

**‘Now that they’re here, we just have to deal with it’:
Exploring how volunteers enact intellectual disability
within community sports clubs in Melbourne, Australia**

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Abstract

This thesis explores how volunteers within community sports clubs engage with diversity work, in the form of intellectual disability. Volunteers are the central spine to many sports clubs in western societies and the delivery of sporting provision is placed upon them. They are further faced with growing ambitions in delivering an array of social outcomes such as social and cultural diversity. The capacity of voluntary sports clubs to deliver such ambitious agendas is contested. This thesis argues that volunteers do not see their job as doing diversity work, specifically in the form of intellectual disability. This is because many community sports clubs value able-bodied performance and winning, and view their core business as fielding teams for competition.

This thesis presents findings from a ten-month ethnographic study to explore how volunteers in one community sports club in Melbourne, Australia, engaged with diversity work by fielding two cricket teams for athletes with an intellectual disability. I drew upon diversity management literature and Sara Ahmed's (2006; 2006b; 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009; 2012; 2017) numerous studies on diversity work in institutional life as the basis for my conceptual framework.

The results showed that only a few select volunteers at the club engaged in diversity work by volunteering with two specialist teams for athletes with an intellectual disability. These teams were referred to as the 'All Abilities' teams. Further, volunteers committed to promoting diversity at the club met various forms of resistance within the club. The capacity to address diversity issues was influenced by the attitudes of key volunteers within the club and the availability of volunteers willing to engage in diversity work. Volunteers committed to implementing diversity policies and programs reported feeling unsupported, overburdened and, at times, burned out. The thesis concludes with practical recommendations and considerations for community sports volunteers in delivering diversity efforts around intellectual disability.

Statement of Originality

I, Ryan Peter Storr, declare that the PhD thesis titled “‘Now they’re here, we just have to deal with it’”: Exploring how volunteers enact disability diversity within community sports clubs in Melbourne, Australia’ is no more than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliographies, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.



Ryan Storr

14 November 2017

Statement of Authority of Access

I, Ryan Peter Storr, author of this thesis titled “‘Now they’re here, we just have to deal with it’: Exploring how volunteers enact disability diversity within community sports clubs in Melbourne, Australia’, submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, agree that this thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying and communication in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968.

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List of Acronyms

AA	All Abilities
ASC	Australian Sports Commission
ARC	Australian Research Council
CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
NSO	National Sporting Organisation
SSO	State Sporting Organisation
RSCC	Royal Stakesby Cricket Club
WDCL	Woolworths Disability Cricket League

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Prologue

Diversity work can be defined as ‘actions that are aimed at creating greater diversity of members from various backgrounds in formal and informal organizational structures’ (Spaaij et al., 2016: 3). Diversity work is needed when a player cannot afford the five-dollar fee to participate. Diversity work is the challenge of players navigating how to get to the train station at 7am for a match when they live on the other side of the city. Diversity work is working out how to get to the train station with no car. Diversity work is when a player brings their new boyfriend to a match and flaunts him in the face of the ex-partner also on the team, who suffers from depression. Diversity work is when a player cannot play sport without their carer or mother. Diversity work is when a player’s Centrelink payment has not come through and they cannot afford their rent.

Diversity work is banning a player’s partner from attending home matches because they hit another player with a cricket bat. Diversity work is receiving a call at 4am the night before a match because a player is already at the oval. Diversity work is being abused by an aggravated player who argues that their partner is not getting enough play on the field because you put your son on instead. Diversity work is when a 45-year-old woman with Down Syndrome tells you that playing cricket is the highlight of her week. Diversity work is comforting players when their parents have passed away. Diversity work is watching your players compete and win their grand final. Diversity work is messy work. Diversity work is hard work. Diversity work is rewarding work.

Chapter 1
Diversity, Community Sport and Volunteering in Australia

MISGUIDED DRIVE FOR DIVERSITY IS SENDING US HEADLONG OFF A CLIFF



Miranda Devine

March 1, 2017 12:00am

Subscriber only



Figure 1: Miranda Devine, *The Daily Telegraph*, 1/3/2017

Rita Panahi

AFL should stop politics and just play the game

Rita Panahi, Herald Sun
August 10, 2015 12:00am
Subscriber only

THE AFL has to decide whether it wants to be Australia's premier sporting code or a vehicle for "socially progressive" change.

Figure 2: Rita Panahi, *The Herald Sun*, 10/ 7/ 2015

Introduction

This thesis explores how volunteers within a community sports club in Melbourne, Australia, enact diversity. More specifically, it documents a ten-month ethnographic study in which a group of volunteers at one community cricket club engaged with intellectual disability as a form of diversity, by fielding two specialist cricket teams for athletes with a disability. The focus of my research is on volunteers, as it is volunteers who run community sports clubs and enact diversity on a daily basis. Volunteers as a sole unit of enquiry have been absent within diversity in community sport scholarship. In this chapter, I provide a background and overview of my study, by examining the current climate surrounding diversity within community sport and positioning my research within a recent focus on diversity within sport participation policies in Victoria. Diversity is complex and nuanced; however, within the context of this

thesis I consider intellectual disability as the form of diversity. I discuss the role of volunteers in delivering diversity efforts, in creating opportunities and sustaining participation in sport for athletes with an intellectual disability. I then provide a statement of significance for my research in identifying the rationale for my study and the associated research questions this thesis addresses. I outline my central thesis argument that centres on the contested role of volunteers within wider community sport debates and then build on this throughout my thesis. I end the chapter with an overview of each chapter within this thesis.

Background

The current climate surrounding diversity within contemporary Australia is one fraught with tensions, controversies and emotions. The above headlines (Figures 1 and 2) from several media sources in Australia demonstrate some of the discussions that have captivated and engaged a national audience surrounding the celebration and condemnation of diversity within the Australian sporting landscape. As the headlines demonstrate, the intersections of sport and diversity can be controversial. Spaaij (2013b) noted that cultural and ethnic diversity, specifically, remain politicised in Australia and that sport is not immune to such politics. How these discussions and controversies filter down from the national sporting environment to local grassroots sporting communities is relatively unknown. How local community sports clubs and the volunteers who run these clubs respond to increased diversity is also under-explored. Questions around what diversity means for community sports clubs and the expectations surrounding what club volunteers should be doing in the diversity space are central to debates within grassroots communities and participation sport. This thesis engages with such debates in exploring how volunteers within community sports clubs engage with diversity work. I explore how volunteers within community sports clubs attempt to provide sporting provision and opportunities for diverse individuals within the context of their local communities.

Volunteers are the central spine of many sports clubs in western societies, with the delivery of sporting provision placed upon them. The critical contribution of and reliance on volunteers within the sports industry within Australia and worldwide is well documented (Cuskelly, Hoyer & Auld, 2006; Downward & Ralston, 2006; Baum & Lockstone, 2007; Breuer, Wicker & Von Hanau, 2012). Recently, the volunteering literature has begun to focus on community sports clubs (Cuskelly, 2004; Hoyer et al., 2009; Misener & Doherty, 2009) and the mounting expectations placed upon them by sporting bodies and governments in delivering an array of

sporting and social outcomes such as social cohesion and community development (Harris, Mori & Collins, 2009; Nichols et al., 2013).

The capacity of voluntary sports clubs to deliver such ambitious agendas is often met with resistance and places added pressure on an already overburdened voluntary workforce (Nichols et al., 2005; Nichols & Taylor, 2010; Nichols et al., 2013; Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2011). Community sports clubs and their volunteers often feel skeptical delivering government objectives owing to their lack of resources and organisational capacity (Spaaij, 2013a), and often resist implementing top-down approaches concerned with sport policy (May, Harris & Collins, 2013). Stenling and Fahlen (2016) document that community sporting clubs in Sweden identify their core business as playing their sport and facilitating individuals to do so, and question the extent to which community sports clubs can act as policy implementers for government policy. Diversity is one such agenda and policy area that has attracted much political and government investment in western societies. In Australia, this is reflected in recent national sport policy.

The key aim of the recent Australian Government sporting policy, 'Australian Sport: The Pathway to Success', is to increase participation for people from diverse backgrounds. 'The Australian government is committed to ensuring sporting opportunities are safe, fun and inclusive for all our community members and to supporting sport to ensure that our nation's diversity is reflected in participation' (Australian Government, 2010: 3). Further, a recent report by the Australian Sports Commission titled 'Cultural Diversity and the Role of Sport' states that with one in four Australians born overseas, 'sports participation in Australia should be as equally culturally diverse and representative' (Australian Sports Commission, 2015: 2). It is noted that this is no longer the most recent National Government policy, with the announcement of the development of a 'National Sports Plan'.

However, policies directed at dealing with diversity issues are not well implemented within grassroots sports in Australia, with many clubs opting to pursue sporting excellence and performance goals over inclusion and diversity (Spaaij et al., 2013; 2016). Further, many community sports clubs do not see diversity as part of their core business (Jeanes et al., 2017). This has resulted in much uncertainty surrounding the role of community sports clubs in delivering policy and programs that aim to promote greater diversity in sport participation in local communities across Australia. Diversity is a buzzword within sporting circles

(Cunningham, 2008; Spaaij, Magee & Jeanes, 2014). However, as Ahmed (2012: 60) notes, 'as a new word, diversity is a buzzword, in the sense of a buzz it may cancel out the other noise such as racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination'. The noise from discrimination has on occasions been amplified through sport within Australia.

Recent debates within academic literature surrounding community sports clubs have discussed their role in delivering services and programs beyond sport participation. Authors have critically examined the role of voluntary sports clubs in local communities, showing that clubs often view social welfare objectives as beyond their responsibility or capacity (Stenling, 2014; Wicker & Breur, 2014; Stenling & Fahlen, 2016; Jeanes et al., 2017). Referencing data from a Sport England report, Coalter (2007a) draws attention to the lack of agency some clubs may experience in response to delivering specific social welfare agendas. In an interview with a competitive swimming club, a committee member elaborates:

At the end of the day we are a competitive swimming club. We are not a community or social group. We are not here to look after (the disadvantaged), although we will help where we can, we are not in a position to arrange transport; we are not in a position to reduce their fees. We will train people that want to train, but we cannot be used as a social service organisation (Sport England, 2003: 21).

This somewhat limited and performance-focused perspective highlights how the competitive nature of organised sport can be problematic and contested, with uncertainty on the exact role sports clubs should play in communities. I further these discussions by examining diversity work within the context of voluntary sports clubs. My thesis develops the argument that volunteers in community sports clubs do not see diversity work as their job, rather, they see fielding teams for competition as their core business. This provides the foundations to my central thesis argument, which is provided later in this chapter.

Sport and Diversity within Victoria

Melbourne is described as a city with rich diversity, with residents from 140 nations (City of Melbourne, 2015). Rapid socio-demographic changes across Melbourne's communities have meant the social landscape has changed, and this has a significant impact on the sporting landscape also. Within greater Melbourne, one in four Australian residents was born overseas and 68% of the residents in the CBD were migrants in 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2014). Increased migration brings greater social diversity also, with the flourishing of

different social groups and different religions, cultures and languages. The impacts of these changes on the social landscape and how they affect community sport are relatively unknown and how, specifically, volunteers are responding to and engaging with these changes. Improving participation within culturally and socially diverse groups is a key priority for the Australian government.

Melbourne is home to a range of international sporting events including the Australian Open Tennis Grand Slam and the Formula One Grand Prix. The latest strategic framework for sport and active recreation by the Victorian Government makes reference to the importance of sport to the cultural fabric of society. 'Sport and recreation is an integral part of Victoria's social and economic life. It is an essential part of our culture and our sense of identity' (Department of Health and Human Services, 2017a: 4). Current estimates identify that in Victoria there are 3.25 million participants in sport and active recreation, and 9,500 community sport facilities. Of particular significance within the context of my study are the 16,000 sports clubs and 58,000 volunteers in sport and recreation in Victoria who sustain current levels of participation across a wide range of sports. A key challenge discussed in the Department of Health and Human Services (2017b) discussion paper, however, was how to sustain and accommodate for future demand. For example, the discussion paper states that the Victorian population is expected to double during the next four decades and that sport needs to engage the diversity of the changing population. It states:

Victoria's population will almost double in the next four decades. Maintaining current levels of participation, without addressing the standard of facilities, equitable access, or the diversity of users, will require additional sport and recreation programs and infrastructure for an extra 2.8 million people. Our population will also be older and more diverse than today (Department of Health and Human Services, 2017a: 34).

Research and participation trends suggest that sport participation is not representative of the Australia population (Australian Sports Commission, 2015). Data that documents the rates of participation in diverse communities is scarce; however, recent data from Eime et al. (2016) shows that rural and regional areas in Victoria have higher participation rates than metropolitan regions, and there are gender differences whereby rates of males are higher than females.

Data shows that participation rates within diverse communities, including people with a disability, are considerably lower than the Victorian average. Figure Three shows current participation estimates in sport in Victoria.

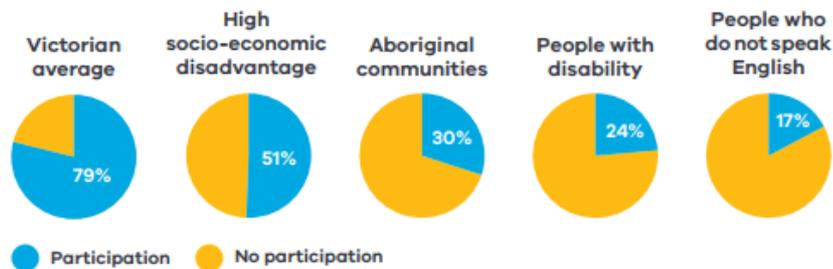


Figure 3: Levels of participation in sport and recreation in Victoria (Source: Department of Health and Human Services, 2017b).

Moreover, the Victorian Government has also recently announced its commitment to driving women’s sport participation by investing over \$10 million into creating Victoria’s first Office for Women in Sport and Recreation. The funding allocation includes investment in female friendly facilities, educational and cultural change initiatives. It can be concluded, therefore, that diversity is a central theme in policy and practice within Victoria, demonstrated through the Victorian State Government and the State and National Sporting Associations.

How this policy rhetoric translates to local communities, however, is relatively unknown and is a central focus of this thesis. Recent research into how community sports clubs respond to increased diversity suggests that clubs are not confident in engaging with diversity, and diversity efforts are often haphazard and opportunistic (Spaaij et al., 2013; 2016; Jeanes et al., 2017). Further, they report that the business case for diversity is the dominant facet to diversity management within these clubs. The business case for diversity is underpinned by economic reasoning and is based on the assumption that diversity of members can increase organisational output and revenue (Spaaij et al., 2013). The voluntary nature of community sports clubs provides a unique case for investigation; whereas some sports clubs may adopt diversity management from a business case perspective to increase revenue and productivity, voluntary sports clubs are not seeking to make a profit and are in operation to break even (Robinson, 2010).

Sports clubs also need other clubs to compete against to operate within a league structure; therefore, the principles of business and competition in this context are arguably redundant. Moreover, individuals from diverse backgrounds and communities are ‘key sources of players, fans, officials, coaches, administrators, and volunteers’; therefore, they are paramount in increasing participation within Australia and Australia’s sporting infrastructure (Australian Sports Commission, 2015: 2). Alternatively, with links to altruism and civic activity, it could be assumed that voluntary sports clubs may adopt the social justice perspective within diversity management and view the adoption of diversity within an ideology of civic responsibility and as the ‘right thing to do’. This is especially pertinent for the most vulnerable and marginalised members of Australian society, i.e. those individuals with a disability (Commonwealth of Australia, 2009).

A report for the Australian Sports Commission highlights that ‘on average, people with a disability are fifteen per cent less likely to participate in sport and active recreation than the general population’ (Darcy et al., 2011: 4). Increasing participation in sport for people with a disability sits within national and state policy goals, and recently there have been more opportunities for athletes with an intellectual disability, in particular, to engage in sport. The Department of Health (2011) estimated that 3% of the Australian population have an intellectual disability. In this context, Hammond, Leahy and Jeanes (2015: 207) contend, ‘Considering the policy hopes for increasing, and ensuring, participation, there is a need to develop programs and practices that can help government realise these hopes’. This thesis explores such programs and how volunteers implement these programs within the context of their community sports clubs, which enables participation amongst athletes with an intellectual disability. Exploring the interplay between diversity and volunteering is important in understanding if and how diversity is taken up and adopted by community sports clubs, and within the context of my study how a club engages with intellectual disability as a form of diversity.

Volunteers and Diversity Work in Community Sport

Findings worldwide including from the UK, Canada, the Netherlands and Australia have identified that it is primarily volunteers within community sports clubs who deliver diversity efforts or, as Ahmed (2012) states, who do ‘diversity work’. Spaaij et al. (2016; 3) defined diversity work as ‘actions that are aimed at creating greater diversity of members from various backgrounds in formal and informal organisational structures’. Within the context of

community sport, diversity work can come in several forms: multicultural programs using sport as an integrative tool for recently arrived migrants, disability sport programs aimed at increasing activity levels amongst deaf and blind people and the development of a junior girl's sport team, which seeks to promote harmony and respect towards women.

Central to these diversity efforts and programs aimed at introducing or increasing diversity within clubs is the availability of a voluntary workforce and committed individuals. Those volunteers who push for diversity within clubs and organisations are referred to as diversity champions (Melton & Cunningham, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2016). However, within the sport and diversity literature, often these diversity champions can be employees within organisations, which means that although they may be committed to the diversity cause, they are paid to be. The key difference between much of the management literature and this thesis is that within this thesis, and scholarship on the voluntary sector more broadly, diversity champions within community sports clubs are predominately volunteers. Further, they are usually core volunteers who have to balance several roles and responsibilities (Ringuet-Riot et al., 2014). This is an important point and demonstrates the level of commitment by volunteers to push forward with diversity efforts, even when they are not paid.

Volunteers committed to implementing and delivering diversity efforts within sport clubs are an extremely unique and niche set of volunteers. Volunteering literature demonstrates that certain types of volunteers, especially niche volunteers, can be grouped together (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2015) such as those people who volunteer at mega events for the excitement and to be part of something. Volunteers are also of paramount importance to National Sporting Organisations (NSO) and State Sporting Organisations (SSO) as they ultimately deliver diversity policy on the ground in local communities and are key agents in increasing participation within diverse groups. This means that a more nuanced understanding of whom these diversity volunteers are, their motivations, behaviours and experiences is required. Without these volunteers who engage in diversity work, participation for diverse groups would simply not happen.

In joining conversations around diversity within community sport, I use volunteer narratives in my research and focus on the volunteers within clubs. This is in contrast to the majority of literature that reports on the player experiences within sport and the processes of inclusion and exclusion within sporting environments. Little to no attention has been directed to the volunteer

experience within diversity debates and, when it has, these voices are embedded within clubs and not heard as a sole research agenda in their own right. Volunteers are crucial within these debates, however, and often volunteers are absent from conversations or consultation around diversity issues. By hearing the volunteers' voices, we can begin to understand the opportunities and challenges for sports clubs, which are predominately run by volunteers.

However, within the context of delivering external policy goals linked to participation, there are growing tensions within community sports clubs and volunteers. Three key areas of tension emerge from recent literature. First, clubs find themselves in a potentially conflicting position of either embracing diversity and the inclusion of all club members in their teams based on fairness and equality (regardless of playing ability or years at the club) or, complementary to the competitive nature of sport, opting to pursue excellence and team success at the expense of diversity and inclusion (Spaaij et al., 2013). These tensions are also present in findings from Coalter (2007a) who reported that in the UK, some sports clubs specifically did not want to be used as a social service organisation and that clubs were not in operation to look after the disadvantaged, but to train athletes who were striving for sporting success.

Second, many volunteers feel it is beyond their duties and capabilities to implement sport policy in general (Garrett, 2004; Nichols & James, 2008; Harris, Mori & Collins, 2009), not just those concerned with diversity. A survey, although over a decade old, demonstrated that only 12% of sports clubs were aware of policies aimed at encouraging cultural diversity (Taylor, 2003). Many clubs face the pressure of staying afloat in a tough economic climate, which is regulated by red tape and funding shortages; therefore, addressing diversity issues and policies may be too much for many volunteers. Findings from Sweden also suggest that voluntary sports clubs are often used to implement policies around participation and inclusion, although often these clubs view their core activities as providing opportunities to play and compete in competitive sport (Stenling & Fahlen, 2016).

Finally, within sports clubs there are suggestions of tensions between club members who volunteer and those who do not, and the obligations and expectations held by some that all members should contribute their time by volunteering to the club (Ringuet-Riot et al., 2014). This is illustrated by many Victorian community sports clubs, whereby many state that all parents are required to help with match day responsibilities. Yet, individuals may not have the time or resources to be able to volunteer and in some countries, there are different cultures of

volunteering in the western sense of the term, whereby volunteering can mean different things and be performed in a variety of ways and activities (Junek, 2014). This wider issue of being required to ‘help out’ and to volunteer has implications both theoretically and practically with volunteering viewed as an ‘un-coerced and freely chosen activity’. This also has repercussions in recruiting volunteers to assist with diversity efforts within clubs.

Lockstone-Binney et al. (2015) drew attention to this paradox, within the context of mega event volunteering, and questioned whether all individuals were really there to volunteer and ‘help out’. They argued that some individuals might volunteer to access certain perks or for their own self-interest. Within the context of my research, this also poses an important point of departure. We must consider and critically explore the extent to which volunteers within community sports clubs view their volunteer duties as helping the wider community and being committed to diversity, or viewing their volunteering as assisting their child’s sporting endeavours or, alternatively, because there is a normative expectation to provide sporting opportunities for a diverse group of individuals. I build on this argument within this thesis by examining why volunteers may not view diversity work as work they should be undertaking within the context of their community sports club. However, much of the work in the quest for equality and inclusion by non-governmental agencies and independent charities is delivered via a network of volunteers. Furthermore, both volunteering and sport are seen as key avenues to enable individuals to become active members of their communities, potentially addressing widely reported issues associated with social cohesion and racial/religious tensions (Australian Sports Commission, 2015).

Statement of Significance

Giving Australia, a Government funded national survey, reported that in 2016, 43.7% of Australia adults volunteered (Department of Social Services, 2016). On average, people volunteered for 134 hours over the course of a twelve-month period, which was approximately two and a half hours a week. Primary and secondary education was the largest area people volunteered in, equating to 21% of volunteers. Sport was the second biggest area people volunteered at 20%, which is consistent with other national surveys in the UK and Germany (Nichols et al., 2016). It is hard to ascertain the current rate of volunteerism within community sport in Australia because ABS data reduced its capacity and frequency from 2010 and there have been no recent national studies similar to the 2003 Sport England’s study into volunteering in sport (Leisure Industries Research Centre, 2003).

National volunteer data from both the Giving Australia survey, and the UK's Community Life Survey showed that volunteering rates have increased in the past decade, but the amount of time that people are volunteering has decreased considerably (Department of Social Services, 2016; Office for National Statistics, 2017). This has important insights as the contribution to the national economy via volunteering has also decreased. It is not clear from both data sets around the level of volunteering and contributions in sport, although both sets of data do suggest that volunteering in sport is the single most activity that people volunteer in. Community sports clubs experience difficulties recruiting and retaining volunteers within Australia and other parts of the western world (Cuskelly, 2004; Cuskelly et al., 2006).

Voluntary sports clubs also face an increasing pressure to professionalise and respond to bureaucratic red tape (Nichols & Taylor, 2010), which means that the voluntary sport sector is strained. A report in the UK by the Sport and Recreation Alliance (2011) entitled 'Red Card to Red Tape – How sports clubs want to break free from bureaucracy' identified numerous regulatory burdens that sports clubs and their volunteers experienced. Painting a considerably bleak picture, the report highlighted a plethora of issues including data protection, coaching qualifications, health and safety legislation, insurance needs, taxation, facilities funding, criminal records bureau and safeguarding procedures. Interestingly, diversity was not presented as a burden or issue in the report. This may lead researchers and sport practitioners to assume that diversity and inclusion is being implemented and managed effectively within clubs. However, findings within Australia suggest otherwise (Spaaij et al., 2013).

The key body of literature informing my research is the Australian and international community sport volunteering literature, especially the work conducted by researchers from Griffith University in Queensland (Cuskelly, 2004; Nichols et al., 2005; Cuskelly, Hoye & Auld, 2006; Engelberg, Skinner & Zakus, 2013; Wicker & Hallmann, 2013; Ringuet-Riot et al., 2014). The existing body of research is primarily quantitative and shaped within a management framework, which has drawn strong criticism outside the management field, e.g. 'Management theory is often applied and adapted to the volunteer without sufficient regard to the differences between volunteering and employment' (Schultz, Nichols & Auld, 2011: 440). I explore volunteer experiences of undertaking diversity work through a sociological interpretive lens, to add to an area within the sport volunteering literature where contributions

have been scant. When a sociological lens has been applied previously to study volunteers in sport, social capital has been the dominant theoretical approach (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). The present study, therefore, will be one of the first to research volunteers as a sociological study in their own right and explore their experiences of performing diversity work within the community sport setting. Researchers have directed attention to the important role volunteers play within community sport and diversity (Hanlon & Coleman, 2006; Spaaij et al., 2013; Jeanes et al., 2017); however, no research has utilised the sport volunteer as the primary focus or unit of analysis with regards to diversity.

Theoretically, this thesis will contribute to current areas that bridge the voluntary and diversity literature and explore the intersections of both to understand how volunteers engage with diversity work. First, my research contributes to the critical diversity literature in exploring how diversity is experienced in the community sport setting. Conceptual discussions within the area of critical diversity studies have been concerned with exploring the extent to which the business case and social justice case for diversity can coexist within voluntary organisations. The business case approach underpinning diversity management has dominated scholarship within the field (Litvin, 1997; Kirton & Greene, 2010; Hays-Thomas, 2004; Sinclair, 2006; Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2008). Moreover, Tomlinson and Schwabenland (2010: 88) posited that, ‘the tension between the business case and social justice approaches forms a crucial point of debate in the diversity and equality field’.

In the wider contextual picture, scholarship directs us to a ‘what’s in it for me’ mentality, when people choose to volunteer their time in current western societies. An example pertinent to my research are parents who volunteer at their children’s sport club, primarily motivated by their children’s participation rather than the wider community benefit. A Scottish study found that some parents from community rugby clubs abused their power and volunteer positions to get their children selected for certain teams and receive preferential treatment in the allocation of training squads based on times and days (Whittaker & Holland-Smith, 2014). This has important repercussions for diversity in understanding volunteer commitment and their attitudes and behaviours towards diversity within their own clubs.

For those community sports clubs who do engage with diversity, it is important to understand the nature of the commitment towards it amongst volunteers. Volunteers are the ones who deliver sporting provision for diverse communities and are the ones who engage with diversity

work. Whether diversity becomes institutionalised and adopted as part of a club's core business and everyday practices has been a central theoretical and practical discussion point in recent scholarship on diversity within community sport (Spaaij et al., 2016; Jeanes et al., 2017). Therefore, exploring how diversity can become institutionalised and something that clubs engage with automatically is a central debate within contemporary debates in critical diversity scholarship in community sport.

Volunteering within the community sport and diversity literature is evident; however, a key observation is that volunteering as a unit of analysis or research agenda is not specifically addressed. Volunteering is discussed in relation to the voluntary nature of many sports clubs and the role that volunteers play in delivering sport at the grassroots level, but sport volunteers and how they deliver sporting provision in a diverse society has not attracted academic scrutiny. In the UK, research has briefly documented the role of voluntary sports clubs, not solely volunteers, in delivering national sporting policy objectives linked to increasing participation (Garrett, 2004; Harris, Mori & Collins, 2009).

Moreover, key influential researchers in the UK stipulate that the sporting environment needs to be safe and welcoming for migrant communities in their localities (Long et al., 2011; Spraklen, Long & Hylton, 2015). Therefore, understanding how volunteers within clubs can make these sporting spaces safe, welcoming and inclusive is paramount. Research identifying the experiences of volunteers in the delivery of social welfare objectives such as social inclusion and diversity, however, is scant. Scholarly work from authors such as Coalter (2007b) and Spaaij (2013b) highlight the significance of volunteers in the delivery of social welfare agendas and, as a research subject within this context, they require more academic scrutiny. I therefore developed a series of research questions.

Research Questions and Aims

After reviewing the key bodies of literature surrounding voluntary sports clubs and diversity, the research questions were created to identify the key areas that have not been addressed in the literature. The research questions and associated methodology were constructed in response to critical diversity scholarship and the lack of attention towards diversity within the sport volunteering literature. Therefore, the overarching research question for this thesis is:

How do volunteers within community sports clubs enact intellectual disability diversity?

The study involved participation of a community cricket club in Melbourne, Australia. This cricket club will be referred to by the pseudonym of Royal Stakesby Cricket Club (RSCC) from here on in. The associated sub-questions are:

- *What are the institutional diversity practices at RSCC?*
- *What are the experiences of those volunteers committed to diversity work at RSCC?*
- *Why do some volunteers at RSCC engage in diversity work while others do not?*

The research questions combine both theoretical and practical considerations to assist volunteers in line with critical research, which seeks to contribute to positive social change. I now provide an overview of the structure of my thesis.

Structure of Thesis

This thesis reports on a ten-month ethnographic study with one community sport club over one season in Victoria, Australia. I volunteered at a community cricket club and with two specialist teams for athletes with an intellectual disability. This thesis explores the experiences of those volunteers who ran and managed the teams of athletes with a disability, and how the club engaged with diversity through creating two new teams for athletes with a disability. The two cricket teams for athletes with an intellectual disability are referred to as All Abilities teams (AA). I report on how intellectual disability diversity, via the AA teams, was introduced to the club I volunteered with. Further, I critically examine how the club engaged with intellectual disability as a form of diversity and efforts by key volunteers to make diversity part of the club's core business and to institutionalise diversity. I discuss attempts to institutionalise diversity and some of the resistance to these attempts. In doing so, I draw upon diversity management, and the work of critical diversity scholar and feminist Sara Ahmed (2006a; 2006b; 2007a; 2007b; 2012; 2017) and her numerous writings on diversity in institutional life as my theoretical framework.

The central argument developed in this thesis is that volunteers do not see their job as performing diversity work within the context of their local community sports club. For many community sports clubs, their core business is focused on fielding teams for competition

(Stenling & Fahlen, 2016). Although some forms of diversity have been shown to contribute to a community sports club's operations and core business, such as cultural and gender diversity (Spaaij et al., 2016), disability as a form of diversity has received less attention within scholarship on diversity within community sport (Misener & Darcy, 2014). Further, how intellectual disability specifically can be applied within the business case for diversity to community sports clubs has received little attention. Outside of sport, authors such as Woodhams and Danieli (2000) have drawn attention to the problematic application of the business case to employees with a disability in the workplace, suggesting that organisations might perceive the costs of making adaptations to outweigh the contributions of the employees with a disability. Similarly, the authors contend that implementing a managing diversity approach to disability equality in the workplace is more at the 'level of rhetoric than reality' (Woodhams & Danieli, 2000: 414).

Therefore, my central thesis argument builds on current debates within the community sport literature by arguing that clubs that focus and prioritise able-bodied performance do not see intellectual disability in particular as something they should be dealing with. This is primarily because they do not perceive it as contributing to their core business and because intellectual disability operates differently from other types of diversity. My research shows that the club under investigation in this thesis did not value intellectual disability as a form of diversity, and thus largely did not engage in diversity work or provide any structures to support those volunteers who were committed to diversity work. Therefore, the club recruited volunteers external to the club to undertake diversity work on the club's behalf. I build on my central thesis statement in each chapter to answer my research questions.

After providing the context and background to my thesis, in Chapters two and three I discuss the main bodies of literature associated with intellectual disability diversity and community sport. These chapters outline the key pieces of research and scholarship that inform my research and help construct my research questions for my study. I discuss three key bodies of literature: volunteering, sport and diversity, specifically intellectual disability diversity. I discuss the intersections of these three areas and how this intersection informs my research and its design. I focus on volunteering within community sports clubs and literature that documents diversity within community sport, in relation to intellectual disability diversity. Much literature has focused on the experiences of individuals from diverse communities (for example, culturally and linguistically diverse participants, women and people with a disability), but less has

focused on those volunteers who enable this participation (Fitzgerald & Lang, 2009; Jeanes et al., 2017).

I contribute to scholarship by exploring the experiences of volunteers who deliver diversity efforts and engage in diversity work, adding a volunteer lens to current diversity debates in sport. I provide an overview of the literature pertaining to volunteering with athletes with an intellectual disability in community sport. The narrowest part of my review of the literature refers to individuals who volunteer in disability sport at the community grassroots level with athletes with an intellectual disability. Volunteering in this sense is critical as it facilitates the participation of athletes with an intellectual disability in sport. Contributions to this literature have been scant. I finish Chapter three with an overview of my theoretical framework, which draws upon diversity management and on Ahmed's (2006; 2007; 2012; 2017) writings on diversity in institutional life.

Chapter four is my methodology chapter, whereby I provide the methodological underpinning my research. I adopt an interpretive ethnographic approach, using a case study design of one community sport club. I discuss my methodological approach, and methods employed to collect data. The next four chapters include my main results and discussion. I have structured my results and discussions chapters around my overarching research question and associated three sub-questions. Where possible, I present my data in chronological order. I spent ten months with one community sport club; therefore, I present the results and discussions in this way to thread the narrative and explain my time spent with the club, and how intellectual disability as a form of diversity was introduced to the club.

In Chapter five, I discuss the diversity practices at RSCC and the reasons why this club engaged in diversity. I discuss both internal and external influences that contributed to RSCC's decision to engage with diversity, and the politics associated with trying to bring diversity into a club, characterised by homophilic ties based on sameness and a homogenous membership base. Diversity practices at RSCC involved relying and allocating diversity to fall to one diversity champion, named Robert. Chapter six explores the experiences of those volunteers committed to diversity work. In addition to myself, three other individuals volunteered with two teams of athletes with an intellectual disability. The chapter reports on our experiences of undertaking diversity work at RSCC. Of particular importance is the type of diversity work that volunteers engaged in at RSCC. Intellectual disability is a unique and specialist type of diversity work;

therefore, my results report on this type of diversity work. There were unique challenges associated with volunteering with athletes with an intellectual disability, and I discuss how these challenges were navigated by volunteers and complemented by a range of rewards that they reported.

Chapter seven builds upon my central thesis argument in exploring why some volunteers engaged with diversity work and others did not. There was a chronic shortage of volunteers to assist with the AA teams throughout the season, and I spend the duration of the chapter exploring the reasons for the lack of engagement in diversity work. A number of studies document the current pressures on community sport volunteers, but my data reports an alternative narrative to the lack of engagement in diversity work, in that volunteers did not see diversity as the club's job. I used data to demonstrate how diversity was often discussed and celebrated as something that added value at RSCC; however, there was also unwillingness by several volunteers to support their positive words with actions and volunteer with the AA teams.

Chapter eight provides an overall discussion for my three results chapters, drawing together my results and answering my research questions. I explain how diversity was enacted by volunteers at RSCC, and why diversity work was carried out by only four volunteers. My final chapter, Chapter nine, provides an overall conclusion to my thesis, drawing together the four results and discussion chapters. I finish with outlining my key contributions to both theory, and policy and practice. I provide some recommendations for future research and some practical recommendations for sport clubs, State and National Sporting Associations, and individuals and organisations within sport who wish to engage in diversity work.

Chapter 2

Volunteering, Community Sport and Diversity

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant literature associated with this thesis. My research encapsulates three broad areas of literature: volunteering, community sport and diversity. I present a synthesis of literature in two parts throughout this chapter. In the first part, I discuss volunteerism in sport, specifically around voluntary sports clubs and the volunteers who run them. I start by discussing volunteering more broadly, before identifying some of the relevant literature around volunteering in sport. In the second part, I specifically discuss diversity within community sport, whereby I provide an overview of the relevant literature surrounding social and cultural diversity within community sport, within the context of community sports clubs. I analyse the role of volunteers and community sports clubs in delivering and engaging with diversity, where contributions to the literature have been scant.

Volunteering

Over the past two decades there has been growing interest, stemming from government rhetoric surrounding volunteering and civic engagement, documenting the role that volunteering can play in fostering concepts such as social capital and social cohesion amongst individuals and communities. Such assumed contributions to civil society have not gone unchallenged from scholars within the social sciences (Morgan, 2013). Volunteering differs across countries, with some cultures having a history of volunteering and it has been central to much government policy in many western nations. Australia is a unique case for discussion, as shown in a study by Oppenheimer (2008: 5) who stated that the Australian government historically has not taken a particular philosophical stance on volunteering, although declaring that Australia was a 'nation of volunteers'. Before the definition of volunteering is explored, a summary of the literature on volunteering in the broad context shall be provided, and how volunteering has come to the forefront of much political and social policy and discussion.

Volunteering is not a new concept, although it has attracted more critical attention in the 21st century (Low et al., 2007). Australia has a rich history of volunteering and, in the sporting arena, Davis Smith (2014) suggested that the rise in volunteering and centrality at the Olympic

and Paralympic Games has often been attributed to the 2000 Sydney Games, which was the first to utilise a substantial workforce of volunteers. In 2010, it was estimated that 36% of the Australian population volunteered, and the range of activities undertaken included sport and recreation, and community/welfare groups (ABS, 2010). Volunteering has attracted attention from a diverse range of researchers including the economic value and impacts of volunteering (Freeman, 1997), routes into the labour market and paid employment through volunteering (Corden & Ellis, 2004), and volunteer recruitment and retention in sport (Cuskelly, 2004; Nichols, 2004; Nichols et al., 2003; 2005).

A common problem when discussing volunteering is what volunteering actually means and how it is conceptualised. Scholars continue to struggle with how to accurately describe and measure volunteering, with Carson (1999: 68) suggesting that ‘developing an all-purpose definition of volunteering is nearly impossible’. Kendall and Knapp (1995) referred to volunteering as a ‘loose and baggy monster’ surrounding boundaries, definitions and typologies of volunteering, which suggests a negative connotation towards an ever-elusive definition. Authors confer in the need for a unified perspective on volunteering to avoid misleading volunteering policies, the exploitation of volunteers and muddled understandings of volunteering (Petriwskyj & Warburton, 2007).

The most widely used definition of volunteering in Australia derives from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2010:3): ‘Volunteers are people who freely chose to give their time to organisations or groups in the community for no monetary reward’. Similarly, Volunteering Australia (2015:2), the national peak body for volunteering, proposed a broad and encompassing definition of volunteering: ‘time willingly given for the common good, without financial gain’.

Rochester (2006) stated that there was a need for an inclusive but robust concept of volunteering. There appears to be different interpretations of volunteering evident from the literature, and ‘fuzzy boundaries’ between different conceptions. This is problematic as it may lead to different interpretations of volunteering and where the threshold lies for when a volunteer is not a volunteer. Handy et al. (2000) noted that the volunteering literature did not differentiate between informal and formal volunteering, and which particular activities belonged to both of these. Therefore, there is a need to distinguish between the different types of volunteer for data collection and legal implications. For the purpose of this PhD research,

the definition provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics Volunteers in Sport Report (2010) will be used: “A *volunteer is someone currently, willingly giving unpaid help in the form of time, service or skills, to a sports organisation, club or group*”. This definition is consistent with current definitions in the volunteering literature in that an individual gives his or her time, is helping a cause, is un-coerced and freely chosen, and receives no payment (Low, Butt, Ellis, & Davis Smith, 2007). I now focus on volunteering within sport.

Sport Volunteering

Overview

Australia has a longstanding tradition of sport and is often described as a sporting nation (Maxwell et al., 2014). The driving force behind this sporting nation is a network of volunteers who provide the resources required to sustain a robust and successful sporting infrastructure. From providing resources to major sporting events such as the Australian Open Tennis Grand Slam through to community sport coaches and club committee members, volunteers are of paramount importance within Australia. The scale of such contribution is reported in an extensive research portfolio, developed by a wide range of academics and scholars with a commitment to developing the field and improving the experience for organisations, clubs, agencies and their volunteers. Central to the development of sport volunteering research and interest in it is recent societal and structural changes that have resulted in a greater emphasis being placed upon the voluntary sector to deliver sporting provision.

Sport volunteering has experienced significant interest in the past decade, due to its extensive contribution to mega sporting events and the sporting infrastructure in countries worldwide (Taylor, Barrett & Nichols, 2009). Globally, the London 2012 Olympics utilised a voluntary workforce of approximately 70,000 volunteers (Nichols & Ralston, 2016). In Australia, sport volunteers comprise a quarter of all volunteers in the country and volunteer over 300 hours or more per year (Cuskelly, Hoye & Auld, 2006). Moreover, financially, the contribution of volunteers to the sport sector is of large magnitude. Within the UK, volunteers contribute 1.2 billion hours to sport each year, which is valued at over £14 billion and is the equivalent of 720,000 full-time equivalent jobs (Leisure Industries Research Centre, 2003).

Donnelly and Harvey (2011) identified three forms of volunteering in sport: major event volunteering such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games; grass roots and community sport in

the form of coaching, officiating and administration duties; and elite level sport volunteering such as officiating and physiotherapy/medical roles. Grassroots and community sport is the focus of this thesis, and it is this avenue that the majority of volunteering within sport takes place. Within this sport development framework, volunteering is extremely varied and there are several positions that individuals can adopt, with research identifying that many volunteers adopt several roles within their club (Nichols et al., 2005; Cuskelly, Hoye & Auld, 2006). Individuals can take on roles such as coaches; team captain, umpires/referees/officials; administrators; committee roles such as chairperson, treasurer or secretary; driving the club mini bus/players to matches; child protection and welfare officer; first aid officer and miscellaneous roles within the club such as serving drinks or food in the clubhouse and washing kit/storing equipment.

Scholars have recently stipulated that greater attention needs to be directed to the contribution of volunteers in sport and the sustainability of sporting infrastructure that is primarily held together by them. In the UK, 81% of sports coaches are identified as volunteers, and a Sport Nation Research Think Tank report stipulated the need to reconsider the number and role of volunteers within coaching specifically (Kay et al., 2008). This is based on the assumption that ‘national aspirations for success in sport are unlikely to be met unless coaching is underpinned by a larger core professional workforce’ (Kay et al., 2008: 3).

In Germany, one in three citizens is a member of a sport club, with the majority of the 90,000 sports clubs being not-for-profit (Wicker & Breur, 2011). Overall, it can be observed that the majority of publications concerned with volunteers in sport address the central role they play in western sporting infrastructures (Cuskelly, Hoye & Auld, 2006; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Breur, Wicker & von Hanau, 2012). A host of academics are in agreement in highlighting that the voluntary sector is the backbone of sport in the UK (Torkilsden, 2005; Weed et al., 2005; Gaskin, 2008). Government agencies such as the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) in Australia also echo similar sentiments in policy documents.

Sport Volunteering Literature

A considerable contribution to the literature on sport volunteering has stemmed from the UK, and the majority of research has been conducted from a management perspective, with Peter Taylor, Chris Gratton and colleagues at Sheffield Hallam’s Sport Industry Research Group and

Geoff Nichols producing considerable contributions to both the academic and sporting domains (Nichols et al., 1998; 1999; Papadimitriou and Taylor, 2000; Nichols et al., 2003; 2005; Nichols & Taylor, 2010; Nichols et al., 2013). It was the Sport Industry Research Group and their partner institutions that produced two national studies of volunteering in sport (Gratton et al., 1996; Leisure Industries Research Centre, 2003), funded by the British Sports Council and Sport England, respectively. Both projects mapped the scale and value of volunteering within England, demonstrating that volunteers play a critical role within English sport. However, the statistics regarding sport volunteering has been criticised. Fitzgerald and Lang (2009) argued that many of the large scale, national research studies (for example, Low et al., 2007) into voluntary activity involved random population surveys with little or no link to sport or where sport was only one of several contexts in which volunteering was assessed.

Most academic research has focused on topics associated with the management of volunteers in sport, stemming from a need to identify organisational effectiveness and how best to manage an unpaid workforce (cf. Cuskelly et al., 2006; Misener & Doherty, 2009). Key findings from these studies indicate that volunteer management is pivotal to the volunteer continuing their volunteer commitment, and the best recruitment strategies at large scale sports events include understanding the motivation of the volunteers. Studies pertaining to sport volunteering have identified volunteer motivation (Sharpe, 2003; Cuskelly, 2004; Bang, Won & Kim, 2009), adults' continued involvement in sport volunteering (Cuskelly, McIntyre & Boag, 1998; Cuskelly & O'Brien, 2013) and volunteer retention in community sport organisations (Cuskelly, 2004; Hoye et al., 2008) as key challenges. Additionally, studies have centred on volunteering at sports events (Downward, Lumsdon & Ralston, 2005; Baum & Lockstone; 2007; Fairley, Kellett & Green, 2007), voluntary sports clubs (Harris, Mori & Collins, 2009), and non-profit organisations (for a comprehensive review see Weed et al., 2005).

Of the three forms of sport volunteering previously identified by Donnelly and Harvey (2011), two of the three forms are not the central focus of this thesis; however, they are important to identify. Volunteers who provide support to elite level sport and athletes have failed to attract any significant attention amongst the academic community, possibly due to the wider impact that this type of volunteering may have on the community. Many volunteers provide specialist support in the form of medical services, physiotherapy and also as board and committee members. The dearth of literature surrounding elite level support volunteers provides further scope for future research in this area. The experience of elite level support volunteers may

differ significantly from other types of volunteers in sport, and ultimately how this experience is managed. The other form of sport volunteering is sport event volunteering.

It is commonly recognised and reported that the majority of sports events cannot run without volunteers (Cuskelly, 2004; Downward & Ralston, 2006; Fitzgerald & Lang, 2009; Smith et al., 2014; Lockstone-Binney et al., 2015). Nearly all major sporting events require an army of volunteers to deliver a successful event, with roles including officiating, scoring and technical roles ranging from taking measurements, directing spectators and car park attendants to holding medals during the medal ceremonies and performing in the opening and closing ceremonies. Much research in the last decade has addressed the role of volunteers in the delivery of major sporting events, primarily concerned with some of the key issues in managing such a large voluntary workforce (for an overview see Smith et al., 2014). Studies have shown that some of the key motives that people cite when volunteering at a major sporting event include being part of a unique event, meeting new people, developing skills and the often quoted anecdotal piece of ‘a once in a lifetime opportunity’, especially related to the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Downward & Ralston, 2006; Doherty, 2009; Nichols & Ojala, 2009; Wollebæk, Skirstad & Hanstad, 2014).

Community Sport Volunteering

Overview

The literature on volunteering in community sport is vast and covers a range of disciplines such as psychology, management, political science and sociology. As discussed above, volunteering has taken on added significance in light of neoliberal ideologies and cost-cutting exercises in many western democracies. Sport is not immune to such political and social ideologies, and volunteers are seen to be a key driving force in delivering all aspects of sport across communities (Nichols et al., 2012; 2013). Where funding may have been invested in both elite and community sport in many western countries (although at times the allocation has been disproportionate, cf. Green, 2007; 2009; Collins, 2010), more emphasis is placed upon the voluntary sector in delivering community sport.

The majority of voluntary activity within sport occurs through a network of localised community sports clubs. The clubs take on further significance as they also ‘facilitate active citizenship, and thus individual and community benefits may be realized through the depth of

engagement of volunteers' (Misener & Doherty, 2012: 243). Owing to the role of sports clubs in sustaining participation within communities and a platform to express civic engagement through volunteering, much emphasis has been placed on the role of sports clubs within the literature and their volunteers. More emphasis is directed towards the context in which voluntary activity takes place (i.e. sports clubs), rather than the actual volunteer and their experience being the unit of analysis. It is important to identify and provide analysis on the setting and context in which the volunteering takes place, as multiple factors can impact on the volunteer such as other volunteers, club history and culture, the financial situation of the club in times of austerity and the climate surrounding the sport (national sporting heroes winning major sporting achievements).

