What Happens When Mainstream Sport Clubs Try to Promote Cultural Diversity?

An Exploratory Case Study.

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Thesis submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Research

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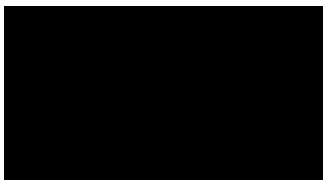
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Abstract

This project extends the work of Victoria University's Change Makers program by exploring the question "what happens when mainstream sport clubs try to promote cultural diversity?" It explores the complexity of social inclusion and investigates celebrations of cultural diversity in research in the context of mainstream sport clubs. Two clubs were observed as they created, implemented, and evaluated a celebration of cultural diversity. Uniquely, data was collected from people with various positions and cultures in communication with one another. One club "succeeded" in organising a celebration of Australian Indigenous culture, while the other "failed" to organise anything. The pursuit of celebrating Indigenous instead of migrant culture raises the question of why this occurred. This was analysed by critiquing the club's achievements to understand their underlying motivations. Additionally, Bourdieu's notions of field and symbolic capital were used to understand how power structures influenced this conflation. The cases are then considered within the broader socio-cultural context and implications for promoting change are considered.

Declaration of Authenticity

I, Regan May, declare that the Master of Research thesis entitled *What Happens When Mainstream Sport Clubs Try to Promote Cultural Diversity? An Exploratory Case Study* is no more than 50,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, 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.

I have conducted my research in alignment with the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research and Victoria University's Higher Degree by Research Policy and Procedures.
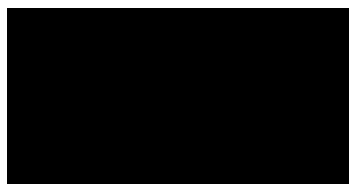
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Ethics Declaration

All research procedures reported in the thesis were approved by the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee (HRE22-177).

Signature   ▉▉▉▉▉▉   Date   06/02/2024

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List of Abbreviations

AWC	Amsterdam World Cup
CM	Change Maker
NAIDOC	National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance Committee
PAR	Participatory Action Research
RAP	Reconciliation Action Plan
SET	Socio-ecological theory
THC	The Hockey Club
TNC	The Netball Club

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introducing Me

> At the end of the day, they [the filmmakers] can leave and marvel over the interesting cultural tour [in the marketplace]. They do not see the missing fingers from meat slicers, the feet ruined by vats of hot oil accidentally spilled, the hacking coughs from inhaling the floating mites of polyester fibres.
>
> The marketplace is a front, the final face of our lives—the most charismatic, enterprising, and proud. And the most extraordinary thing the filmmakers will take away from the day, the only true thing I will disclose about my mother's market, and the one thing they will write about in the newspapers with wonder, is that it is possible to buy mangoes for three dollars a kilo. (Pung, 2013, p. 40)

When I was a child, I associated with the filmmakers. I did not know that you could buy mangoes from the market for three dollars a kilo, nor did I care. In fact, I did not even like Mangoes. Moreover, my favourite foods were party pies and sausage rolls (I would choose these over a steak for family dinners), I considered sushi an "exotic" food, my primary school was culturally homogenous, and I had no desire to go overseas—nor interact with migrants therefrom. I was ignorant of and about other cultures (defined broadly here as the shared practices and values of a group of people).

But this excerpt goes further than exploring the cultural ignorance of those unfamiliar with the cultural diversity of their nation; it demonstrates a broader historical divide in the way people from different cultures understand one another in Australia. Alice Pung lifts a veil, revealing what happens behind the scenes in her mother's market, things that were typically hidden away from the gaze of others. There is greater depth to our cross-cultural experiences than saving money on Mangoes; there is a story behind the Mango.

I am interested in stepping into the other side of the veil, in learning about and from other cultural groups in Australia. I want to learn about the variety of experiences of Australian life, how that is influenced by our cultural backgrounds, and how greater harmony can be fostered in this multicultural society. I want to learn from other cultures and consider how my own cultural ideas, norms, and values might be shifted and, indeed, improved.

I became interested in all this over lunch at a national Christian convention. I happened to sit down with an ex-missionary who had lived and worked with desert people in Niger, West Africa, for over a decade. He told me what it would be like learning another culture; the conversation was gripping. From then on, I was interested in cross-cultural engagement.

In *Joyful Strains*, Kent MacCarter and Ali Lemer (2013, p. 8) bring together personal stories from twenty-seven "expat" authors—migrants—through which they share "the real effects of uprooting their lives to make Australia their home." These authors had to learn "Australian" culture. The editors of the book acknowledge that "Australia is deep in the throes of expanding multiculturalism." Consequently, they "wanted to give native-born Australians an outsider's insight into their country" (MacCarter & Lemer, 2013, pp. 8–9).[1] The book's title subtly, but aptly, reflects the experiences of migrants to Australia. While there is joy in coming, life in a new country is also characterised by strain (Zable, 2013). Learning a new culture is a challenging experience. Being a "native-born" born Australian, though, I have always been able to choose whether to bother learning about other cultures. "Australian" culture is the proverbial water that this fish swims in. Migrants do not have this luxury.

Now I believe it is important to take part in the joy and strain of learning a new culture, not only by helping migrants to navigate the contrasts they experience in Australian culture, but also to learn about their culture, and even from their culture. And so, when the opportunity

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[1] "native-born" is their term and is simply referring to those born in Australi (as opposed to migrants). They are not addressing Indigenous culture (which will become relevant later in the thesis)

presented itself, I decided to embark on this journey, a Master of Research, to learn from those seeking to engage cross-culturally in this way.

Prior to starting this research, I was involved as a research assistant in the Change Makers project; a project designed to help sports clubs to promote for themselves a more inclusive and supportive culture for refugees and recently arrived migrants. Growing up, I was a passionate sportster; I played tennis, swimming, and Australian football. I loved competition, playing socially, and I always sought to improve myself. The intersection between my love for sport, the Change Makers project, and my newfound interest in cross-cultural engagement were fertile ground for a Master of Research project.

Aims and Research Question

In this project, I consider the overarching, titular question: What happens when mainstream sport clubs try to promote cultural diversity? To provide more clarity and structure, I have the following aims: (1) to explore the processes of mainstream sports clubs when they create, implement, and evaluate an initiative that celebrates cultural diversity and (2) to critically consider that process and its outcomes in relation to the club's intentions and their relationship to the Change Makers project.

In this project, to "promote" cultural diversity, sport clubs "celebrated" cultural diversity. This desire to celebrate cultural diversity developed in various Change Makers in the Change Makers project. Consequently, these celebrations were purposed toward promoting an inclusive and supportive environment for people from diverse cultural backgrounds.

The aims of my project present two emphases that guide answering my research question. First, a descriptive focus on exploring the processes in sports. This is important to highlight because the resultant actions of both clubs did not progress the aims of the Change Makers project from which they were developed. The emphasis of my second aim builds on

this. Thus, the second emphasis is a focus on a critical stance in relation to the context of the clubs' processes. Consequently, the literature review focusses on Social Inclusion and migrant culture as key contexts of the Change Makers project.[4] The clubs' processes are then critically considered with this context.

One way that both clubs did not progress the aims of the Change Makers project, which is important to raise here, is that they focussed to various degrees on Indigenous Australian culture. While this is an aspect of cultural diversity, it contrasts with the focus on migrant culture from the Change Makers project. This distinction becomes the major consideration in the final chapters of the thesis. This change also overshadows a focus on Social Inclusion. Part of the reason for this is that not enough data was collected on Social Inclusion for it to be a primary focus. Since this research intended to focus on migrant cultural diversity, Indigenous culture is not considered in the introduction and literature review (see limitations in chapter ten for more detailed reasoning.

Having provided an outline of my research, I will now offer some relevant context that contributes to the rationale for it. This includes information about the cultural diversity of Australia and its sport context, before providing an overview of the thesis.

Context

Cultural Diversity in Australia

Compared with other countries, Australia is culturally diverse. Over a quarter of its population (27.6%) was born overseas. This proportion has been rising since 1947, including an increase in each of the last four censuses, which occur every five years, representing two decades of

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[4] I explain in more detail later, but when I capitalise social inclusion, I am referring specifically to social inclusion, when written in all lower-case, I am referring to social inclusion generally, which may draw from discussions on integration and other similar concepts.

steady growth in Australia's overseas-born population (Figure 1). As will be explained, this growth is intimately connected to Australian migration policy and how it has been shaped in response to historical events.

