their decisions are influenced by the programs, policies and structures the sport has in place to create a safe, fair, inclusive and non-discriminatory environment.

Project aims

The project aims to find out what policies, programs and structures sporting organisations and government sporting agencies have set up to ensure that sport is a safe, fair and inclusive experience. It will then assess how effective these are at retaining and gaining new participations, particularly those from Indigenous and Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds.

The research will contribute to enhancing knowledge and understanding in this area, through assessing how effective these policies, programs and structures are at building social inclusion, breaking down cultural barriers and reducing discrimination, and how they can be used for wider social change in the areas of reconciliation and multiculturalism. The project will be carried out in accordance with the National Statement On Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans (NHMRC).

What is involved if I participate?

Your participation will involve filling out a questionnaire in which you will be asked to discuss what policies, programs and structures your agency and/or your sport has set up to ensure a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience, particularly in relation to those from Indigenous and Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds. Any information which might potentially identify you will not be used in any published material.

Who is conducting the research and organising the questionnaire?

I will be organising the questionnaire and using the responses as part of my Doctoral thesis research conducted through the Centre for Aboriginal Studies at the Curtin University of Technology. I have over 20 years experience as a journalist and communications expert. I have interviewed numerous people for articles, and have conducted many surveys, questionnaires and polls in the various communications and media roles that I have worked in.

Can I change my mind?

Yes, participation is voluntary. It is your right to have your questionnaire excluded from the project at any time. Following submission of the questionnaire, if you wish to change, clarify, correct or amend anything that was written on the form, you can do so by contacting me.

What happens with the information I provide?

Your consent to the questionnaire will enable me to make use of the responses, and (unattributed) quotations from it in any publications, articles or conference papers.

Subject to any legal obligations, the questionnaire will not be made available to anyone else without your consent. The information will be secured for five years as required under the Australian Code for Responsible Conduct in Research. A summary of the results of the project will be made available online to participants at the end of the project.

Further information?

This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number HR 153/2011). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors and pastoral carers. Its main role is to protect participants.

If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 08 9266 2784 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au.

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Thank you for your involvement in this research, your participation is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX 2



CONSENT FORM

Project title: The Power of Sport:

Building social bridges and breaking down cultural barriers

This research is being carried out by PhD student, Paul Oliver, as part of a research project at the Curtin University of Technology through the Centre of Aboriginal Studies.

I (*print name*), have read the attached information sheet and agree to participate in this research project, with the understanding that:

- The project's purpose and my part in the research have been fully explained to me and I understand the explanation.
- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my involvement is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without problem.
- I understand that no personal identifying information (such as my name and address) will be used.
- I understand that all information will be securely stored for five years before being destroyed.

Signature of participant: _____ Date: ___/___/___

APPENDIX 3

Stage One (Online survey)

An online survey was conducted on Survey Monkey and composed of the following open ended and closed questions:

1. Have you read the project information and agree to provide your consent to participate in this research?
2. What is the main sport you are involved in?
3. In what capacity/role?
4. Describe what safe, fair and inclusive sport is to you?
5. Overall, please describe your satisfaction on whether the sport you are involved in is safe, fair and inclusive?
6. Was your decision to be involved in your chosen sport influenced by how safe, fair and inclusive it is?
7. What programs/processes has your chosen sport set up to ensure people from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds have a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience?
8. What programs/processes has your chosen sport set up to ensure people from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CaLD) backgrounds have a safe, fair and inclusive sporting experience?
9. Overall, do you think that these programs/processes have been effective in reducing discrimination and harassment in your sport? How?
10. Overall, do you think that these programs/processes have been effective in creating positive behaviours and a positive culture in your sport? How?
11. Overall, do you think that these programs/processes have been effective in retaining and/or gaining new participants to your chosen sport?

12. What do you think is the most important thing that sport can do for a person?
13. Do you think that sport contributes to social inclusion or exclusion? How?
14. Do you think that sport improves community harmony? How?
15. Do you think that sport breaks down or creates barriers for people from Indigenous and Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) backgrounds? How?
16. Are you from an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander background? (optional)
17. Are you from a Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) background? (optional)

APPENDIX 4

Stage Two (Semi-structured interviews)

The following interview questions were composed for the second stage of phone and face-to-face semi-structured interviews:

1. 'There are bad things in sport – yet we still watch sport, we still follow sport, we still love sport'. Why do you think sport is so important in Australia?
2. Over 35 percent of the participants in our online survey said their decision to be involved with a particular sport was determined by how 'safe, fair and inclusive' it was. Describe what 'safe, fair and inclusive' sport is to you?
3. Many survey respondents also said 'more needs to be done' – what needs to be done to make sport safer, fairer and more inclusive?
4. Results from our online survey show that sport builds 'belonging', 'trust', 'respect' and 'self esteem'. What do you think are the most important things that sport can do for a person?
5. Do you think that sport is inclusive for Indigenous peoples/for people from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CaLD) backgrounds? How?
6. Do you think that sport plays a role in breaking down barriers and reducing discrimination for Indigenous peoples/for people from CaLD backgrounds? How?
7. Do you think that racism in sport is an issue? What more could be done to address this?
8. For all sport's positive aspects there are a range of issues which impact negatively on it, such as racism, gender-based discrimination, homophobia, bullying, drug and alcohol use, aggressive and violent behaviour. Are these issues in sport reflective of wider societal behaviours, ethics and norms or is the sporting 'culture' unique?

9. Is sport a suitable domain for encouraging debate and promoting cultural change on these issues?
10. Do you think that sport has a wider role to play in promoting social inclusion and reconciliation? How?
11. Finally, tell me the best thing you have seen sport do for a community?

APPENDIX 5

Stage Three (Focus groups)

The following interview questions were composed for the third stage – the two focus group interviews:

1. Why do you think sport is so important in Australia?
2. With the online survey, 35 percent said that was the determining factor - how 'safe, fair and inclusive' sport was. Do you think that is a high or low percentage, and are you surprised by that figure?
3. Do you think sport is doing more now to work on their culture?
4. Do you think this is aimed at attracting new participants, satisfying sponsors, to reflect the demographic of the Australian community or to meet public expectation? And does it matter?
5. Sport is made up of volunteers who are trying to get people to participate and have fun. They're also being asked to implement CaLD and Indigenous programs. Is too much being asked of sport these days?
6. Do issues in sport reflect those in society, or is sport its own heightened sub-culture?
7. Do you think sport is a suitable domain for pushing forward debate on social problems and trying to promote positive social change?
8. Why does sport cop such a bad rap (more so than other areas) when something wrong happens?
9. Tell me the best thing you've seen sport do for a person or do for a community?