Community Sports Clubs

The actual volunteer experience has garnered more academic scrutiny of late, especially within the context of major sporting events (cf. Nichols et al., 2016) as previously discussed, although this is shaped within a management framework and how to best manage the experience per se. Less research has addressed the impact on the actual volunteers who volunteer in sport, and the experiences of sport volunteers throughout their volunteering pathways. A review produced by Gaskin (2008) offered recent insight into the impacts of volunteers in sport. Widely claimed impacts of sports volunteers were supported by the study, which demonstrated that they provide opportunities, improve health and fitness of communities, provide enjoyment and fun for participants, bring people together socially, and develop skills and confidence.

It has been argued that participants in sport gain more than the volunteers themselves. Gaskin (2008: iv) posited that while volunteers benefit from a sense of satisfaction and the social aspects of their volunteering, impacts on their personal development, fitness and health, are more 'muted or absent'. Moreover, Gaskin (2008) stated that although the substantial claims made for the benefits of volunteering in general have been addressed, there has been little research on them in sport. These benefits include building a sense of community, building trust among people, mutual understanding and breaking down barriers, participation in other activities, employability and performance (Gaskin, 2008). The volunteer experience within community sport can also be affected by several factors, with the social environment being one important factor.

Sharpe (2003, 2006) studied parents who volunteered in their child's softball league and the social conditions of the voluntary activity that impacted on their experiences. In North America, grassroots associations (GA) offer local communities the opportunity to come together with shared interests. Many GA are sport focused and rooted in philosophical foundations such as fair play and being open to everyone in the community. In-depth research by Sharpe (2003; 2006) indicates that the informal nature of GA can lead to negative outcomes, such as the collapse of local GA and clubs, as the context in which they operate favour formality and a more professional management style. Respondents within her studies spoke of how what started off as a fun and enjoyable experience lost its appeal as the clubs ran into trouble and struggled to stay afloat.

There is a large evidence base that documents the positive outcomes reported by volunteers who engage in sport volunteering (Nichols et al., 2016). However, these differ within the type of sport volunteering undertaken. General benefits of club volunteering, some reported by Gaskin (2008) previously, include meeting new people and connecting with the wider community. Sport-specific skills and transferable skills have also been reported, in both adults and young people. Adults who volunteer for their children's local sport clubs can gain sport-specific technical knowledge and skills through coaching and officiating (Whittaker & Holland-Smith, 2014). Similarly, sport volunteering has been shown to be a positive vehicle amongst young people, especially in the capacity of citizenship and addressing youth disaffection (Kay & Bradbury, 2009). Research demonstrates that young people engaged in formal sport volunteering and leadership-based projects can lead to the accumulation of skills, increased self-confidence and self-esteem, enhanced employability, more civically engaged and socially connected citizens, and more awareness of local community needs and issues (Davis Smith, Ellis & Howlett, 2002; Eley & Kirk, 2002; Kay & Bradbury, 2009; Storr & Spaaij, 2016). Some problems associated with such reported claims are linked to the type of participants of the program, who are usually from white middle class backgrounds, and the extent to which the positive outcomes can be attributed to the medium of sport, volunteering or the actual program design and staff.

Volunteers play a crucial role in the context of sport development, from increasing participation and community sport, through to supporting excellence and elite performance (Green, 2009; Houlihan & Green, 2010; Nichols et al., 2012; Egli, Schlesinger & Nagel, 2014). Many sport development projects are run by volunteers, with their purpose usually associated with a social

justice cause or inequality of some form and also for the local community (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008; Hayton, 2016a; 2016b; 2017a; 2017b). For example, Street Soccer USA is a project that is run to address homelessness and to use the power of sport to help individuals make positive lifestyle changes (Welty Peachy et al., 2013). Qualitative research conducted with volunteers in the Street Soccer program showed that volunteering led to ‘enhancing awareness and understanding about homelessness, enhancing passion to work in the social justice field, and developing self-satisfaction through a feel good mentality’ (Welty Peachey et al., 2013: 1). Most sport development projects are exclusively organised and delivered by volunteers and the not-for-profit sector. Ergo, if there are no volunteers then the projects will not run and sports participation will cease and no positive contributions to the community will occur (Nichols et al., 2015).

Volunteer burnout and retention are key issues discussed within the literature. For example, German research utilising a large-scale sport club survey documented that the scarcity of resources within sports clubs in Germany could lead to core volunteers being overburdened with core duties (Wicker & Breuer, 2011). This also echoes findings from other countries such as Australia and the UK, and the risk of volunteers being overburdened can then lead to burnout and the termination of volunteer duties. This can have profound consequences when a small selection of people usually adopts multiple roles and responsibilities (Cuskelly, 2004; Nichols et al., 2005; Ringuet-Riot et al., 2014). Further, Hayton (2016a; 2016b; 2017a; 2017b) recently explored the experiences and outcomes of university students who volunteered on a sport development project with disadvantaged youth. His findings suggest that student volunteers can experience a range of emotions throughout their volunteering pathways, which could impact on their commitment to the program.

Diversity and Community Sport

Diversity is at the forefront of much socio-political discussion within Australia. How the different forms of diversity play out in everyday communities is extremely important for a host of parties, from central government and local councils to community residents. Opportunities for diverse community members to come together can lead to mixed outcomes. In recent times, sport policy makers have aspired to make sport participation in Australia representative of its population (Australian Sports Commission, 2015). In the majority of sports clubs within western societies, diversity policies and programs are delivered by volunteers. Exploring the documented experiences of marginalised communities in the sport setting can help us

understand the challenges that volunteers face in delivering sport to diverse communities. The research base of how volunteers deliver and experience diversity in community sport is scant. My intention is not to cover and try to provide comprehensive overviews of the different areas of literature concerning different forms of diversity such as gender, sexuality and social class, but to synthesise some of the pertinent literature to this research, and discuss how these helps inform my research. Disability diversity is the most relevant to my research; therefore, I review this literature in detail.

One arena for opportunities for interaction between diverse members of the community is sport. Diversity is often shaped within the social inclusion framework and, by providing opportunities for the whole community, becomes a social welfare tool, with advocates and policy makers claiming that sport can be far reaching and have impacts beyond the sports field. Some of the most common suggestions include acting as a diversion for anti-social behaviour, making well rounded citizens, teaching pro social skills and moral development, fairness and tolerance, and creating social capital in marginalised citizens (Coalter, 2007b; Kay, 2009; Rossi, 2015). Further, sport is often lauded as a panacea for society's problems and often used by governments in addressing social welfare objectives such as social exclusion (Skille, 2009; Spaaij, 2012). Public and policy rhetoric surrounding sport in breaking down barriers and bringing people together is often cited in the sport for social good argument (Collins, 2010). Popular notions include 'Sport brings people together. Sport is colour-blind. Sport is a universal language' (Janssens & Verweel, 2014; 35).

The extent to which sport achieves this assumption of bringing people together continues to interest sport scholars worldwide (Spracklen, Long & Hylton, 2015). Dashper and Fletcher (2013: 1227) contend 'despite the mythology of sport bringing people together and encouraging everyone to work together to success, modern sport remains a site of exclusionary practices that operate on a number of levels'. Scholars have raised concerns around the extent to which sport can be a far reaching social welfare agenda, especially in the realms of crime and anti-social behaviour, and benefits to both individuals and the community (Coalter, 2007a; 2013). Allowing access and opportunities for all and not just those from privileged backgrounds has been paramount for researchers and practitioners within the space of sport and diversity. The most discussed communities in the sport for social good argument are culturally and linguistically diverse people.

Sport advocates view sport as a key site for the integration of people from diverse backgrounds and recently arrived migrants. In recent sporting policy from the Australian government, sport has been stated as providing an opportunity to create a sense of belonging within communities (Australian Sports Commission, 2015). Further, it can help migrants create new friendships and develop social capital (Spaaij, 2011). However, critics argue that forcing migrants to assimilate into mixed sports clubs can lead to discrimination and prejudice for them (Janssens & Verweel, 2014; Spraklen, Long & Hylton, 2015). As a response, communities may create separate sporting spaces and clubs, which are characterised by similar traits amongst participants, such as race and ethnicity. A key debate within the literature, therefore, is to what extent sports clubs can cater and accommodate diverse groups of people. It is important to note that culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities are central to these discussions, with less attention directed to other diverse communities, specifically around social diversity such as disability and sexuality.

The relationship between voluntary sports clubs and stakeholders such as state sport organisations and government funding agencies can be complex, whereby clubs resist sporting policy. This resistance can be in response to increasing general participation levels or, more specifically, in response to social welfare agendas such as social inclusion. Findings from Garrett (2004) demonstrated how power can be abused and diversity used to manipulate funding bids. In interviews with tennis club members, Garrett's (2004) findings uncovered that a new junior section was developed and investment in wheelchair tennis was used to gain access to funding. However, further investigation interviews showed that the club had no intention of expanding the junior section or providing any opportunities for wheelchair participation, even stating that the club had no idea how many wheelchair players they had in the club. An interview of one member reported:

So their approach was; we need a clubhouse. How do we get a clubhouse? OK, if we are to get a Lottery grant we are required to have access for the disabled which was a means to an end. So it was then; we've got the money stuff the disabled. If we get 40k for having a little lift, widened doors and a disabled toilet then great. Whereas I didn't see it like that. I saw it as an active way to include [the disabled] (Garrett, 2004: 22).

The narrative presented illustrates the power dynamics within community sports clubs and that the reasons for engaging with diversity may be complex and true intentions may be hidden. Further, those involved in decision-making processes appear to be those with power and from

privilege (e.g. all the committee members were white, heterosexual, able-bodied males). The power relationship is illustrated in this example, whereby the dominant social group existing within the sport club decided whether the diverse group could benefit the club. In this instance, engaging with disability and juniors as cultural capital allowed them to generate economic capital. Critically analysing the intentions surrounding a club's engagement with diversity is paramount in exploring whether intentions are followed through with and, ultimately, whether there is a real commitment to change and making the club accessible for all.

Cultural diversity has dominated scholarship in the field of diversity within sport, which is primarily due to its increased political importance during the last decade (Hanlon & Coleman, 2006; Maxwell & Taylor, 2010; Spaaij 2013b; Spraken, Long & Hylton, 2015). However, sports clubs often experience difficulties in catering for participants from diverse cultural backgrounds (Taylor, 2004). Current research from Victoria illustrates that clubs and schemes promoting diversity within sport usually adopt to focus on one form of diversity. Within 19 different sports clubs across Victoria, the research team found that 'different axes of diversity are treated in isolation from each other due in part to a policy funding emphasis on having to prioritize particular forms of diversity' (Spaaij et al., 2013: 11).

This echoes the 'piecemeal' approach adopted by large corporate businesses and organisations in many western societies, where the practice is to approach different dimensions of diversity one piece at a time (Bendl, Fleischmann & Walenta, 2008). However, sports clubs tend to stop or get stuck after the first piece. This can be demonstrated in certain sports and clubs investing in one aspect of diversity that is aligned to or compliments their sport, such as disability and wheelchair basketball. One major critique of this approach in targeting one aspect of diversity is that it privileges or favours one type over another type. This can lead to tensions across minority communities and ignite discussions around who deserves or receives funding over other minority groups, and whether the needs of one community are more significant than another. This leads onto the next section, which explores the contested role of community sports clubs in delivering social inclusion goals beyond competitive sport participation.

The Role of Community Sports Clubs

Recent debate within the community sport literature has centered on the contested role of sports clubs in western societies, and whether they are complimentary to social inclusion and broader

social welfare efforts (Nichols et al., 2013; Spaaij, 2013a; Stenling & Fahlen, 2016). The community sport volunteering literature has not specifically discussed the role of community sports clubs in delivering diversity specifically in this context. Although Jeanes et al. (2017) discussed volunteers as diversity policy implementers, they did not engage in debate around the contested role of community sports clubs in delivering wider social inclusion objectives. Social capital research is useful within the context of my research. However, it is important to note that I do not use social capital as a theoretical tool in my research. I specifically draw on a body of research that has used social capital as a lens to interpret findings within voluntary sports clubs. Therefore, sameness and difference are two key concepts that are useful for my study.

In the UK, sports clubs have been shown to be reluctant to recruit from outside of their club, even though many clubs claim to need more volunteers. Many community sports clubs are founded on shared enthusiasms and passion for sport and, as Nichols, Tacon and Muir (2013: 355) stated, are based on ‘shared values, norms and understandings which foster a collective identity’. Further, they are characterised by ‘homophilic ties reflecting a “we” and “like us” mantra within clubs’. The opposite is heterophilic ties, which are characterised by difference and an ‘unlike us’ mantra. The majority of sports clubs are therefore based on a ‘us and them’ axis or a ‘familiar versus stranger’ ideology.

Homophilic ties refer to when individuals tend to associate or bond with individuals who are similar to themselves in respect to values and shared enthusiasms. It is noted that this does not specifically reference diversity and identity, which are multidimensional. For example, people can have the same gender or ethnic identity but vary in social class and sexuality. Within this context, Slobbe, Vermeulen and Koster (2013) stipulated two points when assessing the role of Dutch sports clubs in complementing cultural diversity ambitions. First, sport club cultures are founded on established communities, and therefore ‘members prefer to be amongst themselves, and deviations from cultural codes and meanings are rarely accepted’. Hence, sports club cultures ‘put limits on the bridging capacities of sport in general’ (Slobbe, Vermeulen and Koster, 2013:1371). Second, sports clubs’ cultures can be immune to outside interventions of integration such as forcing a club to diversify and there are difficulties in changing an organisation’s culture.

Additionally, in this regard, community sports clubs often use positive and open language along the lines of ‘our doors are open to everybody’ and ‘we welcome everybody’. Ahmed (2012: 43) cited the work of Kuokkane in that organisations present themselves as a welcoming host but ‘*not without conditions*’. This follows the tendency for organisations to recruit to their own ‘image’, similar to findings from Nichols, Tacon and Muir (2013) where sports clubs were shown to be reluctant to recruit new volunteers from outside of the club and recruited on the basis of volunteers being ‘like us’. This highlights the paradox in diversity work in sports clubs based on homophilic ties and close bonds based on mutual trust and shared understandings. Many sports clubs have been founded by a core group of people, normally volunteers, on the basis of sameness; therefore, introducing diversity and difference goes directly against this discourse, as highlighted above. With the development of social capital, and a positive social outcome arising through sport engagement, this can also unfortunately lead to deviant behaviour.

Deviant behaviour arises when people abuse their power within a sports club and use their social capital to their advantage, but to the detriment of others. This was illustrated in Slobbe, Vermeulen and Koster’s (2013) findings discussed above, where native Dutch volunteers abused their power to prevent Moroccan Dutch volunteers from gaining access to the committee. This is referred to as the dark side of social capital (Numerato & Baglioni, 2012). A specific example pertinent to community sports volunteers are parents who volunteer at their children’s sport club, primarily motivated by their children’s participation rather than the wider community benefit. A Scottish study found that some parents from community rugby clubs abused their power and volunteer positions to get their children selected for certain teams, and preferential treatment in the allocation of training squads based on times and days (Whittaker & Holland-Smith, 2014).

The information provided thus far points to two key factors in addressing diversity in the community sport setting. First, sport can have both a positive and negative impact on an individual or group, and sport is not a magic formula for political interests such as social integration and social cohesion within communities. Creating the right environment for diversity to flourish is paramount. Second, the sports club setting, the key avenue through which sport is delivered within communities, may not be the best avenue to achieve diversity goals. This is characterised by sports clubs being historically founded by the dominant social group, based on homophilic ties and similar interests. After critically analysing the literature,

the capacity for sports clubs to complement diversity is somewhat contested and faces challenges from a number of pressures from both inside and outside the club. This is in contrast, however, to the often-cited rhetoric in sporting circles that everyone has a fair go and an equal opportunity to access the benefits of sport and exercise. However, efforts do still remain for diversity to flourish within community sport and these efforts are by volunteers.

Volunteers Delivering Diversity within Community Sport

Within the ideals of a fair go and meritocracy, volunteerism is a phenomenon that encapsulates the notions of helping others and community solidarity. The extent to which sports clubs can complement or operate as an effective tool for diversity goals is somewhat contested; however, sport advocates rely heavily on sport volunteers for implementing and delivering these ambitions. Within the sport volunteering literature, authors have not explored in great depth how community sport volunteers respond to the pressures of increased diversity within western societies. Nichols (2005) is a key author who has discussed the role of voluntary sports clubs and how they respond to a range of external pressures. These pressures include delivering national sport and physical activity participant goals, the delivery of social inclusion and welfare agendas, the need to professionalise and a retreat from informal management practices within clubs (Nichols et al., 2004; Nichols, 2005). Diversity as a pressure for voluntary sports clubs is not commonly referenced within sport volunteering scholarship. Nichols (2005: 345) argues:

Recent research has concluded that responding to these pressures [to deliver participation and social welfare objectives] requires professionalism in club management, in the sense of a formality of organisation, but the ways in which clubs have responded to these pressures are dependent on the attitudes of key volunteers in the club structures. Thus it is important to know about these key volunteers.

This quote highlights the need to understand the attitudes of volunteers within community sports clubs to comprehend how they respond to pressures, such as engaging with diversity. The attitudes held by volunteers towards key agendas such as diversity are important to understand to influence policy and better assist sporting bodies to engage with diversity. For example, Brackenridge (2002) found that attitudes in the voluntary sector towards child protection within junior sport were uninformed and volunteers had misapprehensions towards young athletes' safety in sports clubs. Critically exploring commitment amongst volunteers

towards diversity offers new insights to assist policy makers and sporting organisations to better assist clubs in efforts aimed at promoting diversity.

Volunteers play a crucial part in delivering inclusive sporting environments and practices for socially and culturally diverse individuals. Initial research within Australia addressed diversity within the sport setting, although this research occurred over a decade ago (Taylor & Toohey, 1999; Taylor, 2003). Only recently have issues of diversity began to be specifically addressed within community sports clubs and how they deal with these issues (Maxwell & Taylor, 2010; Spaaij et al., 2013). The most pertinent body of literature for my study comes from Spaaij et al. (2013; 2016) and Jeanes et al. (2017) and their contributions to scholarship on diversity within community sport in Australia. The authors explored how community sports clubs respond to diversity, and documented that the business case for diversity was primarily adopted in addressing diversity issues within Victoria. Their findings suggested that for many sports clubs, diversity was not part of their core business, and resistance could arise when clubs attempt to introduce diversity.

A central issue associated with the role of volunteers in delivering inclusive practices is the extent to which they feel prepared to do so. Some research findings have suggested that volunteers do not have the capacity to deliver certain policy objectives or do not have the necessary skills to perform certain tasks such as completing legal documentation and funding applications (Auld, 2008; Spaaij, 2013). Furthermore, Auld (2008) stipulated that more focus needed to be directed towards the capacity of volunteers within sports clubs and the skills and abilities they possess. Much scholarship within community sport highlights the important role of key individuals in introducing diversity to sports clubs, and it is these ‘champions of change’ or ‘community champions’ who are the primary driving forces behind diversity efforts (Ahmed, 2007; Cunningham, 2008; Melton & Cunningham, 2014; Spaaij, Magee & Jeanes, 2014; 2016). Jeanes et al. (2017) identified that volunteers were increasingly used as policy implementers around diversity within Australia, but were often unsupported and left to do so with little support from their clubs or SSOs.

Studies from Sweden offer some findings concerning mandatory engagement in diversity within community sports clubs. Stenling and Fahlen (2016) demonstrated that voluntary sport organisations in Sweden had distinct understandings of their club’s core function and identity. Out of 218 sport clubs in Sweden, the highest category that clubs identified with was ‘the sports

educating club' whereby 123 sport clubs identified their core practice as to 'prepare members for participation in institutionalised competitive sports'(Stenling & Fahlen, 2016: 873). Only 23 clubs declared their activities as contributing to community prosperity and only 17 clubs viewed their practices as ones that were underpinned by social inclusion and were non-competitive.

Recent Dutch research provided insights into when a community sport club is forced to engage with diversity (Slobbe, Vermeulen & Koster, 2013). This unique study using ethnography illustrated the path to a mixed and ethnically diverse volunteer committee to accommodate Moroccan Dutch members within its club management structure. Owing to a dying membership base, the local council stipulated that, to save the club, it had to diversify. What entailed throughout the course of the season was heavy resistance and symbolic practices of exclusion by native traditional members in trying to keep the 'space invaders' out (Slobbe, Vermeulen & Koster, 2013). Notable incidents throughout the season involved certain members resisting and standing for volunteer candidacy to prevent a Moroccan Dutch member being voted onto the committee, resistance to people selling Moroccan tea in the canteen, and disdain to the 'unnecessary' investment of an extra halal deep fryer. The authors concluded that established members were heavily resistant to change and did not welcome non-native members to trespass in the space of the traditional sporting club, and equity in the club management committee was not shared by all.

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has critically reviewed the intersections of the sport volunteering and community sport literature, with specific reference to diversity. The important yet contested role that sport and sports clubs have within communities constitute key debate within the community sport literature. Little is known of how sports clubs respond to increased diversity, and how volunteers experience this diversity and deliver sporting provision for those individuals outside the dominant social groups. Key findings from the literature also direct us to challenges from both within and outside sports clubs. First, introducing change to longstanding traditional clubs dominated by native members, such as white Anglo Australians, could be perceived as a daunting task. Second, these sports clubs are bound by homophilic ties, characterised by a sameness rationale. Finally, forcing clubs and organisations to diversify (for example, to accommodate CALD communities) can lead to conflict and resistance. Therefore, I develop

my central thesis argument in exploring the role of volunteers in regards to social inclusion agendas such as diversity, and explore the extent to which they view diversity as something they should be doing.

In joining conversations around diversity within community sport, I focus my research on volunteers within clubs. This is in contrast to the majority of literature that reports on participants' experiences within sport, and the processes of inclusion and exclusion within sporting environments. Little attention has been directed to the volunteer experience within diversity debates and, when it has, these voices have been embedded within clubs and not heard as a research agenda in their own right. In the next chapter, I critically explore the concept of diversity, particularly disability diversity, and how it is applied to sports clubs.

Chapter 3

Disability Diversity in Community Sport: Intellectual Disability

Introduction

This chapter explores diversity within the context of my research, i.e. intellectual disability. The chapter focuses on two key areas. The first section provides a review of literature relating to intellectual disability and volunteering within the community sport setting. I start by reviewing academic literature on volunteering and intellectual disability, before narrowing down to the crux of my research, which is the limited research on volunteers who engage in intellectual disability diversity provision. In the second part, I present the theoretical framework of this study. I discuss diversity management and Sara Ahmed's numerous writings on diversity work in institutional life. I adopt these two components to my theoretical framework to help understand the diversity management practices within a community sports club, and to understand what is occurring at the club and why. Diversity management has become popular in workplace diversity (Oswick & Noon, 2014) and in both community and professional sport (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; DeSensi, 1994; Cunningham, 2011).

I critique diversity management, specifically the business case for diversity, and apply it to disability diversity within the community sport setting. I examine its problematic application to voluntary settings and assess the work of critical diversity scholar Sara Ahmed to explore the experiences of volunteers who engage in diversity work. Ahmed's influential work on diversity practitioners within academic institutions provides a useful framework for understanding how diversity is (not) enacted within an organisation. Of particular relevance is Ahmed's (2017) conceptualisation of 'diversity work', which represents actions within an organisation to do diversity, beyond speaking about diversity. Diversity management and Ahmed's work provide important theoretical tools in understanding diversity within the context of my study and answering my research questions.

Diversity: Background

The field of diversity has attracted scholarship from a wide range of disciplines including the political and social sciences, human geography, anthropology, sociology, business studies and management studies. Many authors cite the quest for social justice and equality as a driving force for the emergence of diversity research (Cooper, 2004; Ahonen et al., 2014). It was the

labour market that proved to be an important setting for the rise of academic studies surrounding diversity. Zanoni et al. (2010) traced the term diversity back to the mid-1980s against a backdrop of demographic changes in the US labour force, which was becoming more heterogeneous and comprised of migrants, women and increased racial minorities. Historically, in western societies those considered diverse were those who were not the white, heterosexual, able-bodied male (Cooper, 2004). The characteristics or variables that demonstrate how diverse a social unit is are intricate. Overall, the most commonly discussed aspects to diversity are based on demographics, i.e. gender, class, sexuality, age, race/ethnicity and (dis)ability (Litvin, 1997; Cooper, 2004; Tatli, 2010; Spaaij et al., 2013).

Cunningham (2015) highlighted that most definitions of diversity have four key tenets: people work together within a group, differences exist amongst individuals, these differences may result in perceptions of being different and, finally diversity is related to various work-related outcomes. The most useful working definition within the current literature pertinent to my research and which I adopt in my research is provided by Spaaij et al. (2013: 3) who stipulate, 'Diversity occurs when people of varied backgrounds in terms of gender, race/ ethnicity, ability, or other observable or unobservable social factors are present and interact'. Further, for the purpose of this thesis I draw upon Herring and Henderson (2011), Ahmed (2012; 2017), Janssens and Zanoni (2005), and Zanoni et al. (2010) to frame diversity within a critical approach and conceptualise it as a concept signalling difference, and representing historical disadvantage or oppression.

Herring and Henderson (2011) stipulated that unclear boundaries and limits means diversity could be misused to include just about anyone. Embrick (2011) also supported this claim. He stated that diversity had become such a broad concept, and expanded since the turn of the millennium, that key issues such as race and gender could be ignored and often became diluted and overlooked. One key problem surrounding the inclusion of certain groups of people in broad definitions of diversity is that they have not experienced oppression or disadvantage. This is in comparison to historically oppressed groups such as women, people of colour, people with a disability, and same sex attracted and gender diverse people. It is important to note that diversity is multidimensional and certain individuals might have some forms of privilege (for example, whiteness), yet might simultaneously experience certain forms of oppression, such as being female.

Therefore, in discussing diversity or a community who is diverse, the history of disadvantage or oppression must be considered. This could include the inability to participate in civic and political life, not having the same rights as other citizens in their country, and facing barriers in schools, universities and the workplace. Individuals with an intellectual disability are an example of a subgroup of society who have experienced historical oppression and this type of disability is a marker of difference. Therefore, intellectual disability as a form of diversity is relevant within the context of my research and conceptualisation of diversity. Additionally, I make reference to the social model of disability, which I discuss later in this chapter, to frame intellectual disability within societal structures rather than disability as being concerned with an individual and medicalised. Here, individuals with an intellectual disability are marginalised and face disadvantage, not because of their disability that inhibits them from participating in sport, but because of social attitudes and discriminatory structures within society. Note, I do not use the social model of disability within my theoretical framework but draw upon it to contextualise my data on volunteers.

This particular part to the review of literature is concerned with disability diversity and, in particular within the context of my research, intellectual disability. I do this by briefly outlining disability broadly and the different approaches to disability. I then provide a review of literature concerning volunteering with people with an intellectual disability in the community sport setting, beginning with a broad summary, then looking at disability within community sport, before narrowing down to volunteers who engage with intellectual disability diversity work. This then leads onto my theoretical framework in exploring where disability diversity sits within diversity management, and how Ahmed's work on diversity work helps explain how diversity is managed and adopted within the community sport setting.

Disability can be understood and shaped within three main models, with the medical and social disability models being dominant within disability studies, and the critical model dominant within critical disability studies (Townsend, Smith & Cushion, 2015). The medical model, linked to biology and medical discourses, is founded on the 'personal tragedy theory of disability' and 'their impairment is the reason they cannot participate fully in social life' (Darcy et al., 2011: 2). The social model of disability focuses on the social environment as being disabling and assumptions in this model centre on societal attitudes and perceptions towards disability (Fitzgerald, 2009). The social model of disability, therefore, is the most appropriate

conceptualisation of disability within the context of community sports clubs and volunteering diversity, and how intellectual disability as a form of diversity is enacted within this context.

Disability Diversity within Community Sport: Intellectual Disability

There is an absence of intellectual disability within community sport literature, with most contributions within the disability and sport literature being concerned with youth sport, Physical Education (PE) and social inclusion (Fitzgerald, 2009). Several contributions are derived from evaluations of nationally funded programs such as the Youth Sport Trust and their range of programs within schools and clubs (Black et al., 2015). Prior to the early 2000s, within disability studies in sport there was a focus on those that enabled sport provision for athletes with a disability, primarily on coaches and PE teachers and educators, with contributions mainly from North America (for example, DePauw & Gavron, 1991; Sherill & Williams, 1996; Rizzo, Bishop & Tobar, 1997). Further, there was also a focus on environmental barriers, policy development, and access to facilities and provision for people with a disability in sport (French & Hainsworth, 2001). Hayley Fitzgerald (2008, 2009) has written about an ‘incomplete’ and ‘untold story’ regarding disability and youth sport literature, with the voices of young disabled people being left out and absent from research.

There have been significant contributions in the field of disability studies within community sport with a particular focus on the experiences of individuals with a disability (DePauw & Gavron, 2005), specifically young people and issues around access, provision and barriers (Fitzgerald, 2008, 2009; 2012; Jeanes & Magee, 2012), although this has been primarily based on physical disability. There has been a focus on Special Olympics in particular and specialist sporting events and competitions, with a focus on participation and the experiences and outcomes that young people with a disability obtain from their participation in a sport or specific program (cf. Fitzgerald, 2009). These programs are often shaped within a sport development framework and use sport for specific outcomes such as reducing the risk of social exclusion rather than participation in sport for enjoyment or leisure (Fitzgerald & Lang, 2009; Black et al., 2015).

Research shows that people with a disability have lower rates of participation in sport (DePauw & Gavron, 2005). Further, when summarising the literature on disability in sport, Darcy, Lock and Taylor (2017: 23) posited that it ‘primarily focuses on human performance, body

technology, psychological motives, rehabilitation, quality of life/ well-being, and more recently has included performance technology in sport'. Research in Western Australia by Cunningham (2013) also explored the role of policy development and how this impacted on participation in sport by people with a disability. This is timely research as a report for the Australian Sports Commission (Darcy et al., 2011) identified that people with a disability stipulated that a lack of support by the government was a key barrier to their participation in sport.

Teachers, sport practitioners, educators, coaches and their attitudes towards working with young people with a disability, in addition to policy agendas and initiatives around inclusion in PE, schools and clubs, were the central foundations to research on disability. In response to the untold stories of young people with a disability, Fitzgerald (2008:4) commented, 'In my view, there is another, equally important, story to be told about young disabled people themselves and their views and experiences of physical education and sport'. Furthermore, she added, 'I hold researchers within physical education and sport responsible for disregarding, ignoring and trivializing the voices of young disabled people' (2008: 4). Much of Fitzgerald's later work re-positioned young people as central within disability studies scholarship, with a growing emphasis on young people with a disability (see Fitzgerald, 2009).

With a shift of attention in the literature to individuals with a disability and their lived experience (Darcy & Dowse, 2013), I suggest we need to revisit those individuals who enable and facilitate athletes with a disability to participate in sport, as a core focus of academic enquiry. Volunteers are central in sustaining sport participation efforts in diverse communities (Spaaij et al., 2016; Jeanes et al., 2017); therefore, understanding the experiences of volunteers who work with athletes with a disability is critical. Further, ethnographic accounts of such experiences are relatively scarce. If sports clubs cannot retain or attract new volunteers to run disability sport programs or teams, athletes with a disability cannot participate within the community sport structure and may be forced to seek specialist opportunities. These may be expensive and may marginalise them further from mainstream society. Integrating athletes with a disability into mainstream sports clubs has been the focus of several sports within Australia in recent years. This process of integration of disability sport provision is called 'mainstreaming' (Kitchin & Howe, 2014: 66).

Until now, sport volunteering researchers have failed to address a topical issue affecting community sports clubs and volunteers who run them, i.e. how they respond to increased diversity. Within the context of intellectual disability as diversity, I add to an under-researched area within both sport volunteering literature and disability studies by exploring the lived experience of volunteers in community sports clubs who work with athletes with an intellectual disability. Further, I focus on volunteers in a range of positions including coaching, administration and the management of athletes with an intellectual disability, beyond PE teachers and coach education.

The definition of intellectual disability provided by the Victorian Government is:

An intellectual disability is defined in the Victorian Disability Act 2006 as follows: Intellectual disability ‘in relation to a person over the age of five years, means the concurrent existence of: (a) significant sub-average general intellectual functioning; and (b) significant deficits in adaptive behaviour – each of which became manifest before the age of 18 years’ (Department of Health, 2011: 1).

Similar to other definitions of intellectual disability within policy documents concerned with classifying whether an individual has an intellectual disability or not, this definition in reference to terms such as ‘sub-average’, ‘deficits’ and ‘functioning’ adopts a medicalised definition of intellectual disability. This is problematic as it places emphasis on the individual and their disability, and does not take into consideration the social and built environment. An example of this from the literature is Li and Wu (2017: 1) who adopt a medicalised definition from the American Psychiatric Association when stating, ‘individuals with an intellectual disability have limited intellectual functioning and adaptive behaviours that commence before the age of eighteen years’. They then discuss the discrimination experienced by individuals with an intellectual disability in reference to social inclusion and reduced employment opportunities and poor education. Adopting a medical definition but then applying a social model to their study design is problematic, especially in reference to the social attitudes of individuals without a disability. With this critique in mind, I raise this point to draw attention to the medicalised definitions of intellectual disability evident within literature and policy documents. For the purpose of the AA players within my study, the league adopted the definition from the Victorian Government. That said, I note the challenges and nuances around the area and medicalised definitions of intellectual disability.

Volunteering with Athletes with an Intellectual Disability in Sport

Few contributions exist that are related to volunteering with people with an intellectual disability in sport, and those contributions that do exist mostly involve the Special Olympics. I outline this particular research later in this chapter. I will briefly highlight some of the relevant studies that help inform my research around volunteering more broadly with people with a disability, in which I draw upon literature from the health and social services sector. This involves research that has focused on volunteers who have a disability themselves, not specifically an intellectual disability.

There is limited research on individuals who volunteer in sport who have a disability themselves. One particular study from Darcy, Dickson and Benson (2014) documented volunteers with a disability at the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Mawson and Parker (2013) identified that results from national volunteer surveys from the UK illustrated that a lack of skills and provision deters people who are from minority groups such as having a disability from volunteering more broadly. Additionally, people with a disability volunteer less in sport than those who do not have a disability (Darcy et al., 2011). This finding reflects recent research that identifies that youth sport volunteering programs can be exclusive in nature and reserve the right for young people who have higher levels of physical, cultural and social capital to volunteer over others (Storr & Spaaij, 2016).

However, specialised national youth sport leadership and volunteering in the UK have made efforts to engage young people with a disability in structured programs (Kay & Bradbury, 2009). Further, a literature review for the English Federation of Disability Sport by Fitzgerald and Lang (2009: 16) identified that within youth sport, 'only a handful of other small-scale studies on volunteering have also offered data on disabled people who volunteer within sport'. I now detail literature surrounding those who volunteer with people with an intellectual disability in sport.

There is some available data on individuals who work with people with an intellectual disability, for example, caregivers and support workers (Wilkinson et al., 2012), although these have not focused on volunteering. For example, a recent Australian study found that medical staff who work with children with an intellectual disability feel competent in caring for children with an intellectual disability, but less competent in dealing with some of the children's challenging behaviour (Ong et al., 2017). Like similar studies, the individuals in the sample were paid workers and not volunteers. UK data from the 'Helping Out Survey' (Low et al., 2007) reported that volunteering in the disability space is a popular area in which individuals engage in, with 22% of people citing that they volunteered in the field of health and disability, after education (31%), religion (24%) and sport and exercise (22%).

Less is known about the different areas of disability that people volunteer in, and it is unclear if individuals formally volunteer in specialist areas such as physical disabilities and with wheel chair users or learning disabilities for example. It is therefore surprising that little research has focused on the area of disability within the context of volunteering. One recent study does offer some insight into volunteering with people with an intellectual disability whereby Bigby & Craig (2017) illustrated that volunteering with people with an intellectual disability can lead to enriching friendships and contribute to improved quality of life.

The most pertinent finding from the literature on working with people with an intellectual disability is the importance of training and education. Wilkinson et al. (2012: 243) argued that 'primary care physicians who care for adults with intellectual disability often lack experience with the population, and patients with intellectual disability express dissatisfaction with their care'. Several other studies have consistently highlighted the specific need for staff training around people with an intellectual disability, especially around behaviour management (Hassiotis et al., 2008; McKenzie et al., 2000; Campbell, 2007; 2010). Dealing with challenging behaviour is central to staff working in social services and people with intellectual and learning disabilities (Campbell, 2010).

Further, individuals in the learning disability services who work with people who demonstrate challenging behaviour need the appropriate skills to do their job. 'Some staff lack the training to do their job properly' (Campbell, 2007: 143). Campbell (2007) stipulated that specific skills and knowledge were needed to avoid burnout and be able to work in the sector for a long duration, with verbal and physical abuse being a common daily experience for many who work

in the area. In summary, there appears to be a gap in knowledge within this context of individuals who volunteer with people with an intellectual disability. However, findings from studies concerned with caregivers and medical staff in paid employment indicate that training and education around working with people with an intellectual disability is paramount. Role overload and not having the correct skills for a volunteer position have been shown to cause stress and burnout in volunteers (Holmes & Lockstone-Binney, 2014), and frustration around a lack of training when volunteering in sport can cause volunteers to terminate their involvement (Sheptak & Menaker, 2016).

The most pertinent area of research within this literature review concerns those volunteers who deliver sport provision for athletes with an intellectual disability. There is little to no research that documents volunteers who deliver sport in this regard, leading Fitzgerald and Lang (2009: 34) to comment, 'As with research on disabled volunteers who operate in sport, research on volunteers engaged within the field of disability sport is limited'. However, a shift in attention within coach education literature, specifically towards coaches who work with athletes with a disability, provides insights that are relevant to this thesis. Townsend, Smith and Cushion (2015: 81) stipulated that 'we know very little about coaches who work in disability sport', and 'the emerging research exploring disability coaching has not yet explicitly engaged with the field of disability studies'. There is a body of North American literature, as mentioned earlier, although somewhat dated, which explores the attitudes and beliefs of coaches who work with athletes with a disability (Rizzo, Bishop & Tobar, 1997) and, more recently, research on coach education and working with athletes with an intellectual disability (Hassan, Dowling & McConkey, 2014).

One study with a limited focus on individuals who volunteer with people with a range of disabilities comes from Kay and Bradbury (2009). In evaluating a youth sport volunteering and leadership program, the authors found that working with young people with a disability had a positive impact on them, in reporting increased empathy. Additionally, Jeanes et al. (2017) contribute a timely addition to the dearth of literature on community sports clubs and disability sport provision. They recently examined disability provision within Victorian community sports clubs and how they engage with policies aimed at inclusion, with a key focus on the club rather than on volunteering. The authors found that individual volunteers or diversity champions are crucial in implementing policies around disability inclusion.

Townsend, Smith and Cushion (2015) in agreement with Hammond, Young and Konjarski (2014) have suggested that sports coaches are being encouraged to be more inclusive towards people with a disability, but without being given the correct training or education in be inclusive. They argued, ‘the current situation therefore, is particularly concerning when considering the growing body of coach development rhetoric challenging coaches to be inclusive without any specific education in coaching people with a disability’ (Townsend, Smith & Cushion, 2015: 85). Moreover, MacDonald et al. (2016: 242) stipulated that, ‘to date, studies have explored the development of individuals who coach athletes without an intellectual disability’.

Within the Australian context, the development of disability sport provision has only gained traction in recent years, especially in the community sport setting. This has been prompted by the worldwide Paralympic movement (Darcy, Dickson & Benson, 2014). An example of the increased focus on disability community sport provision in recent years is demonstrated by the creation of structured programs from major sports including Australian Rules Football, basketball and cricket in their adapted sport models such as ‘All Abilities’ and ‘Access for All Abilities’. These sport models cater for a range of disabilities including intellectual disabilities, physical disabilities, visual and auditory disabilities. An evaluation of ‘Access for All Abilities’ reported that the program led to positive wellbeing outcomes amongst participants including enjoyment, improved health and social connections (Forsell et al., 2015). The authors highlighted the need for structured pathways and participation opportunities as enablers for people with a disability to play sport, and that program staff and volunteers were central to this.

A key problem in explaining the lack of research around volunteering with people with a disability in sport is that coaches and individuals who work in disability sport are not labelled or referred to as volunteers per se within disability and coach education literature (McConkey et al., 2013). For example, Hammond, Young and Konjarski (2014) and Rizzo, Bishop and Tobar (1997) do not explicitly state whether the sport coaches in their samples are volunteers or paid coaches. We can make a general level of interpretation that the coaches were most likely volunteers, given that research identifies that the majority of coaches within sport are volunteers. For example, a report by Kay et al. (2008) found that 81% of sport coaches in the UK were volunteers. However, as disability sport provision professionalises through the Paralympic movement and global competitions specifically for athletes with a disability (for example, the Invictus Games, Special Olympics and Cerebral Palsy World Football

Champions), many coaching positions, specifically for elite teams, are now paid (Townsend, Smith & Cushion, 2015). At the community and grassroots level, however, most individuals who assist in facilitating disability sport participation are volunteers. Therefore, within wider diversity discussions, volunteers must be given the research attention they deserve as a sole lens of enquiry.

The only specific literature on volunteers who work with athletes with an intellectual disability is concerned with the Special Olympics. The Special Olympics 'is an international program of year-round sports training and competition for persons with an intellectual disability' (Khoo & Engelhorn, 2011: 28). Using quantitative measures, Roper (1990) found that volunteers who came into contact with athletes with intellectual disability contributed to positive changes in perceptions towards the athletes. Findings from Li and Wang (2013) on Chinese student volunteers at a Special Olympics event indicated that volunteers can increase their self-esteem and improve attitudes towards people with an intellectual disability. Like much of the sport volunteering literature, Special Olympic volunteer research focuses on a large sport event rather than the community sport setting, which is the focus of my research, and is predominately quantitative.

Wicker and Breur (2014) are one of the few in the sport volunteering literature who have explored the organisational capacity of voluntary sports clubs in Germany to deliver sporting provision and opportunities for people with a disability to participate in sport. The authors utilised survey data from the German Sport Development Report Survey to examine issues with disability sport provision, although volunteer experiences of working with athletes with a disability were absent. Jeanes et al. (2017) are another one of very few authors who have specifically explored disability sport provision for young people in community sports clubs. The authors studied how grassroots sports clubs implement policies around diversity, although volunteering as a unit of enquiry was not specifically addressed, and the emphasis was on the collective club rather than on the volunteers.

Another important area in the disability sport literature that helps situate my research concerns barriers to participation for athletes with a disability. Darcy et al. (2017) highlighted several constraints to inclusive sport participation for people with a disability, through the use of a leisure constraints model. These include community/organisational support, time, equipment, economic, intrapersonal factors, interpersonal factors and transport/location. An omission from

the research, however, is volunteers or coaches who provide opportunities to participate. This is an aspect often left out of discussions of barriers to participation amongst people with a disability, although Misener and Darcy (2014: 2) did delineate that a common barrier for people with a disability is the 'limited opportunities and programmes for participation, training and competition'. Ultimately, if there are no coaches or volunteers to run sessions or provide inclusive opportunities, there is no participation for people with a disability.

This is of particular concern for athletes with a disability and their participation in sport, whereby Jeanes et al. (2017) and Spaaij et al. (2016) both documented the importance and reliance of volunteers in community sports clubs. Moreover, studies have shown that people are reluctant and apprehensive in volunteering with people with a disability in sport (Dorogi, Bognar & Petrovics, 2008). Scholars have highlighted some of the challenges around working with athletes with a disability. Hammond, Young and Konjarski (2014: 1426) suggested 'some athletes with Intellectual Disability may have trouble participating in a group learning setting' and 'following instructions'. In the context of Special Olympics events, to encourage people to volunteer with people with an intellectual disability, Conatser et al. (2009: 284) contended that with the correct knowledge, 'educational adjustments can be made to athletic training programs which can lead to more athletic trainers to participate in events in which Special Olympics athletes compete'. In essence, medical trainers avoided volunteering and working with athletes with an intellectual disability at Special Olympics events because they had low confidence, were unaware of the medical conditions associated with the athletes and lacked specialised training.

Education, training and professional development are identified as imperative for coaches working with athletes with an intellectual disability (DePauw & Gavron, 1991; Rizzo, Bishop & Tobar, 1997; Conatser et al., 2009; Hammond, Young & Konjarski, 2014). In regards to disability sport provision more broadly, 'Professional development can enhance the practices of youth sport practitioners' (Fitzgerald & Jobling, 2009: 163) although they are often 'stand-alone' with little to no follow up. In this regard, individuals working with young people with a disability are given no additional support on their pathways and journeys towards inclusion. Vargas-Tonsing et al. (2008) highlighted that coaching resources including pamphlets and websites could assist coaches working with athletes with ADHD, specifically in managing challenging behaviour.

The rest of the chapter outlines the theoretical framework to my study. I draw upon diversity management and Sara Ahmed's work on diversity workers and diversity in institutional life. I use these two pillars as the central component for understanding and explaining what is occurring at a community sport club in regards to diversity.

Theoretical Framework

Diversity Management

Diversity management has dominated studies on diversity, with studies of the workplace in a variety of industries offering solutions on how to best manage a diverse workforce (Prasad, Pringle & Konrad, 2006; Kirton & Greene, 2010; Tatli, 2011). There have been several theoretical frameworks developed over the past decade ranging from management, psychology, business and sociology. Diversity management has been popular in recent years and utilised in several studies, although it has drawn criticism (Sinclair, 2006; Noon, 2007). Central to diversity management is whether diversity is adopted and encouraged from the business case and the social justice case. The emergence of diversity literature can be traced to equality and social justice, through the suppression and marginalisation of members of society and the unequal allocation of and access to resources (Ahonen et al., 2014). However, recent scholarship suggests that the social justice case for diversity has been lost in recent decades and has been sidelined by a business case rationale and ideology (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010; Ahonen et al., 2014).

A useful understanding of diversity management is forwarded by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000: 23) who delineate that 'diversity management can be viewed as an instrument or tool that uses people's diversity as the means of achieving economic goals'. In other words, diversity and those individuals who embody it (for example, people of colour and women) are seen as adding value to an organisation and this is actively managed to increase organisational outcomes. It is, however, beyond the realm of this thesis to discuss in detail the evolution of diversity management, and its replacement of equal opportunities within many workplaces and organisations (cf. Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000).

Although deemed a more appealing framework to address diversity within the workforce, diversity management as a framework has attracted criticism. The main critiques stem from the actual wording of the term and what it means in practice. Cunningham (2011) stated that some

sociologists observed that the etymology associated with diversity management alluded to diversity being perceived as a problem. Feminists of colour and queer politics heavily critique the term diversity management as it suggests it is ‘containing conflict and descent’, and shaped within a deficit model (Ahmed, 2012). Additionally, some diversity authors (Zanoni et al., 2010; Ahmed, 2012) critique the term diversity ‘issues’, suggesting diversity as an issue is also perceived as negative and even troublesome, contrary to it being a point of celebration. In reference to the study by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) and their definition of diversity management, Ahmed (2007b: 236) observed that the language in ‘managing’ diversity rather than ‘valuing’ diversity highlights that diverse individuals are simply viewed as a human resource, and ‘such a managerial focus on diversity works to individuate difference and to conceal the continuation of systematic inequalities’. By this, Ahmed points out that when organisations simply adopt and manage diversity for economic goals, they do not address the structural inequalities that result in diversity efforts being required in the first place.

Ahonen et al. (2014: 271) furthered this argument in stating, ‘the management of diversity denies, violates and assaults human difference’. When difficulties began to arise with diversity management, the literature turned more critical (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). The problems raised by both academics and practitioners included the meaning of diversity management, how it lifts morale and productivity, litigation and damaging the reputation of the company, on what people are held to be different from, the promotion of existing stereotypes, what constitutes as equality, and its underlying paradigms and assumptions (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000).