Figure 1

Proportion of Australia's Population Born Overseas From 1911-2021.
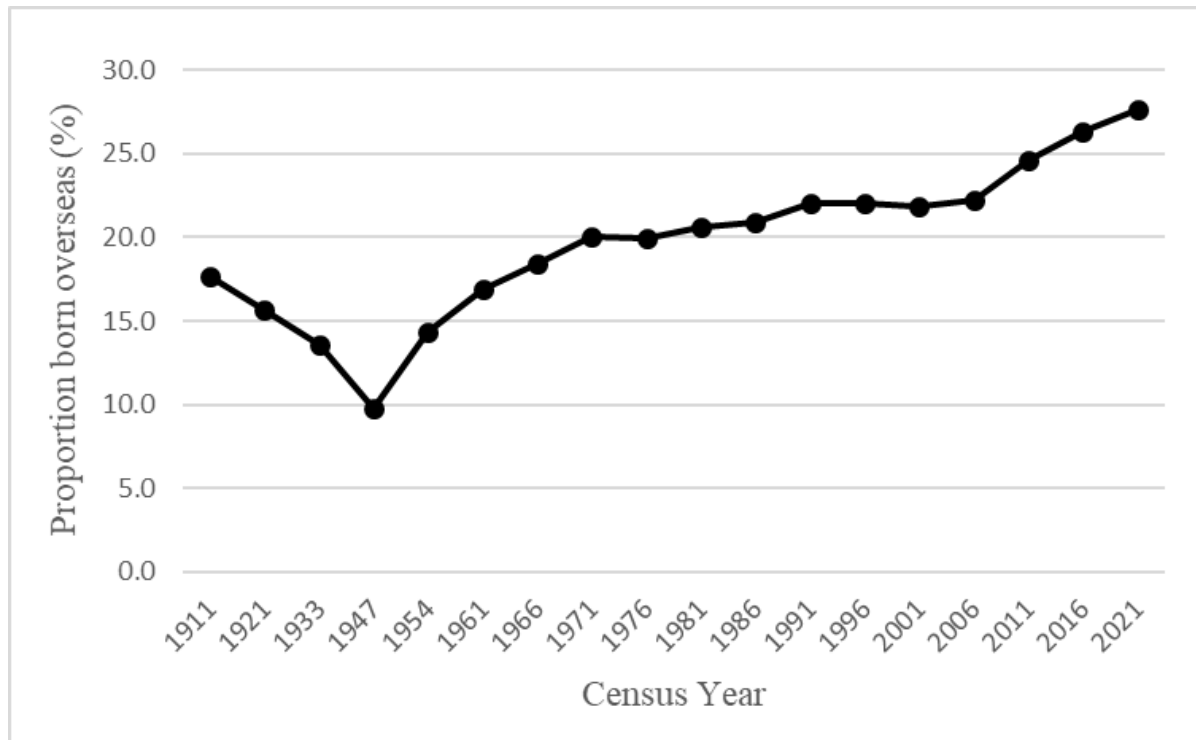
Note: Adapted from "Cultural Diversity of Australia" by Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2022 (https://www.abs.gov.au/articles/cultural-diversity-australia). In the public domain.

While 5.7% of people born overseas are from England and New Zealand, three of the top five countries of birth outside of Australia are "non-western" nations. Moreover, it is these nations (India, Philippines, and China) that are the largest contributors to the increasing proportion of overseas residents, in addition to Vietnam and Nepal making up the top five contributors. Within Victoria, where this research is being conducted, there are several highly diverse suburbs by country of birth. Three out of ten suburbs with the highest proportion of people born overseas are found in Victoria; each of them are greater than 50% (Australian

Bureau of Statistics, 2022b). Additionally, Australia has a diverse Indigenous population, with 3.2% of the population identifying as such. 167 spoken Indigenous languages were identified in the 2021 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2022a).

Such cultural diversity is also reflected in Australia's history regarding immigration and multicultural policy. After Federation in 1901, the Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 was introduced, which "enabled Australia to eliminate non-European migration" (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001, p. 1). Supposedly, this was welcomed by the Australian community—being "the one policy which almost all Australians accepted—" and reflected in the media at the time (Sherington, 1990, p. 93). This only began to ease over 40 years later when, in 1947, non-Europeans were allowed to enter for business reasons. Australia also began making changes to immigration policy after World War II when a desire to "populate or perish" was espoused in the interest of national security and economic growth.[5] Over time, these changes became favourable to non-Europeans with the government making revisions that brought the rules for European and non-European migrants closer together. This continued until 1972 when the Act began to be completely dismantled. Instead, "the focus of immigration policy became the economy, employment, housing, and social service support." (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001, p. 8). From there on, immigration policy was partly guided by the value migrants would bring, and Australia's capacity to integrate migrants and maintain a cohesive society amidst the diversity (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001).

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[5] Geoffrey Sherington (1990) describes the relevant history of these twin desires for an increased population in more detail. First, Australia was a large land mass, with a small population. After the war, there was insecurity about Australia being able to defend itself in future conflict. Second, the war also caused Australia to increase its industrial capacity. After the war, more workers were needed to fill this capacity. However, before the war, during the 1930s, the birth rate decreased. This corresponded with the time of the Great Depression. Thus, while Australia needed a greater population for economic and defence purposes, the birth rate in previous decades had not been providing. Moreover, an increase in birth rate was seen as an insufficient measure. However, the subsequent focus on immigration policy favoured migrants of British descent. The immigration minister at the time supposedly aimed to maintain a ratio of 10:1 in favour of English immigrants.

Concurrently, the popularity of multiculturalism began to grow. Koleth (2010) describes this as a transition from focussing on assimilation, to integration, and then multiculturalism. Although there was much debate about multiculturalism's precise definition, it usually included an acknowledgement of the value of cultural diversity, and a commitment to unity regarding Australia's interests and basic structures. Koleth outlines three phases of this growth until 2010. From 1973-1978, multicultural rhetoric began to be espoused in government, in conjunction with discussions about its definition and relevance. In 1978, following an influential report on multiculturalism, the government began to implement policy and fund initiatives to promote multiculturalism. This continued until 2007 with continued discussions regarding the definition and relevance of multiculturalism. Labour and Liberal governments had different views on multicultural policy, reflected in their policy and actions. The final phase involves the Labour government from 2007-2010. This phase was characterised by a lack of change in multicultural policy.

However, in response to a report the following year, the Labour government did implement its own policy statement in 2011, outlining their commitment to multiculturalism and implementing several initiatives. In 2017, the Coalition revised the multicultural policy statement again (Love, 2021). At the time of writing, this is still the current government policy (Department of Home Affairs, 2017).[6]

At various points, sport has been identified as a mechanism through which to promote multiculturalism through increasing social cohesion in the community. Dukic et al. (2017) outline two such documents; one is from 2007, and the other from 2011. The latter is the aforementioned Labour government's national policy. However, the emphasis on sport was

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[6] These changes are also reflected in citizenship policy. From the middle of the 20th century, Australia increasingly permitted people of non-European descent to become citizens. This was true for both Indigenous Australians and migrants. For the latter, some European descent was initially required, but this would gradually erode (Jordens, 1995).

not carried over in the Coalition's 2017 revisions (Department of Home Affairs, 2017). Despite this, the government has continued to utilise sport in relation to multiculturalism. Recently, Australia has funded $19 million worth of sport and physical activity for Inclusion programs, a quarter of which was dedicated to newly arrived migrants and refugees. The goal of this initiative was, in part, to promote "resilient, cohesive and harmonious communities" (Department of Health, 2019, p. 5). Supporting this government agenda are non-government organisations that are committed to helping sport clubs promote cultural diversity, such as the Centre for Multicultural Youth and Welcoming Australia. These organisations provide services to, and develop resources to aid, sport clubs (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2015; Welcoming Australia, 2020).

Sport in Australia

Most sport clubs in Australia (the "mainstream") operate on a non-profit, voluntary organisation basis. In this sense, they are "grassroots" and often receive support from local governments for their facilities and operations (Spaaij et al., 2023). Across much of Europe, and in Canada, sports clubs operate with the same basic model (Michelini et al., 2018; Misener & Misener, 2017; Nowy et al., 2020). Moreover, they are generally run by people from communities that have a large amount of social and cultural capital in Australia. A large proportion of their membership also share this social and cultural capital. In this thesis, I distinguish the mainstream from what I call "ethnocentric" sport clubs. Some of these operate with the "mainstream structures" but are run by people from communities that lack social and cultural capital in Australia, and their membership is made up of many such people.

Sport is probably mobilised to promote inclusion because of its national popularity and the geographical prevalence of sport clubs. Weekly, approximately 49% of men and 32% of women participate in sport related activities. And yearly, 28% of men and 15% of women utilise a sport club for this activity (AusPlay, 2022). Australia boasts approximately 70 000

not-for-profit sport clubs (Clearinghouse for Sport, 2022). Moreover, Australia has a history of hosting major sporting events and plans to continue this with weight international sporting competitions to be hosted from 2023-2032 (Department of Health and Aged Care, 2023).[7]

However, it is well known in scholarly literature that sports are not unilaterally beneficial for the inclusion of marginalised groups. To believe otherwise is simplistic because research demonstrates the negative outcomes that sports can have (Doidge et al., 2020; Dukic et al., 2017; Mohammadi, 2019). Several researchers of sport for inclusion explicitly acknowledge that sports need to be well designed to have inclusive benefits (Cortis, 2009; Doidge, 2018; Middleton et al., 2020). However, there is little research that considers how this can be done in mainstream sports clubs. Therefore, since (a) the cultural complexion of Australia continues to diversify, (b) the government is committed to fostering multiculturalism, in part through utilising sport for Social Inclusion, and (c) in part because sport is so popular and prevalent in Australia, it is important to research the relationship between mainstream sports clubs and promoting Social Inclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds. B. McDonald and Spaaij (2021) assert that if sports are to be used to promote social inclusion by governments as cultural diversity increases, then mainstream sport needs to be delivered in new ways to be effective. This research will explore sport clubs seeking to do just that and provide evidence-based guidance for the future.

Cultural Diversity, Sport, Inclusion, and Research in Australia

My project adjoins the $19 million initiative by the Australian government to use sport to promote Social Inclusion. In particular, it extends from research at Victoria University that has

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[7] These are the: FIFA Women's World Cup (2023); ICF Canoe Slalom World Championships (2025); BMX World Championships (2026); Rugby World Cup (2027); Netball World Cup (2027); ICC Men's T20 World Cup (2028); Rugby World Cup (2029); Brisbane Olympic and Paralympic Games (2023); Accessed on August 7, 2023.

been funded by this initiative. Victoria University ran a program called Change Makers (Spaaij et al., 2023). This involved assisting sport clubs in identifying where exactly they are currently promoting exclusion. Following this, they were supported in forming an understanding of what would be "conditionally tolerant" and what would be "inclusive and supportive" in these various areas. They were then supported in planning for change and developing strategies to promote Inclusion in their clubs. Clubs were also supported while they implemented their strategies. Each club worked with a facilitator, who was also a research assistant. I was one of these facilitators and worked with several clubs as part of the program.

In identifying areas of exclusion through the Change Makers program, several clubs identified a "conditionally tolerant" culture towards cultural practices. This means that, although cultural practices are largely tolerated, nothing is done to positively celebrate or seek to understand them in any way. Thus, several clubs recognised the need to celebrate the cultures of their club to promote Social Inclusion. My research followed the processes of two of these clubs as they implemented celebrations of cultural diversity—Hence the titular question: "What happens when mainstream sport clubs try to promote cultural diversity?" exploring the processes of celebrating cultural diversity, and critically considering the outcomes in the club and for people from culturally diverse backgrounds therein.

Overview of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter two reviews relevant literature. It discusses the important terms "Social Inclusion" and "cultural diversity," their use in scholarly discourse, and how they will be used in this thesis. This sets the foundation to discuss Social Inclusion and cultural diversity in the context of sport, focussing on research approaches, and identifying important gaps in the literature to be addressed. Next, a small body of literature that most explicitly consider social inclusion is summarised. Then, another important concept that has

received little attention in sports research is considered—celebrations of cultural diversity. I move from their use in multicultural festivals before narrowing in on literature more relevant to the mainstream sports context. Finally, how such celebrations might promote Social Inclusion is discussed by drawing theoretically from studies that have discussed the mechanisms of inclusion in sports through other means.

Chapter three describes the methodological approach taken for this thesis. I begin with the most challenging and perhaps influential aspect, the theoretical framework. Rather than operating from a particular framework, I discuss four important aspects of theoretical frameworks, seeking to demonstrate why my results will be meaningful. I conclude this section by reflexively describing my own positionality and introduce important theoretical concepts that I used in the thesis. In this context, I discuss my methodology, define it, and describe how it was deployed in this project. Next, I outline my recruitment and sampling procedures before moving onto data collection methods. I give an overview of each method, including how and why it was used in this project. Then, I describe my data analysis procedures, and how they are shaped by theoretical and methodological considerations. Finally, I outline some ethical considerations.

Chapters four and five introduce the first level of data analysis—the case report, with each addressing an individual club. Chapter four considers a netball club, that did not organise a celebration of cultural diversity. I introduce their context and the process of trying to organise an initiative before making some evaluative remarks about the club's relationship to Social Inclusion. Finally, I make some more critical comments. Chapter five considers a hockey club that ran a very "successful" Indigenous round. Again, I outline their context and the process of organising the initiative, followed by considering their evaluation process.

Chapters six and seven introduce another level of data analysis—thematic analysis. Critical reflections are also incorporated. Data from one club provides the foundation for these

chapters while being furnished by insights from other. Three achievements and Social Inclusion are considered in chapter six. Chapter seven considers the underlying motivation that drove the achievements, both stated and unstated, and considers how such motivations answer the research question.

Chapter eight and nine incorporate a third level of analysis. Chapter eight considers the cases from a theoretical perspective to help answer the research question. In particular, I utilise Bourdieu's theory of field and symbolic capital and explore the influences of power. Chapter nine seeks to place the cases within a broader social context and draw out some implications.. Finally, chapter ten offers some concluding remarks.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review begins by discussing key terms. I discuss Social Inclusion in detail as a key research theme. I outline how Social Inclusion does not have a clear definition and how it is often conflated with other concepts. Various models for Social Inclusion are also outlined which further demonstrates the lack of clarity in defining inclusion. Drawing from all this, I outline how Social Inclusion was conceptualised in this project, recognising the importance of how participants construct and value Social Inclusion. Then, I describe how I understand cultural diversity, highlighting the importance of the individual in defining their experience of cultural diversity, rather than labelling them in a specific way.

The next two sections discuss research related to sport and social inclusion. The first provides an overview of three historic approaches in the literature. Importantly, I highlight gaps in each approach that informed my own approach. I conclude this section with how this evaluation shaped my own project. Next, I explore in detail the approach that is most similar

to mine: the (multi-)case study of initiatives in mainstream sport clubs. I collate and describe the important facilitators for promoting Social Inclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds in mainstream sport clubs that have been identified by this body of research.

The final two sections consider celebrations of cultural diversity, from the literature, as such celebrations are a key part of this research. There is no explicit research on celebrating culture in mainstream sport clubs. Thus, I begin by exploring more general contexts before narrowing in on sport. From this discussion, I outline why celebrations of culture are theoretically viable options to promote Social Inclusion. Then I work in the reverse logical order in the last section, discussing the mechanisms through which Social Inclusion may be promoted in sport and explain how cultural celebrations can work through them.

Social Inclusion

Social Inclusion: A Confused Concept

On the surface, Social Inclusion is a relatively simple concept. Most fundamentally, it refers to the capacity to equally participate and engage in aspects of social life that are central in one's society (J. Gray, 2000). Added to this should be sharing in and being able to exercise equal rights (Davey & Gordon, 2021). However, a consistent and comprehensive definition of Social Inclusion is elusive; it often goes undefined, ill-defined, or defined in relation to social exclusion, leaving it under-defined (Haudenhuyse, 2017; Schaillée et al., 2019). Thus, the lack of consistent conceptualisation of Social Inclusion reveals its complexity. In recent decades, scholars have presented several conceptualisations of Social Inclusion. A theoretical understanding of Social Inclusion is important to better promote it and will lead to higher quality sports for Social Inclusion initiatives (Schaillée et al., 2019).