Within the same line of critique, diversity management can cover rather than uncover inequalities and discrimination (Ahmed & Swan, 2006), with Ahonen et al. (2014: 272) stating that, ‘business forgets the past by managing diversity as an everyday problem that may engender a brighter future’. Assimilationist type policies within organisations may also be evident within diversity management practices. ‘Despite the celebratory rhetoric, when an organisation invites people of difference into its culture, it is the people and not the culture that is made to change (Kersten, 2000: 243). Within the context of community sports clubs, this has relevance in that new members are often encouraged to adapt and assimilate to the culture of the club. This was previously discussed in association with homophilic and heterophilic ties, whereby volunteers are recruited into a club on the basis of fitting in (Nichols, Tacon & Muir, 2013).

Finally, what type of diversity should be managed or contained was the focus of critique by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) and Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) who both delineated that managing the unwanted and unaccepted forms of diversity was the real focus of diversity management. This then poses the important question of when and under what circumstances are some forms of diversity good for business, whilst other are not. This is of particular importance within the context of community sport, and when clubs may welcome some forms of diversity, but not others. For example, disability may be seen as too difficult or that a club does not have the facilities to cater for athletes with a disability, such as accessible toilets or wheelchair access to the clubhouse.

This is also reinforced by Janssens and Zanoni (2005: 312) who highlight that ‘only relevant differences are constructed by management as “diversity” and therefore actively managed’. Diversity in this context may be dependent on the culture of the club, whether they have a culture of success and performance or participation and ‘giving everyone a fair go’, and ultimately who the club perceives as diverse and not diverse. Linking to the performance and participation focus within sport clubs, two key approaches to diversity underpin diversity management. The motives to engage with diversity and actively manage it can be understood to lie on a scale between the business case and the social justice/moral imperative case for diversity.

Social Justice vs Business Model of Diversity

There are two popular justifications for increasing diversity in organisations evident within the diversity management literature: the business case approach, characterised by a rationale that diversity is good for business and can increase business outcomes, and the social justice case approach, which is underpinned by the recognition of unequal treatment of individuals and ethical/moral concerns relating to equality (Prasad, Pringle & Konrad, 2006). The business case approach has dominated scholarship within the field (Litvin, 1997; Hays-Thomas, 2004; Sinclair, 2006; Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2008; Kirton & Greene, 2010). The central themes to each case are illustrated in table 1, which are forwarded by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000), Litvin (2006) and Kosek, Lobel and Brown (2006). Note these are not comparable and for the purpose of the table are some of the key arguments forwarded within each case.

Table 1: Diversity Management: Business Case vs Social Justice Case

Economic Rationale (Business Case)	Moral Rationale (Social Justice Case)
- Improves productivity	- Promotes interaction between ethnic groups
- Assists the understanding of a greater number of customer needs	- Helps foster culture change in the organisation
- Enhances corporate competitiveness	- Can increase attitudinal commitment, particularly in women
- Helps lower the likelihood of litigation	- Creates organisational harmony
- Better return on human capital	- Addresses systemic and structural inequalities
- Diversity initiatives will attract the best and brightest employees	- Ethically the right thing to do, equal opportunities for all.

Sources: adapted from Lorbiecki and Jack (2000: 22), Litvin (2006: 82) and Kosek, Lobel and Brown (2006: 58).

The dominance of the business case for diversity is not surprising, as the labour market and the workplace are paramount to everyday life and economies. Litvin (2006: 82) notes, ‘Businesses should invest in creating a more effective diverse workforce not because it is the legal, ethical or moral “right” thing to do, but because it is the savvy, bottom-line-focused, pragmatic, self-interested “right” thing to do’. This does not necessarily mean this is the most correct or morally underpinned argument. Some may argue that an individual and organisations should be motivated by a moral consciousness to do the right thing, treat people fairly and equally, and respect people who may be different (in all avenues) to themselves (Prasad, Pringle & Konrad, 2006).

Key principles underpinning the social justice case draw upon social responsibility and that customers will be attracted and like to be associated with socially just values within an organisation such as altruism, cooperation and morals (Sanders & McClellan, 2014). The social justice case for diversity has roots in the earlier framework of equal opportunities, underpinned by a legal and human rights approach, whereby individuals are treated equally and understood on the grounds of sameness rather than difference (Litvin, 2006). Within grassroots community sport, primarily concerned with participation and giving everyone a fair go, applying a business

case discourse to the voluntary sport sector can be contentious, and goes against the core values of equal opportunity and fair play. However, it is noted that sport is inherently competitive and community sports clubs can adopt a business rationale to gain a competitive edge (Spaaij et al., 2013). The business case approach can be an initial catalyst, however, for a club's first engagement in diversity via attracting new members and volunteers to the club. Diversity management and the business case approach, in particular, have received increased criticism from within academic circles.

Dichotomising an approach to diversity is contentious, especially in the equality and justice movement where the definition originated. Organisations and often sports clubs will draw upon principles from both the social justice case and the business case for diversity, rather than one or the other. The disparities between the social justice and business case for diversity and how organisations draw upon these two cases is a crucial debate and sometimes contentious issue within the diversity and equality field (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). This tension has particular relevance to my research, in framing disability diversity within diversity management scholarship.

Disability within Diversity Management: Bad for Club Business but Good for Athletes with a Disability?

Where disability diversity sits within the business case for diversity and how disability can contribute to increased organisational and business goals is unclear. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss disability within broader diversity scholarship, specifically in the workplace. I will comment, however, on the absence of disability diversity in diversity management scholarship within sport. Cunningham (2015) discussed disability to some extent within diversity management; however, greater emphasis in his earlier work involved sexuality and gender diversity (Cunningham, 2011). This is a key concern for scholars such as Misener and Darcy (2014: 4) who stated, 'While diversity management in sport more broadly has championed the inclusion of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, and religious issues across the sporting family, this has not been the case with disability'.

The business model of diversity has been criticised by authors such as Noon (2007), who argued that the business case approach was flawed in its short-termism, blinkered view and cost-benefit analysis rationale. Within the community sport setting, applying the business model of diversity in the context of disability diversity may be problematic for some clubs.

The business case for cultural and gender diversity may appeal to many clubs in recruiting more players and volunteers to the club, and as talent identification to contribute to overall performance of their teams. However, disability diversity challenges the business case. While it can bring new families and members to the club, it can be perceived as costly to run, may not contribute to talent identification or a performance driven club in fielding the best teams and, therefore, many clubs may not engage with disability diversity and actually view it as bad for business (Jeanes et al., 2017). This argument has been explored outside of sport, specifically by Woodhams and Danieli (2000) in which they critically analysed how the merits of diversity management for people with a disability actually played out through practices in the workplace. They question, ‘On what grounds, then, are we persuaded that equality initiatives can make good business sense for organisations and for disabled people’ (Woodhams & Danieli, 2000: 410). Further, they highlighted that the perceived costs to an organisation in accommodating employees with a disability often acted as a barrier to change.

Drawing on principles from a social justice rationale, within the community sports setting it is good for athletes with a disability and disability sport provision more broadly. It is therefore important to explore the interplay between the business case and social justice case for disability diversity, specifically intellectual disability, within my research. This builds on my central thesis argument, in that for many sports clubs and their volunteers, they do not see diversity as their job. Further, when a form of diversity such as intellectual disability is perceived as challenging and may not contribute to their core business of performance goals and competition, they may not actively engage with it or manage it within their diversity management practices (Spaaij et al., 2013). However, if the sole intentions are based on a business ideology and no moral imperatives to provide opportunities for athletes with a disability to play sport, diversity logic gets lost in translation and becomes just rhetoric, and leaves individuals from diverse communities susceptible to discrimination and feelings of isolation and exclusion (Ahmed, 2012).

This is based on the assumption that the club does not necessarily embrace or promote diversity based on the moral imperative and providing sporting opportunities for all community members. In further arguments made by Woodhams and Danieli (2000) and the realisation of diversity management efforts for people with a disability and its translation into practice, the work of Ahmed (2017) and her conceptualisation of diversity work is pertinent within the context of my research. Woodhams and Danieli (2000) argued that the principles of diversity

management did not translate into inclusive practices and organisational change for employees with a disability, and the work of Sara Ahmed (2006c; 2007a; 2012; 2017) builds upon this argument, in questioning the disparities between what an institution says and what it actually does in practice.

Diversity Work

Ahmed's (2017) work on the practical application of diversity in the institutional context of universities and higher education is useful in understanding how diversity gets 'done' within organisations and institutions. Ahmed's work (2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2007a; 2007b; 2010; 2012; 2017; Ahmed & Swan, 2006) draws upon qualitative work with diversity practitioners working in academic institutions in the UK and Australia, and highlights how diversity policies do or do not get implemented within an institution, and how diversity gets done in practice. By the term 'how diversity gets done' and how diversity workers 'do diversity', she refers to the practical application of diversity rhetoric, through actions and behaviours. Ahmed primarily discusses race and gender in much of her work, analysing how diversity workers adopt anti-racism policies within their organisations (2007a; 2007b; 2012), and more recently her own experiences of undertaking diversity work through engagement with feminist theory (2017). Ahmed (2012: 65) argues that, 'diversity is a buzzword, in the sense of a buzz it maybe cancels out the other nose such as racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination'. However, her work has not been applied to disability studies, therefore I offer new theoretical contributions by applying her work to intellectual disability through diversity work in the context of community sports clubs.

Ahmed's work has been recently applied to sport (Bury, 2015), and 'offers a critical analytical lens for investigating diversity practice in different institutional contexts, including sport' (Spaaij et al., 2016: 3). Her conceptual tools, which I discuss below, provide a useful framework for my thesis in exploring how diversity in the form of intellectual disability is enacted within a community sport club and, specifically, the experiences of volunteers who are committed to engaging in diversity work. I discuss some of these key concepts and how they relate to my research. Some of the most pertinent concepts include diversity work, diversity champions, the equity person, non-performative institutional speech acts, happy talk and the institutional brick wall.

First, diversity work is a central theoretical component to my research, in understanding actions by volunteers who practically engage with diversity. By practically I refer to actions and behaviours in support of diversity, for example, by volunteering with a disability sport team. Ahmed (2007a) discusses the role of those individuals within an institution who implement diversity, normally through the aims of a diversity policy. However, as Ahmed (2007a: 591) notes, individuals tended to end up ‘doing the document rather than doing the doing’. By this, Ahmed explained that often diversity practitioners spent more time on perfecting and writing documents, than actually implementing the aims of the document. In this context, she made an important distinction between saying and doing, and this is why her conceptualisation of diversity work is relevant to my research.

Ahmed (2017: 91) refers to diversity work in two ways: ‘First, diversity work is the work we do when we are attempting to transform an institution; and second, diversity work is the work we do when we do not quite inhabit the norms of an institution’. In the first sense, Ahmed (2017) discusses the work done by individuals to open up the institution (for example, a community sports club) to those who it has historically excluded (for example, people with a disability). As I have written previously in Chapter two, community sports clubs are founded on homophilic ties and to exclude difference (Nichols, Tacon & Muir, 2013). Second, those individuals outside the dominant social group within a community sports club do not inhabit the norms of that institution; therefore, they need to work to change the structures and culture within the institution to feel included within it. I use this conceptualisation of diversity work to represent the work performed by volunteers within a community sports club to facilitate the participation of athletes with an intellectual disability.

Within many clubs, diversity work is implemented by individual champions who are passionate about social change and creating opportunities for people from marginalised communities to participate in sport (Spaaij et al., 2016). These are referred to as ‘diversity champions’, who have a genuine commitment to diversity through a social justice motivation and ‘are willing to speak up and stand up on behalf of certain policies, and speak for those who have no voice or cannot be heard’ (Ahmed, 2012: 131). Commitment to diversity is a key discussion point within scholarship on diversity in sport (Cunningham, 2014; Melton & Cunningham, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2016). For the purpose of my research and when I discuss commitment to diversity in the upcoming text or commitment to intellectual disability specifically, I refer to and use Cunningham’s (2008: 178) definition: ‘a force or mindset that binds an individual to support

diversity'. Relying on one single diversity champion can be problematic, however, and Ahmed (2017) refers to this as the problem of 'the equity person'.

The problem of the equity person arises when individuals in organisations, specifically diversity champions, become the one single person in charge of bringing diversity into an organisation and trying to embed it within everyday practices. 'Becoming the equity person can become a problem, as it can mean the equity starts and stops with one person. When one person becomes the equity person, other people do not have to become the equity person' (Ahmed, 2017: 104). Nevertheless, diversity champions have been shown to be pivotal in bringing diversity into a community sports club, and often do this in isolation from the rest of the club, due to inaction or 'nonperformativity' of diversity policies (Ahmed, 2006b; 2007b).

'Non-performative institutional speech acts' refers to policies or words with no impact; the rhetoric of diversity means the words do not perform (Ahmed, 2006b; 2012; 2017). Speech acts refer to the claims made by an institution about what they do or what they believe. For example, a sporting code, through their diversity policy, may state that 'we believe everyone should have the right to play sport', and 'we value diversity'. In this regard, 'such speech acts do not do what they say: they do not, as it were, commit a person, organisation, or state to an action. Instead, they are nonperformatives' (Ahmed, 2006b: 104). Many community sports clubs do not have a diversity policy or action plan, but instead use a diversity policy as outlined by their SSO. Most community sports clubs do have member protection policies, which cover some aspects of diversity and inclusion; however, these primarily concern the safety of all members within the club. Cricket Australia has a diversity policy called 'A Sport for All', which states that cricket is a sport for all Australians. This is filtered down to the community level through SSOs, although the implementation of diversity policy through SSOs down to community clubs suggests a large disconnect (Jeanes et al., 2017).

A method employed by institutions who adopt non-performatives speech acts is through the use of 'happy talk'. 'Happy talk' refers to positive language and messages being discussed around diversity and the 'lip service model of diversity' (Ahmed, 2012). Examples include talking about diversity in the way of 'we welcome everybody', 'no problem here', and 'we treat everybody the same', although as previously mentioned, diversity is a buzzword that conceals inequalities and serves as a distraction from institutionalised racism and discrimination (Ahmed, 2012). One example Ahmed (2012) refers to is when management

within an organisation or institution exercise the use of happy talk in stating ‘we do not have a problem with racism’. When individuals engage in diversity work, in efforts to transform an institution, they can often come up against various forms of resistance, with Ahmed (2006c; 2012) referring to this resistance as the ‘institutional brick wall’.

The institutional brick wall presents itself when diversity workers fight their way in pushing diversity issues. ‘The feeling of doing diversity work is the feeling of coming up against something that does not move’ (Ahmed, 2012: 26). She also refers to diversity workers as ‘institutional plumbers’ in that they work out where there is a problem within an organisation or where diversity gets stuck, for example, in a specific department or at senior leadership level. The institutional brick wall is a metaphor for the repeated encounters of resistance that diversity champions encounter through their engagement in diversity work and attempts to transform an institution. An example of the brick wall in a community sports club setting is when a volunteer may request to buy new equipment for a disability sport team; however, they are told there is no funding, or when funding is promised to upgrade the club facilities to make it more accessible, but a problem arises with getting the action signed off by the committee.

Power structures are also central to Ahmed’s (2012) work, in which she states that people in positions of power are important within the context of diversity work within organisations. Specifically, how people from positions of power and managers speak about diversity is paramount, and whether they value diversity (Ahmed, 2012). This is paramount in understanding whether diversity gets translated into practice and whether there is commitment to bringing about positive change within that organisation. If a board or committee see no value in diversity, this will be evident within the culture of the organisation. Ahmed (2012: 59) delineated, ‘When those with authority of power speak of diversity, then an institutional culture is generated around the word. When diversity is the right way to speak, it accrues value’. This is important within the context of my research, in understanding how volunteers within a club setting engage, or do not engage, with diversity work through intellectual disability. I progress scholarship using Ahmed’s work by focusing on actions and behaviours regarding work done to promote diversity in the community sports setting, through volunteering with a cricket team for athletes with an intellectual disability.

Although Ahmed’s work has been utilised by many researchers as a theoretical framework around diversity and its intersectional focus, disability is largely left out of Ahmed’s work.

There is no substantial critique of Ahmed's work evident within the literature, but her framework around diversity workers does speak primarily to paid employees and workers, therefore theoretically it cannot be simply applied to volunteers. Whereas diversity workers in much of her work are trained diversity specialists, the participants in my study are volunteers. Therefore, new insights will be gained into the voluntary nature of diversity work within community sport, and whether Ahmed's work can be applied and has merit within the context of disability within wider diversity debates. This thesis will also provide new theoretical insights around volunteering, and how diversity work may be theorised as unpaid work, rather than serious leisure (Ellis-Paine et al., 2010).

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has explored diversity, specifically intellectual disability diversity, within the context of my research. I reviewed the relevant literature on intellectual disability within disability sport provision in community sport and the role of volunteers in sustaining sport participation for athletes with a disability. I then provided the theoretical framework to my study. I outlined the problematic application of the business case for diversity in the context of disability and how some community sports clubs may not engage with it by perceiving it as costly and bad for business. My theoretical framework will provide the basis in which I analyse my data to answer my sub-research questions. Further, I use this framework to develop my argument that volunteers in community sports clubs do not see diversity as their job, and that some forms of diversity such as disability, may not contribute to their core business.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods employed in this PhD study. I provide an overview of the research design and qualitative approach used to answer my research questions. The chapter starts with a discussion of the philosophical foundations to the methodology, and then I discuss the methods and research design. These include the ethnographic approach to social research, interviews and participant observations. The theoretical underpinning of diversity work by Ahmed (2012, 2017) and critical diversity scholarship from Spaaij et al. (2013; 2016) informed my methodology and ethnographic approach. For example, the themes of commitment and resistance underpinned a series of questions in my interview guide, and my participant observation protocol was shaped by exploring power dynamics in the club, diversity practices at the club and how members interacted with the AA teams. I discuss the ethical considerations associated with my research and working with athletes with a disability, and discuss reflexivity and positioning my role as the researcher within my research. This chapter explores the inductive approach I adopted to understand how volunteers position themselves in delivering diversity work to enable the facilitation of athletes with an intellectual disability to play cricket. The chapter concludes with an in-depth discussion of how the data was collected, exploring club recruitment and participant selection, and some of the ethical considerations and practical methodological challenges I experienced in the field.

Overview

This PhD was funded as part of an Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage grant. The project explored diversity within junior sports clubs in Victoria, Australia and was entitled, 'Participation versus performance: Managing (dis)ability, gender and cultural diversity in junior sport'. My PhD project was designed in conjunction with the larger ARC project, and the parameters of my research were set by myself, my supervisors and other researchers on the project. My research had to contribute to the larger project, but it was up to me how that was achieved.

This study is methodologically positioned in response to critical diversity and community sport scholarship, which calls for in-depth case study research, and highlights the dearth of research

that adopts ethnographic methods to document the experience of community sport volunteers. The majority of research on community sport and sport event volunteers employs quantitative methods and is framed within a management lens. In the last decade, UK research (Nichols & Taylor, 2010; Sport & Recreation Alliance, 2011) has identified the challenges that community sport volunteers face (e.g. red tape, bureaucracy, lack of volunteers); however, little research documents what it is like to be a volunteer within a community sport club in the current climate. Storr and Spaaij (2016) collected data over the course of twelve months with some young people engaged in a sport volunteering program, and Kay and Bradbury (2009) collected longitudinal data with some young sport volunteers through a funded evaluation, although these were not within a community sports club and were not ethnographic.

The key criticism in the diversity literature made by scholars is the positivistic ontology underpinning the studies: ‘diversity and identities are conceptualized as readymade, fixed, clear-cut, easily measurable categories’ (Zanoni et al., 2010: 13). The same authors also argued that some approaches, specifically within social psychology, gave little weight to the role of contexts, particularly the social and organisational contexts in how people ascribe and construct meanings of diversity. Oswick (2011) argued that diversity is a social construct and the discourses surrounding diversity created by people were shaped by the society they lived in and the people they interacted with; therefore, studying volunteers in their natural environment was needed to answer the associated research questions. As discussed in Chapter three, I take a sociological and critical approach to diversity, and join other authors such as Ahmed (2009) and Cooper (2004) in arguing that diversity needs to be understood in localised communities to understand how individuals enact diversity and construct discourses around diversity within their local community sports club. I follow the framework of Ahmed’s (2012; 2017) diversity workers in identifying what volunteers understand by the concept of diversity and, therefore, how they work with diversity within the contexts of their clubs.

Interpretivism

The basic aim of qualitative research is trying to interpret social phenomena such as diversity, and ‘involves applying empirical research methods to investigate and increase our understanding of some aspects of the social world’ (Waller, Farquharson & Dempsey, 2016: 4). My study is situated within the interpretivist paradigm. As the central research question explores volunteers’ lived experiences, an interpretivist approach provided the most useful

method to gather and analyse research data. Using quantitative methods of enquiry such as a survey or questionnaire would not provide rich quality data to reflect the complex subject of enquiry. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) suggested that the interpretivist theoretical perspective was committed to understanding the social action from the actors' own perspective and examined how they experienced the world. I designed my study within an interpretivist paradigm to give volunteers a voice within the research, but to also understand how the volunteers enacted and worked with diversity within the context of their sport club.

An interpretive paradigm allows researchers to 'explore the social world from the perspective of participants' (Astin & Long, 2009: 390). As sport volunteers as a unit of analysis have not been extensively researched within diversity and community sport settings, my research was explorative in nature. Previous studies have provided some specific findings that helped inform the design of the study (Spaij et al., 2013; 2016). Burrell and Morgan's (1979: 227) position on interpretive research cements the adoption of such an approach for this study of sport volunteers: 'The interpretive paradigm embraces a wide range of philosophical and sociological thought which shares the common characteristics of attempting to understand and explain the social world primarily from the point of view of the actors directly involved in the process'.

The interpretations of a paradigm vary within the literature. At a basic description, a paradigm is understood as 'a basic set of beliefs that guide action' (Guba, 1990: 17). Such sets of beliefs are based on a researcher's principles, which are combined principles over the ontological, epistemological and methodological position of the researcher. These beliefs and philosophical positions shape how the researcher sees themselves in the world and how they act in it. My research is framed within an interpretive framework to give volunteers an active voice within the sport volunteering literature. Although studies have adopted an interpretive design, too often in studies researching volunteers in the sports club setting data has been collected by club managers, committees or presidents on behalf of volunteers (for example, Taylor, 2003; Hanlon & Coleman, 2006; Nichols et al., 2013). This is problematic because managers and people with power or authority in clubs may make assumptions or generalisations about their volunteers and treat them as homogenous individuals.

Authors exploring diversity within sport organisations have also adopted an interpretivist approach, whereby Cunningham and Melton (2014) stated that this perspective was participant

centered and sought to understand participant experiences within their social environment. Due to the interpretive positioning and exploratory nature, I employed an inductive approach. Induction within research methods focuses on the generation of theory emerging from the data, rather than deductive methods that seek to test hypotheses. This meant adopting an iterative process during data collection and going back to the literature for new emerging themes, whilst also analysing data.

Research Design

The Case Study Approach: Sampling

Yin's (2014) case study design was used, which enables researchers to study social phenomena in naturally occurring settings in line with contemporary events. In this instance, diversity is an extremely topical and often controversial topic within Australian society. A case study of one club was chosen for several reasons. The links to the wider ARC project meant that a different approach was needed to offer an original contribution to knowledge, but also within the time constraints of a PhD. Within the three-year time limit of a PhD, doing another club within the winter season would have meant data collection would have finished at the same time as the hand-in date. Finally, in line with critical diversity research (Zanoni et al., 2010), an in-depth case study exploring how diversity 'gets done' on a daily basis within the context of a community sport club and how diversity plays out within localised communities was needed. It was also important to understand volunteers within the environment they operate in, i.e. the community sport setting. A case study design of one club then led to the adoption of ethnography to understand the experiences of volunteers who were committed to diversity work.

The case study selection was completed based on a theoretical sampling technique. Theoretical sampling is 'the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 45). This was done in line with the wider ARC project, which stipulated that clubs had to be active in diversity work, primarily by engagement in one form of diversity. Within my club, intellectual disability was the main form of diversity the club engaged with. The main criterion for the club in my study was that it was active in the area of diversity, for example, through fielding an AA team. The club I included in my PhD research was selected in association with key partners within the

wider ARC funded project¹ and the relevant SSO, in which they had identified clubs perceived as demonstrating good practice around diversity, but more specifically promoting diversity within their club. A further requirement was the club had to be a sports club from one of the five key participation sports in Victoria (cricket, Australian Rules football, soccer, basketball and netball). A key aim of my research was to explore the process of how a sporting club engaged with diversity and how they went about this pursuit. After the club was selected and the president agreed to be a part of the study, the form of diversity that emerged as the club engaged with diversity was intellectual disability. The circumstances surrounding the club's involvement with disability will be explored in the results chapter. To explore and understand the process whereby a club engaged with diversity on a day-to-day basis meant that ethnography was the most appropriate method to answer my sub-research questions. Therefore, selecting a club and following them over the course of a season, during which they actively chose to engage with diversity, would provide data to present to other clubs and identify successes and challenges, and any issues along the way in diversifying their membership base.

Ethnography

Ethnographic enquiry involves the researcher immersing themselves in the natural environment of the subjects under investigation. Ethnography is used to capture the details of social life and the contexts, belief systems, relationships and behaviours of individuals in their natural environment (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Madden, 2010). Ethnography, as a methodological approach, has been proven to be a robust approach to sport research (e.g. Wacquant, 2004; Woodward, 2008; McDonald, 2009; Spaaij & Geilenkirchen, 2011). Due to the complexity of the phenomenon of diversity, observing volunteers within their local sports clubs provides insight into the everyday experiences and understandings of diversity from their perspectives. This is why an ethnographic approach was used, to understand diversity through the eyes of the volunteers, in their natural environments, and to explore how diversity is played out in the everyday setting of community sport. Further, one of the benefits of ethnography is being able to record incidents and observations around the enactment of intellectual disability diversity as they occur (Howe, 2001).

¹ Industry partners within the wider ARC project 'Participation vs Performance' include the Centre for Multicultural Youth, AFL and VicHealth.

An ethnographic approach allowed for the observation of how language was used in the construction of diversity discourses, which also provided insights into subtle processes of social inclusion and exclusion. For example, an investigation into social exclusion in British tennis clubs illustrated how sports clubs and members within the clubs used subtle processes to exclude certain members, in the form of not inviting members to events and matches and even body language and facial expressions (Lake, 2008; 2011). An exploration into this type of behaviour and phenomenon would not have been possible if an ethnographic approach was not adopted.

A key point to address however is the resistance that qualitative social science research may encounter within policy-based studies, specifically around the use of ethnography as a methodological approach (Howe, 2001). One of the critiques that are often raised is concerned with validity and whether the researcher can objectively claim to depict an independent social reality of the phenomenon or culture under investigation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). This critique is based on assumptions that the researcher brings their own values, histories, beliefs and bias towards the research, and that observations and interpretations are subjective and interpreted differently. This can be addressed through researcher reflexivity, and I do this later in the chapter. Some authors have also posited that ethnography has had little impact on policy and practice, therefore policymakers may not consider ethnography to be scientific research and to disregard it as a methodology. Ensuring that research is disseminated appropriately and in formats that are accessible to end users is one method to address this concern, based on the principle that researchers ‘must take responsibility for their value commitments and for the effects of their work’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 15).

Social scientists have taken these concerns into consideration over the past several decades, and ethnography has developed in both theory and practice. Responding to criticism from outside the social sciences means highlighting the benefits of ethnography with studies around diversity, whereby thick description can be provided by field notes and observations of social settings. Further, it allows the researcher to compare what the institution may claim they do by speaking about diversity, and how this matches up within practice, and the actual reality of how diversity may be enacted.

Methods

The data presented within this thesis were collected at one community cricket club in Melbourne. For the purpose of my research and to protect anonymity of the club and its members, the pseudonym of Royal Stakesby Cricket Club (RSCC) will be used to refer to the club from hereon. To protect anonymity of the club, I have also used pseudonyms for some programs and all people at the club. I began data collection in August 2015. I joined RSCC during their winter pre-season indoor training, at an indoor facility approximately 2 km from the club grounds. Due to the sensitive data I observed and participants disclosed, I made the decision to only share some general background information about the club. If I shared all the information to contextualise some of my findings as first planned, the anonymity of the club would be lost. Therefore, I provide a general overview of the club and some key information, but do not provide extensive details to ensure anonymity. RSCC had both senior and junior components, and held various social events throughout the season.

To fully explore volunteer experiences, multiple methods of enquiry were adopted to gain a deeper insight into how volunteers interact with other volunteers, participants, club members and other members of the community. Interviews were utilised to gain an understanding of volunteer experiences of diversity within community sport, and the environment in which they operated was studied through participant observations. This is because to give meaning to the volunteer experiences, the context and environment also need to be studied, as volunteers do not operate in isolation but rather within a web of social relations. All volunteers in this study were eighteen years of age and above. However, young people do contribute extensively within the sport club setting and provide a significant percentage of all sport volunteers, and should be explored in future studies.

Club and Participant Recruitment

The nature of any type of research meant that recruiting clubs was difficult. Emails were originally sent to clubs in the local area. After several emails and phone calls, I secured a club to take part in my research. Although no reason was officially given as to why clubs were reluctant to become involved, from conversations through my research with a wide range of people, I believe they were twofold. First, clubs or committee members were cautious because they did not want to be seen as 'not diverse' or to be audited or investigated in some way. Sporting clubs can be exclusive in nature and have been shown to be insular and recruit new

members and volunteers based on a 'sameness' rationale and to the club's image, and can often be reluctant to recruit from outside the club (Nichols, Tacon & Muir, 2012). This can be conceptualised as the researcher being an outsider.

Second, in line with previous research on voluntary sports clubs, volunteers may perceive the research as too much work, in times when they are already overburdened and time poor. During initial recruitment conversations, I was clear about the involvement from the club in allowing access to volunteers; however, overall with the sometimes political and controversial underpinnings to diversity, especially within Australian society, clubs may have perceived the involvement within this particular PhD study as too much and something that the club did not want to commit to or expose themselves to be exclusive rather than inclusive.

RSCC had recently recruited a new junior coordinator (Robert) to expand the junior program. Please refer to Appendix A where the reader can find the profiles of all volunteers at RSCC, which will assist in contextualising these individuals and their social locations and experiences. Robert saw diversity as a key avenue in expanding the junior program and club membership base. This was why the club saw value in participation in the study. Recruitment of clubs, especially voluntary sports clubs, is dependent on whether the club sees value in their participation in the study and to consider the costs versus the benefits. After setting up an initial meeting with the president and Robert, the club agreed to participate in the study. After the initial meeting, where I explained the full nature of the study and went through the study information and associated ethical considerations and forms, the club was given a cooling off period and were reminded they were under no obligation to participate in the study, and that they could withdraw at any time, with no reasons having to be given.

Interviews

An interview is often conceptualised as verbal questioning and a conversation with a purpose (May, 2011; Sarantakos, 2012). Interviews are used as a tool to gather rich in-depth information, seeking to understand phenomenon such as the lived experiences of individuals and human interactions (Silverman, 2010). To understand volunteers' experiences of diversity, I had to speak to them to gain insights into those experiences. Briggs (1986: 2) posited that interviews were based on researchers 'talking to people about their experiences, attitudes, opinions, complaints, feelings, emotions and beliefs'. I chose to undertake semi-structured

interviews to cover key topics such as volunteering, the club and diversity issues, but also to allow participants to speak freely about their experiences as a volunteer at the club.

There are both advantages and disadvantages to using interviews as a methodological tool. Advantages to using interviews with qualitative research include the ability for participants to offer rich, detailed accounts of their experiences. However, the quality of qualitative interviews can attract criticism owing to participant subjectivity and the differing ways participants can respond or interpret questions. Moreover, with less structured interviews, sometimes participants may go off topic. 'Much methodological writing on qualitative interviewing indicates that interviews often do not proceed as planned, and that researchers must continuously deal with challenges as they arise during interviews' (Roulston, 2011: 350). Whether the data from respondents in interviews is truthful can also be problematic, but counter-arguments to this criticism centre on epistemology and how truth is constructed and what ultimately constitutes 'real' truth.

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews are the more predominant types of interviews within the social sciences, and are applied to explore how knowledge is situated and constructed through the eyes of the participant. Denzin (2001: 25) identified these types of interviews to be a 'narrative device to allows story telling' from the perspective of the participant under investigation. The wording of questions is flexible and the level of language used with each participant is adapted, and probes and queues are also often used to prompt participants to expand or provide more information to a question. However, the interviewer must ensure they do not lead participants by influencing how the interviewee responds (response bias). I tried to avoid using too many cues within my interviews, but did use scenario and case study examples if participants were unsure of the question or if they misinterpreted the question.

The interview schedule was developed in line with the review of the literature, the theoretical framework and the ARC project. As data from my PhD would be used within the ARC project, some questions had to be included in the interview schedule, specifically ones relating to diversity and policy. An example of these questions includes, 'Are you aware of any policies aimed at promoting a welcoming and inclusive environment?'.

Interviews at RSCC

Throughout my fieldwork, I conducted 20 individual semi-structured interviews and spoke to a range of other volunteers on match days. The length of the matches allowed me to sit and chat to parents and volunteers for several hours on occasions. These conversations included parents and volunteers from the opposing teams, from the league or association, Cricket Victoria and the All Inclusive cricket league, team managers and coaches, and general volunteers at away matches, including canteen volunteers. Overall, I spoke with over 60 people during the course of the cricket season, which helped contextualise my understandings of the volunteers at RSCC, who were the main focus of my case study. These conversations were part of approximately 200 observation hours that I spent at RSCC. The data presented in this thesis focuses on my observations and semi-structured interviews at RSCC.

I asked questions around volunteers' attitudes and understandings towards diversity. Interview questions were designed on previous research from the critical diversity literature and sport volunteering literature. Interviews varied in terms of staying with the interview guide, whereby some wanted to talk about diversity broadly, whereby some talked more specifically about the AA teams. When some interviewees discussed sensitive information around the club or the AA teams, I had to ensure confidentiality and that no information would get back to the club or the club management. This was especially important when some members were discussing resistance around diversity efforts. I had to use my personal intuition on occasions also, in establishing participant bias and truthfulness. For example, some participants shared information which was then contradicted by others, mainly around the AA teams. One example involved a participant who had spoken positively around the AA teams, but then found out from several volunteers that the participant was vocally resistant to the teams. Often interviews also tended to drift and focus on cultural diversity, so I had to make efforts to bring the conversation back to disability and the AA teams. When cultural diversity was discussed, often volunteers would talk about racism and discrimination also.

My role as the interviewer and researcher changed throughout the course of the season. I tried to chat with as many people as possible before I interviewed them, to build a relationship and rapport with them. Many were extremely busy with their personal lives in addition to volunteering, so setting aside up to an hour proved to be challenging for many, but after the relationships had developed, participants were more than willing to make time for me. The

informal short conversations I had with people around the club meant I could bring things up in interviews that they had previously shared, and tailored each interview to make it more personalised.

Conducting the interviews proved to be one of the hardest tasks within the data collection. This was twofold: organising a time and managing the interactions of the interviewee and the sensitive nature of the topic. As volunteers were busy, finding a time to sit down individually with them in a quiet space proved to be difficult. Participants preferred the informal conversations around the club rather than having a set time. Most interviews ended up being around training and match days, with some coming to my office at the university. Further, the use of a Dictaphone proved to be influential in participant responses. No participants objected to being recorded; however, several did continue to elaborate on some responses and, on some occasions, gave quite insightful and honest opinions about the club when the Dictaphone was turned off. The 'off the record' appeal meant participants felt they could speak more freely and share information about the club and the culture of the club. I did repeat that all the information was confidential and that nothing would be traced back to the participant.

The second difficulty was conducting some of the interviews and managing the interactions between myself and the volunteers. One particular interview with Amanda I remember well, and had to draw on my skills as an interviewer, but also as a compassionate researcher. Amanda spoke about some unpleasant experiences with her son around ableism and discrimination, but also some positive experiences. This proved to be an emotional time and Amanda cried during her interview. Hearing Amanda talk about her son and some of the experiences also led to some tears from myself. I tried to remain professional but sometimes the shared understanding and empathy around disability provision meant that the report was stronger, and participants could open up more. It was hard to know when or if it was appropriate to probe, or if the interview had to be stopped. On this occasion I checked in with Amanda the day after the interview for a debrief, and to ensure she was OK, but that there was also support systems in place for her if she needed to talk to anyone. Amanda expressed her sincerity on this occasion and informed me it was helpful and therapeutic to talk about her experiences with me and thanked me for listening and showing interest. This was an important part of the research process to me, in giving a voice to those volunteers and how these stories can affect positive change.

Participant Observations

I conducted participant observations over the course of a 10-month period, which totaled 200 hours. This began with the pre-season that occurred in a local sport centre with indoor cricket nets and included some fitness afterwards. Observations of volunteers in their natural setting allowed me to gain insight into how diversity was experienced within the club setting and the interactions between volunteers and participants. An observation protocol was constructed based on previous observation instruments such as Jeanes (2011) and Spaaij (2013b), and also in conjunction with the observation protocol for the wider ARC project. My PhD observation data was also used to support findings for the ARC project. The observation protocol used in my research can be found in Appendix B.

Observations occurred at club committee meetings, coaching sessions, competitions, club functions and social events. In the first two months I filled out the observation protocol after each session, so observations were still fresh in my mind. I found it difficult to remember conversations or interactions the day after, as on occasions I could be at the club for over four hours. After two months and for the rest of my fieldwork I was familiar with the observation protocol and made field notes around key themes that I had identified from my coding framework. For example, I would make notes on conversations around the AA teams, and any dialogue that could be conceptualised as resistance. I would write up field notes immediately after sessions, after taking some general notes on my phone. I found this to be a good way to write down key themes, as when I first started and had my notebook and pen, some volunteers would look with suspicion. The fact that I would often actively participate and help with the AA teams also meant it was not really practical to take field notes during the action.

Observing a wide range of social events and social interactions allowed me to develop relationships with volunteers within clubs. Furthermore, with the nature of ethnography it allowed me to witness and explore subtle processes of social differentiation, and observe and understand the dominant discourses evident within the club. For example, when volunteers discussed the importance of winning and provided commentary on the status of teams within certain leagues, it suggested a discourse surrounding performance and competition over inclusion and diversity goals. On fieldwork and participant observations, Goffman (1989: 125) commented that fieldwork included 'subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of

individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation’.

A supplementary component to the methods included analysis of cultural artefacts associated with or provided by RSCC. This included analysing social invitations to club members, the club website and social media accounts. This was achieved through content analysis and involved identifying key themes in line with my theoretical framework. For example, comments left on the social media accounts using happy talk in promoting the AA teams. This allowed the language presented to club members to be analysed and helped contextualise the experiences of the volunteers within RSCC. A policy analysis was not undertaken within my thesis; a more fully-fledged policy analysis was done within the wider ARC project, and was beyond the scope of the thesis.

Ethical Considerations and Data Collection

Full ethics clearance was given by the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee on 16 March 2015 (Project Number: HRE15-135). Volunteers were over the age of 18, although the space in which the data collection occurred included vulnerable people and people who were under 18 years of age. Therefore, a full Working With Children Check was required prior to the commencement of data collection, and a full safeguarding protocol was developed to address any issues that might arise when working within the space of junior sport. A full consultation with the committee of the club took place prior to data collection. They requested a Working With Children Check, and a short biography and information sheet to be provided so they could upload to their website and social media accounts. I also developed a schedule with the club so that they knew when I would be attending the club and to avoid any unannounced trips (Zion & Te Riele, 2014). I received consent from the club committee, specifically the club president, to sit in coaching sessions and other sporting encounters, and be present within the club setting including matches, meetings and practices. I was also invited to social events throughout the course of the season including open days, a bingo night, the season launch and the final presentation and awards evening.

A key concern for me as the researcher in this aspect was if I heard any discriminatory language or behaviour, and how I would respond to it. I decided within my ethics application that I would not interject, unless I witnessed vilification within juniors as this could have negative

repercussions on that young person. I would also report anything I deemed important to the club committee. During fieldwork, I did not witness any behaviour that required me to interject or report anything to the committee.

The club, especially the president at the time, suggested I tell people I was working with the club this season and that ‘my PhD was on cricket’. He suggested not saying diversity explicitly as it might scare people off. For example, at the season launch night, he introduced me by saying that I was from Victoria University and was working with the club for the upcoming season. I approached people and explained to people that my PhD was looking at volunteers within community sports clubs, and most people expressed interest in it, and as most were volunteers and saw value in volunteering, it was easy to engage people within the research. I used a strategy, in consultation with the club committee, to discuss issues around diversity, due to the personal and political nature the topic can hold for some people. When interviewing people or chatting to people informally whilst watching matches or in the clubhouse, after asking participants about what challenges they and the club faced in a volunteer capacity, I used the following link: ‘One area that both Cricket Australia and Cricket Victoria appear to be engaging with and promoting this year is diversity and their campaign of #ASportForAll’.

I then asked participants what they understood of the term diversity and then associated questions about diversity and the club. The interview started off broadly about their volunteering and experiences at the club, before becoming more focused around diversity and the AA teams. The interview guide for my thesis can be found in Appendix B. I used incidents and stories from the media to ignite discussion, whereby at the time of data collection there were several incidents within sport around diversity. After speaking around diversity broadly, I then introduced questions around the AA teams and intellectual disability. I was conscious that speaking about issues around diversity, difference, identity and associated topics such as migration and asylum seekers can be contentious. The political and social landscape surrounding diversity at the time of data collection was somewhat unsettled², but did provide for fruitful discussions about wider debates of diversity in Australia. I wrote up field notes

² One key incident at the time of the fieldwork was the booing of Aboriginal AFL player Adam Goodes. He was repeatedly ‘booed’ at matches after an Aboriginal war cry celebration and throwing of an imaginary spear. What followed was a national debate around racism in Australian sport, specifically AFL.

immediately after my observations and found this to be useful in remembering information that participants shared with me.

Ensuring the anonymity of the club is very important. Discussions did take place with the club and also my supervisory team to protect the anonymity of the club. As there were elements of the research process and data in my thesis that could potentially identify the club, some omissions were left regarding the club. Not too much detail is given about the club for that reason, and some sports apart from cricket, were given pseudonyms or de-identified. I did originally have a sport identified (instead of cricket), but then after much discussion, I decided to discuss and include cricket which was the sport under investigation, in order to contextualise the wider policy imperatives around Access All Abilities and the SSO of Cricket Victoria. Had I not provided this, the context would have been lost, and the narrative and explanations as to why the club engaged with AA cricket would have been confusing for the reader. Where possible, however, information has not been included which would identify the club or the volunteers.

Discussions with the club did take place for this reason, and I made it very clear that no sensitive data would be shared publically and we would manage this on an ongoing basis. However, the club and the committee wanted to share they were taking part in research to promote their diversity efforts. I did on occasions have to discuss with the president and some volunteers to not promote or share their participation in my research due to ethical considerations. This was the same process with Cricket Victoria, who knew the club, but this was kept confidential. They knew the club because they helped facilitate the participation of the club in my study. No data or discussion of data took place within Cricket Victoria unless the club gave permission.

Data Analysis

Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, with the permission of participants. The data was entered into NVivo 11 to help identify key themes via thematic analysis and coding. After inputting all transcripts into NVivo 11, I read through all transcripts to identify major themes. I also read through and coded field notes to identify emergent themes and matched these with interview data. This was an iterative process through my inductive research process, whereby I then engaged with the relevant literature, re-coded in line with my theoretical framework and then coded again. I analysed all data in a cyclical process and applied open,

axial and major order theme coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In the first instance, I developed a coding framework, whereby I listed all the key themes to emerge from my data. I then grouped the main reoccurring themes, which emerged as four major themes. An example of my coding framework can be seen in Appendix F. Within the first half of my fieldwork, a wide range of themes emerged, in which I then refocused in developing my research questions.

The four major themes from my data were diversity, volunteering, sport/ club, and ability/ disability. The iterative process and inductive approach allowed me to amend some interview questions and also direct more attention to these concepts when doing observations, and having conversations with volunteers on match days. One example of a major theme was diversity. The associated sub themes or second order themes included: understanding, experiences, language, doing, change, and axes. Understanding as a sub-theme referred to participants' understandings of what diversity meant, and how they contextualized diversity within the context of their club. Doing was a theme which was adopted from my theoretical framework, whereby Ahmed refers to actions and behaviours which promote diversity as 'doing'. Here I also coded observations of practical efforts and actions which implemented diversity efforts. For example, helping with the AA teams or contributing to a AA match day. This was to highlight specific occasions and dialogue around doing diversity work and speaking about diversity work. This is an example of using my theoretical framework to help guide my observations and interpret my data. After all data had been coded, I developed major themes that were relevant to my refocused research questions. In my results chapters, I present these themes within a narrative that fits my research questions, and chronologically in line with the duration of the season and time I spent with the club. I decided to present the themes chronologically to help with the narrative for the reader, and to tell the story of the season I spent with RSCC.

Researcher Reflexivity

Within ethnography, situating yourself within the research is an important consideration (Macphail, 2004). Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that the researcher within social research was a form of human capital, a 'human instrument' and it was important to understand the relationship between them and those under investigation. This is heavily dependent on the subject of enquiry and whether the topic of investigation is of a sensitive nature such as trauma, injury, abuse or addiction. Although my research could have been politicised and somewhat

controversial, the overall subject of diversity did not invoke any sensitive or controversial discussions. Reflecting on previous experience and one's background in relation to the research for an ethnographer is paramount (Brewer, 2000). I will therefore provide an overview of my background in relation to the nature of the study and how this may have impacted the collection of data.

Researcher's Background

As many sociologists contend, it is important to outline the researcher's experience and background, in situating where they are located within their research. I have volunteered in sport since the age of 15 whereby I began helping my hockey coach, who was struggling to coach and organise both senior and junior teams. Since then, volunteering in three key programs proved to be influential. The first was through the Youth Sport Trust, which is the national governing body for PE and youth sport in the UK³. I volunteered for two years on their Step into Sport Programme, which encouraged young people to volunteer through sport in their local communities.

Two week long residential camps were the main focus of my volunteering involvement, which meant undertaking extensive training. The training ran over two years for the two separate camps, and consisted of sessions around inclusive practices, volunteering, leadership, child protection and safeguarding, and counselling and mentoring. Key themes of the program surrounded celebrating differences and promoting participation in sport and leadership in underrepresented and minority groups. Young people from all backgrounds, abilities, sexualities and religions were in attendance on my final camp experience. This diversity was celebrated and normalised, with the intention that the young people would go back into their communities and engage other diverse young people within sport. It was here that I first worked with young people who had a disability, some with an intellectual disability. Therefore, prior to fieldwork I had worked with people with an intellectual disability, which was in a sport context.

My second key involvement of volunteering was through the student union at the university I attended, whereby I took on the role of Sport Action coordinator. This voluntary role involved

³ The Youth Sport Trust is an independent charity aimed at creating a brighter future for young people through sport, with an emphasis on access to high quality inclusive PE and sport.

coordinating all sport-related volunteering opportunities within the university for students. There were over ten projects over the course of the year that included a sport development project utilising sport as an integrative tool for recently arrived migrants and refugees, a running group in association with a local GP practice for people with mild mental health problems, and a gym buddy program for NEET (not in education, employment or training) young people. This experience introduced me to wider diversity issues such as cultural diversity and the mass displacement of people from their homeland, and understanding social inequality through marginalised youth and their access to community sport provision. My third key volunteering experience was a two-month volunteering placement in Lusaka, Zambia. Part of a UK sport initiative, IDEALS (International Development through Education and Leadership in Sport), I worked with young Zambian peer leaders in underprivileged communities. Education focused on HIV/AIDS awareness and community empowerment through sport. This allowed me to understand volunteering in sport within an international focus and how volunteering is undertaken within contexts outside western developed societies.

It was important for me to reflect on my experiences prior to entering the field, my positioning as a social justice researcher and white western knowledge throughout the research journey. This was also due to my UK-based experiences I had prior to moving to Australia and the cultural difference between both countries. Within Australia, the cultural and political landscape, especially around diversity, is different to that of the UK, specifically with regards to sporting provision. I will now discuss my reflexivity within the fieldwork at RSCC.