As will be discussed, Social Inclusion is conflated with several other similar concepts (see below), which poses various difficulties for researching and referring to it. These similar

concepts can also be helpful for the study of Social Inclusion. To maintain these helpful contributions from literature on similar concepts, and to maintain the distinction between the concepts, it is important to have some way of distinguishing between them. I do this as follows. You will have noticed that when writing about social inclusion, I sometimes capitalise the letters, Social Inclusion. When I do so, it signifies that I am, or the literature is, discussing Social Inclusion specifically. This is specific Social Inclusion. When another concept is being drawn from, that has implications for Social Inclusion, I will use lower-case, social inclusion. This is general social inclusion. Additionally, I may just use the name of the concept the study uses (e.g. integration). Of course, this method has its limitations, but so would any other. I hope it helps all who read this to see more clearly through this fuzzy family of theory.

Social Inclusion: A Conflated Concept

Sport and related initiatives have been studied for their capacity to promote particular outcomes for people from culturally diverse backgrounds. Many of these outcomes consider how people relate to others in society. These include Social Inclusion, integration, acculturation, participation, and social/cultural capital. New concepts are also on the rise, receiving increasing scholarly attention. For some years, the concept of belonging has been increasing in popularity (Blachnicka-Ciacek & Trąbka, 2022; Robinson et al., 2019; Spaaij, 2015).[8] Recently, researching affect in sport is also becoming more popular with a recently published journal issue dedicating three articles to the subject (Spaaij et al., 2022).[9] Unfortunately, just

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[8] Some have proposed that belonging goes conceptually beyond integration (Nunn et al., 2022).

[9] The study of affect can be traced back to over a decade ago (Evers, 2010). Such a spread of potential outcomes from playing sport represent the complexity of the sporting experience, and thus the complexity of researching the sporting experience. In particular, the latter two, belonging and affect, represent fairly new areas of study with lots of possibilities. Unfortunately, it would be too great a task for this master's thesis to consider all these different outcomes of sport. This does represent a limitation (see Conclusions) as all these outcomes would be occurring during any sporting activity. Thus, to neglect them means not to tell the full picture. However, I was aware of them during data collection and they will be picked up again in the discussion for potential avenues for future research. Moreover, meaningful and important conclusions and suggestions around Social Inclusion can still be made and are offered in the thesis.

as Social Inclusion is poorly conceptualised, so too these concepts are often poorly conceptualised. Moreover, the meanings given to them by researchers often overlap, making it hard to distinguish what is unique about each concept. Thus, they are conflated. I will discuss two examples here: Inclusion and integration; and Inclusion and exclusion.[10]

The terms "integration" and "Inclusion" are a prime example. They are often used together in research articles without defining how they are distinct. For example, several times in one review, the authors mention "integration and social inclusion," suggesting some relationship but without defining how the terms are related (Spaaij, Broerse, et al., 2019, pp. 9, 10, 11, 14, 15). In their discussion on Social Inclusion, Schaillée et al. (2019, p. 888) also bring these terms "Social Inclusion or integration" together. While they spend much of their article discussing the concept of Social Inclusion, they do not explicitly discuss its relationship with integration. Thus, it is unclear how exactly they would distinguish between the two concepts.[11] Other Social Inclusion studies similarly use "integration" without defining its relationship to Social Inclusion (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022a; Bradbury, 2011). Others seem to use the terms almost interchangeably (Fox & Paradies, 2020).

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[10] While I believe two examples are enough to demonstrate my case, a third example is Inclusion and participation. Social Inclusion is also discussed in terms of participation. However, as their relationship is not clearly defined, these concepts can also become conflated. For example, R. P. Bailey and Angit (2022) argue that participation is a partial precondition of Social Inclusion. However, Fred Coalter (2007) argues the exact opposite, contending that Social Inclusion is a pre-condition of participation in many sporting contexts. However, neither author provides a thorough argument for their claims. B. McDonald and Spaaij (2021) bring it a step back, arguing that a sporting habitus is a pre-condition for both participation and Social Inclusion. Thus, a certain level of sporting skill is required to receive any benefits from sports programming.

In thinking about participation, scholars have described a spectrum with different types of participation. These range from non-participation, or manipulative participation, toward self-mobilisation and citizen agency. Each participation form has different purposes and value for organisations and participants (Cornwall, 2008). Thus, it is important to recognise that not all participation is necessarily good participation. One form of participation might lead to Social Inclusion, but others might ultimately perpetuate exclusion. This is important to consider when discussing how participation relates to Social Inclusion. Moreover, B. McDonald and Spaaij (2021) argue that thinking of inclusion in terms of participation is reductionistic. Rather, it ought to consider aspects of belonging and solidarity. Especially the latter which they characterise as "the development of something of a collective identity, of a willingness to sacrifice, and an expectation that others will sacrifice for you" (B. McDonald & Spaaij, 2021, p. 5).

[11] They promote DeLecua's (2013) model for Social Inclusion which is discussed below. Therein integration is a form of Inclusion.

However, some scholars highlight that they are indeed distinct concepts (R. P. Bailey & Angit, 2022; DeLuca, 2013). However, they disagree about how they are distinct. Some scholars argue that the conceptualisation of integration most often resembles assimilation, whereby people learn and embody the cultural norms of society, with accommodations potentially being made to aid this process (R. P. Bailey & Angit, 2022; DeLuca, 2013; Spaaij, Broerse, et al., 2019).[12] While this may be so, other scholars consider that to be an improper conceptualisation of integration. Agergaard (2018) describes how this portrayal of integration is not consistent with its etymology; integration refers to the constant change and intertwining of social actors and structures to form new wholes. This notion acknowledges integration as a two-way process that involves responsibility and action on the part of the integrators, unlike the popular classification as ultimately assimilative. Thus, she calls for a reconceptualisation of integration as a complex, mutual process. Berry (2017) presents one such positive reconceptualisation in acculturation theory.[13] In acculturation theory, integration occurs when people with different cultural backgrounds want to maintain their own culture but also interact with other cultures. Such an acculturation strategy is mediated by the "host" society and requires mutual accommodation to promote positive outcomes.[14]

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[12] Thus, R. P. Bailey and Angit (2022) place integration along a spectrum of forms of engagement that culminates in Inclusion, which is the idealistic form. Thus, they imply that integration is a weak attempt at Inclusion. They argue that Inclusion moves beyond the integration of different, and marginalised groups into mainstream society. For them, Inclusion focuses on how people are included through equitable processes. DeLuca (2013) also places integration within a continuum of Inclusion, suggesting it is a less ideal form of Inclusion.

[13] Acculturation relates to the cultural and psychological changes that take place when there is contact between cultures. Acculturation theory describes four acculturation strategies for cultural contact. These are determined by one's position on two issues that form a matrix. The first issue is one's relation to maintaining their own cultural identity. The second is their preference for contact with other cultural groups. Marginalisation is on one extreme, where one neither wants to maintain their culture nor interact with others. Integration is on the other extreme, where one wants to maintain their cultural identity and interact with others.

[14] Studies that use integration within this model use it more consistently and understandably. One such study was conducted by Stura (2019) and describes how migrants experienced integration on two levels. First, she discusses their integration into club life, followed by the clubs' contribution to their integration into society more broadly. Thus, in this context, integration is a positive process that describes the maintenance of one's cultural values and contact with other cultural groups, facilitated through mutual accommodations, change, and responsibility.

Second, Social Inclusion is conflated as the opposite of social exclusion. Indeed, it is often defined by its relationship with social exclusion (Haudenhuyse, 2017). Although it is important to acknowledge the relationship between social exclusion and Inclusion, it is overly simplistic to define them as opposites. A lack of exclusion does not necessarily translate into Social Inclusion (Spaaij, Magee, et al., 2014). Similarly, a lack of Social Inclusion does not necessarily mean one is being excluded. Thus, it is important to consider the degree to which "promoting Social Inclusion and combatting social exclusion [are] two sides of the same coin" (Schaillée et al., 2019, p. 888). However, to date, it seems that there is no comprehensive discussion on their relationship. Even authors that acknowledge this seem to conflate the concepts. Schaillée et al. (2019, p. 888) mention that there are "different, yet overlapping conceptualizations of [Social Inclusion]… (Bailey 2008; Collins and Kay 2014; Spaaij et al. 2014)." However, when these references are followed up, only the reference to Bailey has an explicit discussion on Social Inclusion. The other two references are explicitly about social exclusion. Thus, in discussing the conflation of Social Inclusion and exclusion, the authors make the same mistake that they are critiquing. Such a discussion on the relationship between Social Inclusion and exclusion would be difficult as both concepts are complex, contested, and (at least in the case of exclusion) contextual (Spaaij, Magee, et al., 2014).

One suggestion is that social inclusion and exclusion are not mutually exclusive, but rather "every social community is by definition characterised by setting social borders between included and excluded" (Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2018, p. 812). Thus, total inclusion is not desirable because it causes one to lose their individuality (Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2018). While the authors do not continue, this is presumably because there is nothing to distinguish one from another which is a social value of theirs. This also questions the assumed norms that inclusion is good and exclusion is bad. If both are necessary to maintain one's individuality, they must both have positive elements.

Considering all this, researchers must define their terms, especially considering the contested meanings of all the concepts discussed thus far. To this I now turn, as I explore the current models for Social Inclusion in the literature.

Models of Social Inclusion: A Complex Concept

In recent decades, Social Inclusion has been conceptualised in a variety of ways. Moreover, this has occurred in a variety of contexts, including politics, education, and sport. The models in each sphere have their merit and are applicable to sport in various ways. Moreover, although they are different models, there are commonalities between them in content and structure. For one, many consider the impact of power on Social Inclusion. Another common feature is to provide a continuum for Social Inclusion. Most writers present an ideal for Social Inclusion, compared with non-ideal or exclusive alternatives. Several consider identity and how that impacts Inclusive practice. The number of models, and differences between them, reveal the complexity of Social Inclusion. What lies ahead is a summary of various models for Social Inclusion that I have found, a discussion on the value they add to conceptualising Social Inclusion, and how they relate to the other models. Finally, I conclude by summing up and reflecting on moving forward with considerations on how each model of Social Inclusion contributed to this project.

In the political sphere, Angus Stewart (2000) created a matrix model with two axes. The first is the basis for social order, focusing on social contracts, or social compacts. The former emphasises individual, contractual relationships, while the latter emphasises community-based relationships where rights and obligations are agreed upon. The second axis is the model for political praxis, focusing on justice or promoting the good life. The former seeks to address inequalities based on income, work, gender, ethnicity, etc. The latter focuses on the empowerment of ethical communities to live by their ethical standards. Stewart labels four forms of Social Inclusion based on their adherence to these axes. He considers the ideal form

of Social Inclusion to be the Inclusive Society. This involves a social compact basis for social order, whereby political processes of Social Inclusion involve pursuing common purposes and sharing in discussion regarding collective rights and obligations. It has a political praxis of justice, seeking equality of opportunity to participate in determining those purposes, rights, and obligations.

A. Stewart's (2000) first axis concerns power. That is, who determines values, rights, and obligations, and how they are enforced. The second concerns what is important in determining Social Inclusion: identity, or fair redistribution of opportunity and outcome. Stewart argues that a social compact, with a less hierarchical power structure, is ideal. Other models support this. However, while Stewart focuses on justice as an ideal, rather than ethical conceptions of the good life, others favour a more targeted approach at the individual level.[15]

Richard P. Bailey (2005), drawing on the work of several other sociologists, conceptualises four dimensions of Social Inclusion for physical education. The dimensions are spatial, relational, functional, and power. Social Inclusion as spatial relates to the reduction in social and economic space between groups. As relational, it is concerned with promoting belonging and acceptance among and between groups. The functional dimension relates to increasing knowledge, skills, and understanding of all groups fairly. Finally, considering the power dimension, Social Inclusion should consider how control is distributed and operable among and between groups.

Thus, a thorough consideration of Social Inclusion concerns more than just being afforded the same level of access to an event. For example, equal time on the playing field is one, spatial dimension of Social Inclusion. But players may differ in how they are included relationally, with some players receiving increased attention on and off the field. The same

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[15] See Christian DeLuca's (2013) framework below, and the discussion on the capabilities approach in the conclusion of this subsection.

can be said of functional and power dimensions with some players being excluded from some learning opportunities and the ability to lead in training sessions or games respectively.

R. P. Bailey's (2005) model is helpful because it gives categories to consider when thinking about Social Inclusion. While people might tend to narrow in on the spatial elements of Social Inclusion, the other dimensions are important and broaden the possibilities for evaluating and improving Inclusive practice. Thus, the model is functional, having quite obvious applications for practice. A point of difference with R. P. Bailey's model is that power is a singular category, rather than a fundamental axis, as in Stewart's model. Others also consider power as an overarching factor in their models of Social Inclusion. We will now consider one such model.

Again in the context of education, Christopher DeLuca (2013) seeks to provide an interdisciplinary conceptualisation of Inclusion. He is concerned with the prevalence of ambiguous definitions and guidelines for practice. His interdisciplinary approach seeks to draw from conceptualisations for different kinds of difference. That is, he draws from literature relating to different kinds of marginalised groups, based on race, ability, sexuality, and gender. Importantly for this paper, his conceptualisation places Social Inclusion on a continuum. Thus, he acknowledges the "historical, existing, and idealistic educational practices and structures allowing for the identification and position of various responses to diversity." (DeLuca, 2013, p. 308).

DeLuca (2013) provides four categories of Social Inclusion responses to difference along a continuum. The continuum contains two aspects. First, each response has a particular understanding of identity, from more dualistic, to more complex understandings. Second, each response has a different relationship to power. One end of the continuum contains a unicentric power relationship where there is one clear dominant group. There are then multicentric power

relationships, moving toward concentric power relationships where there are no distinct dominant groups.

Like Stewart's (2000) political model, DeLuca's (2013) education model is based on responses to two issues, one of which relates to power. The other is a little different in that it focuses on responses to identity, rather a decision between identity and justice. Thus, there is a point of difference in the ideals of these two models. Stewart's ideal focuses on justice, while DeLuca's ideal emphasises the complexity of individual identity and what can be learnt through the collaboration of people with different identities. Moreover, DeLuca's model cannot be placed on a matrix because a concentric power relationship seems to be incompatible with a dualistic notion of identity.[16] Finally, both Stewart and DeLuca seem to agree that a non-hierarchical power structure is preferable.

DeLuca's (2013) recognition of different existing practices for responding to diversity is important. Beyond theoreticians, practitioners are bound to have different understandings of Social Inclusion, and of the value of the different kinds of Social Inclusion. This raises two issues for those studying and conceptualising Social Inclusion. First, they ought to consider the types of Social Inclusion operationalised by practitioners. Second, they ought to consider the value of each of these types of Social Inclusion. This means considering how people from different backgrounds and positions value the different kinds of Social Inclusion. In a mental health context, marginalised people have questioned the value of inclusion, especially when notions of assimilation are evident. Others outright reject its value altogether (Davey & Gordon, 2021). Thus, the value of Social Inclusion ought to be critically explored.[17] Consequently, researchers should theorise and argue for the value of each kind of Social

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[16] Or, at least, DeLuca did not find an example of these being joined together.
[17] This is addressed further later in this section.

Inclusion. DeLuca (2013) suggests that the transgressive end of his continuum is ideal but provides only a few initial reasons for why that might be so, without a detailed defence of it.[18]

Eric Legg and Erika Karner (2021) conceptualise Social Inclusion based on the results of their study on the volunteer experiences of minority "people of colour" and the LGBTQI+ community in a national sports governing body. Utilising socio-ecological theory (SET), they place participant experiences into four major systems of influence—individual, interpersonal, organisational, and community—creating themes within each system based on common experiences. Within each of these themes, experiences could either promote or hinder Social Inclusion. Thus, they map this data onto a continuum to describe inclusive and non-inclusive aspects of organisations.