Reflexivity at RSCC

Ethnographers have to continually reflect throughout the research process, especially during fieldwork and are required to offer rich descriptions of their experiences, their surroundings, thoughts and feelings of the situations and encounters they find themselves having. 'Reflexive ethnographers ideally use all their senses, bodies, movement, feelings, and their whole being – they use the 'self' to learn about the other' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000: 741). The personal experience of the researcher within the setting of the research is important and this experience is an important part of the fieldwork. Throughout the fieldwork, I had to address key considerations with regards to my research questions, which I often wrote about and reflected on: what was it like to be a volunteer and what was the culture like within the club? More specifically, I reflected on my time as a volunteer with the AA teams and some of the

challenges I and the other volunteers encountered, but also wrote about the rewards and satisfaction through engagement with the players.

Working out what role I was to have within the club was challenging at the beginning. Taking up the role of both volunteer and ethnographer can be both valuable and problematic. Garthwaite (2016: 61) stated that ‘there is an obvious lack of literature relating to volunteering ethnography’, but ‘volunteering demonstrates the researcher’s commitment to the cause and local area’. Further, by volunteering during ethnography, it can allow access to discover critical insights in the daily interactions and duties between volunteers. Spaaij (2012: 2013) in his work with Somali refugees within community sport, identified that the role of the researcher within ethnography can be unclear. Within his fieldwork, there was speculation and often suspicion of the role he had within the club and whether he was a coach, talent scout or parent. It was decided with my supervisory team that I would not volunteer within the club, as volunteering and observing whilst doing a PhD may have been too much. However, I became a volunteer within the first few weeks.

First, after standing and observing several of the net sessions in the first few weeks, I stood out. Many of the players asked why I wasn’t playing and to hear some of the conversations and dialogue between players and coaches I had to ‘get stuck in’, as one of the coaches suggested. In the senior sessions this started when some of the coaches needed balls collected, so I was happy to be assigned the role. In some of the AA team sessions, I had a more active role in leading activities and games. Second, specifically within the AA team sessions, there were only two to three volunteers in the early weeks, and two of the key volunteers for the AA teams struggled to manage 25 players. I offered to help run drills, collect things, shout things (instructions, where to stand) and other miscellaneous activities.

Additionally, on several occasions, I felt morally obliged to help and stand in, as I saw that there were not enough volunteers for the number of players in attendance, and I had a coaching background (in multi-sport and tennis specifically). This proved to be important with regards to understanding the experiences of the volunteers and what it was like to be a volunteer at the club. Further, when chatting about their experiences I could relate to them and talk more in depth about certain events and players, as I had been there and experienced it with them. Finally, as I volunteered and helped out around the club, I became an ‘insider’ rather than an ‘outsider’. Debates within ethnographic sport research in recent years have questioned whether

the researcher needs to be conceptualised as an insider to be able to collect good research (Richards, 2015). For example, if a researcher is understood to be an outsider, and hold the status of researcher rather than participant (for example, a sport club or sporting culture such as football fans) then some authors question the trustworthiness of the data (Spaaij, 2013). Brewer (2000) also wrote of the problem of going native and becoming too involved to the point where as a researcher you lose sight to critically analyse and observe what is going on, you become the researched and do as the natives do.

Working to position myself as an insider, through volunteering and a willingness to 'get stuck in', meant I became involved with and heard conversations from within the club, thus leading to access to participants. If I were to just stand and observe whilst offering no help and to not interact with the volunteers, it would have been very difficult to gather research data. I would have been seen as an outsider and an unhelpful one at that. My volunteering allowed me to gain access and build rapport with the volunteers, and for them to then speak freely and honestly about their experiences and the club.

Although I was not specifically researching athletes with a disability, working with them was an important part of my fieldwork, as was supporting volunteers in working with the players. As I had previous experience in working with athletes with a disability, I was able to show empathy towards the players and understand the reasons for some of their challenging behaviour. For example, many of the AA players had personal extenuating circumstances and had to navigate their daily lives with several challenges. This is best understood within the context of my prologue at the beginning of my thesis. Many AA players had family issues, problems around employment and government support payments, and financial constraints. I spoke about these issues with volunteers, who often needed emotional support in dealing with some of these issues.

For example, one incident involved volunteers dealing with an upset player who had recently lost her mother and another player who had just broken up with his partner. These were common incidents and I had to continually be reflexive throughout my fieldwork to not get too involved which could have affected my data, and for my own personal welfare. On occasions, hearing the daily struggles of some of the AA players was emotional and confronting. As I documented in Chapter three, working with athletes with an intellectual disability can be challenging due to their behaviour and their difficulties in understanding tasks and instructions.

A central component to my fieldwork in answering my research questions was understanding the experiences of the volunteers in my sample who worked with players with an intellectual disability.

From my time spent at RSCC and my interactions with the volunteers and club members throughout the course of the cricket season, I felt that all participants were honest and, on many occasions, provided very frank reflections of their views towards diversity, specifically intellectual disability diversity, within their club. I did consider the reasons as to why some club members or volunteers may want to falsify their accounts, specifically by not wanting their club to look bad, shedding light on undesirable or exclusive practices, or providing answers to questions to look like they welcomed diversity. The triangulation of interviews and observations in this context was important to check what people did against what they said they did.

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the methods adopted in this thesis to explore diversity work in one community sport club in Melbourne. I provided the methodological underpinning to my research design and the interpretivist framework I adopted to understand the lived experience of volunteers. I discussed my research design, using an ethnographic approach consisting of semi-structured interviews and participant observations. I then discussed the procedures around recruitment of participants and the associated ethical protocol involved in the study. Finally, I discussed researcher reflexivity and my own experiences and positioning within the research, especially in working with athletes with an intellectual disability and supporting volunteers in working with these athletes. The following results chapters provide data from one full season I observed at RSCC in Victoria, Australia.

Chapter 5:

As long as we're winning, the rest doesn't really matter:

Diversity at Royal Stakesby Cricket Club

Introduction

This chapter introduces the RSCC and its institutional diversity practices. Diversity was enacted by two cricket teams for players with an intellectual disability. Further, the chapter provides background and context to RSCC, outlining the club structure and operations and the club culture. I specifically address the first sub-question of my thesis: 'What are the institutional diversity practices at RSCC?' In answering this research question, I outline RSCC's decision to introduce diversity into their club. I specifically analyse the reasons as to why diversity was introduced at RSCC and how two teams for athletes with an intellectual disability were formed at the club. The first part of the chapter provides context for the subsequent results chapters, and the current pressures experienced by volunteers and how this may affect their commitment to diversity. The second part explores the decision to introduce diversity to RSCC.

Operations and Culture at RSCC

RSCC had four senior men's teams, two junior boys' teams and two co-ed teams for people with a disability (All Abilities). Both the senior and junior teams had two training sessions per week, with match days on Saturdays. The club had a heavy emphasis on performance and winning, which meant that the senior teams had the best training times and priority access to ovals, especially on Saturdays when most cricket matches took place. This meant that the AA teams had training on Friday evenings, with matches on Sundays. These were the only other times available, which meant that the AA teams operated outside the main club operations. Below I outline a general week of operations at RSCC (Table 2). The main days at the cricket oval for players and volunteers were Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Saturdays were the busiest day with junior matches in the morning and at least two senior matches in the afternoon. This was a key volunteer day with the clubhouse needing to be attended, in addition to match-related jobs such as umpiring, scoring and catering. Saturdays were instrumental for social interactions and volunteer duties, with volunteers supporting teams and performing general tasks on match days. General tasks included opening the clubhouse, setting up the ovals and preparing the wickets, kitchen and food preparation and, on occasions, looking after children

in the clubhouse whilst matches were on. Saturdays at the clubhouse gave insights into the culture at RSCC and key social actors within RSCC. RSCC was associated with a gaming venue, known in Australia as a ‘Pokies’. These are venues with licensed gaming machines. RSCC received funding from the Pokies and the owner of the venue was part of the management at RSCC.

Table 2: Weekly program at RSCC during the 2015/2016 season

Monday	No events	
Tuesday	Junior training Senior training	Juniors and seniors overlap to train together for half an hour
Wednesday	No events	
Thursday	Junior training Senior training	Club meal post training for all teams and team selection for weekend games (no juniors)
Friday	AA teams training	AA teams trained by themselves with no club interactions and no other club activity.
Saturday	Junior matches Senior matches Afternoon tea	Several social events held on a Saturday night after matches
Sunday	All Abilities match 12 noon	AA matches happened separate to all other club activity, with no other matches on a Sunday.

The junior program at RSCC started in 1999 and over the years many players have transitioned from the junior program to the senior teams. In most years, the club has managed to field up to four teams in one season (U17, U15, U13 and U11). However, in recent seasons the junior sides were disbanded with no teams being fielded into any local leagues or competitions. It was not clear why this occurred; however, some volunteers suggested that it was due to an increased

emphasis on the senior teams. This proved to be a contentious issue for volunteers involved in the junior setup. With an emphasis on senior success, specifically the 1st team, some members felt that this jeopardised the future of the club and its development. This reasoning was on the basis that the club should be producing participation pathways and 'home grown talent'. In the 2015/2016 season, RSCC had two junior teams, an U17 and an U15 team and I observed both teams at home and away matches.

Within the junior setup of the club is the Hercules Junior Program. This is a ten-week adapted cricket program for young children, approximately aged 5–8 years, to teach them basic cricket skills and is the entry point on the cricket playing pathway. In the 2015/2016 season, the program flourished with participation increasing from 10 to 47 children by the end of the program. It ran on Saturday mornings from 09.30 to 10.30. The cost of the program was \$75 for the season, which is relatively cheap in comparison to other sports. The Hercules Junior Program required the largest number of volunteers, with several coaches and helpers required for the ratio of volunteers to children. Two key volunteer coaches coordinated the sessions and each week a roster of club players was provided to assist the session. Ensuring there were enough volunteers to help assist the sessions each week proved to be difficult, and was a contentious issue for club members and volunteers.

The junior section of the club has often operated outside the normal boundaries and operations of the main senior club. Similar to the AA teams, the junior teams played their matches and had training on separate days to the senior men's teams. This separation was not something that members viewed as positive, and several core volunteers in the junior teams expressed their anguish in interviews. When a volunteer in one of the junior sides was asked about the differences between the junior and seniors, he commented:

There hasn't been much interaction at all with the seniors and juniors. This year has been a hell of a lot different, there's been a lot of senior players I've noticed get more involved, so yeah, there is, it's changed a lot now, which is good. I always think that the seniors need to get involved with the juniors (William, Junior Coordinator).

The same volunteer told stories of members not talking to junior players at the clubhouse and not supporting the junior matches, opting to sit in the clubhouse and drink beer. He expressed disbelief that some members would choose to be like this because the junior players look up to

senior players and view them as role models. With junior numbers at an all-time low, during the last season efforts were made to promote growth of the junior section. Throughout the season, an awareness of participation over performance emerged within the junior section.

Fieldwork showed there was a prominent culture at RSCC: winning and success. This was evident from my first observations at the pre-season indoor sessions to my final observations at the end of season club presentation evening. Early participant observations in the first week during pre-season at an indoor cricket facility demonstrated this performance culture:

Although there was banter and light heartedness in terms of social interactions, even with the juniors, I really got the sense of competition and seriousness throughout the session. The way the coaches speak, and general interactions between everyone, I get the sense that everyone means business. This suggests there is a strong emphasis on competition and success, and that inclusion goals are secondary and kind of slotted in around the performance goals (Field Notes 12/8/15).

I refer to this culture of winning and success as ‘performance culture’. Bob, a general club volunteer and ex-committee member summarised this performance culture well, corroborating with observations:

A guy came here, playing for us one year, he played for a number of years, and he came here from a rival club, and he said the one thing he heard about our club, he was talking about our club, we weren’t in it to play finals, we were in it to win premierships (Bob, General Club Volunteer).

Bob explained that the club was proud of this reputation of ‘winning premierships’ amongst other clubs, demonstrating the cultural value and currency associated with success. Over the past 40 years, the club had won over 20 premierships (in which a flag is given to the club on each premiership). The flags held symbolic capital for RSCC and many volunteers, as this signified winning a premiership. Towards the end of the season, I had conversations with the junior coaches and volunteers who stated that they were conscious of the performance culture and emphasis on success and winning within the club, and were concerned it could trickle down to juniors and have detrimental effects on players’ culture within the junior section. This is reflected in recent literature that problematises the continuum of participation vs performance, with performance goals eclipsing participation goals and the associated ethos of ‘giving everyone a fair go’ (Sawrikar & Muir, 2010; Maxwell et al., 2013; Maxwell et al., 2014; Spaaij,

Magee & Jeanes, 2014; 2016). Winning within the senior teams, however, is something that RSCC has built its reputation on. Beyond the performance culture and winning on the oval, RSCC provided members with the chance to be social and allowed members to interact with each other beyond the boundaries of the oval, normally in the clubhouse and at club functions and social events. The Facebook page served as a key point for communication for club news and announcements. Calls for volunteers for events such as socials and the junior sport program were done primarily through the Facebook page. I attended nearly all the social events throughout the season including the season launch night, club open day, 'Bogan Bingo' night, ladies' day and the club presentation evening. It is worth noting that many of the social events included alcohol, with a drinking culture evident within the club. At several key events such as the season launch, presentation evening and 'Bogan Bingo' night, there was unlimited alcohol available for patrons. Some field notes taken from a social event dubbed 'Bogan Bingo' night gave an insight into the heavy drinking culture at RSCC I witnessed:

The senior 1st team were away and the match is rained off, so the team started drinking alcohol early in the afternoon. This was evident when I arrive and the captain of the first senior team, who is taking money and doing the check in, is heavily intoxicated. He can barely string a sentence together and struggles to count the change I need. Most people on arrival are already quite drunk it seems. Throughout the evening the drinking culture, which I was already aware of, really shows through. At times it is quite raucous and although everyone is having fun and letting their hair down, it is a little wild at times; for a club social function anyway. A female club member comes over to me and has a chat. She seems quite drunk already and is dressed in 'bogan' attire, with a cocktail sausage hanging out of her zip. She seems to be getting into the spirit of things (Field Notes 31/10/15).

My field notes above illustrate the importance of alcohol in club social functions at RSCC and how alcohol consumption was used as a socialising agent at the club. The majority of social functions at RSCC were designed to cater to the club members at RSCC who all valued drinking and socialising as an important part of the culture at RSCC. Alcohol became a contentious topic, however, throughout the season. When the new Junior Development Officer, Robert arrived at the club, his abstinence of alcohol, in line with his Muslim faith, meant the club had to reassess their alcohol culture. This prompted discussion amongst the committee and the president, especially in regards to being an inclusive family club. The culture of win at all costs and alcohol was no longer welcomed by some members and volunteers, and this was reflected in a conversation with one of the junior coaches. Kirk commented:

From a club perspective ... I think they're fairly frank about their dual purpose as yes, they want the senior team to win and they take a lot of pride in that but also they are a community club, they're not a premier club so they're not necessarily trying to groom guys for first class [sport]. I think whilst they dearly want to win the flag, they make no bones about it, I think the club and the management are also increasingly keen to have the club driving across a level and that means, I think, getting kids from diverse backgrounds or different abilities and disabilities.

The club being 'increasingly keen' was a primary factor for RSCC introducing diversity into the club.

Diversity at RSCC

I know at RSCC they're very Anglo apart from the odd Indian or ... they're very Anglo Saxon. It is a very white club. It is and that's the thing, it is a very Anglo club and that's the best way to put it (Sally, Administrator).

The above quote from Sally summarised the level of diversity at RSCC, based on skin colour, prior to the arrival of the AA teams. There were few culturally diverse players and club members at RSCC, with approximately five players from CALD communities, noticeably South Asian backgrounds. This was due to the playing culture in cricket amongst those specific communities, as one volunteer informed me, 'the sport runs through their blood'. Within my first month at RSCC, I wanted to identify what diversity at the club was like. This was done mainly through observations, but also via consultation with the secretary in exploring member demographics through registration forms and so forth.

The club recently audited its membership base upon my arrival and I was informed by the secretary that the main playing demographic of the club was male, under 35, white Anglo and working class. The committee and general club members, who often drank and socialised in the clubhouse, were older, white, heterosexual, able-bodied Anglo men. The 2015/2016 season saw a commitment to diversity at RSCC shaped by community changes and higher levels of diversity across Australian society. Local demographic changes were identified by many volunteers. The area had experienced several migration flows over the course of the past 20 years, with refugees from the Horn of Africa recently migrating and resettling in the area. A quote from Harriet (Junior Volunteer) reflected the most common response to questions around changes in the local area, as she commented:

Very much. Initially in terms of the socio-economic here, there's a lot more people, more affluent people moving in now. When we first moved in here houses were going under \$100,000, and now there's selling for \$500,000. So, it's built up quite a lot in the years. I grew up in Area A and back then you didn't want to say where you were from, and now [Area A's] quite an affluent area, so you like saying you're from [Area A]. So yeah, it's changed so much over the years, in terms of diversity in the area. It used to be very ... just Caucasian, Anglo Saxon area. Then when all the ... you had a lot of Italian and Greek migrants in the area, and ... but now that's changing, and it was more a lot of Vietnamese and Asian people moving in to the area. And now there's a lot more people from Africa and that area, yeah, moving over. So yeah, it's changed quite a lot.

Most respondents reported the demographics of the area when talking about diversity and the club, and that the area had gone through several changes in the last two decades. The club had never actively tried to engage with the wider community before and the cultural diversity evident in the local area did not filter into RSCC. Other forms of diversity and difference within RSCC centred around social class and occupational background, with more junior players and their parents coming from more educated backgrounds compared to the senior playing teams. There were no teams for women or girls, therefore, gender as a form of diversity amongst players was absent; however, women's presence within the club was notable.

When women were present in the club, they were primarily the wives or partners of players or club members. Three women held scoring positions across the playing teams; however, only one woman held a position on the committee. The primary reason for the lack of women in these positions is the absence of pathways for women, most notably from a playing capacity to volunteer position, including coaching and officiating. Several women informed me that the hyper-masculine culture within the sport and over representation of men on the committee discouraged women from occupying leadership positions within the club. Sally, who had volunteered in club administration for several years, recounted a particularly unpleasant experience that demonstrated this:

Ryan: You previously said you were on a cricket board?

Sally: On the [sport league association] yes.

Ryan: How was that?

Sally: That was horrible. That was ten years ago now. What can I say about that? On that committee at the time I was the youngest by 20 years and most of them had been on the board for in excess of ten years and I was the first female. Now they've got females running it. I was on it for two seasons and that was enough. Oh, it was just

unpleasant. The guys I was friends with on that committee were fine but the old boys, anything I suggested they scoffed at and anything I started they stopped as soon as I finished.

Here, the negative experience of being on a board in a senior administrative position meant that Sally did not take up any further leadership positions in sport. RSCC's lack of gender diversity was something that they actively engaged with to improve over the past five years. The club made several efforts to make the club more appealing for women and to be a more family friendly club, and several members made reference to these efforts during their interviews. Sarah (Volunteer Scorer) commented:

Whereas in the last sort of five years they've really put a push on including wives, girlfriends, partners, mothers, daughters, like everything in terms of ladies. We do ladies day every year, so originally it was a small group of women that we ... we did one end of season cricket trip, we took the girls away, and there was about seven of us. And now we have dinners, and there's 30 women or 40 women come to dinners and ...So, the club has been that more inclusive ... and having females being comfortable means you're getting more volunteers and people putting their hands up to do things, which is good.

This view was also reinforced by the majority of people within the club I spoke to, especially women. Another assertion by David, the club secretary, reinforced the inclusion of women in the club:

But female involvement, and female acceptance within the club, absolutely. There's no issue. My partner has no issue coming down to help with teas. At the same time, she's got no worries sitting on her arse on the couch having a drink and doing nothing as well. There's no issue there. There's no, the women do this, the men do that.

There is reference to traditional gender roles in the above quote in helping with the teas (a kitchen reference whereby teas represent food), although observation data supports the above claim of 'There's no women do this, men do that'. For example, on Thursday night meals, men were in charge of the kitchen and ensured all dishes were washed and the kitchen was left clean. Additionally, nearly all women spoke of the club's efforts to engage women and make them feel more included within the club, although when women did take up roles they were aligned with more traditional gender roles such as helping in the canteen or with administration. Some did do scoring, but none were involved in coaching or helping out with the Hercules Junior Program. On Saturday mornings for the Hercules Junior Program, it was men who helped

facilitate the sessions and took a more hands-on approach, whilst the women sat on the benches and mostly talked. Although the club had become more inclusive towards women, involvement of women in the playing teams and from a participation perspective was absent. One of the coach's commented:

I think we could do more from a gender basis, I think we could get more girls involved. And I've always wanted to get more girls involved in junior cricket. But if we can get more girls involved in junior [sport] then they bring the brothers along, so it's good for the club. And I think the whole community could do better for girls in [sport]. I think they're under represented badly. So, from a diversity viewpoint, I think culturally we're fine, but I think gender wise that's our big letdown (Paul, Assistant Senior Volunteer Coach).

It is interesting to note that Paul referred to increasing girl's sport so they would bring their brothers along, reinforcing patriarchal structures within the club and sport more broadly. From conversations with other volunteers around diversity more broadly, gender was a complex facet to diversity at RSCC. As Ahmed (2012) stated, diversity can be thought of as a 'buzzword' in that it cancels out the noise from other forms of discrimination or other axes to diversity, in this case gender. Where members exercise the use of happy talk to talk positively around diversity issues, in this case the involvement of women in the club compared to previous years, this cancels out or conceals inequalities around issues of female participation in cricket. In essence, the club's dialogue suggests they have the gender component sorted and more women feeling included within the club is a success story. However, by doing this, the fact that no girls or women participate in any of the junior or senior teams, and there is only one female committee member, it averts the attention away, hiding these inequalities.

With regards to sexuality, I was not aware of any same-sex attracted or gender and sexual diverse players, club members, parents or volunteers. Some players could have been Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender or Intersex (LGBTI), but were 'not out' or open within the club. The club environment was particularly heteronormative and many players, coaches and committee members were particularly macho and hyper masculine; I observed performative masculinity such as aggressive handshakes, overt body language and loud deep voices. My field notes from a training session demonstrated this below:

The coach invites all the players into a group. He gives some motivation for the upcoming matches and information regarding the matches that happened at the weekend, and goes through a few congratulatory things that warrants applause from the players. After this he asks if anyone would like to share or add anything, then asks 'did anyone go out at the weekend, or any of the single lads? Pick up any chicks?' then there was a bit of banter and chat amongst the group, but I did not hear any of it. This really reinforces the heteronormative masculine environment in the senior squad, and the assumption that everyone is straight. Also links to objectifying women, with the use of 'picking up any chicks' (Field Notes: Training 1/10/15).

I heard similar comments throughout the season, although I did not follow the senior teams as much as the AA teams. The above observations draw attention to the objectification of women and the heterosexist nature of sport, with the use of 'picking up any chicks'. Although members spoke about the changing attitudes and inclusion of women in the club, such sentiments in the above observations suggest there may still be work to be done. My observations were reinforced by Sally, who informed me that engaging in gender diversity by creating a women's team, would not work at RSCC. She stated:

Bringing a women's team to [RSCC] probably wouldn't work, I don't think they're ready for it. A lot of things have to change (Sally, Administrator).

The change of attitude for several club members was discussed by other volunteers and my observations suggested this was the main reason for the lack of women's and girls' teams. Disability as an axis of diversity was absent within RSCC prior to commencing fieldwork. There were no members with any disabilities, although playing ability (talent) as a form of difference and diversity existed. Within the conceptualisation of diversity within this thesis, however, playing ability is not attributed to diversity. This is because the players with a diverse playing ability were white able-bodied men and had no prior historical disadvantage. Playing ability stood out in the very first session, and although there was a mixture amongst juniors especially, the standard was high. One form of diversity that the club had never engaged with before was disability, yet it was this form of diversity that the club chose to engage with for the 2015/2016 season.

Institutional Diversity Practices at RSCC: All Abilities Cricket

The type of diversity that RSCC chose to engage with during the season, and the focus of the proceeding results chapters, was disability, specifically intellectual disability. During the 2015/2016 season, RSCC formed two AA teams and the teams played in a specialist league against other AA teams throughout the course of the season. AA sport is inclusive sport for

people with an intellectual disability, with players requiring an IQ below 70 and a disability pension card. Players were adults from the ages of 18 to 45, and were mixed gender. There were approximately 7 women who played regularly. Teams from across Victoria played in two leagues, an A and B league. For the purpose of this thesis, the league shall be referred to with the pseudonym of the 'Woolworths Disability Cricket League' (WDCL). The league was operated by a group of volunteers, each of whom were part of a mainstream sport club with an AA team. WDCL had worked closely with the State Sport Association to assist the league in getting started and also to help assist the league and its participating clubs financially. For example, each club received a small start-up grant (approximately \$10,000) from the SSO to get the team up and running and for ongoing costs incurred such as coaching and transport to matches.

Over the course of the season, the AA teams had five fixtures, plus a carnival and a grand final. There were two AA sides at RSCC, which I refer to as the A and B team. The A team was for higher functioning players and a slightly adapted version of the sport and the B team was a more adapted version for lower functioning players. The adapted version included softer balls, a smaller playing area and the option for underarm bowling. The AA teams had training on a day separate to other club activity, with matches on a Sunday. This is a common finding within community sports clubs, with disability sport teams often operating at the periphery of main club operations (Spaij et al., 2016; Jeanes et al., 2017). Throughout the season there was little interaction between the AA teams and the wider club.

As all sessions and matches were on days that there was no club activity, it meant that the AA teams operated on the periphery of the club. In addition, the AA teams were not included in any social events or club functions. Getting access to ovals for matches on certain weekends proved to be contentious also, with the club having to open up the club facilities on Sundays and provide access to ovals. On occasions, when there were no matches normally on a Sunday, the club hired out ovals to other clubs in the area. When this could not happen due to AA matches, AA volunteers had to navigate with the club committee to be able to play matches. Some field notes from the very first AA training sessions explain this:

Robert informs me at the end of the session, that for the first match next week there is only one oval available on the Sunday afternoon, due to other matches going on. I do not think they are club matches but the club has hired out the ovals to other clubs to use

for matches. Therefore, instead of both the A and B All Abilities team matches going ahead, only one might be taking place. The away team who RSCC is due to play, are a two hour drive away, so they play both A and B team matches alongside each other normally. Due to the drive back however, it is unlikely that they will play the matches one after the other, so the B team match is cancelled. This is an interesting and difficult conundrum, as some of the B team players are disappointed they may not get a match in the first round of fixtures.

With only one oval being available on the match day, it suggests that AA cricket is second on the list with regards to oval availability and priorities at the club. The session could be improved by having some more club members down or even some of the juniors to help run some drills, and just a presence at the training sessions. At the moment I get the feeling the AA is all going on in the background and separate from the club and like an add on, rather than being part of the club and being inclusive in the sense of coming under the club's name. It is like a group of players representing the club on the club's behalf rather than actually being part of the club (Field Notes 10/10/15).

From my observations at the first training session and discussions with the volunteers who ran the AA teams, it became clear that the disability sport program as a means of engaging in diversity was very separate to the main club and the club's main activities. The club's main activities were centred around performance and winning, which I will discuss and return to later in the chapter. I now provide context to how the AA teams were formed. In doing so, I explain the process and both the internal and external influences that led to RSCC's institutional diversity practices.

RSCC's Institutional Diversity Practices: External Influences

A range of national and local sport policies within Australia encourage and promote diversity within sport. Nationally, the ASC has ambitions to make sport more reflective of its population, as current participation data suggests it is not and people from diverse backgrounds are disproportionately represented. NSO and SSO also have their own policies to encourage participation within minority groups such as those from indigenous communities. Within the sport at RSCC, the national sport policy to encourage diversity was called 'Access for All: Diversity Sport Policy'. Key messages from the 'Access for All' included education for all levels of the sport for the inclusion of underrepresented groups in society including girls, women and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Support in the form of grants are available as part of the diversity campaign to encourage clubs to promote and engage with

diversity. Local councils also offer grants to clubs to complement participation goals within local communities.

One form of diversity to receive a substantial push in the 2015/2016 season was disability sport in cricket, specifically All Inclusive cricket. There are several forms of adapted games for athletes with a disability: blind, deaf and AA sport. Although marketed for all, AA sport was solely for people with an intellectual disability. It is not clear why this was the case, but this name falls under the Victorian Government Access All Abilities program, which is a program specifically for people with an intellectual disability. There was a specific requirement for the WDCL that the teams must be affiliated with a 'mainstream' cricket club. The president of WDCL made very clear their reasoning for this requirement, which was supported by the SSO. The key aim of the league was to raise awareness for disability sport and promote inclusion. Additionally, it was also to complement inclusion for players with a disability within society and communities more broadly. The aim was to integrate and include players into mainstream clubs and to avoid separate and detached clubs, as it is common for many disability sport teams to operate outside club operations and not be included in the wider club (Spaaij, Magee & Jeanes, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2016; Jeanes et al., 2017).

Assisting in the creation of more inclusive and accommodating sporting clubs for players with a disability through 'mainstreaming' was a key target for both the WDCL league and the SSO. People from WDCL travelled to the club wishing to enter a team into the league initially to make sure the club was 'ready' to host a disability team. This was done to check the facilities and, most importantly, to assess the culture within the club and to ensure there were no overt or covert discriminatory practices. This draws attention to Ahmed's (2012) concept I refer to as 'conditional diversity', whereby a club's ambitions to engage with diversity, in this case intellectual disability, is conditional on several factors. These factors were beyond the control of the club.

The first factor of conditional diversity was the perception held by the league towards the club, the club being ready for diversity and the club being perceived to be welcoming and inclusive. Having the right image regarding diversity is important within this context and as long as people or organisations think a sport club is welcoming of diversity, then that is more important than whether the club actually is (Ahmed, 2012). The perception of being diverse can be understood by Ahmed's analogy of the shiny red apple with a rotting core. The institution

displays the perception of being diverse on the outside, akin to the shiny and appealing red apple, but has discriminatory practices within the institution, conceptualised as the rotting core inside the apple.

The second factor to conditional diversity was the league's power to grant diversity to the club. A club could already have a disability team or been proactive within disability sport by hosting taster days or school carnivals, but this did not mean they were automatically granted approval from the league to enter a team. Therefore, the condition to be diverse by fielding an All Abilities team in this scenario lay beyond the club and with the league. This was explained to me by the president of WDSL, who informed me that his perception of RSCC was progressive and would be 'a good fit' to host an AA team. However, this was somewhat surprising as RSCC had never engaged with diversity previously, specifically disability sport, and was predominately a white male club.

Several volunteers actually made reference to RSCC being progressive, although the club's actions and previous commitment to diversity were absent. Therefore, progressive in this regard meant willing or open to engage with diversity. My interpretation of this was that the volunteers at WDSL felt people at the club had more progressive views towards diversity, especially in comparison to other clubs that they described as being socially conservative. RSCC had projected an image that they welcomed diversity, however, and had created the right image of inclusion for the league to warrant them entry.

Through my fieldwork observations the most likely explanation for the perception of RSCC being a progressive and welcoming club to the league was the financial position of the club. For example, if a club had limited funds they would unlikely be able to host matches, provide catering and provide venue hire and use of the grounds for free. However, RSCC was known to be well financed and have a healthy budget owing to its links to the gaming venue/pokies venue. Therefore, RSCC's ability to meet these criteria was appealing to the league. RSCC hosted the grand final of the WDSL and three of the league fixtures throughout the season and I was informed that the league had asked RSCC to host extra fixtures in comparison to other clubs.

Robert informed me on the grand final day the league had asked the club to host the final and to provide the catering and venue hire free of charge, which the club did. The financial position

of RSCC was a contributing factor for its entry into the league my fieldwork suggests. To add some further insights into the WDSL league and entry requirements, Olive (AA Team Manager) explained a controversy at the start of the season regarding a club being denied entry into the league. The club was specifically for people with disabilities and had developed from scratch with no external support over its five years in operation. They were unwilling to join a mainstream club due to previous negative experience and wanted to be a stand-alone club; however, this did not align with the values of the league. This highlights the politics involved and that even when a club does engage with diversity and spends several years engaging the disability community, the league may not allow the club to enter a team.

A final external pressure to diversify for RSCC lay with social pressures to diversify and being perceived as diverse and welcoming by the SSO. Maintaining a good relationship with the SSO was paramount for a healthy club, several committee members informed me during fieldwork. By engaging with diversity and demonstrating that as a club you were progressive and forward thinking, it put you on the radar of the SSO. Further, it showed the SSO that as a club you were being proactive and responding to their diversity policy. This, in turn, could lead to potential funding allocations or successful grant applications. Further, it could put clubs first in line for facility upgrades or being able to host community cricket carnivals or one-off events. These were seen as lucrative opportunities, as they would increase awareness of the club and promote the club in the wider community. In times of financial hardship for many community clubs, any additional support or funding from the SSO was seen as crucial.

This could then provide exposure and resources needed to attract new members to the club and expand the membership base. This can be theorised by the business case approach for diversity. Here, a club is motivated and encouraged to engage with diversity from a business perspective, and that it will attract more money to the club and ultimately more opportunities for the club. However, the business approach to diversity has been heavily critiqued (Noon, 2007) and conceptualising diversity and minority groups as an opportunity to simply add value to an organisation loses the true nature of diversity efforts and the social justice component to diversity efforts. Influences within the club, however, can encourage wider social change and are common as a catalyst for clubs engaging with diversity.

RSCC's Institutional Diversity Practices: Internal Influences

Sports clubs who engage with diversity can also be influenced by key individuals within the club. Individuals who champion diversity often drive programs aimed at encouraging greater diversity. The reasons why diversity is championed are often shaped within a business case or social justice case for diversity. Spaaij et al.'s (2016) recent research demonstrates that clubs can be very open and honest about their motives in their commitment to diversity. From the business case perspective, a club may have a dying membership base with little junior activity within a club, therefore a whole committee decision or a collective commitment to diversity may mean a strategic investment in a multicultural program. Alternatively, from a social justice perspective, one committed individual may take it upon themselves to start a disability or girls program for example, prompted by their desire to see social change. My data shows that the initial reasons for introducing diversity at RSCC was not a collective club decision or agreement, rather the genesis was a combination of the president's ambitions to introduce diversity to RSCC, married with the arrival of a diversity champion. I explain these two components in turn below.

The club president, Pete, was central to the introduction of diversity to RSCC. Conscious of external influences to engage with diversity by the SSO and NSO's diversity policy, the president was keen for RSCC to be seen as diverse and disability was seen as the most viable option. The existence of another local disability hockey team and indoor disability hockey team meant that tapping into this pool of players and getting an AA sport team together was perceived as easier than starting from scratch. The disability hockey team, known locally as the Inclusive Hockey League (IHL) team, shared the same grounds as RSCC. Many of the hockey players also played indoor hockey locally. Therefore, several volunteers informed me during fieldwork that the president had wanted to try and encourage these players to come and play for RSCC in the new WDSL. An interesting conversation with one of the IHL volunteers who also volunteered episodically to drive the bus for the AA teams shed light on the president's ambitions to create the AA teams. Some field notes below demonstrate this:

The perception of engaging with diversity and AA for RSCC was that the product and club base was already there from the indoor sport club with Olive and the disability Hockey team at the partner hockey club. This was pushed more by the president, and possibly wanting the club to look good. After speaking with [volunteer], who is the team manager at the disability hockey team, apparently the president of RSCC who has

now stepped down/kicked off, had been trying to lure/entice the players and team across to RSCC for the upcoming season. This can be illustrated by Suzanne telling me that at the awards evening at the football club, Pete came down and presented the prizes, as RSCC paid for the trophies. This was seen as very generous by the players and [name] said it was much appreciated, but now on reflection she thinks this is why [to lure the players to RSCC] (Field Notes 22/10/2015).

My ability to draw upon observations and then follow up in interviews allowed me to gain a critical insight into the inner politics associated with introducing diversity to RSCC. In a follow-up interview with Suzanne, who first informed me about the president paying for the trophies of the IHL teams, she elaborated:

Suzanne: It was only when the coach from last year sort of said, 'oh they want to try and get a new team together', that's all I've heard. So, I sort of wasn't privy to any of that. And that though, he did a gesture this year to sort of say, I don't know if it was directed at me, but the gesture was that he paid for the trophies for the IFL team.

Ryan: Who was that sorry?

Suzanne: The president of [RSCC], paid for the ... yeah so they paid for the trophies for the hockey team. So, we didn't have to pay that out of our budget...

Ryan: Why was that?

Suzanne: ... to lure the guys or lure me into helping.

Ryan: Right, and when did that happen?

Suzanne: That happened at the end of the year, yeah, end of the season. Yeah, because I thought I was going to have to pay for the trophies out of the team money, but I didn't.

The payment of the trophies was not mentioned by any other volunteers; however, the president's attempts to bring players from the indoor sports club and IHL teams were discussed by a few suspicious volunteers. They were suspicious of the president's motives for creating the teams and the manner in which it happened, specifically the amount of time taken to get the AA teams up and running. Designing and implementing diversity programs can take several years and require a significant amount of human and financial resources. Further, changing the culture within an organisation, especially within a sporting club, can take several years. At RSCC, a series of serendipitous circumstances led to the creation of the AA teams and diversity to be introduced to the club. In further exploring the serendipitous circumstances evident at RSCC, I use the term 'fast track diversity' to explain the president's motives for engaging in diversity.

Fast track diversity signals an approach that adopts the business case for diversity, in a faster than normal way. This faster way, compared to traditional methods of diversity engagement by going into schools and investing time into community outreach work for example, is characterised by avoiding a significant investment of time and effort in developing the diversity program from a bottom-up and community grassroots approach. Perceptions towards diversity within community sports clubs have been shown to stem from being too difficult, time consuming or not having adequate resources (Spaaij, Magee & Jeanes, 2014; 2016). The fast track diversity concept evident within my data is a possible response to these perceptions of diversity as being too difficult and a way around them for the RSCC president. Further, a committee member informed me that the AA teams had fallen into their laps and happened in a very short amount of time. In responding to whether the club might engage with other forms of diversity in the future, one committee volunteer provided some context into the circumstances surrounding the AA teams by telling me:

Easier said than done. Wouldn't take just five minutes. It's not that easy. I think the All Abilities thing for most clubs would be hard, I think it fell in to our laps a little bit. Very much so. So, we'll take that positive and keep moving. But yeah, a lot of hard work needed. A lot of hard work needs to be put in. Not by one people, one person, sorry, one person, but two or three, or four people (David, Club Secretary).

This was also reflected by another volunteer, who was cautious of how quickly the AA teams came about and whether the club was ready for such a change in culture. Paul stated: 'It's a long-term thing. If you're trying to change a culture, you can't change a culture overnight'. Whether the club was ready for change and to embrace diversity was a theme that emerged throughout my fieldwork, in which I had some insightful discussions with volunteers around the concept of RSCC being ready for diversity. For the volunteers I spoke to about this, several suggested that they did not think the club was ready, specifically because they had never engaged with diversity previously. When asked whether he thought the club was ready for diversity, Andrew stated, 'Oh look. We must be because we're doing some of it. Whether we're doing it well or not, it can always be improved but I guess we made a start' (Hercules Coordinator).

I did note in my field notes, however, that the volunteer did not express his answer with much conviction. I interpreted his comment of whether the club was performing diversity well was

in reference to including the AA players within the wider club, which I discuss in subsequent chapters. Another very honest conversation with a committee member provided some more insight into whether the club was ready for diversity. In discussing whether the club had responded to increased diversity within the local community, David (Club Secretary) asserted:

In my opinion, no, the club hasn't moved forward, and the club is well, well, well behind in where they should be adding compliance and culture, and acceptance, and all those things above basically.

David's comments highlight that the club was slow to respond to diversity and expressed uncertainty as to where Pete's new-found desire to engage with diversity had come from. In summary, several other volunteers expressed similar sentiments and data suggests that Pete's main motivation to introduce diversity was underpinned by a business case rationale to diversity. I return to the business case approach to diversity at RSCC later in the chapter. In addition to Pete's ambitions to engage with diversity though, he then needed the rest of the committee to share and implement his ambitions. This is where the arrival of Robert, an external diversity champion, provided the catalyst for breathing life into the president's vision for the AA teams and is an important part of the RSCC story.

Diversity Champions: AA Volunteers

The four significant people involved in introducing diversity in the form of intellectual disability and creating the AA teams at RSCC were the president Pete, Robert the Junior Development Coordinator, and Olive (AA Team Manager) and Amanda (AA volunteer). Before the first AA game of the season, however, Pete, the club president, left the club. Through conversations with volunteers I was informed that the circumstances in which he left were sensitive and he was asked to step down by the committee. The sensitive nature of him stepping down was concerned with financial matters between him and the club, but discussion around him leaving were visibly absent within the club.

The vice president stepped in for the remainder of the season; however, I had little engagement with him throughout the rest of the season. He was an elderly man in his 70's and had been at the club all his life. After the RSCC club president left, it was left to three key volunteers to manage and oversee the AA teams, although I did become a fourth addition to this team at the very first AA training session. Robert took on the AA teams with the help of Olive and

Amanda, although this was a voluntary venture and he was not recruited to the club for this reason. He was recruited as the junior development officer and as a first team player in the senior team. My data indicates RSCC actively recruited volunteers from outside their club to perform diversity work and run the AA programs. RSCC did not have enough volunteers for one of the junior teams and struggled to get anybody to volunteer with the AA teams throughout the season, therefore they were forced to actively recruit volunteers from outside their club (Amanda and Olive). The club recruited Olive and Amanda through the help of a staff member at the SSO. With the arrival of Amanda and Olive, and Robert in place to help coach the teams, the club was now ready to welcome and host two AA teams for the 2015/2016 season.

As a fourth volunteer, I did a bit of everything: coaching, registers, collecting money, speaking with carers and family members of players, organising buses for away matches and other administration related tasks. Some field notes from a training session outline some of my volunteer tasks for that session:

I am assigned tasks which are predominantly administration and organizational. These tasks include taking money and registration for the session, taking money and writing receipts for the upcoming indoor match next week, handing out leaflets about the Christmas party and that carers are updated with all this information. I also have to communicate information about the pickup times for the upcoming Sunday match. There is also an outdoor cricket match too, which confuses some of the players. It is all a bit crazy; some people are giving me money and both they and I do not know what it is for, and some people do not have any money and say they cannot afford it. Trying to coordinate and manage around twenty to thirty players with an intellectual disability is hard work, and testing. Amanda and Olive say they are used to it now, but ensure me it gets easier (Field Notes 04/10/15).

The AA teams trained and played matches on separate days to the junior and senior teams, therefore, the AA volunteers operated in isolation from the rest of the wider club. Robert, Amanda, Olive and I volunteered with the AA teams each week during the season, each motivated by a passion to provide opportunities for athletes with an intellectual disability to play sport and a desire to contribute to positive change. Therefore, the majority of the diversity work and running the AA teams was left to the four of us. This is an important finding within the wider context of diversity work at RSCC, and the reasons why other volunteers did not engage in diversity work with the AA teams is central to my thesis argument.

Episodic volunteers made important contributions to the AA teams and diversity work at RSCC. Beyond the four champions who actively engaged with diversity work in the form of the AA teams regularly throughout the season, they were episodically supported by volunteers. Examples of episodic volunteering in diversity work through helping with the AA teams included Suzanne who drove the bus to two away matches, Sarah and Sally who inputted data on behalf of the AA players into the online players portal, Sharon who prepared the food for most of the home fixtures, and Harriet who came down to support at AA home matches and encouraged her son to umpire a handful of matches. Note these were all women, which can be explained by the stereotype that women take care of people with a disability. Key to these episodic volunteers, however, was that most engagement was for a short amount of time and on mostly singular occasions. Compared to the AA volunteers who volunteered each week, episodic volunteers who engaged in diversity work were considerably less involved. It was one particular champion who arrived at the club who was a central catalyst to the creation of the AA teams.

The arrival of a diversity champion, Robert, was the main catalyst for driving the AA program and accelerated initial discussions around RSCC hosting an AA program. Kirk, a junior coach commented:

I think Robert coming along had a lot to do with the All Abilities stuff and I think the club in general has, at a management level, put a lot more effort and emphasis on the juniors as well.

Although Robert had no experience within the disability sport field, he had passion for taking sport to marginalised communities. Returning to the point of a serendipitous encounter that acted as a catalyst for the AA teams, it was a poster advertising for volunteers that first grabbed Robert's attention. Robert saw a poster on a noticeboard at the local indoor training centre where RSCC trained during pre-season, in which the poster asked for volunteers to help with a local specialist disability cricket team (see Figure 6 on the following page). Here, before going to RSCC, the AA team (although not all players) were a team already in existence through an indoor cricket team, and most had played together in the local indoor hockey league. As opportunities to play sport for people with an intellectual disability are limited, there was a core group of players who did various sports in the local region.

After seeing the poster at an indoor training session and speaking with contacts at the SSO, Robert got in touch with Olive and Amanda, who ran the indoor cricket teams, and then a meeting with the SSO, Woolworths Disability Sport League and RSCC (Robert and Pete) was organised. RSCC offered to host the AA teams for the 2015/2016 season and their request to enter the league was granted. A partnership between the indoor intellectual disability sport team and RSCC was then forged and the arrival of approximately 25–30 athletes with a range of intellectual disabilities. The individuals who would organise, administrate, coach, manage, mentor, drive, discipline, comfort and congratulate would be four dedicated and passionate volunteers.

Figure 4: Personal photograph of a poster at an indoor cricket training session 22/8/2015



Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the case study included in this thesis at RSCC. It provided the context of the case study and discussed a key theme concerning the culture at RSCC, which centred on performance culture and a heavy emphasis on ‘winning flags’. I provided data and analysis in answering my first research question, which sought to explore

what the institutional practices at RSCC were. I introduced the AA teams and how they were formed. Central to the institutional diversity practices at RSCC was intellectual disability as a form of diversity, and the AA teams and the volunteers operating outside the main operations of the club. I discussed external influences that affected RSCC to adopt diversity practices, which included the ability to attract diversity grants and social pressures to provide more inclusive opportunities for the local community. Finally, I discussed internal influences and the president's ambitions to introduce diversity practices at the club, which was tied to the arrival of a diversity champion, Robert. By examining the performance culture at RSCC, I advanced my central argument that, for RSCC, their core business was concerned with able-bodied performance and did not see diversity as the club's job. The club, and influential volunteers on the committee and management group, did not see how intellectual disability could contribute to the success of the club, via elite able-bodied performance. Further, they perceived the costs of disability diversity broadly as something that would not add value, therefore did not allocate resources to the AA teams. Next, I explore and outline the experiences of the four volunteers who were committed to diversity work at RSCC.

Chapter 6

I'm not going to put up with that every Sunday: **Volunteer Experiences of Diversity Work at RSCC**

Introduction

This chapter addresses the second sub-question within my thesis, which was to explore the experiences of those volunteers committed to diversity work at RSCC. Primarily, I focus on four particular volunteers, the diversity champions, including myself. I draw upon interviews with Robert, Olive and Amanda, in addition to field notes from observations with the AA teams on training and match days. It was observations and first-hand volunteer experience of match days that provided the most data in understanding volunteer experiences of diversity work. Volunteering was not only challenging, with a large time commitment, but also required an emotional investment.

Further, I address one component of my third research sub-question in exploring why some volunteers at RSCC engaged in diversity work. This provides context and background to the experiences of these particular volunteers, who I refer to as AA volunteers. Throughout this chapter, I provide a series of short vignettes from my fieldwork, to demonstrate the type of experiences common to the AA volunteers and position them within the broader narrative of diversity work. Next, I discuss some of the challenges and rewards experienced by the AA volunteers and how these shaped the overall volunteer experience of performing diversity work at RSCC. The chapter ends with the conclusion of the season at RSCC and some final observations from the end of season presentation social events.

Volunteer Engagement in Diversity Work: Volunteering with the AA Teams

In the previous chapter, I discussed that the arrival of Robert, Olive and Amanda helped drive the AA teams at RSCC, and it was these three volunteers, in addition to myself, that volunteered each week with the teams. In reviewing the available literature on time spent volunteering in sport clubs, Nichols et al. (2016) identified that the average volunteer will spend between two to three hours a week volunteering within their sport club. Volunteers who perform diversity work are relatively absent within the community sport volunteering literature, with little research identifying these roles within clubs or the number of hours these volunteers contribute. My research offers new insights to scholarship in this context, and shows that these three key

volunteers at RSCC spent approximately 7 hours (on weeks with no matches) to 16 hours (on weeks with an away match) a week volunteering in season.

The motivations of those who volunteered with the AA teams and the context in which they volunteered were of particular significance within the scope of my study, and help explain their affective commitment to diversity and the AA teams in particular. All three AA volunteers who ran the AA teams (Olive, Amanda and Robert) were primarily motivated by altruism and wanting to make a difference to the disability community. Although volunteering was part of my research journey, I was also motivated for the same reasons. Each of us were advocates for diversity more broadly and had lived experience of diversity. Olive had run the indoor AA sport sessions for several years and first began volunteering to assist her son, who had a physical disability. Amanda became involved with volunteering in diversity work through Olive, after seeing an advert in a local paper. She explained:

I saw an ad in the local paper looking for volunteers for outdoor hockey which was Olive's in [area] and I rang and said, 'I will be a volunteer as long as my son can play' which was a bit rude of me. I thought well we were a packaged deal. And they already had like a full team at the time because it was really just starting and they didn't have enough really for two at the time, but that's when Olive said oh we have this Friday night indoor hockey. We were down there in a shot. So, we've been with them ever since (Amanda, AA Volunteer).

A lack of disability provision was a common theme in interviews with the AA volunteers. Although her son's involvement was influential in her motivation to volunteer, along with Olive and Robert, the need for volunteers within disability sport provision was a key driver for Amanda. When asked about opportunities for disability sport and her pathway into volunteering, she explained:

No not for people with a disability. No not over our way. Slowly some of the councils started all access and trying to encourage clubs and teach them how to become inclusive but it's not easy. My son obviously, and an awareness very early on in his years that nothing happens for these kids unless people volunteer, even in schools. Even if he didn't have a disability I would have been volunteering in the schools anyway but I volunteered even more so because of my son (Amanda, AA Volunteer).

The lack of opportunities for the disability community more broadly gave Amanda a passion and desire to have an affective commitment to diversity and the AA teams. She further spoke about how her son's disability could actually inspire others to volunteer and help change

attitudes towards people with a disability. She explained one powerful story, whereby someone who had worked with her son developed an affective commitment towards working with people with a disability.

You see to me people who meet [my son] actually I believe become better people, and I have proof of that because my son's gym instructor who had to finish instructing him after 13 years, he wrote a card, and you know we wrote and said thanks for all the dah, dah, dah but his card was like about you've made me and my family better for learning from you and he's actually become a part of their sort of family and they do things with him socially. And he said I would have never ever have dreamed that someone like my son could have such profound impact on his family and his extended family because he's met all of them now, and they all have these different visions on what can and can't be done because they've worked with [her son]. And a lot of people don't realise what a positive impact someone with a disability, or someone who has had hardship like a refugee or something can actually have on you, but you've got to be open to it and so until they see that I think it's hard for them to think oh OK yes, no, or am I doing this... am I doing this because I want to be with people like him and I want to make myself a better person, or like tick the box OK we've done that. But it doesn't work if your heart is not in it, you're not enjoying it, not going to enjoy it if your heart is not there (Amanda, AA volunteer).

Ahmed (2012) stated that to get commitment and buy-in for diversity, beyond speaking about diversity and actually 'doing' diversity, policy makers and organisations needed to appeal to the hearts and minds of employees to institutionalise diversity and celebrate difference. Amanda clearly highlights how appealing to the hearts and minds through powerful storytelling can help invoke an affective commitment to diversity.

Robert did not have a direct connection or any experience with athletes with a disability, making him somewhat of an outlier. He often spoke with frustration on occasions when other volunteers from opposing teams assumed he had a child with a disability, and once stated, 'Why do I need a disabled son to volunteer in All Abilities?' However, he was a diversity champion and promoted and championed all forms of diversity. He was passionate in providing opportunities for marginalised communities to play sport, specifically cricket, and wanted to give back to the sport. He stated:

You're just providing an opportunity for everyone to play sport. Providing quality coaching for these guys that would never get an opportunity to get quality coaching. No other club in a sense has provided a player and players with an opportunity of better coaching. It's just sort of turn up, have a bat, have a bowl and go. So yeah, it's something for them to look forward to, and like mainstream sport is given an opportunity, we are

giving the same sort of opportunity as well. Sorry, they're getting the same opportunity as well in that sense.

Robert demonstrated his passion to provide opportunities for athletes with an intellectual disability to play sport and a desire to contribute to positive change more broadly. Robert's discretionary championing commitment to diversity, and the AA teams in particular, was the key driving force throughout the season at RSCC. In this regard, Robert fulfilled both elements of Ahmed's conceptualisation of diversity work. He hoped to institutionalise diversity by opening up RSCC to those who had traditionally been excluded from the AA teams and transforming RSCC because he did not embody the norms of the club as he was a person of colour. In summary, the motivations and reasons for those who volunteered with the AA teams and engaged in diversity work at RSCC were primarily altruistic and wanting to provide players with an intellectual disability the opportunity to play cricket. The experiences of these AA volunteers are the main foundation for the rest of the chapter.

Experiences of Diversity Work: Challenges and Rewards

Four volunteers, including myself, who volunteered regularly throughout the course of the season with the AA teams demonstrated a commitment to diversity. For example, Robert coached both the AA teams, and Olive and Amanda managed the teams and the associated administration and pastoral care. The AA teams trained and played matches on separate days to the junior and senior teams, which meant the AA volunteers operated in isolation of the rest of the wider club. There were certain exceptions to this when some volunteers engaged in diversity work episodically, such as inputting data, scoring matches and preparing food. The lack of wider club commitment from volunteers placed added pressure on the AA volunteers, which made their workload larger and their volunteering more stressful and demanding.

To present the experiences of volunteers who worked with the AA teams I have selected four key vignettes: three demonstrate the challenges and one demonstrates the rewards of diversity work. More challenges than rewards existed throughout the course of the season. AA volunteers, classified as discretionary champions (Robert, Olive, Amanda and myself) reported stressful experiences as well as being overburdened and unsupported. However, they also stated that volunteering left them satisfied and feeling rewarded. They described volunteering as uncertain and like a roller coaster ride, not knowing what was coming next. The challenge of managing the behaviours of athletes with an intellectual disability was a central finding in

understanding volunteer experiences of diversity at RSCC. Managing behaviour refers specifically to reference to individuals who demonstrated aggression and physical contact with other players, or anti-social behaviour in the form of refusing to play due to an umpire decision and claims of favouritism, for example. Next, I discuss some of these behaviour management issues, which provide rich insights and snapshots into the challenges faced by the volunteers.

The Challenges of Doing Diversity Work: Intellectual Disability

Behaviour

Dealing with the challenges of diversity work was an integral part of the volunteer experience at RSCC. Owing to the voluntary setting of community sports clubs, my data showed that the informal and often less professional nature of sporting clubs such as RSCC meant that the challenges of performing diversity work were enhanced for volunteers. In the workplace and private sector, trained professionals address the challenges of diversity and are guided by policies and procedures. At RSCC, there were no policy or diversity management practices. Therefore, adopting and applying practices to address the challenges of diversity from the workplace was problematic. This meant that AA teams presented the AA volunteers with new and unique challenges. The most common challenge for AA volunteers was managing and dealing with problematic behaviour and this emerged in the very first training session. This is shown in vignette A.

A. Headlocks and Hugs

Within the warm up, one of the key themes from the sessions emerges: behaviour. I look over and one of the new players has one of the other players pinned down to the grass in a headlock. The other player is the one who was involved in an altercation with Olive at the open day, over swearing and bad language. They have bumped into each other during the game, as one of the players makes a lot of physical contact during the game. They manage to calm down and continue, but it disrupts the whole game and Amanda seems to be annoyed. She has a strict view on behaviour, and tells Olive if it happens again, she needs to be firm, and sit them out or send them to the sinbin for ten minutes, and make them understand that their behaviour is not acceptable.

Robert looks to me with a wry smile and asks, ‘What the fuck do I do now?’ It is only five minutes into his first ever session coaching the teams. He states, ‘Olive is never here when things kick off’ (she has gone to the car to get a ball). Last time a player verbally abused another player at the open day Olive was in the clubhouse. He smiles

though and blows out some air, but looks a little shell shocked. It can be quite confronting if you are not used to these types of situations. At the end of the session, the players who were fighting have their arms around each other and say they are looking forward to playing together, as if nothing had happened. Everyone says their goodbyes and hug each other etc. Some of the players come over to me and say bye (Field notes 9/10/2015).

The first AA training session was chaotic but one that I remember vividly. Five minutes into the session, two players were fighting and had each other in headlocks. In this instance, Robert was shocked and, as he had no prior experience of working with diversity in this respect, did not know how to respond to athletes with a disability. Observation data highlighted that Robert had misjudged the task of coaching athletes with a disability and that the principles of coaching athletes without a disability were not easily transferred to the AA players. This reinforces the need for training and education around working with athletes with an intellectual disability, especially behaviour management, and having the correct skills to coach athletes with an intellectual disability.

Robert looked to me for answers and for me to tell him what to do, and I tried to give him as much support as I could. This demonstrated the lack of training and education in dealing with problematic behaviours with athletes with an intellectual disability amongst AA volunteers. The lack of awareness and knowledge of individuals with specific disabilities such as epilepsy and autism could have also been problematic had any incident occurred. In summary, Robert as a volunteer, engaged in diversity work through volunteering with athletes with an intellectual disability without training, education or support from the club. There were no structures in place to support Robert as a volunteer, who was committed to diversity work. Thus, Robert's first experience of performing diversity work was challenged by coaching athletes with an intellectual disability that was confronting and overwhelming. I also experienced feeling overwhelmed when volunteering with the AA teams. One occasion at a training session during my first month of fieldwork demonstrated this:

Between 4.30 and 5 PM it becomes hectic. I am in charge of taking payments, writing receipts, whilst players want to chat and engage in conversations with me, at times very personal. For example,, one player cannot find employment, and another has broken up with his girlfriend but they have a three-month-old baby together. It is hard to engage in multiple conversations whilst at the same time writing receipts and taking money. Due to the nature of the player's disabilities, I do not want to ignore them or not pay attention. A few more helpers or volunteers would really help, and with more than

twenty players attending, it is too much for three of us. At one point it is really loud and very hectic, and a little bit overwhelming. Everything is going on, and in this time Olive is trying to allocate people into teams for some practice matches. Diversity work requires a lot of patience, good communication, concentration to detail, it is hard work (Field Notes 4/9/2015).

With no support from other club volunteers, the workload was too much for Amanda, Olive and I on this particular occasion. The nature of this type of diversity work became too much for Amanda, however, when she was verbally abused by a player, outlined in vignette B.

B. Amanda's Abuse

Before the match even commences, there is a scene involving a partner of one AA player, who verbally abuses Amanda, one of the lead volunteers. Lucy (who also has an intellectual disability), a girlfriend of an AA player in one team, starts speaking to Amanda, which then escalates to shouting and swearing. The issue concerns team selection and who plays on what team, which has been a recurring problem. Lucy is making snide remarks about Amanda favoring a player over another around team selection. Amanda has nothing to do with the team selection, but Lucy will not accept this. Lucy becomes unreasonable and extremely rude, raising her voice and using obscene language. It is clear Amanda does not know how to respond and instead of walking away becomes involved in what the girl wants, a verbal argument.

I interject when Amanda becomes upset, and the behaviour and language of Lucy is completely unacceptable (going against the code of conduct we discussed with players extensively). Amanda's son, a player in one of the teams, then becomes upset seeing his Mum cry. They are both visibly upset. It is hard to watch. Without Amanda's input, the day would not have gone ahead, so it is difficult to stand by and watch her treated this way, and RSCC club members (standing on the side) not doing anything to remedy the problem. Amanda said she did not want to come the following week, and was going to pull her son from the team next week, just out of principal so Lucy and some of her friends could not say anything (Field Notes 18/10/2015).

The incident at the first AA match day was a difficult day for AA volunteers, but also for myself as a researcher and volunteer. Amanda was verbally abused and I was the only one to witness it, as Olive was not present on this particular day. It is uncommon for volunteers to be abused by members of their own team. The lack of support and volunteers to assist on the day, meant that Amanda, Robert and I had over 30 players to organise and manage from both A and B teams, in addition to friends and family of the players. The occasion

was overwhelming for Robert, Amanda and myself. The lack of club support or interest to check on Amanda's welfare after the incident showed that diversity work operated in the background and was not seen as important. By viewing diversity and the AA teams as peripheral to the main activities of the club, it showed that club management viewed diversity work as not their work, but the AA volunteers' work. In this light, a sense of othering occurred, which resulted in the AA volunteers feeling isolated and unsupported.

In this instance, the club, and representatives from the club on that day, could have offered to engage in and share the responsibility of diversity practices. This could have been achieved because there were volunteers and some committee member present at the match who did not offer any help. By not engaging in diversity work by assisting with the AA teams and offering to help Amanda manage the AA teams, they provided resistance. Amanda became overburdened in trying to manage the AA players, especially Lucy.

Lucy's volatile behaviour was a common theme throughout the season and the AA volunteers often did not know how to respond when faced with these behaviour management situations. It is important to note that some AA players had mental illnesses, in addition to their intellectual disability. For example, Lucy had drug-induced schizophrenia and at the time suffered from post-natal depression. Managing challenging behaviour in addition to mental illness in some players on top of an intellectual disability was testing for the volunteers. The challenges of working with athletes with an intellectual disability may be a possible explanation as to why clubs do not engage with disability sport. For example, Sharon (a canteen volunteer) noted that her partner, who had not worked with athletes with a disability before, assisted her when she facilitated the local AA hockey. She stated:

If you don't ... well 'cause I work with them, right, and my partner doesn't. He helped me. Well he was just ... he was shocked. He didn't know how to deal with them, he was always yelling. They don't think like, I shouldn't say us and all that, but they think different. You've got to adjust to ... we have to learn to adjust to them too.

Sharon highlighted that for volunteers who have never worked with athletes with an intellectual disability before it can be a confronting. In reference to her partner being shocked and 'always yelling', it draws attention to volunteers not being prepared for this specific type of diversity

work. This reinforces that this type of volunteering that involves engaging with individuals who have a variety of intellectual, emotional and mental health issues requires attention in its own right, both theoretically and practically. Amanda also expressed her shock when she first volunteered with the AA teams at the indoor hockey, and stated:

I found it confronting the first few weeks, because we've never been involved in something that was only for people with a disability and some of them were very streetwise, which we had not encountered before and certainly it was a little bit you know scary that all these people were swearing and things like that. Like all very diverse people and [son] not being involved and they were all in this inside loud noisy [space], and then ... there aren't so many there now but a number of people were coming with carers from centres that you know couldn't speak to ... to me thinking that they had no idea where they were or what they were doing and they were just being put in there and I thought oh goodness what's going to happen, but my son just took to it like a fish to water. It didn't twig with him. There was a ball and let's play.

At first, I used to just sit there and watch [son] and make sure he was OK. It was only a couple of weeks and I thought what am I worried about, you know he's happy and OK they're all just different people. It was really I guess when you see it all, you know like 40 people in a place all enclosed and it's loud and there is all these people and we ... I'm not a swearer and so when you're in a room with maybe 35 people that cuss all the time it was a bit in my face. I mean I'm not saying my family doesn't swear but I'm not and part of that was because I had two young boys and I didn't want them to be like that, but we have lots of people in our family who are like that but you sort of get used to it, but when it's all full on, some of them get angry and we just hadn't been really exposed to that before. So, we were a little bit cossetted I suppose.

Both Sharon and Amanda highlighted that working with athletes with a disability can be confronting and 'full on'. We had approximately 30 players across the two AA teams with ages ranging from 18 to 45, and approximately 7 women and 23 men. I also found my first month of fieldwork and volunteering with athletes with an intellectual disability confronting. This was due to some players sharing deeply personal information about their lives. On one occasion a 45-year-old woman with Down Syndrome (Katie) informed me her mother had recently passed away and she had been forced into foster care. She did not like the new people who were looking after her and she missed her mother. Her father had died a year previously. Situations like those with Katie highlighted that this type of diversity work was emotional and confronting. Diversity work was more than just cricket. Diversity work was everyday life for these athletes and how they navigated multiple sources of disadvantage. Amanda specifically

highlighted that she was not prepared as a volunteer for this type of environment, but became accustomed to it after a few weeks.

Diversity work was a journey that involved learning on the job for the AA volunteers. Learning on the job was one particular mechanism that Olive had employed over her experiences of working with athletes with an intellectual disability to manage challenging behaviour. Olive highlighted the lack of training and skills she had received in dealing with this particular element of disability work:

But that's just part for the course. One of them ... some of them went up to Robert last week, the girls, and said, 'Olive doesn't give us a go. You give us a go.' Because I had probably about the 14 best players on show for him to choose the team, but the girls are not quite up ... the stronger players, but they think I'm against them, but I'm not. It's just that they're not quite up to it. We have got ... I have quite a few behavioural problems. I've never had any training because my son doesn't have behavioural problems, I've only learnt as I've gone along. Even we had a screaming match on last Sunday. I just do not like language. In my days, people didn't swear and I've been brought up with the old school and I just won't stand for it and one of the boys was mouthing off the other day, so we had a screaming match about how I wouldn't stand for it. That happens quite regularly and I often mentor them with broken romances, deaths in the family, relationship problems.

The lack of training to address challenging behaviour required Olive to learn on the job and she tried to enforce some discipline into players using her own methods. Her attempts were received well by the players, whom she said respected her and listened to her. On occasions, however, her attempts were unsuccessful. I remember one occasion when some players misbehaved, and she assured me, 'regardless of their disability, they still know right from wrong'. All AA volunteers stated they had never received any training in working with athletes with an intellectual disability. This draws attention to volunteers in sports clubs who are expected to deliver diversity policies and programs to encourage diversity, without being equipped with the appropriate skills or training. On some occasions, however, the challenging behaviour from players became too much for volunteers. In one case, an AA volunteer made the decision to stop volunteering. On route to the final away game of the season, I asked Olive why Amanda had stopped volunteering with the AA teams at RSCC. Olive informed me:

I ask Olive where Amanda is and she tells me on the bus that Amanda told her, 'I'm not going to put up with that every Sunday'. This is in relation to issues and abuse she

faces from the players around team selection and other issues. She seems to cop the flack as she is a volunteer and in a leadership position. The incident at the first game of the season had a big impact on her. This links to the need for volunteer recognition, either in messages of appreciation, through conversations, letters to say thank you, or tokens of gesture or appreciation. After Amanda was verbally abused, she only came to a few select matches, and her son was accompanied by his father.

I did not get the chance to speak to Amanda again after she stopped volunteering with the AA teams, although Olive informed me she still helped with the indoor hockey. Amanda stopped volunteering after two matches, which was around a third of the way into the season. RSCC's inability to retain Amanda, a valuable and crucial volunteer within the AA team setup, highlighted a major problem in wider efforts for clubs to engage with diversity. Volunteers need to feel safe and valued within a club to increase the likelihood of sustained commitment to volunteer (Nichols, 2013). In Amanda's case, the club did not address the problem of verbal abuse directed at her or even discipline the offending player. With the AA volunteers operating outside of the general club, it meant that the lack of support for AA volunteers left them feeling isolated and deflated. Had Amanda been embraced and included within the wider club, and experienced support from other volunteers within the club, beyond Robert and Olive, she might have continued to volunteer. Sports clubs must value and support volunteers committed to diversity efforts and at RSCC this was not the case. Robert also contemplated walking away from his volunteer duties with the AA teams. After a testing day that involved players abusing umpires, starting fights and verbally abusing each other, Robert vented:

I had to ban [player x] and [player y], they swore at me and were rude. [player z] now saying I'm sexist for not playing her in the 1st team. Wow. [players] are not going to play anymore, spoke to the league this morning and they agree. A SSO staff member said to ban [certain players] also. They cause too much trouble. [players] are ok, but the rest I can't handle sorry. I can't accept that [bad behaviour and language] as I am trying to get RSCC to accept the program. I have blocked them [from Facebook group] and told them not to attend. It is a big day [the grand final] for the All Abilities players and club. Unfortunately, the club won't stand for that. How can we have an AA player do it? Warnings were given in all possible ways. Sorry but if I am driving two hours two times a week to volunteer my time and run a program to help others; I don't wish to be abused. We live and learn this year.

Although Robert was paid for his junior coaching, his involvement and work with the AA teams was voluntarily. Robert's comments, specifically in the second to last sentence, reflect the same sentiments as Amanda: not wanting to volunteer his free time to be abused by players.

The reasons why many of the players provided challenging behaviour for the AA volunteers was not discussed in great detail amongst AA volunteers, although addressing hardships and providing pastoral care was another challenging aspect to managing some of the players.

Managing the AA players: Pastoral Care

Each AA volunteer stated that their roles and responsibilities went beyond the cricket oval. Additionally, they were also required, at times, to take on the role of a counsellor and provide pastoral care. Many of the players were unable to work due to their disabilities and were predominately from low socio-demographic backgrounds. The intersections between social class and disability often meant that players had several barriers to contend with prior to stepping onto the oval. The multiple needs of the AA players impacted on volunteers in many ways, including players not being able to afford the weekly fee due to delayed disability support payments, not being able to travel to the club and personal extenuating circumstances involving relationship breakdowns and family troubles. Volunteers shared heartfelt and humbling stories about their experiences with the players. Olive provided some insights into these stories and recounted:

So, I had one boy that lost his mother. He kept ringing me. He wanted to come and live with me and that just went on and on and on and you can't say no, you just have to sort of get around things like, 'you've still got your dad'. Yeah, I felt like I should have been trained to handle some of those situations, but you just have to use your ... Hmm. That's right. I get phone calls at all hours, especially when we're having a big day like going out to the cricket carnival or we have to leave early. We have to leave ... we leave here at 7.00 in the morning. Last year I got a call at 3 a.m. 'Olive, where are you? I'm at the oval. Where are you?' 'We're not going to be there for another 4 hours. You'd better go and get some sleep.' Things like that all the time. So, there's a lot of behind the scenes even though I do ... as I said, I have support from some of the volunteers.

Olive shared that these encounters can be difficult, but because she had been volunteering for so many years, she had developed her own strategies and coping methods when her players went through hardships or difficult periods. Amanda and Robert also discussed the challenge of dealing with these situations. They pondered a lot about exactly what to say to players and how to support them. The AA volunteers often stated this was the most challenging component of their volunteering. Research on diversity indicates that diversity work can be difficult and individuals feel as if they are up against a brick wall (Ahmed, 2012). Overcoming this brick

wall can be laborious, meaning diversity work is emotional work (Ahmed, 2017). The pressure and challenge of managing the AA teams in the context of their personal circumstances is shown in vignette C.

C. Pressures and Pastoral Care

Robert is watching the junior match and I manage to interview him later in the afternoon. He spends a lot of the afternoon in the clubhouse with his big folder, doing administration relating to the first All Abilities matches on Sunday. He is also doing a lot of work on Facebook and updating the All Abilities Facebook group⁴. He tells me that he has spent most of the morning responding to posts and messages from players about the match. Olive had warned him about this, and get the impression it is a lot of work and consuming both in time and emotion.

A team manager position with some administrative and pastoral support are very much needed. Robert also seems a little apprehensive regarding the upcoming matches on Sunday, in how the day will run and some of the logistics. For example, he is slightly concerned with some of the players, as several have been very frank and honest to him in saying, 'Look I won't lie, I zone out in matches and can't concentrate'. Some people message him asking why they are not on the team or that they can no longer play. It also becomes complex as some players have not been registered onto the player portal. Moreover, some players did not turn up to the training session, making it hard for Robert to know who is going to turn up on match days if they had been selected (Field Notes 24/10/15).

Vignette C highlights the additional responsibilities that came with coaching and managing the AA teams. Some of the players had a carer or family member who helped them to and from matches, whereas others needed general pastoral care. Robert informed me that he received numerous messages with questions about where and when the matches were and what to bring, although the information had already been published in the Facebook group. Robert stated that this particular component was frustrating, as it meant repeating information several times to multiple players. As both Olive and Amanda were new to the club, the administration from the club perspective was left to Robert. Two club volunteers, Sarah (Scorer) and Sally (Administrator), did assist Robert with some of the administrative tasks on two occasions, but otherwise there was no wider club support. The lack of wider club support in diversity work

⁴ A key method of communication between the volunteers and the AA players was through a private Facebook group. Robert managed this as the administrator, and posted times and dates for matches, team selections, and responded to queries and questions from players through the group.

through the AA teams highlight that the club did not see their job as performing diversity work and, therefore, there were no structures in place to support those volunteers committed to diversity work. This advances my central thesis argument. Further, had they valued intellectual disability as a form of diversity, the club may have provided more support to the AA teams and to Robert in particular. The lack of engagement by the club and wider club volunteers suggested that they viewed the AA teams and diversity more broadly as an extra or add-on to the main operations of the club.

Robert was left with additional volunteer tasks owing to the lack of wider club support and behavioral commitment to assist with administrative duties associated with the AA teams. These tasks included organising kit and the administration of who received what kit, uploading social media posts around the AA teams, and organising scorers and the associated scoring packs and papers.

The register and books that Olive uses to keep track of everything is a little bit hectic and unclear, and working out her codes and system of doing things can be troublesome. For example, some of the players do not check in, or arrive but do not pay. Finding out who is here and who is not, and who pays can take up to fifteen minutes. As a rule, Olive states that if a player does not pay for two weeks in a row, they are not allowed to play that week. Olive informs me she must do this otherwise ‘they take the micky’, as many of the repeat offenders can afford money for cigarettes, which are priced at twenty dollars or more. Some players test the boundaries but most are honest if they cannot afford the five-dollar fee. All players have disability pension cards, so most are not in employment, education or training. Angie, a mother in her forties, pays half for the upcoming matches for her husband and two children, but tells Olive and I that she needs to pay the rest next week. She seems very genuine and honest, and navigating these financial constraints seems to be something she and her family must do regularly (Field Notes 22/10/2015).

Olive, who was over seventy, and Amanda, who was in her early fifties, had developed strategies to manage the sessions from the indoor hockey and tried to apply these to cricket. The register and system were a little dated, however, and were not necessarily efficient. Some support from the club around registers, compliance and gathering medical information of the players would have made Olive and Amanda’s volunteer roles easier, but as the club did not support the volunteers who ran the AA teams, it made the experience of undertaking diversity work difficult. Some field notes from a training session demonstrated this:

Robert asks me to read out the team selections for the upcoming matches on the weekend. He asks me as I am a neutral person, and several players 'kick off' to him and Amanda. Kicking off involves questioning the team selection, swearing and shouting on some occasions. I then read out the times to arrive, what to wear, and meeting points and so forth. I have to repeat some of this about four times as the players do not listen. It is all a bit all over the place and ad hoc, and we're making it up as we go along really. However, it does concern me a little, and I think we need more organisation. With this specific group of vulnerable people, it needs to be more structured and planned (the sessions, plans for matches). In reality, however, this is hard as the AA teams and all the work falls to a select few people. I feel the club needs to make a commitment to the AA section of the club and fully support it, and not do AA halfheartedly and expect Robert to do it all. I get the impression the club will be happy to engage if the AA teams do well and claim the glory or, oppositely, distance themselves if things were to go wrong (Field Notes 15/10/2015).

Engagement in diversity work in the above example showed the difficulties for volunteers in organising training sessions and the associated tasks in trying to get players equipped for matches on a weekend. If diversity was core business and a priority for RSCC, the club committee and management would have provided more support to the AA volunteers, and not have expected diversity work to just happen. RSCC was happy to have diversity at their club in the AA teams, but were not prepared to engage in the actual diversity work to make it happen. With a lack of wider collective behavioural club commitment, AA volunteers often reported feeling isolated, unsupported and operating on the periphery to the club and other volunteers. This contributed to feelings of burnout within AA volunteers. Burnout was a key theme for AA volunteers and something I experienced first-hand. Some field notes below from the end of the season highlight the issue of burnout:

After the A team match is underway, I try and take a step back, and go into the clubhouse for half an hour. I leave about 5pm and apologise to Robert I have to leave, but I do not feel well. When I get home, I go the doctors the next day and find out I have the flu. The stress of the day, from the players and their demands, and organising everything from the catering to collecting money, means I am exhausted and burned out. I really feel for the volunteers, as volunteering with the AA teams is emotionally taxing and demanding on many levels. The hours at the club and stress of the All Abilities days means I am run down and tired. I take 5 days off, mainly spent in bed, then go back to observe the following week (Field notes 3/11/2015).

Owing to the nature of diversity work and challenges of working with athletes with an intellectual disability, the quest for social justice and positive change can be exhausting.

Burnout amongst volunteers who engage in this type of diversity work is therefore not surprising. AA volunteers did not discuss self-care throughout the season, however, or suggest to take any actions around self-care. Owing to the nature and context of their volunteering experiences, the adoption of self-care is paramount within this type of diversity work. The challenges discussed thus far stemmed from a lack of support by the club, in the form of both attitudinal and behavioural commitment. A lack of support and knowledge around diversity broadly, and players with an intellectual disability specifically, led Olive, Amanda and Robert to seek these attributes in me. This led to the creation of two key terms I have coined, which were central for understanding the challenges of performing diversity work with the AA teams.

The Researcher as a ‘Diversity Doyen’ and a ‘Diversity Therapist’

To further the extent to which volunteers at RSCC were not confident in how to engage with diversity work and address some of the challenges associated with working with athletes with an intellectual disability, an exchange with Pete (the first president) in the first month of fieldwork was particularly insightful. On my first meeting with the then president, and inquiring about how the club was going to engage with diversity, he informed me:

No, that’s where you come in. That’s where you come in bud. I have limited abilities in that, those areas, I don’t know how to get people involved like that, and that’s where you come in. That’s why I’m more than happy to have you on board, because that’s your specialty. And like I said earlier mate, I don’t know everything (Pete, Club President).

This exchange proved to be very insightful and a good indication into the club’s understanding of diversity from the president’s perspective. Ultimately, the president and club did not know how to ‘do’ diversity and engage with it, which was one of the reasons why the president ‘got me on board’ and agreed to take part in the research project. In this instance, the president saw me as a form of cultural capital, in which I brought education, experiences and knowledge into the club to help volunteers engage with diversity. As Ahmed (2017) pointed out also, by bringing me into the institution, diversity is seen as coming from the outside. In the above quote, the president also stated, ‘because that’s your specialty’, in reference to my perceived knowledge of diversity. This perceived ‘specialty’ held towards me by volunteers meant that my role as a researcher and volunteer merged with what I term a ‘diversity doyen’.

By diversity doyen, I mean a diversity expert or 'guru' as a volunteer once joked. This was specifically in reference to the AA volunteers. Amanda and Olive had worked with athletes with a disability before but had no real training in it, and Robert had never coached any athletes with a disability before. I had previously worked with athletes with a physical disability and learning difficulties, but never specifically with athletes with an intellectual disability. Robert had been to his sport's diversity and inclusion workshop around diversity issues in general, but not anything specifically in working and coaching athletes with a disability. Some field notes reflecting on my role as a researcher and the volunteers' lack of confidence illustrated my assigned role as a diversity doyen:

I need to take a step back and not allow myself to become too involved, as Robert and some of the volunteers keep looking to me to do roles as nobody else is there to do them. They also ask for my opinion and judgements on situations a lot as they see me as a source of knowledge and guru almost (in the diversity space). I feel like Robert at times, and Olive and Amanda, look to me for assurance and for the right answer or how to deal with situations. For example, Amanda did the code of conduct and asked me to look over it, as if I would give the final go ahead and if I agreed, then she could print them off. The volunteers really feel like they are by themselves with no one to help them (Field Notes 22/10/2015).

Owing to their lack of training and knowledge around working with athletes with an intellectual disability, the volunteers looked to me as the 'diversity doyen' to reassure them and support them throughout their volunteering. As Robert often stated, the other club volunteers knew little to nothing about the AA teams, and just 'didn't get it' as he used to repeatedly say. In addition to not being supported by wider club volunteers and not being 'on the same page' as the AA volunteers, this meant that I became the only person the AA volunteers could speak to. This provides insights into the second concept I refer to as a 'diversity therapist'. By taking on this role it could have had implications on the type of data I collected, as I was no longer the objective observer and they could have changed their behaviour. I did not see this happen though and volunteers viewed me as just another volunteer, all be it with perceived specialist knowledge.

The concept of a diversity therapist arose after a lengthy phone call with Robert, whereby he vented, questioned and ranted to me about the AA teams, the club, the AA league and anything else on his mind at the time. He explained that due to the lack of commitment by the club and that the club and several volunteers 'didn't get' the AA teams, he had nobody to talk to. A day

spent at a sport carnival reaffirmed the lack of support and available people to speak to the AA volunteers. Some field notes from the AA carnival highlighted the lack of understanding around intellectual disabilities in particular:

In answering the question of how volunteers experience and engage with diversity work, really from today it is becoming more clear, they don't really know how. They try their best and draw upon their own experiences to deliver All Abilities cricket, but are not trained in the area of intellectual disability and how to deal with problematic behaviour. This is where my role as the researcher is quite interesting, a term I am going to refer to as a 'diversity therapist'. This is where diversity workers, speak to someone about their experiences and problems with diversity. Diversity work is hard work and sometimes you just want to speak to someone about it, and almost debrief. With Robert specifically, he has nobody to talk to within the club about it, or ask for help, or vent, or let off steam about anything. I think he likes to talk to me for reassurance and for help, and because 'I get it', and people in the club do not. He often says they don't understand what we do, and that he still needs to get them to buy into the All Abilities teams (Field Notes 22/10/2015).

As highlighted in the previous chapter, Robert, the main driving force and point of reference for the AA teams, explained that the club and the committee did not share his views regarding the AA teams and that they did not really 'get it'. This frustration in having no support and people to speak to can be explained in relation to Ahmed's (2012) brick wall, whereby the feeling of performing diversity work can feel like banging one's head against a brick wall. However, by speaking to me and through my role as a diversity therapist, the feeling of the brick wall began to go away for Robert and he felt more supported. Robert reported feeling better by discussing some of the challenges that the AA teams posed with me. The emergence of the concepts of diversity doyen and diversity therapist highlight the support and guidance AA volunteers did not receive from the club, also reinforcing the lack of structures in place to support volunteers committed to diversity work. Although several challenges existed for AA volunteers, something motivated them to continue to volunteer.

The Rewards of Doing Diversity Work

Beyond the challenges, the rewards of performing diversity work were central to the volunteer experience, and kept Olive, Robert and I returning to volunteer until the end of the season. The celebration of diversity was rewarding for AA volunteers, whom reported limited opportunities to celebrate diversity within sport. The efforts of the AA volunteers to contribute to positive social change were rewarded in the final game of the season in the WDCL, which ended in

RSCC winning the final match of the season, and overall league. Interestingly, it was the only prestigious flag RSCC won that season. The final vignette reflects on this win and what it meant for the AA volunteers:

D. Jubilation and Joy

The A team win! It comes down to the last minute and RSCC take out the grand final. Only 2 points come into it; can't get much closer than that. Good game and good spirits in the end, with RSCC cheering. It is a fairy-tale ending really for the first season, and the first year playing at the club. You can see how much it means to the players, and when Robert goes into the changing room after the win, they all start chanting his name. This is really quite a unique moment, and it really highlights that all the hard work he has put in to the team is recognised, and his efforts are appreciated by the team. I get a lump in the back of my throat. All the players thank him and hug him. A few players do some speeches and one player in particular thanks all the volunteers, helpers on the day and the league. He asks the team to reflect how far they have come, as a community, with nothing initially provided for them as athletes with a disability, and now they are playing in a grand final on a first team pitch with umpires and afternoon teas. 'Who'd have thought' he asserts.

He states they have come a long way. A staff member from the SSO has a smile on his face to the left of me, and I turn to him and say, 'if there is ever any need as to why we run these programs, you have it right there'. The AA players love their sport and it gives them a sense of belonging and an opportunity to be part of something. For many of them with the daily challenges of living with a disability, this has a profound impact and gives them a sense of purpose. The celebrations continue for the rest of the afternoon in the clubhouse. My own volunteering experience, although hard work, becomes rewarding knowing that I had a part in helping the teams keep going over the course of the season. Seeing the smiles on the players is priceless (Field Notes 22/2/2016).

The final vignette outlines the rewards and satisfaction experienced by volunteers in engaging in intellectual disability diversity work; seeing players achieve something, for them to be part of something, and to feel a sense of belonging. This ultimately captures the foundations of diversity efforts, giving those who would not normally get the chance to participate, the chance to participate and thrive. In this sense, it is also a key component to Ahmed's (2017) conceptualisation of diversity work in the sense of transforming an institution and opening it up to those historically excluded. It is a testament to both Robert's and Olive's persistence that the A team had not lost a match throughout the course of the season. The satisfaction

experienced by the AA volunteers was a significant finding because of the difficulties and challenges reported by them in volunteering with the AA teams.

It was overcoming these challenges, however, and knowing that persisting with the teams meant as players they developed that volunteers felt most satisfied with. The volunteers were happy with their diversity work because their efforts were rewarded with the team winning the league. Had they not won, however, I believe the AA volunteers would have still been satisfied. The AA volunteers understood the importance of the sport for the players and providing this opportunity for them to play was a key reward and source of enjoyment for volunteers. They also knew what winning the league meant for the players. Olive reinforced the enjoyment of seeing the players participate:

I do get satisfaction out of seeing the enjoyment in the majority of them. They ... sport is a big part of their lives and it's ... to wear that uniform and to mingle with people within the same situation as them and, yes, I can honestly say I've never, ever thought I really don't want to go tonight or today. I've just done it because I get ... I do get satisfaction out of the enjoyment of it. Seeing them enjoy it and know that they've got somewhere to go and participate. For giving people a chance to compete and be good at something where they normally wouldn't have a chance to have a competitive game of something, and it does give them a goal to come on a Wednesday and rain, hail or snow, the weather doesn't make any difference, they've got that goal to come and it's so competitive, the teams. I switch the teams around and try and put different ones with different ones. It doesn't always work either. They always say, 'I don't want to play with him' or 'I want to play with her'. To see them so competitive and know that they've got something to do every Wednesday night and the carnival coming up is a really big deal. The boys that I drove home on Sunday said, 'We can't wait for the carnival Olive. We can't wait.' It's something for them to look forward to and that just gives me some satisfaction, I think. Yeah.

Olive's sentiments of how much sport meant to the players draws attention to the true merits and histories of diversity; giving people the chance to participate who do not normally get the chance to. In this instance, Olive engaged in diversity work in the sense of opening up the institution to allow historically excluded groups and assisting the AA players to access sport at RSCC. Transforming an institution and opening it up to those who have been excluded is a key component for individuals who perform diversity work and committed to social justice (Ahmed, 2017). AA volunteer experiences further supported the mentioned positive volunteer outcomes accrued from diversity work, as Amanda described:

And sport for my son has probably been the one thing that's helped him be accepted or feel like he's a part of everything because he likes to play, likes to be involved, he likes to follow. It taught him to read. Taught him to write and it was one of the first skills that he was asked if he would like to learn when he was doing occupational therapy. They recognised that he needed to learn things that were more related to his life – this was when he was six, instead of just saying you're going to learn this, you're going to learn that they would base it on what would you like to do, and so that's how it began. He said, 'I want to be able to play football like the other kids'. So, they taught him how to hold a ball, how to drop a ball and he did that and it went from there. And cricket was the first sport that he played in an actual team.

Amanda explained the significant role sport played in her son's life and his disability. It can be easy to lose sight of the historical struggles and merits of diversity work; however, for the AA volunteers, the importance and meaning of sport, and cricket, for players with an intellectual disability was always there. Although clubs and organisations may find the rhetoric of diversity appealing and discourses around the business case, for the lived experience of AA players, it is of the utmost importance. My observations showed that cricket provided them with social connections, physical activity and contributed to better physical and mental health outcomes. Players often informed me that cricket was the highlight of their week, provided an opportunity to let off steam and mix with people who also have an intellectual disability. Sport was a significant part of the AA player's identities and lives, and the AA volunteers understood this. The positive impact of working with athletes with an intellectual disability was something discussed by all AA volunteers. Amanda used several examples of how people had developed and benefited from volunteering within disability sport⁵. She recounted one story involving a gentleman who helped her son's football team, then volunteered with gusto ever since. Amanda explained:

He [son] plays kick to kick with some adult friends, has done for about ten years now and one of them came down to watch my son play and decided it was the most enjoyable day of football watching he'd done in all his life and so now he comes down, he's on the committee and he would go and umpire and comes down and helps them train and things like that. So, there are a few on our committee who have not been involved with people with a disability before but once they were exposed to it they recognised how positive and fun it was, and so that was good.

⁵ Amanda's interview was conducted prior to her departure from RSCC after being verbally abused.

Becoming involved and volunteering in diversity work through serendipitous encounters is common, with encounters having the potential to impact the volunteer on a personal level. Amanda highlighted that some people at the club may not step forward to volunteer because they are unaware of the benefits of working with athletes with an intellectual disability. Why some club volunteers did not engage in diversity work is a central focus to the next chapter. I conclude this section with one particular quote from Olive after the final training session. It summarised the roller coaster journey as described by the volunteers, but also for myself as a researcher in living and breathing diversity with the AA volunteers over the course of the season. Olive leaned to me and laughed:

Are you getting all this down? You couldn't make this up could you? You could write a book about all this! Mind you, no one would believe you. I've stopped telling my husband all these stories and tales, he wouldn't let me come down if he knew what was going on.

I was in fact writing a book length thesis, which meant all the stories and 'tales' I had observed throughout my fieldwork would help answer my research questions. An important aspect to Olive's quote above, however, was the element of safety. Although a member protection policy did exist, it was not implemented at RSCC. This draws attention to the problem of club volunteers viewing diversity work as not the club's work, but rather the AA volunteers work. By doing this othering of the volunteers and diversity work, when the problem of verbal abuse and volunteers not feeling safe arose, the problem becomes the problem of the AA volunteers and not the club. Ahmed (2017) drew attention to this when diversity workers raised a problem, they became the problem. This is where a lack of commitment to diversity work from other club volunteers and the committee did not help institutionalise diversity and diversity was not everyone's work. Positioning volunteers within contemporary diversity debates within community sport must be addressed, however, if diversity efforts and the rewards for volunteers who engage in those efforts are to be truly realised.

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter explored the experiences of those volunteers at RSCC who undertook the diversity work and volunteered with the AA teams. I provided a summary of the challenges and rewards of diversity work by the AA volunteers, using a series of vignettes to showcase some of the turbulent and stressful, yet satisfying experiences that Olive, Amanda, Robert and I had throughout the season. This chapter extends my thesis argument by presenting data that shows

that RSCC did not see the club's job as performing diversity work; therefore, left diversity work, through volunteering with the AA teams, to four external volunteers. I answered my second research sub-question by reporting data on the four AA volunteers who engaged with diversity work at RSCC, in showing that their experiences of performing diversity work regarding intellectual disability were challenging, specifically around behaviour, but also rewarding in seeing their athletes participate and enjoy playing cricket. Even though AA volunteers were not supported and struggled to run the AA teams every week, the majority still persisted with the teams. In the next chapter, I provide data in answering my final research sub-question as to why some volunteers engaged in diversity work through the AA teams, but most of the club did not.

Chapter 7

Oh, I don't want to babysit a disabled person:

Diversity Work at RSCC

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the reasons why the AA volunteers engaged with diversity work, by exploring their motivations to volunteer with the AA teams and efforts to provide opportunities for marginalised communities to play cricket. This chapter addresses why some volunteers at RSCC engaged in diversity work by volunteering with the AA teams and why many volunteers did not engage in diversity work. Therefore, I focus the chapter in answering the second component to my final sub-question: Why do some volunteers engage with diversity work while others do not?

The reasons why most volunteers at the club did not engage with diversity work provide an alternative narrative to the RSCC story and the season I spent with them. It was through volunteering with the AA teams and participant observations at the club that I understood the power dynamics within the club. Further, it allowed me to explore the complexities and nuances of why the AA volunteers were left to work with the AA teams and carry out diversity work without wider support from the club. Although recruiting volunteers is a common challenge within many community sports clubs, at RSCC there were more complex reasons as to why the club struggled to recruit volunteers to engage with diversity work from inside the club and their existing membership. A key focus of this chapter is the reasons for the lack of engagement in diversity work by the wider club, which builds on my central thesis argument by exploring why the club did not see diversity as part of RSCC's core business in able-bodied performance and winning flags. I finish the chapter by concluding the RSCC story.

Why Did Volunteers Engage in Diversity Work at RSCC?

In the previous chapters, I discussed how the AA teams were formed at RSCC and why Robert, Olive and Amanda chose to engage with diversity work by volunteering with the AA teams. Their primary motivation was to provide opportunities for people with an intellectual disability to play cricket. Further, an opportunistic and haphazard encounter led to the creation of the AA teams when Robert saw a poster at the local indoor cricket training centre.

Beyond AA volunteers, conceptualised diversity champions, other volunteers also engaged with diversity work throughout the season. Engagement in diversity work came in two forms: episodic, ad hoc engagements or perceptions of engagement through happy talk, specifically non-performative speech acts (Ahmed, 2012). I discuss happy talk within the context of RSCC promising club volunteers to help with the AA teams on match days for the AA teams. Happy talk is the act of members talking positively around diversity. Non-performative speech acts are words with no action, often in the form of spoken rhetoric through policy discourse with no real impact. An example of the latter was the promise of volunteers to assist the AA volunteers by the club on match days, which did not eventuate. Apart from two occasions, most matches did not attract the promised volunteers by the club, thus rendering them non-performative speech acts. A conversation with a volunteer highlighted this particular non-performative speech act in this regard, and the disparity between saying and doing diversity at RSCC. Harriet was aware of such acts, which prompted her to encourage her son to assist with coaching and umpiring some of the AA matches when available. She stated:

A lot of times it's said but not acted on. We find that in schools as well where they say every child's treated as an individual. They can't be in the classroom environment where you've got one teacher and 20 kids. So, a lot of policies are there, it's ... you have to be very active in getting them working properly. That depends probably on the people who are implementing those policies, if they try really hard to get them working (Harriet, Junior Volunteer).

Two key points can be articulated from the above quote. First, Harriet highlighted happy talk from the club in stating diversity can be spoken about but not acted upon. But with little to no action, they can be regarded as non-performative speech acts (Ahmed, 2012; Bury, 2015). Other volunteers reinforced this inaction by stating the club had promised some type of volunteer support on match days, but they failed to appear. Second, the push to implement policies and 'be very active' is reflective of much diversity work scholarship and the difficulty experienced by many diversity practitioners who experience various forms of resistance (Ahmed, 2012, 2017; Cunningham, 2008). By stating the volunteers had to try 'really hard' to get them working, this highlights the difficulties for diversity workers in getting institutional buy-in and an organisation to 'take up' diversity, rather than inactive words on an unimplemented policy. To provide more context into the non-performative institutional speech acts and happy talk at RSCC towards the AA teams, and the limited engagement in diversity work by volunteers, the initial reason why Pete, the president, chose to engage with AA cricket

is pertinent to understanding the reasons for the limited engagement in diversity work. During my fieldwork, the initial commitment to intellectual disability as a form of diversity by Pete was discussed by several volunteers at RSCC. Data show that the primary reason why the club and select volunteers on the committee engaged in diversity was shaped within the business discourse for diversity.