While Legg and Karner (2021) acknowledge that Social Inclusion falls onto a continuum, it is a different kind of continuum from the one conceptualised by DeLuca; theirs describes individual factors that either promote or hinder Social Inclusion, whereas DeLuca describes different ways of Including. Moreover, similar to R. P. Bailey's (2005) description of many dimensions, these authors describe many levels. However, again, they are of a different kind. Legg and Karner, with their SET model, focus on different contexts/settings within which their volunteers can face positive or negative Inclusionary forces. Rather than settings, R. P. Bailey's dimensions consider capacities/domains in which one can be Included.[19] Additionally, this makes Legg and Karner's model useful in a similar way to R. P. Bailey's. It provides specific categories to consider and concrete examples that promote and hinder Social

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[18] He argues, "Thus the transgressive conception empowers difference and leverages it for learning about the self, others, and the world. Such an education opens toward a state of possibility and a letting go of the predetermined, narrow curriculum. Learning is directed by complicated and personal conversations and is shaped by students' subjective ways of knowing. In leveraging principles of social justice and equal power sharing, the transgressive conception may be difficult to attain in practice, especially in a systemic fashion; however, it may be used as an idealistic benchmark for inclusion and one that educators and research may continue to work toward." (DeLuca, 2013, p. 335-336)

[19] Thus, each of Legg and Karner's levels could be divided into four to consider R. P. Bailey's dimensions, and vice versa.

Inclusion in each category. Thus, it broadens the horizons of what can be explored when evaluating or improving Inclusive practice.

Finally, there are several other models that overlap with the previously discussed models in various ways. Recently, R. P. Bailey and Angit (2022) have conceptualised Social Inclusion in a new way.[20] Ultimately, they draw very heavily from DeLuca (2013) and his sources, without adding very much. However, they have applied their framework to the promotion of healthy lifestyles, showing their confidence in the transferability of much of DeLuca's model to exercise, and perhaps sports, contexts.[21] Qvortrup & Qvortrup (2018) describe three dimensions of Social Inclusion that need to be considered. While it is certainly a nuanced approach, each dimension overlaps with previously discussed models.[22] However, their third dimension is the most novel, arguing that people are rarely fully included or excluded in any particular area. Moreover, they argue that full Social Inclusion is not the goal but that both Social Inclusion and exclusion are worked out simultaneously and that experiencing the right balance is important to contribute to one's uniqueness as an individual.

Summing Up: Moving Forward

Social Inclusion is complex. Its definition is often assumed and is thus imprecisely defined. Moreover, it is not consistently defined between studies, often being conflated with other concepts—such as integration, participation, and exclusion—that also lack a consistent

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[20] It is new compared with R. P. Bailey's original four dimensions. For this conceptualisation they were drawn toward frameworks that present a continuum with an idealised end, or goal, of Inclusion. Thus, they present Inclusion as an end goal, that involves the deliberate reformation of present structures to provide high quality and equitable experiences to everyone, based on their personal needs and preferences. They outline five methods of promoting engagement along the continuum. Beginning from the least ideal end, they are: Exclusion, Segregation, Integration, Recognition, and Inclusion.

[21] A final difference with DeLuca's model, is that while DeLuca considers all four of his categories as strategies of Inclusion, R. P. Bailey and Angit only acknowledge Inclusion as an inclusive response—whereas the other responses are different "forms of engagement" (p.12).

[22] Here is a brief summary of the overlaps. The first dimension, "levels of inclusion," overlaps with R. P. Bailey's (2005) dimensions of inclusion. Their second dimension, "arenas of inclusion," and their third, "Degrees of Inclusion" overlaps with Legg and Karner's (2021) SET model.

definition. Amidst the complexity, it is important for researchers to define how they conceptualise and understand Social Inclusion in their research. I have tried to do just this.

This complexity makes it questionable whether any conceptualisation of Social Inclusion is comprehensive. DeLuca (2013) agrees regarding his own conceptualisation. He acknowledges that his framework is designed from and for educational settings. Additionally, he considers a need for more research to validate his framework and contribute to its theoretical underpinnings, acknowledging that the framework is not yet comprehensive.

Because of the complexity of Social Inclusion, research ought to go beyond considering if Social Inclusion occurred based on one of these models. Rather, it should draw from these models to identify the kinds of Social Inclusion that occurred.[23] Moreover, research should endeavour to involve more than a simple comparison between these models and a particular case. Rather, it should consider how Social Inclusion is itself constructed by the participants. This subjective element has been identified as an important consideration regarding Social Inclusion in a mental health context (Davey & Gordon, 2021). Finally, it is important to understand the value that participants apply to Social Inclusion practices. Emphasising how the individual values "Inclusive" practices and how it aids them in achieving ends that are valuable to them, is core to the capabilities approach (Robeyns, 2005).[24]

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[23] To summarise, research should consider whether the basis for Social Inclusion is contractual and hierarchical, or community based, and whether it was defined in terms of justice or the good life (Stewart, 2000). It should consider the dimensions that people are included in, whether spatial, relational, functional, or power-related (R. Bailey, 2005). It should consider how identity is constructed in relation to Social Inclusion and how power is distributed in the process of Social Inclusion (DeLuca, 2013). Finally, it should consider the levels—individual, interpersonal, organisational, and community—of actions and structures and whether they promote or hinder Social Inclusion (Legg & Karner, 2021)

[24] Such an approach has been offered as an alternative in sport and social inclusion research, as it goes beyond a common Bourdieusian approach that considers capital and habitus within a field. The field is a limiting structure that can hinder some from realising personal inclusion goals, while enabling others. This is because different people value aspects of inclusion differently, and the field constrains the type of inclusion outcomes that are possible (Acharki & Spaaij, 2021). While the models outlined above tend to prescribe what Social Inclusion is, or how it is achieved, this approach centralises the individual, acknowledging that each will value different aspects of Social Inclusion.

In my research, while I initially sought to adopt such an approach, due to time and data collection constraints, and the way the research cases unfolded, I was unable to do so. Thus, Social Inclusion is included as a (non-central) part of the thesis. I mainly draw from the models of Social Inclusion to consider the kinds of Social Inclusion that occurred (rather than consider the clubs' constructions and evaluations of Social Inclusion). However, I believe such an approach is important to be promoted and has not been done in such a comprehensive way as I have done here. Thus, I have kept the depth of this section (see Conclusion for more detail).

Cultural Diversity

Cultural diversity is also an elusive concept in scholarly discourse. Indeed, common language and terms that refer to the cultural background of people are used imprecisely and often conflated with one another. This is true of forced migration research in sociology (Spaaij, Broerse, et al., 2019). It is also true of cultural diversity research in sociology (T. Taylor, 2004). And, it applies to psychological research (Godfrey et al., 2020). Sociologists have a large vocabulary to describe various aspects of cultural diversity, which have all found wide-spread usage. There have been literature reviews on forced migration and sport (Middleton et al., 2020; Spaaij, Broerse, et al., 2019). One literature review addresses migrant integration through sport (R. Smith et al., 2019). Another considers culturally and linguistically diverse migrants and sports participation (O'Driscoll et al., 2014). Some studies consider asylum seekers (Dukic et al., 2017). Others consider refugees (Mohammadi, 2019). Some involve both (Stone, 2018). Several studies focus on either, or both, of multiculturalism and interculturalism (Baker-Lewton et al., 2016; Müller et al., 2008; Stokke & Lybæk, 2018). Some consider specific national groups (Guerin et al., 2003; Robinson et al., 2019). And others open themselves up to an entire continent (Truskewycz et al., 2022). Clearly, just as Social Inclusion is, cultural diversity is complex, with various ways to classify cultural diversity.

However, I believe these classification systems are somewhat inadequate. Cultural diversity is fluid, being experienced and understood differently by different people; two people from non-western, non-Australian cultural backgrounds might experience cross-cultural encounters in Australia vastly differently (Truskewycz et al., 2022). Thus, it is important to allow participants to define how they experience cultural diversity for themselves (Doidge et al., 2020; Spaaij, Broerse, et al., 2019). For example, differences in how people from the same cultural background experience Australian culture can be seen in a Somali community soccer club. The secretary of the club demonstrates an advanced level of familiarity with Australian cultural systems, having been highly educated and proficient in English. However, few people in the club share this cultural capital; they have limited opportunities because of their limited cultural capital and require the assistance of others. Therefore, the secretary is often involved in helping others in his community with education, and administrative tasks (Spaaij, 2012).