The underlying and dominant discourse within RSCC towards diversity was a business rationale, where the club and key volunteers ultimately viewed diversity as good for business and would be positive for the club's sustainability and place within the community. The business case approach was not explicitly discussed by volunteers, but was subtle and embedded within conversations. The main underlying business rationale for diversity at RSCC was linked to the club benefiting from diversity. Within the first three months of fieldwork, the primary focus of the club and how it could benefit from diversity became clear when several volunteers stated that the reasons for RSCC engaging in diversity were to get the club rooms upgraded and to attract funding. A statement by a committee volunteer reinforced this, which also drew attention to the motives for engaging in diversity work: business first and foremost, doing the right thing second. When asked why RSCC chose to develop the AA teams, the volunteer explained⁶:

Number one would be to improve the facilities and secondary is your main point, the diversity. I can see that they saw 'Let's accept all these people because we will get ...' It's that we will get a benefit out of it, not because of diversity in the community but because of getting the facilities to entice more people. I know that sounds fickle (Volunteer).

The above quote demonstrated the order and initial motives for engaging with diversity work for RSCC. It reinforced that volunteers, excluding the AA volunteers, viewed diversity as an 'add on', and thus diversity work operated outside normal club operations and was not part of their everyday business. The reasons why volunteers did not engage in diversity work at RSCC were complex. It was not until three months into fieldwork that the RSCC story and their reasons for engaging in diversity work really began to unfold.

⁶ In some instances, due to the sensitivity of the topic or statement, I have not provided the name of the volunteer who the quote was attributed to, to protect anonymity.

‘Not our job’: Why did Volunteers Not Engage in Diversity Work at RSCC?

A key theme reported by most volunteers at RSCC was the critical reliance and importance of volunteers in diversity efforts. A volunteer once informed me, ‘*Without volunteers, you get nowhere*’. Moreover, within diversity work with intellectual disability specifically, AA volunteers highlighted the critical importance of volunteers. The practicality of having volunteers to readily engage in diversity work was a common point of reference in many interviews. Amanda stated that nothing happened for people with a disability unless people volunteer. She stated, ‘If you don’t volunteer or help with your child who has a disability in the things that they want to be involved in those things don’t run’.

Amanda stated that clubs need volunteers to run diversity programs such as the AA teams. Other volunteers expressed similar comments, yet questioned the practicality of diversity efforts around the recruitment of volunteers to run programs like the AA teams. One conversation with William reflected other volunteer sentiments in this regard when I asked him to comment on the best approach to diversity for sport clubs:

Hundred percent gradual. Yeah. Like if you just went bang, bang, bang, and then suddenly you have to find a coach for the All Abilities teams, you have to find a coach for the women’s team, you have to find other things. And then your team manager. And then you’re talking probably upwards of ten, twelve people that you have to find to help. You know we found it hard enough to find a couple of junior coaches (William, Hercules Coordinator).

William discussed the piecemeal approach to diversity, by focusing on one aspect of diversity at a time. His dialogue was shaped in practicality, highlighting that unless clubs can recruit new volunteers, or current members step up and volunteer, diversity efforts will not be taken forwards. Sally also discussed the practicalities and constraints of voluntary sports clubs and how this impacted on a club’s ability to engage with diversity work. She explained:

All Abilities is different but, again, the council asked me to run the All Abilities with the hockey at [area] and I said no because we couldn’t find the people. They were going to give me a team with no people to help. They were saying I had to and I said that if I can’t get people then what do I do? (Sally, Administrator).

Sally explained the frustration and tension with her local council when they tried to apply mandatory engagement in diversity work and that the lack of volunteers to engage in diversity work meant she could not commit. Additionally, AA volunteers drew attention to the voluntary

nature of diversity work within community sport. In analysing some of the commentary around the role of volunteers within diversity work, one theme is clear. Interviewees spoke about 'programs' and 'extra people' and 'additions' to the club to engage with diversity work. This highlights that volunteers at RSCC viewed diversity as what Ahmed (2012) referred to as a compartmentalised entity. In this regard, diversity was viewed as something outside of the club's core business and operations. Diversity was not seen as a priority or as part of core business. Rather, it was as Stenling and Fahlen (2016) noted, 'something that clubs do not see themselves doing'. This was an explanation for the club's lack of engagement in diversity work through the AA teams and why the majority of volunteers at RSCC did not engage in diversity work.

Although volunteers did report constraints to engaging with diversity, my data shows that the club did not engage with diversity work because they did not value diversity and, ultimately, the club did not view diversity as something they should be doing. Their job was not to perform diversity but to field teams to win flags, specifically centred around able-bodied high performance. I spend the rest of the chapter exploring the layered nuances around why volunteers at RSCC did not engage in diversity work.

Volunteer Recruitment

Volunteers explained they were working at maximum capacity within their volunteer roles. Therefore, the club actively tried to recruit new volunteers from outside the club to engage with diversity work, so as to not overburden volunteers at RSCC. A lack of wider club engagement in volunteering was cited as the primary reason for the lack of volunteers to assist with the AA teams. The recruitment of volunteers in general, however, was multilayered. I discuss the different layers to volunteer recruitment and attempts to get club members to volunteer within the club, and the difficulties in getting volunteers to engage in diversity work.

The first problem was engaging club members in general volunteering at RSCC. Time constraints within cricket and entitled players who contributed to volunteering at RSCC were central to this. Second, was the selective recruitment of volunteers into certain positions at the club. I discuss each in turn. Recruiting volunteers within the club was seen as a challenge due to the long hours involved in cricket. Paul, commented:

Time commitment is the biggest one, how long it takes. That's the biggest downfall for our sport. It takes several hours for the game, you have several hours of training each week, so there's a lot of time. And if you add up the time there'd be at least three hours every training session, and you sort of give up, whether it's travelling there and doing it, and then travelling back. And then you've got playing of four hours at least, five hours probably. So, you get here at 7:30, 8 o'clock, and you leave at midday, so that's four hours. And then you travel backwards and forwards. Then, if you're involved in the afternoon in senior teams there's another six hours, plus a couple at the end of the game for socialising. That's a lot of time. So, I'm spending six, ten, eighteen hours a week here sometimes, in summer. So, you hear of the term sport widows, and when you've got kids playing, it takes a lot of your family time to do it. So that's one of the challenges (Paul, Assistant Senior Volunteer Coach).

Time commitment for volunteers was a significant area of concern, but one that prompted efforts to engage more volunteers within the club to alleviate some of the pressures of the core volunteers. This was a primary reason as to why the club recruited additional volunteers from outside the club to engage in diversity work and run the AA teams, in addition to Robert. The second challenge in recruiting volunteers at RSCC by participants, 'entitled players', were the senior players who did not volunteer or contribute to the club, especially the Hercules Junior Program. A roster was developed for the Hercules Junior Program for the ten weeks it ran, and this meant two senior players were required to assist on a Saturday morning for one hour. Several players did not turn up, however, without an apology or explanation meaning the delivery of the sessions fell to the two same volunteers every week. This lack of involvement from players was seen as a contentious issue and centred on the issue of entitlement. Comments from Sally reflected this, when they struggled to engage members to volunteer at a club open day:

We had a sausage sizzle and all the senior players were there but we had to tell the senior players to come or they'd get fined. We shouldn't have to do that. So, in their contracts for next season they've been told that they have to commit to assisting with the junior program. With the Hercules program it was only that two had to do it for one week at a time. The firsts are home one week, the seconds are home the next. So, effectively two had to do it for five weeks and it could have been any two. So, they would have only done it once for the whole season. When you're getting paid [as semi-professional athletes], they're probably on ten thousand dollars a season, plus. And you're doing what you love and have no expenses. They get a bus for games, they get all their uniform paid for, their insurance, their afternoon tea, everything is paid for. Trying to bring change into a club like that [RSCC] is very hard (Sally, Administrator).

Sally's comments demonstrate the tension towards the players who did not contribute to the ethos of the club and volunteer, thus creating a sense of 'othering'. The concept of entitlement was mentioned several times in interviews around the lack of volunteer involvement from players and the shortage of volunteers to assist with diversity work through the AA teams. She also reinforces the core business of the club in highlighting the payment of players and buses to the matches and so forth, but more importantly, the focus on able-bodied performance. The second challenge to volunteer recruitment at RSCC involved power dynamics and the selective recruitment of key volunteer positions.

Although members did discuss the challenges of volunteer recruitment, data reported an additional complexity by highlighting that the committee and club management, in particular, selectively regulated who was allowed to volunteer. In this regard, my data report a contradiction regarding volunteer recruitment as a barrier to diversity work. This was evident in not allowing new volunteers onto the committee to fill specific positions. For context, Pete provided me with some history of the club, and how the club started:

Well the club, it used to be, it started in 1971 by a group of mates basically. There's a place in [Area A], actually the [Area A] club, they were all members there, and there used to be another club called [club name]. But a lot of the guys played in that band. And a few of the other guys played elsewhere, they decided to get together, because they're all best mates. They all grew up together. Yeah. They all went to school together. All Catholic background, Anglo Saxon, straight up and down the line (Pete, President).

The formation of RSCC is representative of many sporting clubs, which are founded by a group of people with shared interests and enthusiasm for a particular sport or cause (Nichols et al., 2003). The genesis of sporting clubs like RSCC is important to understand, whereby a club is founded on homophilic ties and sameness. The reluctance to recruit new volunteers, specifically for certain positions on the committee, is a reminder that attempts to preserve the interests of the dominant group within a club will be made, which was done at RSCC. Bob explained this, by informing me who the club was started for and for what reasons:

But we never ... but again, we go back to looking, we never want to forget that we're just all guys who want to have a game of [sport], or watch a game of [sport], we have a beer and we have a bet, and we have a laugh (Bob, Club Volunteer).

This quote is a subtle reminder of the foundations of the club, the dominant members within the club and the interests that the club serves: entertainment and leisure for a group of white, Anglo heterosexual, able-bodied men. Moreover, Bob, a founding member of the club, highlighted the reluctance to change a winning formula. Those that the winning formula favoured, however, was clear, and he stated:

And that's one thing about this club, we've all stuck by ... we don't chop and change too much. We know what we want, and we know how we've got there. And so we won't change a lot of things, because we know it's worked in the past. We've had a lot of people in the same positions, and that we've always been honest, we've always been true (Bob, Club Volunteer).

In fact, two members brought this point up in interviews and highlighted it as a key reason for not having greater diversity within the committee and also discussed recruiting new volunteers to help assist current volunteers. David expressed:

Very hand-picked who they want to be involved from that point of view, and sometimes those people probably aren't right for the job. So, plenty of people have put their hand up previously and gotten nowhere (David, Secretary).

This highlights the power relations within the committee and the volunteers they vote onto it, and the somewhat exclusive nature of volunteering within the club. The above extracts from founding and influential members outlining the history of RSCC illustrate the difficulties that exist for traditional sporting clubs to introduce change and diversity to both their membership and volunteers base. As highlighted above, volunteers were aware of the strategy employed by influential members in restricting access to the committee and, in agreement with Sarah, explained that they felt this has held the club back:

I think you need that group of people that are not keen, keen to let go to let go. And let brand new faces and fresh faces get in, and re-jig it very, very much (Sarah, Volunteer Scorer).

Sarah highlights the group of longstanding, older men within RSCC and their reluctance to change, or allow new volunteers onto the committee. Robinson (2010) states that a sport organisation needs 'a state of readiness for change' to assist volunteers in implementing change into a club or organisation. Fieldwork showed that RSCC's committee specifically was not 'ready for change', which then led to resistance by some members.

In conclusion, volunteers faced several challenges that meant they operated in a taxing climate, which was characterised by a lack of available volunteers to assist with general club operations. Therefore, introducing diversity and two additional teams for athletes with an intellectual disability was seen as addition to the club that volunteers may not have been ready for. Although volunteers reported challenges in engaging members of RSCC to volunteer at RSCC, a deeper look into the volunteer recruitment practices at RSCC showed that the committee were selective in who they allowed to take up certain volunteer positions. In recruiting volunteers to engage with diversity work and assist the AA teams, the club was happy to recruit from outside the club because primarily they did not see diversity work as their job. The second theme in explaining why volunteers did not engage in diversity work was happy talk as a substitute for diversity work.

Happy Talk as Diversity Work

Some volunteers engaged in conversations around diversity work, specifically happy talk surrounding the AA teams. Ahmed's (2012; 2017) concepts of 'happy talk' and 'institutional happiness' are useful in understanding the lack of engagement in diversity work by volunteers at RSCC. These concepts refer to when an institution or sport organisation talks positively about diversity and use positive language, along the lines of 'we welcome everybody' or 'our doors are always open'. Diversity in this regard accrues value because it is the right way to speak and an organisational culture is generated around the concept. However, there can be a key difference in what the institution says and what it actually does, i.e. a sport club may say they are diverse and welcoming, but they may in fact not value diversity and actually have discriminatory practices in place.

This demonstrated that happy talk was provided by some volunteers as a substitute for engaging in diversity work. They did not volunteer with the AA teams and reasons included playing commitments with more than one team, low awareness of diversity (comments such as I don't have any interest, I don't know much about the AA teams) or no desire to volunteer beyond their own volunteer role. Throughout the season it became evident that there was more to the outward display of talking positively around diversity and the AA teams. This was evident where volunteers often enthusiastically spoke about diversity, using happy talk, as a substitute for actions and volunteering with the AA teams. Conversations with some male committee

volunteers illustrated the use of happy talk at RSCC. On whether the club welcomed all members of the community, William (Junior Volunteer Coach) expressed:

I reckon, like for example, like these guys sitting over here, I know them obviously pretty well. They'd be more than happy for anyone to walk through the door of any religion, anything. They just wouldn't. It would not bother them. They're just easy going. And I think once again, I think, you'll find 95% of people would be, yeah. Yeah. That's a lot.

Further comments from Sam reinforced this happy talk when he stated:

Yeah. There's nothing stopping like a Muslim person or Aboriginal person from going to [sport club] or here at RSCC, like we'd welcome them with open arms kind of thing. It's like, yes, I think sport could play a big factor. And it's like people go, people have these different thoughts of nationalities and religions and that, and they get to know them playing sport, and they go OK, I didn't know that. So, it'll help bridge the barrier I guess (Sam, Social Secretary).

With both William and Sam, I did comment in my field notes on the extent to which investigator bias was prevalent here and whether they told me what they thought I wanted to hear or replied with socially acceptable answers. The phrase 'open arms' was also used by other volunteers, in addition to happy talk such as 'our gates are always open'. From conversations with other volunteers and some of the teething issues experienced in creating the AA teams, I was told that these two particular volunteers had been unsupportive and quite vocal about whether the club should have said yes to hosting the AA teams.

This came through in conversations with them and I was not entirely convinced they believed in what they were saying, through their body language, the way they spoke about diversity issues and the language they used. An exchange with Paul (Assistant Senior Volunteer Coach) suggested some further happy talk, when he stated he had only heard good things about diversity. When asked about whether the club was on board with diversity, Paul replied:

I think they are. But it's hard. I don't want to speak for the committee. I don't sit on their meetings, I'm not privy to their detailed discussions on these things. I know that what they say to me is positive in respect of diversity. I don't see any negativity. I actually hear positive conversations about we can't discriminate against people, we can't be ... our behaviour is reflective of the club. So, from the viewpoint of how the club is represented, I think they're very consistent in their desire to be viewed properly.

Being viewed properly can be understood with what Ahmed (2012) refers to as perceptions of being diverse. Here, the image of being diverse is more important than actually being diverse

and engaging in diversity work. In reference to the club being viewed properly, Sally highlighted that RSCC in this regard were late to catch on to diversity. Catching up with other clubs in the diversity space meant a change in thought processes for many members. She stated:

It's a change of people's whole thought process and at the moment I feel RSCC is slowly catching up, they know they're slowly catching up but they're starting from way behind everyone else (Sally, Administrator).

The concept of playing catch up resonates with Ahmed's (2012) concept of 'institutional catch up', whereby an institution has to play catch up with what they say, through policy rhetoric and diversity policies, and what they actually do. This is evident here, but more in the context of catching up with other clubs in the diversity space. RSCC, like many other clubs, spoke about diversity and what they did or were perceived to do, but the actual translation of this into practice was absent, thus these became non-performative speech acts (Ahmed, 2012; Bury, 2015). A final example of some happy talk and outward expression of enthusiasm and attitudinal support towards diversity, was when William stated that everyone in the club embraced the AA teams. He enthusiastically informed me:

Of course, 100%. And you'll find again like, the All Abilities, that's great and everyone loves it, everyone think it's such a good idea (William, Junior Coordinator).

Conversations with other volunteers and certain committee members contradicted these sentiments, however, and other volunteers were more explicit in their views towards the club being on board and thinking it was a 'good idea'. One episodic volunteer expressed a very different opinion to some of the happy talk mentioned above. Although in reference to the hockey club, she stated that several mainstream clubs she had played at were not on board with diversity. Suzanne stated:

Nope. They're [sport clubs] not [on board]. Because they sort of see it as, oh they're slow, yeh, you can see it sometimes. Like if we have a function, even with my partner and myself, we come along and they'll say hello to you but then they'll sort of shy away, they don't stay and talk to you, yeah (Suzanne, Episodic AA Volunteer).

My fieldwork demonstrated that beyond episodic volunteers who assisted with the AA teams, not everyone thought the AA teams were such a good idea, and resistance was a key theme in understanding how and why some volunteers did not engage with diversity work at RSCC.

Pete, as the president, had a specific commitment to introducing diversity into RSCC, based on a business rationale and that the club would benefit by this engagement. However, Pete did not have an affective commitment to diversity in the form of the AA teams, due to the haphazard and opportunistic nature of how the AA teams came to RSCC. Therefore, Pete had a commitment to diversity underpinned by a business rationale because there would be costs to the club if the club did not engage with diversity, relating to a decline in membership and associated costs, and the cost of not being able to access community grants. Sally was aware of Pete's commitment, and spoke about it at length in her interview. She explained:

Can I be brutally honest? I think they took on the All Abilities to get the clubrooms upgraded. In the background that was Pete's scenario. I said to him it would take five years, I've come from a club where we had people in wheelchairs and it took us five years to get toilets. He was "No, we've got money" and this whole we have money thing, people don't give a shit. People actually realise that the club is held with a bit of contempt, they go to the council and say they want this done and the council goes "Well, you've got more money in the bank than we do so why don't you pay for it?" (Sally, Administrator).

Although complex, the true nature of Pete's initial commitment to diversity and the AA teams was contentious. As indicated above, my data suggest that the initial commitment and motives for Pete taking on the AA teams was more rooted in a business rationale and to better help the club rather than the local community. Other volunteers alluded to the same sentiments as Sally, but did not say it in the same capacity. For example, in a conversation with a female volunteer one afternoon, she said something along the lines of, 'I heard that it wasn't for the right reasons' accompanied with a questionable sigh. With Sally's comments around the club taking on the AA to get the clubrooms upgraded, this led to critical insights into diversity work at RSCC and led me to uncover an alternative narrative in the RSCC story.

The Politics of Difference: 'We Didn't Vote for the AA Stuff'

Halfway through my fieldwork, some volunteers shared some important information with me. The disclosure of the committee voting against the AA teams at the start of the season was crucial to explaining some of my observations at RSCC and a primary reason for the chronic shortage of volunteers to assist with the AA teams and engage in diversity work. After the first month of my fieldwork, I noted that the majority of volunteers forgot, that I was a researcher and I became just another volunteer at the club. This allowed me to speak in more depth and openly about diversity within the club, and this was a key factor in volunteers disclosing more

sensitive information. An example of this was conversations with members on a Saturday afternoon when senior team matches were taking place. In some instances, volunteers used to almost like to have a gossip, where they would disclose certain information, as if saying 'I shouldn't be telling you this, but I am going to anyway'. Sally, in one such conversation, explained that the club originally had a vote in the pre-season to decide where they would focus their attention for the upcoming season. The club voted and decided to have the juniors as their main focus for the 2015/2016 season. Sally explained further:

Sally: Oh, yeah, yeah. Sometimes I think they're a little close minded like if I hadn't have come in two years ago about the Hercules Junior Program it still wouldn't be operational. I think they're happy for us to come in and run it. Like with the All Abilities, originally - you probably don't know this - that was voted against.

Ryan: Right.

Sally: After Pete went and did it, but at the previous meeting, three days before Pete announced to the committee it was voted against ... they didn't believe they had the resources to do juniors and All Abilities and they said to focus on getting the juniors up and running this year and do All Abilities next year. That's why Robert has felt a bit out on his own a bit sometimes, they just don't have the resources and that shows.

In commenting on Robert being 'out on his own', this reflected the wider club's engagement in diversity work and the AA teams, and the isolation felt by Robert and the other AA volunteers. What is also interesting are Sally's comments stating that the club was happy for her and other volunteers to run the Hercules Junior Program. This was also the case with the AA volunteers, i.e. the club was happy to have other people run the program for them. This is because they did not see their job or role as undertaking diversity work. The decision to have the AA teams at the club after several committee members voted against it, however, angered Sam. Sam's frustrations around the AA teams and the prospect he had to engage with diversity work began to surface in his interview. On asking to comment on the AA teams, Sam interjected:

That wasn't voted on by the committee. That was done by Pete and Robert. And that's the thing, I've got no problem with it, but I would have liked to have had a vote on it. 'Cause originally we got Robert as our junior coordinator, but now he has this role, now going to the All Abilities kind of thing. Yeah. I don't know. But yeah, that's the thing, that was between ... that was a ... that's a big decision for the club. And that was just decided between Robert and Pete unfortunately. So, like our ... like we didn't even talk

about that at the start of the year. And our plan was for junior's kind of thing, let's sort that out. So, we kind of got side-tracked maybe a little bit. But it is what it is, it's happened, we've just got to deal with it. But yeah, as far as social functions and that, yeah, I put my hand up and say I didn't even give it a thought.

Sam's frustrations at the lack of consultation with the committee was evident, and in reference to his specific volunteer role and managing social functions, he had not considered that the current culture and social functions (heavily based around unlimited alcohol) might not be suitable for the AA players. By engaging in diversity work, Sam also suggested that the club got 'side-tracked', which draws attention to diversity not being part of their core business and daily operations. The concept of being side-tracked by diversity suggests also viewing it as an unwanted addition. Further, Sam's choice of language suggested a lack of understanding around the AA teams also, in referring to Robert's work with the AA teams as 'All Abilities type of thing'. Sam's response was to actively resist and not include the AA players in social events.

Sam (Social Secretary) also highlighted that information around the setup of the AA teams and whether they were part of the club or playing under the club's name or a separate entity was not very well understood by volunteers. Sam explained this uncertainty when I asked him about the setup and how AA players might be included in the broader club:

Sam: Yeah. I gather they're playing under the club's name, well yeah, we've got to include them, I guess. And I don't know how it's going to work because they play on Sundays.

Ryan: So maybe people can come down and support, or watch, and things like that?

Sam: Yeah. I guess so. And I guess that's something that's got to be explained to the players I guess, and the club. To be honest, no-one really knows. It's ... as far as people know, like we had them come in Friday, and as I said that's ... the communication with Pete and everyone else, it's fallen down unfortunately. But now they're here we've just got to deal with it.

The 'no-one really knows' was reflective of the general views at the club in general, and when I asked members and volunteers about the AA teams, some said they heard 'bits' or had seen something on Facebook. Sam's comments of 'we had them come in Friday' positions the AA teams as outsiders in making reference to coming in. What the AA teams meant for the club and their involvement and engagement was not well understood by volunteers, and this was raised in various interviews. A conversation with Sarah explained the uncertainty around the

AA teams and what it meant for the club. When I asked Sarah whether she knew much about the AA teams, she noted:

I have. Yeah. I've heard a little bit about it. Originally, like they tried to get the girls side up, I originally think it was done for the wrong reasons, in terms of getting those numbers in so they can go hey, you have a disability side, now give us facilities. Hey, we have a girl's side, a new girls changing rooms. But I think as it's grown I think the club as a whole has become more embracing of it, and realise it's a good thing. It's a good thing to have the diversity in the club, and ... I think it was ... yeah, I think it was a ... not a committee decision, I don't know, I'm not privy to their discussions, but I thought it was pushed by one individual, who has done a lot of work trying to push the junior program and stuff in the last few years, but I think he's going about it the wrong way. And the club's now, in some cases, suffering for it (Sarah, Scorer).

It was not clear what Sarah meant by the club suffering for it, but from my fieldwork I would suggest it was that the AA teams did not get much support at the start of the season and that it was Pete who had tried to engage in diversity, in whichever way he could (linking to the fast track approach to diversity). Further, I interpreted suffering in the sense that the club had taken on more than it could handle and have the resources to cater for, and why some initial resistance was provided by some members.

In summary, data showed that several volunteers, including several on the club committee and management group, did not want the AA teams at the club due to the club not having enough resources. This was shown by the club committee voting against having the AA teams at the start of the season. This set the precedent for the rest of the season and cast the AA teams and the volunteers who engaged in diversity work to the periphery of the club. Engaging in diversity work was political in nature for RSCC and the president, Pete, went against the rest of the committee by going ahead with the AA teams after the committee had voted against them and then he left the club at the beginning of the season. This led to resistance towards the teams and meant that the AA volunteers, mainly Robert, who engaged in diversity work had to open up the institution to those it had excluded.

Resistance to Diversity

Resistance was a significant factor in explaining why volunteers did not engage in diversity work at RSCC. A key finding of those volunteers who resisted diversity efforts was their positions and influence at RSCC. Several members were part of the club management decision-

making processes. Several interviews with committee members and key volunteers occurred at the start of the season, just when the AA teams were getting started. This proved to be an interesting time to assess the nature of commitment towards the AA teams, but also their attitudes towards disability in general. Although some attitudes had changed towards the AA program by the end of the season, the conversations with volunteers gave insights into their views towards diversity and how they felt about introducing athletes with an intellectual disability into their club. A conversation with Bob, an ex-committee member provided a good example of this. He suggested that the AA teams would be a big change for many, as he commented below:

- Ryan: They're just developing the All Abilities teams now, aren't they?
Bob: Which I find quite interesting, because my partner works with the special needs people. And we did the football, we ran the disability [sport team].
Ryan: Yeah. She said.
Bob: Yeah. With the special needs people. It's going to be a big change of attitude for some people. Be interesting to see how it's handled. Oh well. And as I say, being sort of one step away from the committee and the administration side, be interesting to see how it's handled.

Bob suggested that RSCC lacked full club commitment for pursuing the AA program and had engaged with intellectual disability as a form of diversity without considering the practical and logistical considerations. This was discussed by two other volunteers. In this regard, Bob demonstrated passive resistance. Bob ran the disability sport teams at the partner club (who shared the same grounds) with his partner, and stated he was not consulted or asked about his experiences, which could have helped the volunteers in managing the AA teams. However, I also got the impression he did not step forward to offer assistance or help and the language he used to talk about the AA teams suggested he did not think it was going to be successful and the club would not embrace the teams, as the above exchange suggested. Withholding key information regarding the AA teams was a form of passive resistance. Bob also informed me that the club actually had prior experience in disability as a form of diversity, but this was not a positive experience. Bob (General Volunteer) and Sharon (Canteen Volunteer) both spoke of this past experience and that it was not dealt with by the club very well. Bob stated:

There were some with special needs, there was a special needs kid at one stage. There were some issues there, which I don't think was handled well, within the club. I don't know. I've made my views known about it, so ... I don't think it's ... I don't think the

club was ready to handle that sort of special needs person, but I don't know. So, I feel they take ... they are ... they do take a lot of work, they can take a lot of work, special needs people. And I don't think we handled that situation well as a club.

Bob did not discuss the incident in much detail, but linking to his previous comments above about the club not being ready and that it would be a big change for many people, this would explain the foundation to those claims. Sharon also made reference to the incident and the club's previous engagement with disability as diversity. Adding to Bob's comments and discussing some of the 'trouble makers' involved in the incident concerning the player with a disability, she stated:

Sharon: There's been a few instances up here, a few blokes. Very, very negative. But they're not around the club now. But there was [instances]. Yeah. We can't say we're a squeaky clean club that way, they're a bit ... But those trouble makers have sort of slowly moved on.

Ryan: And what type of things?

Sharon: Oh, I don't know, just dumb things like, silly things they say, one guy with a disability, they used to hide his hat and stamp on his hat, and do stupid things. They thought it was funny, you know what I mean? And then he'd get upset. Yeah. And he'd get upset and come in yelling and screaming, and then ... but people didn't see that side of it, and they thought it was funny, and just dumb stupid things like that. Immature.

This particular incident drew attention to some of the prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards athletes with a disability within RSCC, even if the incident was several years ago. The negative incident may have been a likely explanation for Bob's resistant behaviour to the AA teams, and why other volunteers at the club did not engage in diversity work with the AA teams.

A key form of active resistance towards the AA teams that cast them to the periphery of the club was to not invite or include the AA players in any social functions at the club. Both the inclusion and resistance to the AA teams primarily centred on the social setting. Reference to the challenge of including the AA players in social settings was evident in interviews, with concerns primarily based around alcohol. This was Sam's main concern and was why he opted not to include the AA players within any social events throughout the course of the season (Sam was the social secretary/coordinator). Other volunteers, including Sarah, discussed the AA players and the role of alcohol at social events. She stated:

I think you've then got ... then there's a whole other complexity 'cause then you've got to work out ... you throw alcohol in to a mixed social function you don't know how that ... those players are going to react a) if they're drinking, or b) how our players, those deep seeded potential issues come out of the players when they're drinking, and you don't know if they're going to get violent, or they're going to get ... or do they know the levels of appropriateness and inappropriateness when you've got kids and families, and there's all those sort of complexities. And unless you've got someone that's trained to handle them they need to be ... you need to have carers and ... which is again, gets people to the club, but they've got to try and maybe find, start to find that middle ground of, let's have a barbecue out here, let's get them ... let's have a Christmas function that's on a Saturday afternoon or a Sunday afternoon and get them down here. Two potential, you don't know what inclusion ... like what they've done to try and get this playing group and this playing group to mesh. Or whether they just see it as a standalone, they'll do their own thing, we'll do our own thing, but they're under our banner.

Sarah was supportive of the AA teams, however, she felt the club had not fully thought through having the AA teams and how they included them into the broader set up of the club. Some volunteers did allude to the point that changing the social events or limiting alcohol was not something the club was ready to do just yet. This can be understood by what Ahmed (2017) refers to as resisting efforts to change a situation or transform an institution. For example, one key social event included unlimited alcohol and this was a key draw card for many members. Andrew commented about the inclusion of the AA players at these types of social events:

Now that's inevitable with All Abilities. I can ... I get that, it's hard, depending on the level of disability. Exactly. Yeah. And it's tough. They're not going to be probably coming to the same function, not going to be having 20 beers at the same function, and stuff like that. But you've got to find a medium where you can close that gap. Well yeah, definitely. So yeah, tough.

This raises an important point of departure, whereby the inclusion of the AA players was seen as not part of their core business or something they did not want to do as it would mean transforming the institution and opening it up to excluded members. This is where Ahmed's (2017) dual conceptualisation of diversity work is paramount in understanding volunteer engagement in diversity work and including the AA teams within RSCC. Some volunteers who demonstrated resistance did not want to engage in diversity work because it included transforming their institution and opening it up to excluded members (Ahmed, 2017), which this was not something Sam or other volunteers were willing to do. Sally (Administrator) was aware of this resistance to open up the institution of RSCC and commented:

Yes, yes. I think they're concerned, the guys from the All Abilities teams, with the drinking and stuff then will it get out of hand and are they allowed to drink. The standards have to change their way. You know what I'm saying? Thinking of them, not anyone else, we have to change what we're doing. That's the biggest thing in trying to bring diversity into a club, getting through the old boys who think "Oh, Jesus, we've got to change our ways. Let's not do it".

Sally highlighted why some volunteers at the club did not engage with diversity work and why they did not invite the AA players to any social functions. The setup of the club and situation favoured the long-standing members, and Sally noted that by the 'standards having to change', this would mean changing and transforming the institution. Sam, the social secretary, did not invite or adapt any social functions for the AA players as active resistance to withhold attempts to transform the institution and modify a longstanding structure in the club. Contrastingly, Sarah spoke about what the club could potentially do to provide opportunities for the AA players to be included in the club social functions, for example, by having a BBQ in the afternoon with no alcohol. However, the AA teams were not invited or involved in any social functions, thus throughout the season the AA teams and AA volunteers operated on the periphery of the club. This was noted by several club volunteers. For example, David (Secretary) commented:

We've seen All Abilities, we've engaged in an All Abilities competition now, we've got an extra 20 to 30 members that are going to be playing ... now unfortunately the issue I see, that is the engagement between the All Abilities and the general club, there's going to be a gap.

The gap specifically references the inclusion of the AA teams within the wider club and engagement of volunteers with diversity work. This also highlights the difference between diversity and inclusion and, as Ahmed (2012) points out, by having diverse individuals within an organisation and being diverse does not mean they are included within the institution. At this point in the season, after the first training session for the AA players, the president (Pete) who pushed for the AA program, had left the club. With the president's departure, the setup of the AA teams and communication within the club was messy, as it had predominately been undertaken by the president and Robert. Due to misunderstandings and uncertainty about the AA teams, and Robert being the main driving force and the sole diversity champion within the club, resistance was felt primarily by Robert.

Ahmed (2012) describes situations where diversity workers come up against repeated forms of resistance, the feeling of hitting your head against a brick wall, which she calls the 'institutional brick wall'. Robert spoke about this wall and felt that the club and committee, specifically, did not share his passion and views for the AA teams. The following exchange summarised how his individual commitment to diversity was not matched by a normative club commitment:

Robert: Yeah. So, like I said if, for example, with the All Abilities and juniors, it was more of trying to ... was more about teaching and educating on what I'm trying to do. So, people are buying in to it, I'm trying to sell a product in that sense. And for them to believe that long term this is going to happen, and this is the consequences, and this is how we're going to grow the club.

Ryan: Do the committee and the club share your same views?

Robert: No. Because there's too many chiefs and not enough Indians. That's going to change, so for example, bringing things in place like have the ability to try and educate everyone in the club on what I'm doing. So, it's standing up, a lot of people don't know because they're not communicated on what's happening. Through social media, Facebook or what not, it's not working.

Robert's thoughts on the club and committee not sharing his views, was a central finding within my fieldwork and his analogy of too many 'chiefs' suggested a lack of volunteers on the ground to help with the diversity work. Data demonstrated that volunteers did not have an institutionalised understanding of diversity, as highlighted by Robert in the above quote, whereby he explained he had to educate the rest of the club on issues around diversity and the AA teams. Educating the club and the committee on the value of the program was also discussed by Robert, and the need to give funds and resources to the AA teams for them to thrive. Finances associated with the AA teams were also a contributing factor to the resistance to the AA teams. Conversations with several volunteers who I had developed a strong rapport with highlighted that certain club members, including those involved in financial decisions of the club, did not want to allocate funds to the AA teams. One particular contentious aspect concerned funds to hire buses for some of the AA away matches. One particular volunteer expressed disdain at this reluctance to allocate nominal funds for away travel, when the club pays players and funds an annual trip interstate for first team players each year. She stated:

Yeah. You have to pay your airfare and then the club pays the rest. Yeah, they pay the accommodation. So, you get my point? Yes. So, to me, the five or six thousand dollars

they spend on accommodation could go towards doing up the ladies' toilets (Sally, Administrator).

It is interesting to note here that although we discussed funding buses for the AA teams' away matches, Sally suggested the club could use the money they spend on the end of season social trip on updating the ladies' toilets, rather than spending it on the AA teams. Sally expressed concerns that she did not think RSCC had the facilities, resources or volunteers to field the AA teams. A final aspect to the explanation to resistant behaviours and the lack of engagement in diversity work by some volunteers was around compliance and the feeling of being forced to engage with diversity.

Coercing people or forcing an organisation to enact a diversity policy or enforcing affirmative action, for example, having quotas for certain minority groups, can lead to resistance and disengagement. Sally (Administrator) commented, 'Do it gently, don't force it down people's throats and people will jump on board voluntarily'. Additionally, Bob (Club Volunteer) stated that people can sense when diversity is forced:

Sporting clubs are an absolute mixing pot of everybody, and there's just a way that they just weld together and mesh together. But if you try and make it false people can see through it.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the data with regard to mandatory engagement is that volunteers did not respond well to being forced to engage and implement policies to encourage diversity, which led to resistance. By being forced to engage with diversity through the AA teams after voting against it, many volunteers and club members actively and passively resisted the AA teams. I now discuss the final aspect to why volunteers did not engage in diversity work at RSCC to explore and critically analyse the foundations to the resistance to diversity work.

Intellectual Disability as Diversity

Much of the resistance to diversity and the AA teams was underpinned by particular assumptions towards athletes with a disability, which echoed Bob's previous comments that the AA teams would be a big change for many club members. Intellectual disability as a form of diversity was not well understood by the club and its volunteers. Overall, my data suggest that the club did not value disability, specifically intellectual disability, as a form of diversity. Although the AA teams helped contribute to the performance culture and winning flags, the

teams were not valued because RSCC valued able-bodied performance. This was the central foundation as to why the club did not provide resources and volunteers to the AA teams, and why resistance was more prominent than any type of behavioural commitment towards the AA teams. In association with RSCC not valuing intellectual disability and how this could contribute to their core operations, around able-bodied performance, data reported misunderstandings and prejudice towards athletes with a disability amongst volunteers. This primarily concerned how the players, with a range of intellectual disabilities, would be integrated and included into the club, if at all. In one conversation with Robert (AA Volunteer Coach), he spoke about some of the challenges he had experienced and the club's perception of what was required versus the actual reality of what was needed. He explained:

I guess the education. A lot of people don't know. Their perception of the AA means people in wheelchairs, so we have to upgrade our toilet facilities. No, we don't have to. Oh, it'll be too hard, there's too many people we've got to look after with carers around. No, you don't have to. The perception of the cricket they play, we have to buy a lot of equipment to cater for them. No, you don't have to. And I keep banging on, education. Low functioning, high functioning players. High functioning players play mainstream, they just want to play in their own competition to allow them to showcase their talent. Low functioning players just want the same. The perception of that low function players, they require wheelchair access and all that sort of stuff. No, they don't need that. We are just ... really we are just providing a service in that sense, for them to play the game.

Here, Robert explained some of the barriers presented to the AA teams and some of the active and passive forms of resistance that some members demonstrated. Robert explained the challenges associated with running the AA teams, and the lack of awareness and understanding around disability more generally. Several volunteers, mainly those who worked with the AA teams, said the lack of support and engagement with the AA teams was due to prejudice and stereotypes towards people with a disability. In response to the lack of engagement in diversity work by volunteers and members not volunteering with the AA teams, Suzanne (Episodic AA Volunteer) stated, 'As I said, stereotypes, it's to do with, oh I don't want to babysit a disabled person.' Suzanne spoke at length about the difficulties she had experienced working in disability sport and recruiting people to volunteer with AA sport teams. Other volunteers reported stereotypes as a barrier to members volunteering with the AA teams, which stemmed from a lack of knowledge. William (Junior Coordinator) explained:

Well once again, we look at ... and this is what happens with the All Abilities, for example, people don't understand it, people don't understand. People think they're going to have guys that can't walk. I don't mean to be ... in wheelchairs. And that's not the way it is. And I think where you find when they first come down, the ... when they realise that, oh yeah, all it is is some of these guys have some learning difficulties, that oh no, it's not going to be as bad as it is.

William discussed the lack of engagement by club members in the AA teams and that people were not willing to volunteer due to misconceptions and a lack of understanding around what AA sport involved. The lack of commitment towards the AA teams meant Robert felt isolated from the wider club and his volunteering activities with the AA teams meant the AA volunteers and players operated outside the main operations of the club. In addition to William's points above, this meant that some members and volunteers beyond the committee did not know the teams were part of the club or what AA was. Robert (AA Volunteer Coach) explained:

A lot of people don't know that I look after the All Abilities teams, they don't know what All Abilities is. They've never had All Abilities teams so then they don't know what All Abilities players do, they don't want to come down and find out, they just want to be sort of, how do I get it, filtered down with information about it. It's providing an education for them to know, inviting them to come down and know. It's more about getting that club engagement. It's always been a boy's club, All Abilities is something different.

Change is a key factor again, with the introduction of something different to the 'boys club', and some club members and volunteers did not want to welcome new members who were not like them. This can be understood with Ahmed's (2017) conceptualisation of diversity work and attempts by those to transform and open up the institution to those it has historically excluded. Obtaining 'club engagement' also reflects the amount of cooperative and compliance/resistance commitment-related behaviours towards diversity work. My observations also affirmed Robert and Suzanne's assertion that people did not engage in diversity work due to prejudice towards athletes with a disability. Some field notes demonstrated this:

People might not be as willing to volunteer or step forwards for the AA teams due to prejudice and stereotypes, and perceptions that it might be too difficult, or they will just be required to 'babysit and push wheelchairs' as someone suggested. This is not the case though and a good example was on Friday when two young players from the second-team came down to AA training. They did not help but walked around and watched on the sidelines. I did not hear too much of their conversation, but as they

watched some of the players do field exercises, one said to the other, 'he's not actually that bad' and commented on their playing ability (Field notes 24/10/15).

On this occasion, two players watched the AA training and were surprised by the playing standard and AA cricket was not what they thought. The prejudice towards people with a disability was evident on numerous occasions though. Other comments made to me directly were more forthcoming with their views towards some of the AA players. Although not said with malice, one volunteer described the AA players as a 'weird mob'. These comments reinforced the ableist attitudes by some club volunteers and did not show empathy towards the players and the disabilities they had. As Jeanes et al. (2017; 9) argued, although clubs may work hard to engage in disability diversity work, often their practices 'suggest they are still some way off from being fully inclusive'. Further insights from my fieldwork demonstrate why volunteers did not engage in diversity work at RSCC.

Fieldwork showed that on various occasions, some volunteers appeared uncomfortable with intellectually disabled people and therefore did not engage or interact with some of the AA players. This primarily occurred at home matches, which were attended by select club members and volunteers. One particular incident stood out in this regard. Observations of Sam's interactions at a match suggested he did not want to be there and felt uncomfortable around people with a disability. My field notes demonstrated this:

I do get the impression that Sam is not entirely comfortable and a bit out of his comfort zone around some of the players. At the start when the players had arrived he stood behind the fence and when one of the players spoke to him, he gave a little lukewarm response and his body language suggested he was uncomfortable, before walking away (Field notes 29/11/15).

Sam also described in his interview his reluctance to engage with the AA teams and he suggested to me he was not welcoming of the players at the start of the season because he did not think the club had the resources to cater for the teams. Returning to the point of the club committee, volunteers and certain club members not valuing intellectual disability as a form of diversity, comments from David supported and reinforced my observations.

In response to volunteers such as Sam stating that many volunteers and members may have been time poor, David (Secretary) outlined that engaging in diversity work for him could simply mean ‘putting your shirt on’ and supporting the AA teams. He explained:

A measure would be ... you would have seen on Facebook the other day that I put a thing up about Sunday and the first AA game. And I’ll probably put it up again tomorrow. Let’s see how many people are there Sunday. That’s your good measure [of engagement]. And I reckon I know the answer. Agree. Then I’ve got the, I guess the devil’s advocate, as OK, people who are involved from 10:00 am to 6:00 pm on a Saturday, and they don’t want it to inhale their whole weekend, I can cop that, that’s totally fine. But for a whole club to say that is a bit ... now personally I’m not going to be there, unfortunately, because I’m going away for the weekend, but if I was here, regardless of if I helped out, or actually just going down to showing support. Put my shirt on. And that’s all it takes sometimes. Especially for new teams. The juniors last year, under 15’s won the Grand Final last year, the amount of us that were down there with club gear on, they would have never expected that, that just gives these people a boost now. Especially from an All Abilities and intellectual and functioning point of view, see people down there that want to support them, and encourage them. You can only assume that would go a long way to their development.

David points out that engagement in diversity work does not mean volunteers or club members had to take on formal roles with the AA teams, but simply to come down and support the AA teams. The most poignant point in David’s comment was the reference to the whole club saying they could not come down and support, which demonstrated the level of overall club commitment to diversity work at RSCC. The lack of commitment and engagement by the club in diversity work was also discussed by David, who explained that some of the volunteers were reluctant to engage in diversity work by using an interesting analogy involving swimming lanes. David stated:

David: So, I guess it comes down to people are happy in their swim lanes. They swim a certain way. So, first level player he comes, he trains, he comes to social functions, he gets paid, he makes runs, that’s all I’ve got to do. It’s never a branch out. Everyone’s happy just to go in their own swim lane.

Ryan: They don’t want to upset the apple cart?

David: No. And unfortunately, there’s two swim lanes down there that are empty and no-one’s swimming in it. And unfortunately, right now that’s where All Abilities sits, besides Robert and a few others.

The metaphor of empty swim lanes proved to be significant in two ways. First, it demonstrated the lack of engagement in diversity work amongst the wider club volunteers, with the empty

swim lanes representing the AA teams. Second, it demonstrated David's awareness over the lack of commitment towards the AA teams. Committee members were aware of this, and could see that the 'swim lanes' had no one swimming in them except Robert, Amanda, Olive and myself, but did not do anything to address it. Further, resistance to change and not wanting to branch out of swim lanes, or to engage in diversity work, can be understood to be what Ahmed (2017) refers to as not 'rocking the boat'. Some forms of difference within an institution, in this case intellectual disability, are viewed as rocking the boat, and therefore members did not engage with this type of difference at RSCC. David (Secretary) suggested the lack of engagement in diversity work by volunteers characterised by resistant behaviours was due to ignorance and fear of the unknown:

Ignorance. Ignorance. Again. Remember that swimming lane I was talking about, there's another swimming lane now, it's called diversity. Too hard basket for a lot of people I think. I personally think so. Out of sight out of mind. And half the time with the racial abuse and stuff like that, and what they're doing. I mean any type of abuse, whether it's male, female, whatever, it's total ignorance all the time. And it's laughable. And it's a lack of knowledge. Ignorance comes from a lack of knowledge. But there's ... from a lack of knowledge you've got people not wanting to be engaged in what ... knows what goes on.

In reference to the swim lanes and members being happy in their swim lanes, David discussed the difficulty in trying to get institutional buy-in to diversity and the AA teams. Being happy in a swim lane also reflects volunteers using happy talk around diversity. In summary, empty swim lanes represented the AA teams and the volunteers who engaged in diversity work at the club. David was aware of the lack of engagement from volunteers in diversity work and the impact this had on the AA volunteers, who operated in a stressful and high pressure environment. The final part of my fieldwork reinforced the five themes I have discussed as to why volunteers did not engage in diversity work at RSCC, which concludes the RSCC story and season I spent with them.

Concluding the RSCC Story

The final game of the season for the AA A team was the grand final of the inaugural WDCL league. The RSCC AA team won the final by only a few points, meaning they were undefeated for the whole season. The scenes of celebration and jubilation at the end of the match and whilst the players were presented with the winning trophy was a special occasion. The success story of the club 'embracing' diversity and the AA team winning the inaugural league was something

the club was keen to embrace. In this sense, although the club and several key members did not view diversity as institutionalised and part of their job, they did view the benefits of diversity, specifically the benefits of diversity work by the AA volunteers, as theirs. An early conversation at the start of the season with Robert proved to be insightful within the context of this success. Before the first AA training session, Robert explained to me how the season may unfold:

As I said it's a successful top end team, so it's senior's that are successful, and the focus is always going to be senior sport. They want to win championships. So, the reality is that if the ... and I'll be honest, the All Abilities guys can buy-in to the winning culture of the senior guys, of the way they go about their training, the way they go about their success, sorry, how they go about their business, the way the club sort of backs them when they do win games and what not. It'll become the same thing at the end of the day. If there's ... so for example, All Abilities win the competition their first year, the club will jump on top of them, because the media will push it out, and the club will jump on that. The SSO will help them out, and the club will jump on that. Then the perception of people here, and the club will start becoming more aware of what's happening. So, if the All Abilities start winning games, and I'll be honest, I think this is the only way that it would, if the All Abilities start winning games, people are going to ask questions. Oh, when's the game? Oh, when are they playing?