Moreover, one's experience of cultural diversity changes over time. New arrivals might feel isolated and alienated initially but eventually become involved and included in such a way that they help other new arrivals (Agergaard et al., 2022). What is important in this research is how each participant's cultural heritage affects their Social Inclusion in the club, whether experiencing celebrations of their, or another's, culture promotes Social Inclusion, and what kind of Social Inclusion it promotes. By promoting the agency of participants in this way, the semantic baggage of politicised and traditional terminology can be partly avoided to focus on people's own perceptions, identity, and experiences (Doidge et al., 2020). In this way, participants can shape their identity as they take on new cultural practices while adapting them based on their own cultural heritage (Agergaard et al., 2022).

Sport, Social Inclusion, and Cultural Diversity Research

Having discussed key terms related to this research and their complexities in the research enterprise, attention can be turned to how they are studied in the context of sport. This section will explore the research approaches that have been utilised in studying sport, social inclusion, and cultural diversity. I summarise three basic approaches.[25] I briefly outline each approach, provide a selective evaluation of their strengths, and weaknesses, and highlight important gaps relevant to my research project. It is important to acknowledge that each of these approaches are beneficial in certain contexts. However, I believe that for the context of my research, these approaches are lacking. Thus, I highlight the strengths, but also the gaps, of these approaches and how they have shaped the emphases of my own research approach.

Surveying Mainstream Sports Clubs

Many studies have considered the attitudes of those in mainstream sports clubs. Some of these primarily consider those from culturally diverse backgrounds (Cortis, 2009; T. Taylor, 2004; Walseth, 2008). Others emphasise the leaders in mainstream sports clubs (Hanlon & Coleman, 2006; Spaaij, Farquharson, et al., 2014; Spaaij, Lusher, et al., 2019; T. Taylor, 2001). These studies primarily utilise interviews and focus groups for their methods. Some studies utilise surveys and provide statistical analyses (Hanlon & Coleman, 2006; Spaaij, Lusher, et al., 2019). These kinds of studies are the basis for the sociological critique of using sport to promote social inclusion. They demonstrate that many clubs do not consider promoting cultural diversity to be a priority and that many barriers prevent mainstream sports clubs from

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[25] Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) could also be considered as a fourth approach. However, two considerations have led to its exclusion. First, SDP focuses on development and peace, rather than cultural diversity specifically. Thus, there is much SDP research on non-culturally diverse groups that would be irrelevant to this study. Second, SDP research that considers culturally diverse groups, is generally located in the "global south" because of their relative social and economic disadvantage (For more on SDP see Collison et al., 2019).

doing so (Spaaij, Farquharson, et al., 2014; T. Taylor, 2001). Moreover, exploring participant experiences reveal that those from culturally diverse backgrounds often struggle to be included in mainstream sports clubs because of established cultural norms that they are either uncomfortable with, or may clash with their own cultural traditions (Cortis, 2009; T. Taylor, 2004; Walseth, 2008).

Positively, these studies focus on the actual experiences of participants in sport clubs. They reveal the perspective of leaders in clubs concerning cultural diversity and social inclusion and they recount the experiences of those from culturally diverse backgrounds. Moreover, their research site is mainstream sports clubs. Thus, they can critique the inclusive nature of the club. Negatively, considering my own research context, interviews and focus groups are retrospective techniques, collecting data based on previous experiences, rather than with participants in their natural social context. Moreover, the attitudes of people from different cultural groups and positions within the club are always separated, rather than explored in communication or interaction with one another. Finally, these studies are only diagnostic and do not provide evidence-based guidelines for improvement.

From this brief evaluation, I will raise three gaps relevant for my own research approach. The following approaches discussed will then expand on these gaps. First, regarding the setting of research, this approach does research with but not in sport clubs, using data collected retrospectively, rather than in the natural social context of the participants. Second, regarding the data collection process, this approach separates the perspectives of those from different cultures and positions within the club, rather than in interaction with one another. Thus, there is no data on how people in a club communicate horizontally, across cultures, or vertically, across positions of authority and power within the clubs. Third, regarding research outputs, since this research is diagnostic, it cannot provide much in the way of practical guidance

change. While these gaps are not necessarily weaknesses in the context of the original research, they present insufficiencies for addressing the aims of my research in its context.

Ethnocentric Initiatives

Since mainstream sports clubs have, as a generalisation, historically been places of social exclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds, it makes sense that many ethnocentric initiatives have been developed to address this deficiency. A growing body of sociological literature considers these ethnocentric initiatives.[26] Many of these studies are particularly focussed on those from forced migration backgrounds (Middleton et al., 2020; Spaaij, Broerse, et al., 2019). Some of these use similar methods to the previous approach. Meanwhile, some use ethnographic methodologies (Dukic et al., 2017; Spaaij, 2012). Others use Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodologies (Robinson et al., 2019). There is also a growing body of literature doing and discussing (P)AR methodologies (Spaaij et al., 2022). This research approach tends to be more conceptually rigorous. For example, several authors explore social capital, including Bourdieusian notions of social capital and/or field to consider their outcomes comprehensively (Dukic et al., 2017; Mohammadi, 2019; Spaaij, 2012).

Evaluating this approach in relation to my own research context, it ism positively, more comprehensive in its analysis. The in-depth methodologies capture something of the participants' actual experience through proactive (rather than retrospective) methods; observations and discussions with people in their natural social context. Moreover, it situates findings firmly within the social context and structures that is being studied. Negatively, it does not occur in the mainstream sport club context. Thus, it is uncertain how findings relate

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[26] As used elsewhere, ethnocentric here means: a focus on a particular cultural group or groups within and mostly separated from a population (Middleton et al., 2020; T. Taylor, 2004).

or apply to a mainstream context. Additionally, it rarely considers the creation or evaluation process, limiting the scope of a study on a temporal axis.

The evaluation of this approach can extend the understanding of the first two gaps in the literature from the first approach and add a unique, fourth gap for consideration. First, regarding the research setting, this approach demonstrates the value of collecting data within the natural social context of sport clubs, rather than from a purely external perspective. Second, regarding data collection, this research is conducted in ethnocentric contexts, reducing the possibility of cross-cultural interactions. Thus, it is important to do research in the mainstream context to observe and collect data on such interactions. The fourth, unique gap raised by this approach relates to the time scale of research. This approach primarily conducts research in already established initiatives, foregoing the design and evaluation processes of the initiative. This is a temporally limiting feature that reduces the possible depth for analysis and discussion.

Mainstream (Multi-)Case Study

The final approach bridges a gap between the previous two by exploring initiatives to promote social inclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds in mainstream sports clubs. However, such studies make up a minority of the literature. Often they are multi-case analyses (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Michelini et al., 2018; Michelini & Burrmann, 2021; Nowy et al., 2020; B. J. Smith et al., 2016; Spaaij et al., 2023; Stura, 2019; Tuchel et al., 2021).[27] Uniquely, Mark Doidge et al. (2020) and Blomqvist Mickelsson (2022a) consider single, mainstream sport clubs that have been involved in initiatives for refugees. The former is based

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[27] Within this group, the study by R. Spaaij et al. (2023) is unique as it begins before initiatives in clubs have started, and reflects on the process of helping clubs to identify where they can promote inclusion and address exclusion. The study by Blomqvist Mickelsson (2022b) is also unique in that it does not address a particular initiative but draws from sports clubs actively involved in migrant youth engagement. Four of the studies address the same context; German, government funded programs in response to the "refugee crisis" in Europe. Another is from Germany, two are from Australia, and one is from Sweden.

in the UK and had very positive outcomes during the study, while the latter was based in Sweden with a program that did not seem to meet its expectations. These studies reiterate challenges from the first approach but, uniquely, identify aspects of initiatives that created positive outcomes. Similarly to the first approach, they mostly use retrospective interviews and focus groups, collecting data out of the natural context of the initiative.

Positively, these studies explore both the mainstream sports context and initiatives designed to promote inclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds. Thus, through their analysis, they provide guidance for future initiatives that is more readily applicable to mainstream sports clubs than guidance derived from ethnocentric initiatives. Negatively, due to their multi-case nature, they lack depth in the description of any particular outcome or the context of any particular initiative. Moreover, this lack of depth makes it harder to identify similar initiatives and contexts and thus to apply their guidance to them.