Robert predicted the scenario of the club somewhat embracing the AA teams and riding the success of the teams. Embracing the AA teams was conditional on the fact that the AA teams could 'buy into' the performance and winning culture of RSCC. The condition of acceptance echoes sentiments by Ahmed (2012) who warns the adoption of diversity occurs under certain conditions. By winning matches throughout the season, these conditions were met and the club was ready to embrace the AA teams and 'jump on them' as Robert suggested above. By embrace, I refer to the differing levels of commitment to diversity and specifically embrace the success of the teams and the club in the AA league, rather than the actual players.

The local mayor and councillor attended the grand final, as well as select VIPs and representatives from the SSO and WDCL. The CEO of the SSO performed the coin toss and gave the opening remarks. Following the day, several local papers wrote articles on the volunteers, with a feature on Olive and Robert, and the AA team. One headline read, 'Fairytale run for unbeaten RSCC'. One significant comment left on social media after the AA grand final by a club member proved to be pertinent to the AA story, and the earlier politics associated with setting up the AA teams. One volunteer, who although not included in my sample because

his role was paid, posted a message under a picture of the winning team with the trophy on RSCC's Facebook page. The comment read:

Well done to all involved. Congrats to Pete and Robert that knew this could work when a lot of people didn't. Great job Robert. Not only your time, but especially your patience and understanding with the guys has really made this a huge success (Social Media Post 5/2/16).

Having access to the social media accounts in this regard was revealing. The comment also received five 'likes'⁷, showing that other members shared the same sentiment. I interpreted the comment as a subtle criticism of the committee. On the surface it appeared to be a congratulatory sentiment, but I was aware of the politics surrounding the AA teams and that the committee had voted against having the AA teams. Overcoming resistance by those committed to diversity efforts can be a long and arduous task and, as Ahmed (2012: 180) suggests, 'don't look over it, if you can't get over it'. Robert had the willpower to overcome and see over the resistance, however, and his efforts were rewarded.

After the grand final day, the lack of awareness and understanding around diversity, and disability especially, was still evident amongst several club volunteers and committee members. For example, I enquired to some club members and Robert as to why the AA players did not have a presentation evening. The juniors had one scheduled and the seniors had their presentation night planned, but nothing was planned for the AA teams. The committee especially, did not even contemplate or consider the AA teams in their planning for the social events and awards evenings. I found this to be quite contradictory as the AA A team was the only team to win a flag during the season. The AA teams did get added to the junior presentation evening, although it was a last-minute addition. Although the club engaged with diversity work throughout the season, this reinforced the importance and positioning of the AA teams within the club, i.e. the AA teams were peripheral to the club's core activities. On attending the presentation evening, the sense of othering was prevalent also. When introducing the winning AA players, a committee member spoke to the players using 'you people'. Some field notes observed:

⁷ On Facebook and other social media sites, users can like comments and pictures, which inform the person or organisation that someone has liked their post.

Some of his language does not come out in the best way, whereby he says 'you people' have done really well, in 'othering' them as if they are different to them and the other club members. Need to identify sameness here and, at the end of the day, they are all players and representing the club (24/05/2016).

Although the sentiments were there, the overall event highlighted the work that still needed to be done at RSCC, and that the club did not value intellectual disability as a form of diversity. The final part to the story and the season I spent with RSCC was the club presentation evening to conclude the season.

The presentation evening was a senior player event only and was reflective of the other social events I had attended throughout the season. The night was fuelled by unlimited alcohol and most speeches addressed the lack of flags won by the senior teams, and how this resulted in the season being deemed unsuccessful. I felt this was disrespectful to the hard work by both the volunteers and AA players, but highlighted that key members did not view the AA teams as real teams, part of the club and part of their core business. This was an important observation and highlighted that, after a full season, diversity was not institutionalised in this regard. Moreover, the success of diversity work by the AA volunteers was not viewed as success within the wider context of the club and able-bodied performance.

This returns to the significance of the AA teams and intellectual disability as a specific type of diversity work; this type of diversity work was not seen as beneficial to the club and something that adds value within the context of their success and performance culture. Some members throughout the evening did make a reference and comment on the AA teams, although again it was quite tokenistic and the fact there was not one representative from the team was telling. I spoke to Robert and Olive and some of the club volunteers throughout the evening and was informed that the AA players were not invited due to the alcohol available, and the challenges this could have caused around behaviour and their intellectual disabilities. My observations at the presentation evening showcased and reinforced the core business and primary focus of RSCC. The club operated to win flags for the senior teams, which promoted able-bodied performance and served the interests of the core and founding members, rooted in homophilic ties based on sameness. Additionally, there was no consideration or discussion around how the AA players might be included into the club, and treated and respected as RSCC players and club members, rather than being viewed as an add on or as the 'disability guys' as I overheard during the evening.

The lack of diversity at the main social function of the year, which was to celebrate the achievements of the club, showed that, for RSCC, diversity was something invisible in the background and not yet institutionalised. Diversity work was viewed as work to be done by certain individuals, who were committed to diversity through volunteering with the AA teams. I end this chapter and conclude my results chapters with two poignant comments from Amanda and David, which I believe succinctly summarise key messages for other clubs wishing to engage and demonstrate commitment to diversity. The first came from Amanda (AA Volunteer), who highlighted the need for a gentle and gradual approach to diversity. She explained:

I was thinking that whilst you were asking me that question, I've just said you can't bash it into them. You can't bash it into them. It's like that story with my father, you can't bash it into them but you can introduce it to them in a different way and that might be as much as taking them out and putting them in situations where they see the changes in people when they're given opportunities.

Amanda's comments echo the sentiments of another volunteer, from a previous chapter, which also highlighted the need to not force diversity onto volunteers. Giving people opportunities to see how diversity can work, and be a source of celebration and enrichment, is vital to successful diversity efforts. Further, linking to Ahmed's (2012) idiom of not looking over something if you cannot get over it, Amanda draws attention to the importance of showing people the benefits that diversity programs can render. By showing clubs what is over the institutional wall, for example, the winning AA A team, positive media coverage and increased understandings of players with a disability, volunteers may be more willing to engage with diversity and demonstrate behavioural commitment. However, reiterating previous points discussed by volunteers, and research showing that volunteers can be resistant to implementing sport policy, volunteers need to engage with diversity off their own accord. When asked what advice she would give other clubs wishing to engage with diversity, Amanda further explained:

What would I say to them? Make sure you're doing it for the right reasons. Is it because you actually want to help people and expand people's horizons and maybe make society a better place, or is it because you want to do it because it will tick something off on your resume. That is what I'd be saying. Unless you believe in it then I think you're wasting your time. I do because there's a bit that if someone doesn't believe in it you can't bash it into them. They've got to get there on their own, their own way.

Amanda draws attention to the critique of the business case for diversity and the need to appeal to what Ahmed (2012) refers to as the 'hearts and minds'. Additionally, for diversity to be institutionalised and be valued by a club, it needs to be understood within the context of the history of diversity work and transforming institutions by opening them up to those who have traditionally been excluded (Ahmed, 2017). The final comment I finish with came from David (Secretary), who suggested that sporting clubs need to realise that diversity is here and that they need to respond to this diversity. He commented:

So, I think people have got to be open, more willing to open up to the fact that diversity is here and it's going to become stronger, it's going to become bigger than what it is right now, moving forward.

This comment also reflected David's comments about the empty swim lanes and the need for RSCC to get up to speed, and realise that diversity was something that the club could not ignore any longer. Efforts to resist diversity work and open up the institution of RSCC did not stop the AA teams on their journey to success.

Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, I specifically explored some of the reasons why volunteers did or did not engage in diversity work through episodic volunteering with the AA teams. There was a chronic shortage of volunteers to assist with diversity efforts. I identified five key themes in explaining the lack of engagement and why volunteers did not volunteer with the AA teams: volunteer recruitment and pressures on volunteers, happy talk as a substitute for diversity work, politics associated with having the AA teams and the committee voting against it, resistance to diversity work, and the club not valuing intellectual disability as a form of diversity and difference. This chapter advances my central thesis argument in answering the final research sub-question and in documenting the resistance to the AA teams because the club did not see diversity as something the club should be doing. Participant interviews demonstrated this by quotes such as 'Now they're here, we just have to deal with it' and commentary around not voting for the AA teams at the beginning of the chapter. Some volunteers, termed culture setters due to their status within the club, did not see intellectual disability as a form of diversity as contributing to RSCC's core business of able-bodied winning and performance. In the next chapter, I provide an overall discussion in answering my research questions and in understanding how volunteers enacted diversity at RSCC.

Chapter 8

Discussion: Transforming the Institution by Enacting Diversity

Introduction

The overarching aim of this thesis was to explore how diversity is enacted by volunteers within the local context of a community sports club in Melbourne, Australia. To do this, I developed three research sub-questions, which focused on the institutional diversity practices at one community sports club, the experiences of those volunteers committed to diversity work, and why other volunteers did not engage in diversity work at the club. In this chapter, I provide a synthesis of the main findings and interpret them using my theoretical framework. Data showed that the AA teams and the volunteers who ran the teams operated on the periphery of the club, underpinned by a chronic shortage of volunteers to engage in diversity work. I explain why intellectual disability diversity was not institutionalised and was resisted throughout the season, and that the club did not see diversity as part of its core business and a job it should be doing, therefore isolating the AA teams and the AA volunteers from the rest of the club. Intellectual disability as diversity was compartmentalised in this regard and not embedded within the structure and culture of the club. I conclude with a summary of key findings, which then leads into my final conclusion chapter of this thesis.

RQ1: What Were the Institutional Diversity Practices at RSCC?

The lack of diversity at RSCC (prior to fieldwork) reinforces previous findings on community sports clubs in Australia and other western societies; club membership was predominately white able bodied and heterosexual men and a lack of women on playing teams (Elling & Claringbould, 2005; Toohey & Taylor, 2009; Sawrikar & Muir, 2010; Spaaij et al., 2013; ABS, 2014; Cunningham, 2015). Further, there was only one woman on the committee and in a leadership position within the club, which reflects previous studies that report the lack of women in leadership positions within sport organisations (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2008; Pfister, 2010). Institutional diversity practices at RSCC involved fielding two teams for players with an intellectual disability. Intellectual disability as a form of diversity and AA cricket was the only diversity practice at the club. Diversity practices included training and match days for the AA teams separate to main club activity, excluding AA players from all club social functions throughout the season, and viewing the AA teams as an ‘add on’ that was separate from the main club operations. Moreover, resources

in the form of volunteers to assist with the AA teams and financial funds for operational activities were withheld from the teams at various points throughout the season.

Drawing on the first component of my theoretical framework, diversity management, my data reports that the club did not actively manage intellectual disability and there were no formal diversity management practices for the AA teams. I discussed in Chapter 3, in reference to arguments forwarded by Woodhams and Daniele (2000) that applying the business case for diversity via diversity management to disability diversity is problematic, whereby these attempts remain at the level of rhetoric rather than reality. Within the context of my research at the community sports level, and intellectual disability specifically, my data supports this assertion. In essence, the club did not see the value in intellectual disability diversity and how it could contribute to their core business of able-bodied winning and performance.

I revisit an important argument by Janssens and Zanoni (2005: 312) who highlight that ‘only relevant differences are constructed by management as “diversity” and therefore actively managed’. This was the case at RSCC and intellectual disability was not relevant to their core business, and was perceived as too difficult and costly to engage in. With any club that emphasises competition and winning over participation goals, I argue that the business case for disability diversity more broadly will struggle to help institutionalise diversity in the long term. In this regard, and as demonstrated at RSCC, the club did not perceive the AA teams as complementing their core business. However, this is determinant on the club’s perception and, in the case of RSCC, the club did not perceive the AA teams as capable of doing so. As scholars such as Woodhams and Daniele (2000) have stipulated, disability diversity can complement core business through diversity management, but it is up to a community sports club and its volunteers to perceive that it can. However, the business case approach adopted by Pete (President) initially, to access funding and get the club rooms developed, served as an important catalyst to introduce diversity into the club. Had these motives been absent in the beginning, Pete may never have agreed to take on the AA teams. Regarding the long term and diversity not becoming institutionalised, it failed to engage the hearts and minds of the club members.

Diversity practices were not institutionalised at RSCC; issues around diversity were not automatic. An example of this was when Sam (Social Secretary), when asked if the AA players would be invited to the social events, declared, ‘I’ll be honest, I hadn’t even considered it’. This comment was reflective of the diversity practices at RSCC, something that happened in

the background and was of no real importance. Diversity and the associated work involved with the AA teams occurred in the background, peripheral to the main club operations and something some members resisted. Most volunteers were unsure about what the AA teams were and whether they were part of the club or 'playing under the club's name'. The uncertainty and confusion of where the disability teams sat within the club corroborate Thomas and Smith (2008), Spaaij, Magee and Jeanes (2014), Spaaij et al. (2016) and, more recently, Jeanes et al. (2017) who all documented that disability provision in community sports clubs was often seen as an 'add on' and functioning outside of the club's main operations.

The circumstances that led to RSCC adopting the aforementioned diversity practices were important in understanding the lack of structures to support diversity work. RSCC engaged with diversity and introduced two teams for players with an intellectual disability via an opportunistic and serendipitous situation, shaped within a business discourse that it would help with facility upgrades and attract funding (Garrett, 2004). RSCC's decision to diversify their club membership was prompted by both internal and external influence. A key external influence to engage with diversity work for the ex-president Pete was to apply for funding and grants, and the benefits that could be accrued by the club. These benefits involved the possibility of upgrading the club facilities and attracting new members to the club. Pete's ambition was for the club to be seen as diverse and welcoming. Therefore, the decision to initially engage with diversity was initiated by one individual, Pete. Ultimately, RSCC did this to portray the 'right image' (Ahmed, 2012: 33) of the club in line with being a diverse club, which welcomed all members of the community. As Ahmed (2012: 33) noted, 'Diversity work becomes about generating the right image and correcting the wrong one'.

Pete's ambitions around diversity and to generate the right image were further driven by the arrival of Robert, who took on the role of AA coach and diversity champion within the club. This corroborates Spaaij et al. (2016) who also found that, within Australia, diversity can often be haphazard and stem from unique circumstances, for example, the arrival of a champion to the club. My findings add to the nuances surrounding the application of the dominant business case discourse for diversity to the voluntary community sports club setting (Litvin, 2006; Noon, 2007; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010) and how the application of this discourse was problematic within the context of intellectual disability diversity. This was primarily because the club did not view this specific type of diversity as contributing to its core business of able-bodied winning and performance. However, the four AA volunteers who ran the AA teams

were motivated by the social justice case for diversity. These two competing discourses are a possible explanation for the varying levels of engagement in diversity work amongst volunteers at RSCC.

Further, several volunteers stated that the club engaged in diversity work through the AA teams for the benefit of the club, specifically to get the club facilities upgraded. This supports Garrett (2004) who found that community sports clubs who engage with disability diversity in particular may be doing it to access funding for other areas and not to develop diversity at the club. For example, through ethnography he found that a tennis club secured funding not to develop the disability tennis program, but to invest in upgrading a community tennis club's clubhouse and facilities for the club committee. My data reports the same perceived motives and highlights that the business case for diversity, specifically disability diversity, is an important catalyst for a club's initial engagement in diversity work. However, at RSCC, the chronic shortage of volunteers meant that diversity work was left to one core volunteer within the club, Robert.

The reliance on one single diversity champion illuminated a core diversity practice at RSCC and the growing expectations placed onto certain volunteers within community sports clubs. RSCC relied on one single diversity champion as their core diversity practice. Diversity, then, stopped and started with one person, with Robert being the 'equity person' (Ahmed, 2017). Diversity work was not shared across the club or institutionalised. This led to resistance to diversity work at RSCC and was a reason for repeated encounters against the institutional brick wall.

To navigate and contend working against the institutional brick wall, I supported the AA volunteers throughout their volunteering journey, and gave them knowledge and advice to enact diversity policy and engage in diversity work. Through embedding myself as a volunteer by adopting an ethnographic methodology at the club, however, I actually became a structure within the institution to support volunteers committed to diversity work. I became a structure through the concepts of a 'diversity doyen' and a 'diversity therapist'. This structure only existed for the duration of my PhD project, however, and thus was not institutionalised. These observations support recent findings from Jeanes et al. (2017) who identified that volunteers in community sports clubs are often left to implement diversity policies, and disability provision in particular, by themselves with little support from SSOs or local councils.

Based on this finding, I argue that within critical diversity debates within sport, authors must question whether organisations and community sports clubs are placing volunteers under unreasonable pressure to deliver and engage with diversity, in addition to the pressures of running the day-to-day business and fielding teams. With research documenting the many pressures experienced in running a voluntary sports club, adding the complexities of diversity when they are not given the proper support and education may lead to burnout amongst volunteers. This burnout can be conceptualised by repeated encounters of the institutional brick wall. There were no institutional structures in place to support volunteers committed to diversity work at RSCC. Volunteers were left to do diversity work in isolation from the rest of the club, with no wider club support.

Volunteer pressures were a key reason cited by several volunteers as an explanation for the lack of institutional structures and support for diversity work at RSCC. In this respect, volunteers at RSCC, specifically those on the committee and in the club management, did not view their jobs as including diversity work. This was primarily because volunteers were concerned with other operational duties such as fielding able-bodied teams to contribute to the performance culture of the club and winning flags. This finding reinforces previous scholarship, which identifies that sports clubs often resist efforts to deliver external policy goals such as increasing participation or addressing social inclusion (May, Harris & Collins, 2013; Garrett, 2014; Stenling & Fahlin, 2016). My data show that volunteers did not see diversity as their job, which led to resistance due to prejudice towards players with a disability, and valuing able-bodied performance. This is one explanation for the lack of institutional structures in place at RSCC to support diversity work.

Although policies were evident through the NSO and SSO and the club's member protection policy, Robert stated he was uncertain of any policy to encourage greater diversity within community sport, which added to feelings of isolation. This supports previous findings from Taylor (2003) whereby club volunteers were not aware of policies aimed at diversity and inclusion and, if they were aware, they did not know where to find them. Taylor's (2003) research found that only 12% of sport clubs were aware of policies aimed at encouraging cultural diversity. In contrast, no volunteers at RSCC could provide an answer when asked if they knew of any policies aimed at promoting diversity in general. My data shows awareness amongst volunteers around diversity policies is low in comparison to Taylor's (2003) findings.

Owing to the nature of the volunteer experience for those who do diversity work, policies need to be readily available and easily accessible to better assist them. Caution must be made, however, to avoid individuals ‘doing the document rather than doing the doing’ (Ahmed, 2007a: 592). By this, Ahmed explains that often diversity practitioners spend more time on writing documents, than actually implementing the aims of the document. If policies are present within clubs, however, this can be a point of reference and support for those volunteers who are committed to promoting and engaging with diversity work. The experiences of those diversity champions are central in understanding how diversity and the associated policies are enacted within community sports clubs.

RQ2: What Were the Experiences of Those Volunteers Committed to Diversity Work at RSCC?

Challenges and rewards characterised the experience of doing diversity work by AA volunteers at RSCC. Challenges to diversity work, specifically managing and working with players with an intellectual disability, were more prominent and common to the experience than rewards were. Providing opportunities for players with an intellectual disability to play cricket and the impact it had on them was rewarding for Robert, Olive and Amanda. The word ‘work’ conceptualises and reflects the experience of undertaking diversity work by AA volunteers. Theoretically, this speaks to volunteering being conceptualised as unpaid work rather than serious leisure (Ellis-Paine et al., 2010). Volunteering with the AA teams was work; it was physical and emotional labour. The work was difficult because there were no other volunteers to share the workload with. Intellectual disability as diversity work was challenging owing to the multiple needs of the players’ intellectual disabilities, which supports previous research that documents the difficulties in working with athletes with a disability (Conatser et al., 2009; Hammond, Leahy & Jeanes, 2015). As volunteers were not fully aware of the multiple needs of the AA players, they were unaware of how this affected the volunteer experience and how to appropriately respond to this. This reinforces findings within coach education and Special Olympics literature of volunteers and medical staff feeling unprepared in dealing with athletes with an intellectual disability (Dorogi, Bognar & Petrovics, 2008; Conatser et al., 2009).

Central to the turbulent and testing times Robert, Olive and Amanda experienced, was the lack of training in how to respond to working with players with an intellectual disability. As

identified in Chapter three, the role of training and education are identified as imperative for coaches working with athletes with an intellectual disability (DePauw & Gavron, 1991; Rizzo, Bishop & Tobar, 1997; Conatser et al., 2009; Hammond, Young and Konjarski, 2014); therefore, it is not surprising that volunteers struggled in dealing with the behaviour of some of the athletes. Whereas continued professional development in working and coaching athletes with a disability is shown to positively improve the experience of individuals who partake in such work (Fitzgerald & Jobling, 2009), the opposite of this occurred at RSCC with the club not providing any support or structures for the AA volunteers. Further, Jeanes et al. (2017) indicate that when clubs sought training for volunteers, they were more likely to become involved in disability provision by taking on roles such as coaching. This would have helped volunteers at RSCC considerably, but also may have attracted more members to volunteer with the AA teams.

The experiences of doing diversity work were challenging because the club did not view diversity work as the club's work but the AA volunteers' work, and was not part of their core business. When volunteers did engage in diversity work it was through happy talk and speaking positively around diversity, and this was predominately undertaken through non-performative institutional speech acts, whereby certain volunteers and committee members promised club support on AA match days, for example, but this did not eventuate. The arrival of key individuals who champion the cause and push for diversity efforts are instrumental in bringing change within a club or sporting organisation, which has been a central finding within diversity literature in sport (Melton & Cunningham, 2014; Spaaij, Magee & Jeanes, 2014, Spaaij et al., 2016). However, the community sport volunteering literature identifies that clubs who recruit volunteers from outside their club are not common and clubs are reluctant to do this (Nichols et al., 2013; Taylor et al., 2013). My data indicates the opposite to this, however, and RSCC actively recruited volunteers from outside their club. RSCC did not have enough volunteers for one of the junior teams and struggled to find volunteers for the AA teams throughout the season, therefore actively recruited volunteers from outside their club (Amanda, Olive and myself).

The primary reason why RSCC recruited volunteers from outside their club was because Olive, Amanda and myself had skills and experience in working with players with an intellectual disability previously. It is important to note that although we had worked with athletes with an intellectual disability before, we had not received any specific training in coaching and responding to challenging behaviour of athletes with an intellectual disability. Further, as

discussed in Chapter five, the first of my results chapters, Olive and Amanda were already working with a ready-made team at the indoor hockey and cricket, therefore the players in the team and volunteers came as one package. Therefore, the club only needed to do one mode of recruitment.

The fact that all four AA volunteers were new arrivals to the club at the start of the season was a central finding in answering my research sub-questions. This builds on my central thesis argument in showing that RSCC recruited Amanda, Olive and myself to undertake diversity work because the club did not see diversity work as their work and why diversity in the form of intellectual disability was never institutionalised. The club did not perceive that intellectual disability as a form of diversity could contribute to its core business of able-bodied performance. This meant that the AA volunteers engaged in diversity work in isolation and without wider club support. Paramount to the isolating and stressful experiences of the AA volunteers was the outsider status of the AA volunteers. As Ahmed (2017: 113) noted, those who attempt to transform an institution and modify a situation through diversity work, means that 'diversity work is judged as not only coming from outside in but brought about by outsiders'. This was the most significant factor in the AA volunteers feeling unsupported and being 'out on their own' as Sally once informed me.

This led to some key club members and volunteers resisting attempts by outsiders to challenge the dominant cultural norms and practices at RSCC, and resulted in a chronic shortage of volunteers to assist with the AA teams and engage in diversity work. Although Robert was part of the club and embedded within the senior teams and held a position on the committee, he had only been at the club for two months. As the only AA volunteer embedded within the club and part of the club structure, Robert was the single 'equity person' (Ahmed, 2017) and his attempts to transform the institution to make it accessible for others were challenged by key individuals in the club.

Resistance to diversity work is prominent in community sport and Jeanes et al. (2017: 11) contend, 'Volunteers who are attempting to work against dominant cultural standards and promote greater diversity of practice are essentially left to do this on their own, with little support from their sporting governing bodies despite the fact that they seek to deliver on inclusion policy agendas'. My data shows a lack of available support for volunteers who were committed to diversity work meant they became overburdened and showed signs of burnout.

This is conceptualised as experiencing repeated encounters of the institutional brick wall (Ahmed, 2012). When diversity efforts and programs aimed at encouraging diversity within community sport are underpinned by volunteers, more support must be provided for them and they must be engaged in this support so they feel confident in performing diversity work. This is of significance because previous research shows that individuals are apprehensive and on occasions, avoid working with people with an intellectual disability due to prejudice and lack of adequate training (Dorogi, Bognar & Petrovics, 2008; Conatser et al., 2009).

As my concepts of diversity therapist and diversity doyen demonstrated, volunteers must know how to perform diversity work and engage with it. If they do not have the skills, resources and training to engage in diversity work, they may burn-out or terminate their volunteer commitment. In Amanda's case, the brick wall became immovable and she stopped volunteering. Here, I develop and add to recent debates within disability and sport coaching literature in reinforcing both Hammond, Young and Konjarski (2014) and Townsend, Smith and Cushion (2015) who argued that coaches were being encouraged to be more inclusive towards athletes with a disability, but had not been shown how or given the appropriate skills and training. I also apply this argument to the broader voluntary sport sector beyond just coaching.

This was most prominent in the AA volunteers not knowing how to respond to problematic behaviour of players with an intellectual disability. By providing the volunteers with the appropriate skills and resources to engage in diversity work, volunteers will not feel isolated and unsupported, and encounters of coming up against the brick wall will be reduced. Ahmed (2017: 94) comments, 'Diversity work is messy, even dirty, work. Diversity work too, generates messy concepts, concepts that come out of the effort to transform institutions that are often as behind that transformation as they appear to be'. Therefore, burnout is not unsurprising. Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014) found that role overload was a prominent source of stress that contributed to volunteer burnout. AA volunteers also reported role overload and a lack of club support as key sources of stress, and this was most pertinent to Robert.

Dealing with problematic behaviour added significant stress and an extra burden to the volunteer experience, and left volunteers feeling angry and frustrated. This reflects previous research whereby Sheptak and Menaker (2016) found that frustration with volunteer tasks and

roles led to a reduction in volunteer morale and data from RSCC supports this finding. Additionally, research by Sharpe (2006) documented that a group of parent volunteers in a grassroots softball organisation stopped enjoying their volunteering work due to politics and bureaucracy. Both studies highlight the importance of dedicating time towards volunteer welfare and fostering a volunteer culture whereby individuals feel supported and valued. This is especially important when individuals volunteer their time within programs to promote diversity, where diversity champions are a scarce commodity. My data shows AA volunteers were not adequately supported or valued.

Working with AA players was challenging and stressful for AA volunteers. If volunteers had received training and been equipped with the right skills to manage problematic behavior of players with an intellectual disability, then there is a possibility that it would not have been as challenging and volunteers would have coped better. From conversations with other sports, I was aware that certain organisations such as the Centre for Multicultural Youth provided training to work with young people from CALD backgrounds, but was not aware of any training by the league or SSO for volunteers working with athletes with a disability. A key difference to literature on diversity workers, for example, Ahmed's (2012) work on diversity practitioners in universities, is the difference between paid employers and volunteers. Whereas the experiences of diversity workers in Ahmed's (2012) work were employed in diversity and inclusion with specialist knowledge and experiences, the AA volunteers were not paid and did not have the same training and experiences. The voluntary sector therefore requires more academic scrutiny within the context of diversity work.

The benefits of diversity work had a significant impact on the AA volunteers. The 'warm glow feeling' and sense of pride and satisfaction reported in my data on AA volunteers is reflective of sport event volunteering literature (Dickson, Benson & Terweil, 2014; Smith et al., 2014). My data supports Welty Peachey et al. (2013) and the 'feel good' mentality described by Robert and Olive; however, the data does not suggest that volunteers developed or enhanced social capital. This was primarily because the AA volunteers operated outside the main club and had few interactions with general club volunteers.

Beyond the numerous reported challenges of diversity work, the benefits to volunteering with players with an intellectual disability were prominent in the sustained commitment by Robert and Olive throughout the season. This reaffirms recent work by Hayton (2017) and his work

with university student volunteers. Volunteers worked with hard to reach groups and disaffected young people in sport, and although presented with a range of challenges, benefited from their volunteering through the satisfaction of persevering with the program. However, the perceived benefits to volunteering with the AA teams at RSCC were not enough to encourage more people to engage in diversity work.

RQ3: Why Did Some Volunteers at RSCC Engage with Diversity Work While Others Did Not?

Those volunteers who did engage with diversity work at RSCC (Olive, Amanda, Robert and myself) began volunteering through a serendipitous encounter. Robert initially saw a poster asking for volunteers to assist with a local AA team and was then introduced to Olive and Amanda. The process of becoming a volunteer through episodic or serendipitous encounters is a common finding within development and volunteering research in sport. Championing a cause and becoming an advocate via exposure and interactions with a minority group was shown by Cohen and Welty Peachey (2015) and their research with the street soccer program in the United States. Promoting the potential rewards and benefits to volunteers, in addition to the players, as reinforced by Welty Peachey et al. (2013), is a key message for other clubs wishing to engage with intellectual disability as a form of diversity. Reasons why volunteers did not engage with diversity work were more prominent at RSCC, however, and data reports the layered complexities around this lack of engagement surrounding AA cricket.

My data shows that the club management was not committed to diversity. This is best understood within Ahmed's (2012) discussions around power structures within an institution. Ahmed (2012) states that when people in positions of power speak positively around diversity, it then accrues value. If management and people of influence value diversity, they will demonstrate a commitment to diversity, through actions of support, for example, by allocating resources to a diversity initiative. In this regard, at RSCC, key members and volunteers who held positions of power influenced attitudes and behaviours towards diversity and the AA teams. Gorman, Lusher and Reeves (2016) in their research with professional AFL clubs found that key players within a team and club were influential in setting the culture around diversity and attitudes towards difference. Gorman, Lusher and Reeves (2016) termed these individuals 'culture setters'. In applying culture setters within the context of voluntary sports clubs, I argue that key volunteers within a club, especially those in the club management or committee, are

extremely important in setting the culture around diversity. These volunteers have a large influence on the club's commitment to diversity and whether diversity becomes institutionalised and adopted as part of a club's core business.

At RSCC, beyond happy talk around the AA teams, diversity was not spoken about in an encouraging and positive way. Instead, volunteers discussed a whole club decision to vote against having the AA teams and Pete's initial reason to have the AA teams was to upgrade the club rooms. Moreover, engaging in diversity work with players with an intellectual disability was seen as too hard or even babysitting as some volunteers cited. The culture setters at RSCC, such as Sam and Bob, showed active and passive forms of resistance to the AA teams. This corroborates with Dortants and Knoppers (2012) who found that in Dutch boxing gyms, the trainers and coaches were instrumental in setting an inclusive culture for participants around discipline and adopting a strict anti-discrimination approach within their club.

A quote by Sam summarised the views of these culture setters at RSCC and their commitment to diversity, whereby he stated, 'to be honest no one really knows, but now they are here we just have to deal with it'. Having to 'deal with it' and the situation whereby 30 players with an intellectual disability arrived at the club were viewed as a distraction to its core business, as Sam informed me. A lack of behavioural commitment towards diversity and a chronic shortage of volunteers to assist with the AA teams were primarily due to volunteer pressures and members being too busy with other roles. Further, prejudice towards athletes with an intellectual disability meant that several volunteers and members did not view the AA teams as part of the club. Additionally, comments also from Sam around, 'I guess we'll have to include them' and 'I hadn't thought about inviting them to social events' demonstrated that diversity was not an automatic thought.

By institutionalising diversity, 'the aim is to make thought about equality and diversity issues "automatic"' (Ahmed, 2012: 33). The club viewed the AA teams as an additional burden and diversity was not institutionalised. This was reinforced at the end of season presentation night where no AA players were present, and the club stated on several occasions their season was a failure, even though the AA A team was the only team to win a prestigious flag for the club during the season. Several members viewed intellectual disability as a form of diversity that could not help the club in achieving its main core duties, which was primarily centered on able-bodied performance and winning. In explaining this and RSCC's lack of commitment to the

AA teams and why disability diversity was not valued, I revisit one of Sam's comments around the club getting 'distracted' by the AA teams and what constituted core business for the club.

Stenling and Fahlen (2016) identified that sports clubs that focused on competitive sport activities but also engaged in providing opportunities for community members to participate in their club, referred to as 'drive in', viewed this as 'a talent pool recruitment'. This 'drive in' approach is a 'way to raise funds for core activities or as a way to enhance the image of the club' (Stenling & Fahlen, 2016: 871). More importantly, clubs make attempts to protect core practices of the club from any distractions that engagement in drive in sport or participation focused efforts might create. My research identifies the same attempts by members at RSCC to protect the core practices of the club, which were able-bodied performance and winning. These attempts to protect core practices were demonstrated by various forms of resistance and repeated encounters of the brick wall by AA volunteers, specifically Robert. This is discussed by Ahmed (2017) whereby she states that walls come up to resist efforts to transform the institution.

By Sam stating that the AA teams were a distraction to the club, this demonstrated the club's lack of commitment to diversity by illuminating that diversity or participation was not part of their core business, and certain volunteers and members tried to protect the core practices by voting against having the AA teams at the start of the season. This demonstrated various forms of resistance. This distraction also can be explained by the shiny red apple (Ahmed, 2012) in reference to enhancing the image of the club, and the club being concerned with their external image around diversity. Ahmed (2012) refers to institutional diversity practices as a shiny red apple, in that the exterior is shiny and welcoming via happy talk, but the inside is a rotting core, demonstrated by institutionalised discrimination. To correct the image of diversity at the club, the club engaged in AA cricket.

Yet, practices that excluded the AA players remained. The AA players were not invited to any social functions throughout the year and operated outside the main hub of activities at the club. Placing the AA teams on the periphery of the club meant engaging volunteers with diversity work was difficult. There were very few willing volunteers to assist with diversity work at RSCC. The unwillingness of club volunteers to help Robert with the AA teams is common within community sports clubs in Australia. Ringuet-Riot et al. (2014) found that tensions existed between primary and episodic volunteers within clubs when core primary volunteers

did not feel that episodic volunteers contributed enough to the club, and left the same core volunteers to do most of the work. Data from RSCC reports similar findings to Ringuet-Riot et al. (2014). Robert as the primary volunteer for the AA teams did not receive support from other club volunteers, which led to tensions amongst volunteers. Some volunteers did volunteer episodically, which meant they assisted with either umpiring or assisting with coaching; however, this only occurred once or twice throughout the season. As this trend of episodic volunteering from data occurs across both the UK and Australia (Department of Social Services, 2016; Office for National Statistics, 2017), sports clubs must seek to engage volunteers through episodic engagements and tailor volunteer opportunities to cater for episodic volunteers.

For many sport clubs that require key positions such as coaching and managing, however, this is difficult and requires a sustained commitment over the course of the season. The other type of engagement in diversity work at RSCC was done primarily through speaking about diversity, specifically through the use of happy talk (Ahmed, 2012). Happy talk was a key strategy employed by volunteers, especially those in leadership positions and on the committee, to paint an image of diversity at the club and that the club was doing diversity work. This was reflected by comments such as, 'everyone loves the AA teams and think it's a great idea', when in fact, data reported this was not the case and most volunteers did not engage in diversity work.

My data around the shortage of volunteers to engage in diversity work also supports Ahmed's (2012) claims that there are stark differences between what an institution says and does, but also that a commitment to diversity does not necessarily invoke action or engagement in actual diversity work. Volunteers, especially those on the leadership team, were happy to engage in diversity and to speak positively around it, but were not happy to actually engage in diversity work themselves. Certain volunteers within the club management, therefore, exercised the use of happy talk and, in doing so, these words of support did not perform, rendering them non-performative institutional speech acts (Ahmed, 2006a; 2012). Moreover, Ahmed's (2017) conceptualisation of diversity work as work performed to transform an institution to open it up to excluded communities is pertinent within the context of the AA volunteers at RSCC. Some volunteers, beyond the AA volunteers, demonstrated commitment to diversity work and the AA teams, although the nature of this particular type of commitment varied, for example, Suzanne drove the bus to two away matches, Sharon prepared the food for several home matches and others came down to support, but did not actually do anything.

Therefore, diversity needs to be an institutional effort and commitment needs to come from both the bottom-up and the top-down. If diversity efforts and commitment come from just the bottom-up, from volunteers with little power and influence within the club, then attempts to institutionalise diversity will be difficult and walls will rise as resistance to this diversity work. Mandatory engagement in diversity work was one aspect to diversity management at RSCC that was shown to be problematic and led to such resistance. By Pete, the president, introducing diversity to the club, and without the full committee support, it meant those who voted against it, resisted the AA teams. One such member was Sam, the social secretary, who excluded the AA teams from every social event the club had throughout the season.

Being forced or coerced into engaging with diversity or having to volunteer within diversity work was a key reason cited as to why some people might resist or not engage. As Ahmed (2012) stipulates, inviting people to the table to engage with diversity was argued to be one way to institutionalise diversity and bring change into an organisation. By being told they have to do something, organisations naturally resist. This occurred at RSCC and is reflective of previous research that highlights the resistance that voluntary sports clubs can provide in having to implement specific sport policies around social inclusion and increasing participation (Coalter, 2007a; Garrett, 2004; Slobbe, Vermeulen & Koster, 2013). For example, a common response from volunteers regarding diversity was ‘Don’t ram it down our throats’.

Overall Discussion

Diversity was enacted by volunteers at RSCC through fielding two cricket teams for players with an intellectual disability, termed AA teams (A team and B team). RSCC and the club management did not view its job as performing diversity work, therefore it recruited volunteers external to the club to engage in diversity work and oversee the AA teams. This has been the core focus of my thesis. The club’s main diversity practice involved relying on one diversity champion, Robert, to oversee all diversity at the club, by managing the two AA teams. Diversity work by Robert and supporting AA volunteers meant working against the institution and an arrangement (Ahmed, 2017) that had been in place since the 1970s. Diversity work involved attempts to transform and open up the institution to those it had historically excluded. These attempts were resisted by several members at RSCC, especially influential committee members, referred to as ‘culture setters’ (Gorman, Lusher & Reeves 2016). Culture setters at

RSCC who did not view part of their job as engaging in diversity work, and the associated resistance, were key foundations as to why the majority of volunteers did not engage with diversity work. My analysis shows that enacting diversity by one core diversity champion within a club is problematic and unsustainable, and does not lead to diversity becoming institutionalised and adopted within the core business of a community sports club. I discuss three key points of departure in interpreting my data within the context of my research questions.

Enacting Diversity Through a Single Diversity Champion

I advance scholarship by critically questioning the role of the individual champion approach within diversity efforts in community sports clubs. Robert was the primary individual diversity champion at RSCC, in addition to his paid role as the Junior Development Coordinator. He was also a committee member and first team player and, as coach of the AA teams, had a central role within the club throughout the season. Although Amanda and Olive were classified as diversity champions also, they were not part of the club in the same way and did not have the same interactions within the broader club throughout the season. For this reason, Robert was the single champion and 'equity person'. I discussed the problem of the equity person earlier in the chapter. Ahmed (2017) stated that by having one person in charge of diversity and equity within an organisation, it started and stopped with one person. My data has shown this approach, although a central launch pad for the AA teams is problematic.

Spaaij et al. (2016) showed that when an individual champion left the club, so did the diversity. Although there were several volunteers at RSCC who demonstrated commitment related behaviours through episodic volunteering, my data suggests that it would be unlikely for someone to take over if Robert left the club. It would have to be someone from within the club to help drive the teams forward, to be present in committee meetings to speak up on behalf of the AA players, and to continue attempts to transform the institution by institutionalising diversity and making it part of the club's core business. Even at the end of the season, the AA teams and intellectual disability as a form of diversity were peripheral to the club's main duties. Additionally, failing to include any of the AA players in key social events meant that the club may have been diverse, but it was not inclusive. Another significant problem with the individual approach is burnout and sustainability. As Ahmed (2017) identified, diversity work can be challenging and can lead to repeated encounters of the brick wall and resistance. Relying

on one individual champion is both unsustainable and places too much pressure onto the volunteer.

In the case of Robert at RSCC, not only was the particular type of diversity work he engaged in unique in respect to intellectual disability, but the additional resistance he encountered from the club, meant that by the end of the season he was exhausted and burned out. A picture from my field notes summarised this sentiment well, whereby I took a picture of Robert asleep at the back of the bus on the way home from our final away match. He looked drained and exhausted. Both Amanda's and Robert's comments around not being abused every weekend also supports my conclusions, whereby diversity work at RSCC needed to be institutionalised and be viewed as everybody's work, not just a few select people, specifically Robert and Olive. I return to Ahmed's (2017) problem of the equity person to further this argument.

The problem of the equity person arises when individuals in organisations, specifically diversity champions like Robert, become the single person in charge of bringing diversity into an organisation and trying to embed it within everyday practices. To protect the equity person from problems such as burnout or verbal abuse, member protection policies exist; however, the policies were not addressed or implemented by the club or league in this particular incident at RSCC.

My data supports prior research that shows that volunteers can feel a range of emotions when volunteering for particular causes in sport (Misener, Doherty & Hamm-Kerwin, 2010). In particular, my results corroborate with Hayton (2017) who stated that sport volunteers, when working with hard to reach and minority groups, can experience a range of emotions such as stress, anxiety and frustration. Encounters with the brick wall and verbal abuse towards players led to this range of emotions. Further, my findings affirm both Ahmed (2017) and Hayton (2017) in that diversity work, specifically volunteering in sport with challenging clients, is emotional labour. Volunteering with the AA teams was characterised by labor and work because it was tough and mentally challenging, and dealing with players and their personal circumstances meant volunteers experienced a range of emotions.

My data offers new insights into the challenges of doing diversity work for volunteers in local community sports clubs, and the pressures placed on diversity champions in delivering and enacting diversity. In placing too much pressure on single diversity champions, clubs and

sporting organisations, especially SSOs with power and influence, can exploit and take advantage of individual champions. In conclusion, individual champions are paramount for igniting change and for a club's initial engagement in diversity; however, they need institutional support so that diversity work becomes everybody's work at a club and diversity is institutionalised so that it is part of a club's core business, and not just the individual champion's business.

Working with Resistance and Transforming the Institution

Central to Ahmed's (2017) dual conceptualisation of diversity work was that efforts to transform the institution resulted in resistance by members and volunteers. As discussed previously, Ahmed (2017) stipulated two components to diversity work: diversity work in attempts to transform an institution and open it up to those who have traditionally been excluded, and diversity work when individuals do not inhabit the norms of an institution. This was achieved through active and passive resistance, for example, by voting against the AA teams, excluding AA players from social events, or withholding important and useful information that could help volunteers in managing the AA teams. My central argument within this thesis is that non-AA volunteers felt that diversity work was not their work, but was work that was to be undertaken by the AA volunteers.

Thus, diversity work was left to the AA volunteers and Robert became the equity person at the club. The AA volunteers were all new arrivals to the club and were recruited from outside the club to undertake diversity work on behalf of the club, which meant the volunteers who were already at the club did not have to. Robert had only just arrived at the club, so was technically an outsider and not part of the cultural fabric of the club initially. Had some volunteers to assist with the AA teams come internally from the club, for example Andrew, Harriet or David, it may have meant that more volunteers would have engaged in diversity work and offered to help with the AA teams. Having culture setters who are supportive of diversity is paramount in this regard.

However, as the AA volunteers, including myself, were brought in from outside the club, they were seen as outsiders. They were viewed as outsiders and the AA volunteers' efforts to transform the institution (Ahmed, 2017) were resisted by some club members. Therefore, a key conclusion around volunteer recruitment in relation to diversity work is that volunteers need to

be recruited from inside and outside the club to increase the likelihood that valuing diversity is adopted and institutionalised. If the only volunteers to engage with diversity work at a club are those new to the club and outside the club, this will increase possibilities of the brick wall, various forms of resistance, and efforts by founding members and the dominant group to resist efforts for its club to be transformed. Ultimately, RSCC did not have anyone on the inside, except Robert who was a new member, fighting for diversity and championing it. Pete did to some extent; however, he left at the start of the season.

For Robert to sell the concept of the AA team to the club and obtain institutional buy-in to diversity, the duration took over six months. This long process of doing diversity work and receiving institutional buy-in to diversity work is referred to by Ahmed (2017) as messy, pushy and challenging work. 'Diversity work is pushy work because you have to push against what has already been built. We have to make adjustments to an existing arrangement in order to open institutions up to those who have been historically excluded by them' (Ahmed, 2017: 109). The work involved in trying to make adjustments to an existing arrangement led to resistance. The most prominent example of resistance within my data was the exclusion of AA players from social events, based on the inherent assumption that players with an intellectual disability drank alcohol and the consumption of alcohol would lead to negative outcomes. Sally's comments in Chapter seven around the club thinking 'we have to change what we are doing' are pertinent to this point, and demonstrates the club resisting efforts to modify a particular situation, around a culture of alcohol consumption. Working against historical structures within community sports clubs then leads onto a significant point of departure surrounding how diversity is enacted within grassroots sport. I therefore question, whether traditional voluntary sports clubs are compatible with current efforts to promote diversity.

Are Community Sports Clubs Set Up to Do Diversity?

To understand how diversity was enacted through intellectual disability, I revisit a debate I discussed in Chapter two, around community sports clubs being complementary to diversity goals. Difference in the form of intellectual disability was not valued at RSCC. Everyday business for RSCC was fielding able-bodied teams and winning flags. This poses an important question. If the main aim for RSCC and other sports clubs is to compete and win flags, the question of how and where diversity sits within this ethos must be considered. What emerged at RSCC were competing discourses, one that favoured winning and obtaining a competitive

edge to improve able-bodied performance, and the other, less important, one was to provide opportunities for marginalised community members to participate in sport. This can also be understood as what Lusted (2014) referred to as an 'ideological clash', whereby values of sport around winning intersect with ideologies around fair play and equality. Spaaij et al. (2016) referred to this conundrum as 'participation vs performance', whereby sport clubs often dichotomise fielding teams to win against the inclusion of all players regardless of markers of difference or ability.

RSCC was known for its performance culture and, at times, its win at all costs ethos; therefore, when a program was introduced that was directly aimed at participation and enabling people with an intellectual disability to participate in sport, the club did not know what to do. Participation through the engagement with diversity in this regard was a foreign concept and, as data highlighted in Chapter seven, many volunteers were not aware of how the AA teams would be included within the club set up. Several volunteers and members actively and passively resisted the AA teams because of this uncertainty. The most prominent quote surrounding this uncertainty was when Sam stated, 'Now they're here we just have to deal with it', in relation to the arrival of the AA teams. Further, as identified by scholars such as Coalter (2007a) and Spaaij (2009), the actual role of community sports clubs within wider social inclusion and welfare debates is not well understood.

With intellectual disability as the main form of diversity at RSCC, however, this did not align to their performance goals of improving the quality of the player base. The AA teams could not contribute to the mainstream playing teams, therefore ultimately the AA teams could not complement their business case approach to diversity. Here, I advance critiques of the problematic approach of the business case for disability diversity to community sports clubs, specifically intellectual disability. Intellectual disability as a form of diversity and difference were not perceived by the club to contribute to its core business. The club's core business is also rooted in its history.

Understanding the history of community sports clubs is important in exploring current diversity efforts and the variety of approaches to diversity work in community sport. As Nichols, Tacon and Muir (2012) contend that traditional sporting clubs are founded by groups of people with shared common interests and enthusiasms towards their sport. RSCC was founded by a group of friends in the 1970s, all of which were white men from privilege and many of them were

still involved with the club. The genesis of many community sports clubs is based on homophilic ties, i.e. sameness. When efforts are introduced to diversify club membership and introduce difference, we are left with competing discourses. It is at this point that resistance can arise, with longstanding and core club members resisting efforts to introduce change and not allowing new members to actively get involved in the club or volunteer on the committee. This was evident at RSCC and is a prevalent theme within studies exploring diversity efforts in community sport (Nichols et al., 2005; Slobbe, Vermeulen & Koster, 2013; Spaaij et al., 2016). Introducing difference to an institution based on sameness, therefore, is not complementary and is one explanation as to why resistance was presented to the creation of the AA teams.

Returning to the second component of Ahmed's conceptualisation of diversity work, Robert and the AA players did not inhabit the norms of the institution at RSCC; they were not white, able-bodied men. One norm they did inhabit by the end of the season, however, was being a winner. By buying into the culture of winning and performance and 'going about their business like the first team players', as Robert once informed me, the AA players shared common traits with the other club members. By winning the flag and becoming winners, the AA players met the conditions of institutional passing (Ahmed, 2017). Institutional passing is the 'process by which bodies adopt the norms of the institution to minimize signs of difference' (Ahmed, 2017: 131). At RSCC, Robert had the task of reinforcing sameness by demonstrating the AA players were just like club players: they showed up, trained and won every match. This condition of acceptance was negotiated by Robert throughout the season and Robert had predicted this at the start of the season, outlining the conditions that would see the club embracing the AA teams. However, as Jeanes et al. (2017) contended, adopting an assimilation approach to disability sport provision is problematic because it favours the best athletes and applies a performance discourse to participation. This was pertinent and problematic to RSCC because they valued able-bodied performance.

Kitchin and Howe (2014) referred to this assimilation approach as mainstreaming, which is the process whereby disability sport provision is integrated into main stream sport provision. An example of mainstreaming was the integration of the AA teams into mainstream sport clubs, as was the case at RSCC. At RSCC, mainstreaming and applying a performance discourse to disability sport provision through the AA teams meant it allowed the players to meet the conditions of institutional passing, thus minimising difference and not challenging or

disrupting the dominant cultural norms and practices at RSCC. However, I argue it would have been very different had the AA first team not won all of their matches. If the teams had not won matches and become winners, the AA teams and volunteers could have operated even further on the periphery to the main club, and could have attracted more resistance. Therefore, my results corroborate with both Jeanes et al. (2017) and Kitchen and Howe (2014) in illuminating the problematic application of performance discourses to community disability sport provision. Further, had the AA teams failed to meet the conditions of institutional passing, they would have been further marginalised within the club beyond being excluded from social events.

I finish the chapter on a central point of departure in revisiting Lockstone-Binney et al. (2014) who questioned the role of volunteers, specifically at mega sporting events. They questioned whether all individuals who volunteered at a mega sporting event were there to help out or not and, instead, might actually be motivated for their own personal self-interest. This is pertinent to volunteers in community sports clubs and I extend this argument to my own central thesis argument, in demonstrating that many volunteers within a community sports club may be volunteering for a range of reasons and diversity may not be one of these. Therefore, club committees, sports organisations and NSO's must be aware of this when placing expectations on voluntary sports clubs to engage and deliver diversity policy. My thesis argument has shown volunteers do not see diversity as their job; therefore, greater attention must be directed to encouraging and supporting volunteers to adopt diversity as their core business. If diversity is viewed as core business, volunteers will then view it as something they should be doing.

Chapter Conclusions

In conclusion, the experiences of these volunteers committed to diversity work by assisting with the AA teams were characterised by repeated encounters of resistance, conceptualised as the brick wall, and problems of responding to players with an intellectual disability around behaviour. Working with players with an intellectual disability and seeing their achievements over the course of the season was a key source of joy and satisfaction for the AA volunteers. AA volunteers, those committed to diversity work at RSCC, were not supported by other volunteers in the club, and delivered and enacted diversity at RSCC in isolation and peripheral to the main club operations. This was because the club management did not value intellectual

disability as a form of diversity and were unable to see how the AA teams could contribute to the club's core business of able-bodied winning and performance.

Further, interpretation of data showed the presence of prejudice towards players with an intellectual disability and that several influential members and volunteers, termed culture setters, did not want the AA teams at the club. I positioned my central thesis argument within this chapter in answering my research sub-questions and as an explanation for the multi-layered complexities in enacting diversity through the AA teams at RSCC. I concluded the chapter with three main points of departure: the unsustainability of an individual champion approach, working with resistance and against the institution, and whether community sports clubs are set up to undertake diversity. I now provide an overall conclusion to my thesis in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction

This final chapter provides an overall conclusion to this thesis. The main aim of this thesis was to critically explore how volunteers enacted diversity at one community sports club in Melbourne, Australia, via the creation of two new teams for players with an intellectual disability. Club volunteers at RSCC did not view diversity as something they should be undertaking, hence they recruited volunteers external to the club to engage in diversity work and run the AA teams. This meant the diversity practices at RSCC were peripheral to the main club operations, and the AA players and volunteers operated in a challenging and isolating climate. Further, investigation into the club culture at RSCC illuminated prejudice attitudes towards players with an intellectual disability and resistance was a key theme to diversity work at RSCC. I summarise the key findings from my study in reporting on how volunteers engaged with diversity work at one community sports club in Melbourne, Australia. I discuss the contributions of my research in theory, policy and practice. I then discuss limitations to my study and make several recommendations for future research. I finish with discussion on some of the practical and policy recommendations in understanding how community sport volunteers can better respond to diversity and engage diverse communities. Finally, I make some concluding comments in relation to my findings and diversity within the wider context of community sport within Australia.

Exploring Diversity Work by Volunteers in Community Sports Clubs

My research adds new insights to scholarship on diversity within community sport by exploring the role of volunteers within contemporary diversity efforts. At a time when sport club participation does not reflect the communities they seek to serve, much attention has focused on attempts to increase diversity within community sport (Australian Sports Commission, 2014). Although diversity management has dominated scholarship on diversity in sport, disability diversity has been largely excluded from this body of work (Misener & Darcy, 2014). Volunteers are central in delivering diversity efforts within community sports clubs; however, they have failed to attract scholarly attention in this regard (Fitzgerald, 2009). Exploring volunteer experiences of those individuals committed to delivering diversity efforts,

specifically intellectual disability, offers new insights into diversity work within the voluntary sports sector.

Recent studies in Australia have begun to explore how community sports clubs respond to increased diversity within Australia society and how clubs have engaged with various forms of diversity work to complement state and national aspirations of increased sport participation amongst diverse groups (Spaaij, Magee & Jeanes, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2016; Jeanes et al., 2017). My study specifically has contributed to this growing body of research by focusing on the intersections of volunteerism and diversity, and how this affects how clubs and their volunteers engage with diversity work.

My thesis explored how a community sport club in Melbourne engaged with diversity work over the course of one season. Diversity work at RSCC involved volunteering with two cricket teams for players with an intellectual disability. I volunteered alongside three other individuals, which involved coaching and managing approximately 30 players with a range of intellectual disabilities. My findings offer new contributions on the role of volunteerism within contemporary diversity efforts in grassroots sport and how volunteerism can affect the extent to which volunteers engage with diversity work. These contributions focus on the role of volunteers in enabling athletes with an intellectual disability to participate in sport and the lack of critical research on disability within diversity management in community sport. I have drawn upon diversity management and Ahmed's (2006; 2007; 2009; 2012; 2017) numerous studies on diversity work in institutional life to explore how volunteers enact diversity within their community sports club, specifically using her conceptualisation of diversity work and efforts to transform an institution. A case study design using one sport club provided rich contextual data in how a club engaged with diversity work and how diversity was championed, resisted, politicised, problematised and celebrated.

My research design and findings respond to calls from critical diversity scholars who critique approaches that give little weight to the role of contexts, specifically the social and organisational contexts in how people ascribe and construct meanings of diversity (Zanoni et al., 2010). By volunteering at the club and using participatory observations, I understood how volunteers ascribed meaning to their experiences of diversity work within the context of their local community sport club. By using ethnographic methods to explore how volunteers engaged with diversity work, it allowed me to gain unique insights into the inner politics and

power dynamics associated with the introduction of diversity within a localised community sports context. The introduction of intellectual disability as a form of diversity led to resistance by some volunteers and club members, and why the AA teams operated on the periphery of the club throughout the season. My analysis showed that the extent to which clubs engage with diversity work and introduce diversity into their club is complex and nuanced, and is a political process shaped by the power dynamics within the club and the history and culture of the club. Such history is rooted on sameness and homophilic ties.

How was Intellectual Disability Enacted by Volunteers at RSCC?

Central to my overarching research question was to understand the daily institutional diversity practices. Little is known about this within the context of Australian community sports clubs. This is important for two reasons. First, to explore what actually is being undertaken on the ground in local clubs regarding diversity, in the context of diversity work and actual actions and programs to encourage diversity, rather than rhetoric in policy documents and simply talking about diversity. In this regard, Ahmed (2017: 137) stated that a fantasy of inclusion was a technique of exclusion, and that ‘agreeing to something is one of the best ways of stopping something from happening. Agreeing to something is an efficient technique for stopping something because organisations can avoid the costs of disagreement’. Here, diversity can be spoken about through policy rhetoric, but not actually applied in everyday practice. This was evident at RSCC through the use of happy talk and non-performative institutional speech acts. Second, in exploring engagement in diversity work and when volunteers in the club setting do not engage with diversity and find ways to resist diversity, we begin to understand both new theoretical and practical contributions to contemporary diversity scholarship within sport.

In advancing academic discussions around the role of community sports clubs in contemporary diversity efforts, my findings corroborate previous research that sports clubs can resist and challenge being used as policy implementers around sport participation and social inclusion objectives (Harris, Morri & Collins, 2009; Nichols, Padmore & Taylor, 2012; May, Harris & Collins, 2013). Future research could explore this within global debates around diversity, as I argue beyond the business case for diversity, community sports clubs have an ethical and moral obligation to provide equal opportunities and access to all members of the community. Sport has been shown to contribute to several positive outcomes for marginalised communities and individuals with an intellectual disability are one such section of society who could benefit

from sustained sport participation. I add to and extend contributions by Fitzgerald (2008), Fitzgerald and Lang (2009) and Darcy et al. (2017) in highlighting the critical role of volunteers in enabling and sustaining sport participation for individuals with an intellectual disability, and the disability community more broadly.

By understanding why volunteers do not engage with diversity and resist it, sports organisations and policy makers can begin to understand why diversity is not a part of everyday business for many sports clubs across Australia. In addition, strategies to assist volunteers to overcome some of the perceived barriers around diversity work can be developed. I have provided both practical and theoretical insights through my thesis argument and why volunteers did not view diversity as their job. With a major investment in funding for diversity programs in Victoria especially, critical questions must be asked around how and where volunteers for these diversity efforts will be recruited from. Decades of research identify that clubs experience difficulties in recruiting and retaining volunteers; therefore, recruiting new volunteers for diversity efforts is unlikely. Further, current evidence suggests that clubs see diversity as an extra or addition to everyday practices and operations (Jeanes et al., 2017). Therefore, a significant problem exists: who will deliver diversity programs and implement policies to encourage participation in underrepresented groups? Will these volunteers be recruited into the club, or will the current volunteers within clubs add diversity take on diversity work in addition to their current responsibilities, thus making diversity institutionalised and part of everyday core business?

My data suggests this is unlikely. A significant concern lies with general club volunteers not seeing diversity as their work or something they should or can be performing, under the current pressures associated with running a voluntary sport organisation. This is significant because there are estimated to be around 16,000 sport clubs in Victoria alone, which are run by 58,000 volunteers. If it is not volunteers' job to engage with and deliver diversity work, I question 'whose job is it'? There are opportunities in this space, responding to such challenges, however. Much of the voluntary workforce in clubs are white and from middle class backgrounds (Kay & Bradbury, 2009). By diversifying the voluntary workforce across the community sports landscape, diversity programs may begin to flourish. If diverse individuals who embody diversity take up committee positions and board positions within sporting clubs and organisations, then diversity will start to become institutionalised and embedded within everyday practice in local community sports clubs across Victoria and Australia. I now outline

some of the key contributions to knowledge. Most pertinent to my research is the opportunity for people with an intellectual disability to volunteer within clubs, which I discuss below.

Contributions to Knowledge

My central thesis argument centred on volunteers not viewing diversity work as work they should be doing. My thesis has shown that volunteerism underpins diversity work within the community sports setting. I argue that diversity work within community sports clubs must be understood within the context of volunteering. As my data have shown, volunteering has a significant impact on how a community sports club engages with diversity. Therefore, we must critically explore the intersections of volunteerism and diversity to understand how diversity work is enacted in community sports clubs by volunteers. Volunteers are the central foundations to the Australian sporting infrastructure and, if sport participation is to be representative of its population, characterised by rich social and cultural diversity, volunteers must have the appropriate skills and resources to deliver such provision as key policy implementers around participation goals. Volunteers have been absent within research on disability sport provision at the community level in this regard.

My data have demonstrated that diversity work at RSCC was a particular type of diversity work, that of intellectual disability diversity work. This is in response to critical diversity scholars such as Zanoni et al. (2009) and Ahmed (2012) who stipulated that diversity scholars needed to move beyond conceptualising diversity as fixed demographic categories. My data showed that intellectual disability was nuanced and different to an overarching concept of disability, and the multiple needs of some of the athletes in my study has shown that forms of difference cannot be easily placed into a simple box. Diversity and diversity work, therefore, needs to be better theorised and understood within the context of the type of diversity and the context in which it is taking place (sport). Categorising volunteer engagement in diversity work in the form of disability as diversity work does not capture the nuances and complexities involved in volunteering with athletes with an intellectual disability. My research has added to the dearth of literature around volunteers who deliver disability sport provision, specifically intellectual disability, within the community sports clubs structure.

My findings contribute and advance scholarship on volunteerism by addressing how volunteers respond to diversity and external policy goals beyond child protection and safeguarding,

participation goals and social inclusion policies. A range of pressures have been identified by researchers across the globe, which exist for volunteers within community sports clubs, but I advance such debates by drawing attention to an under-researched area within the sport volunteering literature. Diversity is a new addition to the pressures and external policy pressures experiences by community sports volunteers in western societies. By drawing attention to the experiences of those volunteers committed to delivering diversity efforts in communities across Australia, we can better understand the realities of institutionalising diversity and efforts to make sport participation reflective of the Australian population.

Second, I advance scholarship and provide contributions to critical diversity debates by using an in-depth case study approach to study diversity work ‘on the ground’ through a lens of volunteerism within community sport. I also add new contributions to critical diversity scholarship beyond the workplace and private sector heavily influenced by business discourses, to the voluntary sector where diversity is championed by committed individuals predominantly motivated by social justice. The inductive approach to my research allowed me to understand what it was like to volunteer in a local community sports club and experience engaging in diversity work within a localised context. Ethnography within the community sport volunteering literature is seldom utilised’ therefore, I offer new contributions methodologically.

My data showed that volunteers did not know how to ‘do diversity’ (Ahmed, 2012); therefore, a theoretical point of departure is the need for volunteers to understand what diversity is and its histories of exclusion and marginalisation. If volunteers engage in diversity work because they solely perceive it is good for business and have no prior understanding of diversity work in Ahmed’s (2017) conceptualisation of opening up institutions to historically excluded communities, then diversity work is no longer diversity work but work that has to be done to tick a box and as a compliance exercise, thus contributing to a ‘fantasy of inclusion’ (Ahmed, 2017). I extend Noon’s (2007) critique of the business case for diversity, specifically in the context of community sport, as RSCC could not see how the AA teams could contribute to core business of able-bodied performance at their club. I also join Jeanes et al. (2017) in challenging the application of a business case and performance discourse to disability sport provision, where my data showed this caused the AA players to be further marginalised and excluded from the main club activity and operations. I contribute to the small amount of literature on volunteering with athletes with an intellectual disability in community sport and the importance

of training and education for volunteers who work with athletes with an intellectual disability across sport more broadly (Dorogi, Bognar & Petrovics, 2008; Conatser et al., 2009).

Another key theoretical contribution I add is that volunteerism must be repositioned and centralised within contemporary diversity debates in community sport. Volunteerism, specifically volunteer recruitment and retention within community sports clubs, has a significant impact on a club's ability to engage with diversity and embed it within their organisation. My data reports that community sports clubs such as RSCC have difficulties recruiting volunteers to perform the general roles that clubs require to operate their day-to-day operations such as fielding teams. A key problem, however, is that diversity is not viewed as part of a club's everyday core business. When diversity is embedded within an organisation and institutionalised, it may become included in volunteer understandings of day-to-day business. Diversity then becomes something that volunteers do automatically. It is not seen as additional or peripheral to the club's main operations or work to be done by other people, for example, volunteers specifically recruited to deliver diversity programs such as AA sport.

Therefore, clubs need to assess their volunteer recruitment and retention strategies, which will then influence their ability to recruit or engage volunteers to assist with diversity efforts, for example, to help run the AA teams at RSCC. RSCC did not have a volunteer coordinator, but this would be a useful addition to the club to address this problem. Additionally, an explanation to the chronic shortage of volunteers to engage in diversity work at RSCC was that the club did not have any formal or informal recruitment strategies for volunteers.

I advance scholarship on commitment to diversity within community sports clubs by exploring diversity within the voluntary sector, beyond sporting organisations in the private sector or US College Athletic departments. The majority of volunteers at RSCC did not engage in diversity work beyond talking, specifically happy talk, and also undermining talk surrounding the AA teams. The four volunteers who did engage in diversity work through volunteering with the AA teams were overburdened because they were not supported by the club. To recruit and engage more volunteers in diversity work, my data have shown attention must be drawn to reducing stigma and education around athletes with an intellectual disability. Practically, this means appealing to the hearts and minds of members and volunteers so they support diversity and any efforts by their club to engage with diversity (Ahmed, 2012). This could be achieved by developing an organisational culture that values and affirms diversity, especially intellectual

disability within the context of my study. This means diversity work becomes part of everybody's job and not a compartmentalised entity seen as peripheral to the club (Ahmed, 2012), which is delivered by a few select volunteers.

If those volunteers who resist efforts around diversity can be persuaded to change their attitudes and behaviours to be more supportive towards diversity, then this will alleviate the burden on those champions who engage with diversity work throughout the course of the season. When there is less resistance and more commitment towards diversity, fewer, or thinner, 'brick walls' (Ahmed, 2017) will appear for those champions engaged in diversity work to contend with. More importantly, diversity work will be shared across the club and will not be seen as a peripheral addition to the club, and one to be done by a select few or one person assigned the role of the 'equity person'.

In conclusion, I extend Stenling and Fahlen's (2016) call for community sports clubs to consider the external policy environment within their organisations, and that diversity is the 'buzzword' that may help sustain club membership and survival in times of austerity and declining level of club membership (Nichols et al., 2016). Stenling and Fahlen (2016: 880) contend, 'sports clubs die and are born continuously and whatever government sports policy priorities are currently in vogue constitute an important part of the institutional conditions under which new sports clubs are founded'. Therefore, community sports clubs may have to engage with diversity or they may get left behind. If a community sports club does not reflect or engage the local demographic, then the club may struggle to survive, which recent evidence reports (Spaaij et al., 2016).

This may mean newer clubs may be more open to adopting diversity goals, as they will not be working against cultural norms and practices that have existed for several decades. In line with my arguments in the previous chapter questioning whether community sports clubs are set up to engage with diversity, my data supports Stenling and Fahlen (2016) in identifying that the history and emergence of voluntary sports clubs based on homophilic ties and goals of delivering competitive sport provision appear to defy goals around diversity. A concluding remark I make, therefore, questions how compatible diversity efforts are with voluntary sports clubs.

With clubs founded and based on friendships and people of similar norms and shared values based on homophilic ties and sameness, introducing diversity and difference is paradoxical. Therefore, I argue that more effort and attention must be directed towards introducing diversity into the community sports sector, as these efforts go against the genesis of voluntary sports clubs. As my data shows, longstanding and traditional members will preserve the interests of the dominant social group at the club through resistance to change and diversity. Examples included voting against the AA teams playing at the club, not including the AA players in any social events, not allocating funds to AA team operations and not supporting volunteers who engaged in diversity work. The community sports club was designed to leave out historically excluded communities from participating in sport; therefore, extra efforts need to be made to transform the sporting club as an institution and open it up to those who it does not seek to serve.

Implications for Policy and Practice

This research offers several suggestions to better assist the sport sector in responding to diversity and providing opportunities for diverse communities to engage with sport. Drawing on Ahmed's (2012, 2017) work specifically, my research provides new insights into how diversity is achieved within community sports clubs, and the everyday challenges and rewards experienced by those volunteers committed to diversity. I provide recommendations for both policy and practice in assisting diversity efforts within community sport.

First, there was a disconnect between policies aimed at encouraging greater diversity at the local level and at the NSO and SSO levels. Volunteers did not know of any policies aimed at encouraging greater diversity and the rhetoric of the sports policy goals did not translate down to the grassroots level. The policy was not communicated to RSCC and volunteers were not equipped to deliver diversity policy and efforts within their club. Therefore, NSO and SSO need to reconsider the extent to which diversity policy and messages around inclusion filter down to community sports clubs, and if the policy rhetoric and goals are being realised at the local level. My findings suggest this is not the case. However, the filtering down of policy may not be the real issue, but the enactment of the policy and the failure of volunteers to engage with diversity.

Second, sports organisations need to rectify and amend their approaches to volunteering first and foremost, before directed attempts of engagement in diversity. UK research demonstrates

that sport club participation and the amount of time people volunteer has decreased in the last decade (Nichols et al., 2017), therefore recruiting and retaining volunteers for day-to-day activities such as fielding teams and coaching is the main concern for many clubs. As was the case for RSCC, diversity was not seen as a priority or part of their core business, but was left to a few select volunteers. Clubs such as RSCC need to focus on volunteering and retaining current volunteers as a primary focus to be able to deliver successful diversity efforts. If there are no volunteers, or no available volunteers willing to commit and support diversity, diversity work is not undertaken. This is especially important for athletes with a disability, who rely on volunteerism for structured opportunities to participate in sport.

Third, in line with Stenling and Fahlen (2016) and as my data reports, if sports clubs only view their core activities as playing their sport, but sport policy makers envisage community sporting organisations as key agents to deliver more than sporting provision and efforts to encourage further diversity in sport membership, they need to be made aware of it and be better supported to do so. My concepts of diversity doyen and diversity therapist illuminate that volunteers and clubs do not know how to engage with diversity, and state and national sporting organisations may be expecting too much from volunteers and placing too much pressure on them to deliver diversity objectives. These pressures can lead to early signs of burnout, in which my findings demonstrated.

A key recommendation for clubs wishing to engage with diversity within their club is to adopt a whole-of-club approach to diversity, which is underpinned by a unified commitment and institutional support for diversity amongst the club committee and management. If diversity work is left to a few dedicated champions, then they will risk burnout and have to contend with various forms of resistance. Diversity work, therefore, is emotional work, messy work and tiring work (Ahmed, 2017). This work, undertaken by an individual champion, becomes unsustainable. If the champion leaves the club or ceases their commitment to diversity, then diversity work leaves the club. A whole club approach and commitment to diversity must come from the leadership team or committee, and be communicated to the wider club effectively. This will reduce uncertainty around what diversity means for the club and lead to an institutionalised understanding of diversity. Sam's comment of 'to be honest, nobody really knows' in reference to the AA teams within the setup of the club is most pertinent here. When diversity work is seen as something that is institutionalised and 'something they imagine doing'

(Stenling & Fahlen, 2016: 1) as part of their everyday practices, then diversity will be adopted and taken up by clubs.

One of the more significant challenges following on from the above is the need to reconsider the role of voluntary sports clubs in communities and delivering policy goals around diversity. If a volunteer does not see their role as facilitating social change or having to be attuned and understand diversity within the context of their club, diversity proponents and policy makers face a considerable challenge. Forcing diversity onto clubs, when tied to funding, can cause resistance as findings by Lusted (2014) have also shown; however, without these efforts, nothing may change.

Finally, central to successful future diversity efforts is the need to diversify the volunteer base within community sports clubs. There was very little diversity amongst volunteers at RSCC. Robert was the sole volunteer who embodied diversity being a person of colour. One practical strategy to remedy this problem is through the creation of pathways for AA players to volunteer. If AA players are mentored to be champions and empowered to become volunteers, this would result in more volunteers to assist with diversity work. Diversity work in this vein could involve administration and communication with players or preparation before matches. Although players did experience challenges around their intellectual disabilities, they all should have the opportunity to contribute to their local communities in meaningful ways, and with the correct guidance and mentoring, would all be fully capable of volunteering.

Further, if one player could act as a representative on either the club committee, or create a subcommittee for the AA teams, then this would mean that more voices from the AA teams could be heard. By hearing from a more diverse range of voices, especially those who might sit on the periphery of the club's operations, it can serve as a point of reference to help institutionalise diversity and make diversity automatic and part of a club's everyday practices. This would have been especially helpful in planning social functions and awards presentations to better include the AA players at these events. I am aware of work currently being undertaken in Europe around the role of volunteering as a means of social inclusion. This project, being led by Geoff Nichols and a group of researchers from a host of European universities, explores how community sports clubs in Europe can be used to compliment goals in the European Union around social inclusion and engaging people from marginalised communities (Ibsen, Nichols & Elmoose-Østerlund, 2016).

The lack of institutionalised understanding of diversity resulted in uncertainty amongst volunteers at RSCC around what the AA teams meant within the context of their club. NSO, SSO and local councils must be clear on the expectations of voluntary sports clubs regarding diversity. What are the expectations of volunteers in delivering diversity policy and provision for diverse communities, and what are the boundaries for good practice? This poses a crucial question within wider diversity debates: are volunteers the most effective way of delivering diversity policy and efforts to promote greater diversity in community sport? A decade of research from both the UK, Europe and Australia (Leisure Industries Research Centre, 2003; Sharpe, 2003; Cuskelly, Hoye & Auld, 2006; Nichols et al., 2016) have documented that volunteers are overburdened and operating at maximum capacity. My findings also demonstrated volunteers had a range of responsibilities and duties; therefore, I argue that volunteers need to be better supported and given the appropriate skills and education to engage with diversity work. The most pertinent example from my research involved the lack of training and support around managing behaviour of athletes with an intellectual disability.

To avoid volunteers becoming overburdened by what they perceive as an (unwanted) addition, that is diversity work being seen as additional to their core practices, volunteers need to be made aware that diversity can be part of their core practices and something embedded and institutionalised within their club. Education and positive success stories from other clubs would be beneficial in this way. To alleviate the pressures on volunteers in clubs also, clubs need to consider recruiting from outside the club, similar to what RSCC did. Diversity work will be complementary to a club's core activities when newly recruited volunteers work alongside long standing and respected members within the club. The club must develop strategies to include any new volunteers within the club though, and not allocate diversity work specifically to them, so they become marginalised and the sole person responsible for diversity, or as Ahmed (2017) states, the equity person. When a club has available volunteers who are committed to diversity within their club, they must then provide more handholding and practical strategies and guidance to support volunteers in doing diversity and how to successfully engage with it. This reflects recent claims by Jeanes et al. (2017) who identified that volunteers in clubs who sought to enact diversity policies were left to do so by themselves.

Study Limitations

There are a variety of ways to judge the quality of qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) and researchers identify the need to assess qualitative research on the merits of its ontology and epistemology (Sparkes & Smith, 2013). As noted by Smith and Caddick (2012) qualitative enquiry seeks to make naturalistic generalisations and ones made through the generation of new theory. Within Tracy's (2010) criteria for excellent qualitative research, and especially within her 'rich rigour' criterion, my sample could be perceived as a limitation. As only one community sports club, and one sport (i.e. cricket), was used within the case study design, applying results and volunteer experiences to other sports clubs and settings within Australia is difficult. As each community club is different, the club culture, club setup and history and volunteer practices can vary between clubs. This is especially true with regards to social class and geographic municipalities, and clubs can differ considerably between affluent and lower sociodemographic areas.

Further, the use of one sport means findings are focused on one particular sport, and therefore may not be the case for other sports. For example, AFL junior teams require eight volunteers per team, and some sports in Australia have much higher participation rates than other sports. In this regard, two clubs from different sports could have been used for comparison and to explore their different approaches and engagement with diversity; however, owing to the time constraints of the PhD and timely completions, this was not feasible. In my research of cricket volunteers, the amount of time people volunteered for is considerably longer than other sports; therefore, how this impacted on volunteer engagement with diversity work was somewhat specific to my research.

Another limitation is the context specificity of intellectual disability as a form of diversity. Intellectual disability is a specific form of diversity, as my data have shown. Therefore, I foregrounded only one type of diversity in my study, intellectual disability, in a reflection of RSCC's local reality. Intellectual disability was enacted in a specific way by volunteers, and had the club engaged in another type of diversity, for example, gender or race and ethnicity, the enactment of this type of diversity could have been very different. For example, the club might not have resisted other forms of diversity and more volunteers could have offered to help. In this regard, the club may have perceived that other forms of diversity could have better complemented their core business around able-bodied performance.

Recommendations for Future Research

The use of a variety of sports to understand how different sports and community clubs respond to diversity would be a fruitful area for future research, and would provide insights into how different sports respond to and engage with diversity, and any practices that have helped to institutionalise diversity within the club setting. Comparing the different volunteer experiences of undertaking diversity work within community sport would also provide insights into the differences between sports, and whether experiences of performing diversity work were similar across sports. Further, exploring different forms of diversity and how volunteers respond and engage with this diversity would be an interesting avenue to explore. My research has explored intellectual disability, therefore exploring other forms of disabilities would be insightful, as would exploring other forms of diversity such as gender and cultural diversity. This would be achieved through a volunteering lens, however, to gain new insights into the volunteer nuances around engaging with different forms of diversity. This might provide sports organisations and volunteer agencies with unique insights in combating some of the barriers around encouraging people to volunteer and engage with various forms of diversity work.

The wider social role of sport and community clubs as a vehicle for addressing positive social change was contested by many volunteers at RSCC. My data indicated some volunteers were resistant to efforts aimed at addressing social welfare objectives such as diversity and inclusion, but the current evidence base within Australia needs developing. Specifically, exploring volunteer understandings of diversity and what best practice approaches to introduce diversity into community sports clubs would be useful. Exploring mandatory diversity efforts within clubs, tied to funding, would also be a topical area of research, which several SSOs have expressed a desire to explore.

Developing work done by Lusted (2014) in the UK around incentives promoting sports to engage in equality policies and exploring diversity efforts tied to funding through SSOs and access to facilities would be a fruitful avenue to explore. However, sports clubs with a focus on participation may be better suited to mandatory diversity efforts. I argue that diversity is more likely to become institutionalised and adopted by volunteers in clubs that value attributes of fair play, inclusion, equal treatment of all players and view the role of community clubs as serving the needs of the community. Research into this within the Australian sport landscape would better assist sporting organisations in this regard.

Concluding Comments

This thesis was designed to explore how volunteers enacted diversity within a community sport club in Melbourne, Australia. It aimed to critically explore the work undertaken by volunteers, and the experiences of those volunteers who implemented diversity efforts and engaged with diversity work. Diversity work in community sports clubs ‘gets done’ by volunteers, therefore this thesis has shown that volunteers need to be better supported in their efforts to engage with diversity work. As Sally stated, ‘without volunteers, you get nowhere’. As my theoretical framework helped demonstrate, intellectual disability was not part of RSCC’s diversity management practices, and the enactment of intellectual disability as a form of diversity was complex and nuanced. Diversity within the voluntary sector in sport would not exist if it was not for these volunteers, termed diversity champions, yet they are often absent within contemporary diversity debates in sport.

Volunteers who engage in diversity work allow marginalised communities to participate in sport, and the ability for people with an intellectual disability to be able to participate in sport has important repercussions for those individuals. Participation in sport for people with an intellectual disability means the opportunity to fully participate in society, whereby it is argued that sport is part of the cultural fabric of Australia (Darcy et al., 2017). By exploring the intersections of volunteerism and diversity within community sports clubs, I have shown that diversity efforts are underpinned by committed volunteers engaged in diversity work, and the nature of this commitment can impact on the extent to which diversity becomes institutionalised and taken up by community sports clubs.

The most significant challenge facing the voluntary sport sector and the associated policy goals that seek to make sport reflective of its population is recruiting and retaining volunteers to deliver sporting provision and engage in diversity work within communities across Australia. Making the experiences of volunteers who engage in diversity work enjoyable, satisfying and free from resistance, abuse and stress will result in a sustainable model to sport participation amongst diverse communities. Volunteer experiences of doing diversity work need to move beyond conceptualisations of work and labour, in line with more complementary underpinnings of leisure and enjoyment. When volunteers are centrally positioned within diversity discourses, participation efforts in sport to reflect a diverse Australia will be truly realised.

This thesis has shown that the availability of volunteers to engage with, and act as champions for, diversity work is central to community sports clubs. This is especially crucial when global data trends suggest a slight increase in volunteering but a sharp decrease in the number of hours' people are volunteering for (Department of Social Services, 2016; Office for National Statistics, 2017). This has repercussions for diversity efforts in community sport. There was a chronic shortage of volunteers to assist with the AA teams at RSCC. Further, recent data also demonstrate an uncertain climate around sport club participation and a decline in overall sport clubs and associated membership (Nichols et al., 2017); therefore, it is paramount to understand the role of volunteerism to ascertain the best ways to support diversity efforts in current western societies and national policy goals of increased sport participation and engagement in sport by diverse communities.

Practically, as my data have shown, if club volunteers view diversity as a compartmentalised entity and 'add on' or extra' that is peripheral to core club activities and business, then they would require more volunteers to deliver this 'add on'. Recruiting external volunteers to engage with diversity work was a symptom of a deeper problem at RSCC, however; the club management did not perceive that intellectual disability as a form of diversity could contribute to the club's core business of able-bodied performance. Over two decades of research identifies that the recruitment of sport volunteers is challenging and a primary concern for clubs worldwide (Nichols et al., 2016). Therefore, in line with Ahmed (2017), the most plausible suggestion in complementing diversity goals is to embed diversity within the current club structure and institutionalise it so it is shared across the club and amongst volunteers. With this in mind, I propose that volunteers who run community sports clubs approach diversity in three ways.

First, adopt a whole-of-club approach and commitment to diversity and the associated work entailed. If volunteers are not prepared to support happy talk with actions, diversity will be enacted through non-performative institutional speech acts (Ahmed, 2012). Second, utilise this whole-of-club commitment to diversity work by volunteers to adopt and take up diversity. Volunteers should be aware that diversity work can be challenging, but given the right support and tools, can be rewarding for both the individual and the wider community. Finally, clubs and their volunteers should all engage in diversity work in some capacity and view diversity work as work to be undertaken by all volunteers and club members. Diversity work should not be undertaken by a few select people or one champion, thus becoming the 'equity person', as

this is unsustainable and this equity person can burnout. This will lead to sustainable efforts within the voluntary sport sector to increase diversity across all levels of participation and engagement, and diversity will become something that volunteers just do and not view diversity as an unwanted compliance exercise, which is additional and peripheral to the core business of the club.

Epilogue

I will miss my time with the AA players, but especially the volunteers. I became close with Amanda, Olive and Robert through our volunteering experiences. We provided support to each other in challenging but rewarding circumstances. I do feel for the volunteers who run the AA teams, and what they might do when I am gone. I provided support and guidance, and I am not sure they will get that from other volunteers in the club. With the AA teams doing so well in the inaugural league, I hope the club provide more support to the teams and the volunteers, and try to include the players in the club set up more. It would be great to see some inclusive social events whereby the players are invited.

My time with the club was very insightful but hard work. Adopting the role of a volunteer, and a researcher, proved to be challenging and complex. However, I would not have got such insightful and rich data had I not volunteered and got stuck in. One thing to really stay with me is the rollercoaster of an experience we had with the AA players, from jubilation to despair, and how we navigated this rollercoaster of emotions. The volunteers who organised and oversaw the AA teams were inspiration, and their commitment to disability sport provision was remarkable. More stories need to be heard from club land and the positive things that volunteers can get from volunteering with people with a disability. When these stories are heard, we can attract more people to get involved and commit to diversity work. There are benefits to the players and the volunteer. We need to start sharing these stories and working to a more inclusive and accessible sporting landscape for all.

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Appendix A: Volunteer Profiles

Volunteer Position	Pseudonym	Relationship to club	Average hrs p/ week	Diversity Indicators
1) President	Pete	Ex-player	20+	Male, White, 40–50.
2) Vice President– Did not formally interview	Vince	Ex-player	15+	Male, White, 65+
3) Secretary	David	2 nd team player	10+	Male, White, 30–40.
4) Administrator	Sally	External	15+	Female, White, 30–40.
5) Committee volunteer: Social Secretary	Sam	Ex-player	10	Male, 30–40, culturally diverse parents.
6) Junior Development Officer/ AA Coach	Robert	1 st team player	20+ (max was 30)	Male, culturally diverse parents, 30–40.
7) General volunteer	Bob	Ex-president	10	Male, White, 50-60.
8) Canteen volunteer	Sharon	Mum to ex-players	15	Female, White, Catholic, 40–50.
9) Assistant Senior/ Junior Coach	Paul	Ex-player/Dad to junior player	15	Male, White, 40–50.
10) Hercules Coordinator	Andrew	3 rd team player	5	Male, White, 40–50.
11) Junior Coordinator	William	Ex-Player	5	Male, White, 40–50.
12) Junior volunteer	Harriet	Mum to junior player	10	Female, White, 40–0.
13) 1 st team scorer	Sarah	Ex-junior Player	10	Female, White, 30–40.
14) Junior Coach	Kirk	1 st team player	10	Male, White, 30–40.
15) Junior Team Manager	Bruce	Dad to junior players	10	Male, White, Catholic, 40–50.
16) Junior volunteer	Keith	Dad to junior player	5	Male, White, 40–50.
17) Junior volunteer	Cameron	Dad to junior player	5	Male, White, 40–50.
18) Junior volunteer	Brent	Dad to junior player	5	Male, White, 40–50.
19) All Abilities Team Manager	Olive	External – coordinator of indoor AA cricket	20+	Female, White, 70–80.
20) All Abilities Volunteer	Amanda	Mum to player, external	15+	Female, White, 50–60.
21) All Abilities volunteer	Suzanne	Partner to player, external	10	Female, White, 30–40.

Appendix B: Participant Observation Protocol

What type of session is being observed? (i.e. training, match)	
Who is in attendance? (i.e. No. of junior players, coaches, parents, etc.)	
Brief outline of the focus/intention of the session (i.e. if a meeting what is the meeting about/ training what is being covered)	
Are there any observable indications of diversity in the setting observed? (i.e. gender balance/ ethnicity/disability)	
Are there any observable indications of awareness of diversity issues in the setting observed? (i.e. Where (if at all) is the code of conduct displayed? Are there any signs or slogans that emphasise the importance of participation or winning (e.g. 'Whatever it takes'-type slogans)? What facilities are in place for people with physical disabilities?)	
Interactions between players (How do the players work together? Do particular players tend to stick with certain others? who seems to be the leaders amongst the players?)	
Interactions between junior players and coaches, and AA players (How does the coach interact and who with? Do particular players get more attention than others? What is the coaches' style and approach? Do coaches do anything differently for certain individuals? i.e. if disabled and mainstream together how is this accommodated)	
Interactions between coaches and parents (Do coaches speak with parents before/during/after sessions? Do they talk to particular parents?)	
Interactions between committee members (who appears to be the main leaders/dominant members of the committee? What is the committee make up? Who tends to influence/make most of the decisions? Do any issues regarding diversity emerge during meetings?)	
Interactions between committee members and coaches and the AA players/ volunteers?	
Other interactions	
Of these interactions, did you feel you observed any examples of discrimination? This could include overt examples like derogatory comments, players actively excluding another player during activities. Or it may be more subtle, coaches giving less feedback to particular players, the views of certain committee members rarely being sought or being dismissed.	
When observing these interactions did you witness any examples of obvious effort to manage and include diverse groups? This could range from things like club committee members seeking the views of all members, discussing how best to implement inclusive policies through to coaches adapting drills and activities so that low ability/disabled individuals could take part.	
Other observations that you deem relevant to the project	

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

*Introduce yourself and nature of the PhD research. Establish rapport through offering some information on own volunteering background and volunteering at the London 2012 Olympics.

* Brief participants about confidentiality, ethics, and a bit of context to the study.

Part 1: General introductory questions (all participants)

Where are you from/Where did you grow up?

Describe what the suburb/town that you grew up in was like? (Is it local to the club)

Do you have any children? Do they play at the club?

Part 2: Volunteering Questions

Can you tell me a little bit about your current volunteer role at the club and how you came to do it? (pathways into volunteering)

What is your main motivation to volunteer within the club? What brings you back each week?

It is said that people volunteer for a combination of reasons between self-interest and altruism/ giving something back to the community. Where do you see your motivations lying on this scale? (Prompt>> would they volunteer if their child was not there/ had no connection to the club?)

What are the other volunteers like within the club? (link's to social capital: do they socialise? Volunteer culture within the club)

What are some of the current issues experienced by yourself and your volunteer role specifically, and other volunteers within the club? (Prompts>> burdens: red tape, child protection policy, lack of volunteers?)

Some sports clubs stipulate that all parents and club members are required to 'help out' and volunteer, especially parents who have children at the club, what are your thoughts on this? (Touch on coercion and free choice of volunteering?)

Families from migrant and culturally diverse backgrounds may have difficulties contributing to this club ethos- Has your club ever experienced problems relating to this? How might clubs overcome this?

Part 3: Diversity Questions (Understanding the wider context of diversity within society)

There is a lot of media coverage about diversity, especially with regards to politics, what are your thoughts on the current state of affairs within Australia, and specifically Melbourne? (Prompts: refugees/ detention centers, migration, multiculturalism, gay rights and equality)

What are some of your personal views on these issues?

Do issues surrounding diversity impact you individually? If so, how?

What do you understand by the term diversity?

Do other members within your club have different understandings to yourself or contrasting views? Explain.

Part 4: The individual

How would you describe what diversity is at the club?

Did you have any interactions with people from different backgrounds and identities growing up? What kinds of backgrounds/ identities?

What kinds of experiences have you had with people from different backgrounds and identities at the club?

Do you feel that everyone is treated the same?

What benefits have you personally experienced from people of different backgrounds being at the club? Explain.

What benefits has your club/team experienced from people from different backgrounds?

Have you or your club/team experienced any disadvantages from people with different backgrounds

Part 5: The club

Can you tell me a little bit about the club?

Prompts>> is it a successful club? Probe about success and performance

>> What are some of the policies or culture within the club on fielding players who don't attend training etc (fielding players to win)

>> is winning important to the club?

Are you aware of any policies or codes that the club has in place to promote a safe and inclusive sporting environment?

How does the club engage members about these policies? (meetings, flyers, emails, special events)

What sort of environment do you feel the club provides for people from diverse backgrounds?

What facilities or policies does the club have in place to support disabled persons to participate? Do you think these are sufficient?

Appendix D: Ethics Participant Information Sheet

RESEARCH PROJECT: FACT SHEET

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project exploring the experiences of community sport volunteers in Melbourne. The student researcher is Ryan Storr. This research is a project for his PhD at Victoria University, Australia.

This research is under the supervision of Dr. Ramon Spaaij, Associate Professor of the College of Sport and Exercise Science.

Project explanation

This research will explore the experiences of volunteers within community sports clubs in Melbourne, Australia. The data will be collected from interviewing volunteers within community sport clubs, and by observing social situations. The objective of this research is to understand the best practices that may be used to effectively manage and address issues related to volunteer management.

What do I have to do to participate?

You are invited to participate because of your role in the sport club as a volunteer. This interview will approximately take up to one hour; it will include open questions and discussion. You will be asked to respond to questions about your experience as a volunteer. You are invited to review these questions and topics of discussion before the interview. You can choose to not respond to any questions that you feel are uncomfortable. Participation is voluntary and you can withdraw without prejudice before four weeks after the interview, in which the information collected will not be saved. With your permission this interview will be audio recorded. The information you provide will be confidential and all sources will be anonymous.

What will I gain from participation?

This research does not offer financial incentives. However, you will have the satisfaction of participating in research that aims to better understand the experiences of volunteers within community sports clubs.

How will you use the information?

The information that you provide will be used for academic publication in electronic format or in print. All the data will be confidential and anonymous; it will be kept safe in the data archives protected by Victoria University. You can receive results of this research by mail, social media or by telephone.

What are the possible risks of participating in this project?

Significant risks do not exist, however, in the interview sensitive topics or experiences may arise.

How will you carry out this project?

The data for this project will be collected in Melbourne over six months in 2015. The method of data collection includes interviews and observations.

If I have any questions, whom can I contact?

Associate Professor Ramon Spaaij, e-mail: Ramon.Spaaij@vu.edu.au / telephone (+61) 3 9919 4683

Student researcher, Ryan Storr, e-mail: ryan.storr@live.vu.edu.au / telephone (+61) 4 4889 4870

For any questions about your participation in this project, you can contact the chief investigator as listed above. If you have any doubts or complaints about how you have been treated, you can communicate with the Ethics Secretary at: Ethics Committee and Department of Research, Victoria University. Address: PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001,
e-mail: researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 o 4461.

Appendix E: Ethics Consent Form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS:

We would like to invite you to be a part of a study about the experiences of community sport volunteers in Melbourne, Australia. The project is conducted by Victoria University. The project is funded by the Australian Research Council and Victoria University. Data will be collected from interviewing volunteers, and observing everyday social situations within community sport clubs.

CERTIFICATION BY SUBJECT

I, _____ (name)
of _____ (location)

certify that I am at least 18 years old and that I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study: **Exploring the experiences of community sport volunteers in Melbourne**, being conducted at Victoria University in Australia by Chief Investigator, Associate Professor Ramon Spaaij and student researcher Ryan Storr.

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Ryan Storr

and that I freely consent to participation involving the below mentioned procedures:

- Interview

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

Signed:

Date:

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the researcher
Associate Professor Ramon Spaaij
Email: Ramon.Spaaij@vu.edu.au
Phone: (+61) 3 9919 4683

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email Researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

Appendix F: Coding Framework

Major theme	2 nd Order themes	3 rd order themes: Examples				
<u>Diversity</u>	<i>Understanding</i>	demographics	migrant	background	colour	appearance
	<i>Experiences</i>	Getting along	racism	openness	exposure	prejudice
	<i>Language</i>	acceptance	English	The door	Them and us	Equality
	<i>Doing</i>	politics	Gradual	Interactions	tokenism	policy
	<i>Change</i>	Mentality	Beliefs	Progressive	Difficult	Culture
	<i>Axes</i>	Sexuality	gender	Social class	Age	Disability

Major theme	2 nd Order theme	3 rd order theme: Examples				
<u>Volunteering</u>	<i>Motivation</i>	Lack of time	Giving back	Parents	passion	Enforcing
	<i>Experience</i>	babysitting	Chipping in	fairness	canteen	helping
	<i>Rewards</i>	Enjoyment	reimburse	Giving back	smiles	relationships
	<i>Costs</i>	time	challenges	funding	Burn out	bureaucracy

Major theme	2 nd Order themes	3 rd order themes: Examples				
<u>Ability</u>	<i>Participation</i>	achievement	Playing standard	Fair go	happiness	other
	<i>Performance</i>	winning	skills	flags	premiership	finals
	<i>Provision</i>	Equality	understanding	Pension card	resources	cater
	<i>Considerations</i>	catering	responsibility	difference	behaviour	funding

Major theme	2 nd Order themes	3 rd order themes: Examples				
<u>Sport/ club</u>	<i>Culture</i>	welcoming	Politics	conservative	Aussie	business
	<i>Success</i>	wining	ethos	Passion	Sledging	flags
	<i>Membership</i>	socialising	relationships	friendship	parents	decisions
	<i>External factors</i>	Training	Council	Cricket	league	SSO