In relation to my research, the understanding of the three gaps from the first approach can be extended from the evaluation of this approach. Regarding the settings of research, this approach demonstrates the importance of doing research in mainstream sports clubs to evaluate, and provide guidance for future, initiatives. However, it is still not embedded in the club for data collection, primarily using retrospective data collection methods. Regarding the data collection, as with the other approaches, this approach separates the interactions and opinions of culturally and positionally different people in sports programs, reducing the depth of analysis regarding the contribution of the initiative to social inclusion. Finally, regarding research outputs, this approach does provide guidance for future initiatives, however, they are limited in depth because of the breadth of the research design. Thus, it is important to do in-depth research into particular initiatives to provide comprehensive guidance for future initiatives.

Addressing the Gaps

In summary, a review of three predominant approaches to sport and cultural diversity research reveal four areas lacking in research approaches relevant for this research. First, while research has historically been set either within mainstream sports clubs (approach 1 and 3), or embedded in ethnocentric initiatives (approach 2), this research sought to bring them together by researching cultural diversity initiatives in mainstream sport clubs. The research was also embedded in the initiatives themselves, exploring them with proactive methods (like approach 2). Second, while research has historically separated the perspectives of people from different cultures and positions within clubs (approaches 1, 2 and 3), this research collected data as participants were interacting cross-culturally and cross-positionally. Third, while research has historically provided few meaningful guidelines (approach 1), guidelines for non-mainstream contexts (approach 2), or shallow guidelines (approach 3) for future practice, this thesis dedicated a whole chapter to consider guidelines for future practice. Finally, to provide comprehensive depth, data was collected during both the design and evaluation of initiatives.

Promoting Inclusion in Mainstream Sports Clubs

While the previous section considered research approaches broadly, this section narrows in on the final approach and explore research that has applications for promoting Social Inclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds in mainstream sport clubs. The role of coaches and leaders, engaging the broader community, being intentional, and curating the social environment is considered. I also briefly mention some minor themes in the literature.

Coaches and Leaders

Engaging cultural groups requires the commitment and effort of coaches and leaders within a club (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Doidge et al., 2020; Michelini & Burrmann, 2021).

Doidge et al. (2020) argue for the role that coaches play in promoting social inclusion in detail. Since they already have a moderating role in a club, they are well placed to promote social inclusion, break down barriers between and moderate power dynamics between groups. Consequently, training coaches in inclusive practice has positively contributed to sport for inclusion initiatives (Doidge et al., 2020; B. J. Smith et al., 2016). When coaches adapt their training style to accommodate for cultural and linguistic needs, cultural groups are more engaged (Stura, 2019; Tuchel et al., 2021). Social inclusion is promoted when coaches balance fun and seriousness and when inappropriate coaching is called out (Doidge et al., 2020). Sport for social inclusion programs also rely on leaders other than coaches in the club who are motivated to promote inclusion (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Michelini et al., 2018). These leaders need to be compassionate for, and embedded in, their community—actively engaged with it. Moreover, those who possess cultural capital for engaging cultural groups, and liaising with government and sporting authorities, are more successful in engaging cultural groups and organising activities for them (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Michelini & Burrmann, 2021). Finally, having a fixed personal contact, or mentor, within the club is thought to promote engagement in a refugee context (Michelini & Burrmann, 2021; Stura, 2019).

Several other considerations were noted regarding the character of club leaders. Coaches and leaders who provided activities for cultural groups were often motivated by social obligation (B. J. Smith et al., 2016; Stura, 2019). Such leaders were more likely to persevere through challenges (B. J. Smith et al., 2016). Spaaij et al. (2023) describe a similar "critical consciousness" that can develop in these leaders when working with a research team to identify areas in their club that promote exclusion. This could also produce a motivation to change and accompanying transformative action.

Many leaders noted that engaging with refugees caused people to develop more positive attitudes toward them (Stura, 2019; Tuchel et al., 2021). Stura (2019) notes that people learnt

from refugees, developed more "cosmopolitan" attitudes, and became more open, humble, and self-aware. She also notes that children learnt from refugees too. Thus, she argues that coaches should play a role in promoting mutual learning, from host to refugee, and refugee to host.

Finally, although difficult to do, it has been considered important to recruit leaders from culturally diverse backgrounds (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Michelini et al., 2018; Spaaij et al., 2023). Moreover, they should be involved in, given responsibility, and authority to organise programmes for their peers (Michelini & Burrmann, 2021). Refugees have organised successful programs for refugees with some assistance from the club (Michelini et al., 2018). Sine Agergaard et al., (2022) describe the experiences of four refugees who had successfully taken on volunteer roles at sports clubs.[28] The refugees believed that such a role was helpful for their families to integrate into Danish society. Moreover, they were able to expand their role to better suit their cultural values and practices. Thus, engaging leaders from culturally diverse backgrounds benefited both clubs and leaders. Finally, young, migrant leaders have been successfully recruited by supporting them in developing a sense of belonging to, ownership of, and decision-making for the club (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b).

Engaging the Broader Community

Engaging the broader community can occur on several levels. First, in the context of youth and children, engaging parents of culturally diverse children is important. It requires specific cultural capital and a willingness to be accommodating to build their trust and engagement with the club and its leaders (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b). Second, engaging leaders (especially those skilled in the sport of the club) within the community of the target group can increase

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[28] While this study does not take the approach of exploring initiatives in mainstream sports clubs (rather, it is closer to the survey in mainstream sports clubs model) it provides valuable, in-depth information about the experiences of refugee leaders in sports clubs, which was considered valuable for this section.

trust and responsiveness to a project (B. J. Smith et al., 2016). This can be done effectively by refugees who are well acquainted with the club (Agergaard et al., 2022). Third, partnering with other organisations or research teams can also help engage culturally diverse populations (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Michelini et al., 2018; B. J. Smith et al., 2016; Spaaij et al., 2023). While clubs have skills in running sporting activities, these external organisations have knowledge and resources to recruit people from culturally diverse communities (B. J. Smith et al., 2016). Schools, religious organisations, and state sporting organisations have all been identified as important to engage with. However, state sporting organisations can be difficult to deal with, and require certain cultural capital to access their resources (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Michelini & Burrmann, 2021). Finally, club representatives can also visit local refugee accommodations to recruit people (Michelini et al., 2018; Stura, 2019).[29]

Being Intentional

Success in programs that engage people from diverse cultures requires intentionality—hard work and dedication from those running the program (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Doidge et al., 2020; Michelini et al., 2018). It is not enough to adopt a welcoming posture to attract people from culturally diverse backgrounds (particularly refugees) to a club (Michelini et al., 2018). Program organisers and facilitators need strong improvisational and organisational skills (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Michelini & Burrmann, 2021; Tuchel et al., 2021). Programs need to target the needs and preferences of the target group (Stura, 2019; Tuchel et al., 2021). A needs assessment before planning an initiative can be helpful for this (Stura,

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[29] Jacqueline Tuchel et al. (2021) describe a unique method of community engagement that was reliant on the organisation of a German sports governing body. They hired a facility in a central location and invited clubs to join a roster to provide activities for refugees. This provided great opportunities for refugees and reduced the burden on individual clubs as they could participate as much as they were able. However, it was hard to design programs for the heterogenous groups of fluctuating weekly numbers with poor German language skills. Moreover, it was hard for clubs to develop relationships with refugees due to the transient nature of the program.

2019). Finally, it is important to intentionally build trust and confidence with the target group (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022b; Stura, 2019). It is also important to develop a sense of community between all those involved in the club (Tuchel et al., 2021). Spaaij et al. (2023) describe how some of their participants came to perceive the need to promote Social Inclusion in various areas of their club during their study. This was facilitated by their participatory action research design which involved education about inclusive and exclusive practice. This implies that a level of intentionality is required in even identifying a need to promote Social Inclusion. Doidge et al. (2020) describe an exemplar club for inclusion. Ultimately, they conclude that the club is successful because inclusion is at the core of their ethos. Because of this inclusive ethos, inclusive practice comes naturally and thus is a core their club's actions.

Curating the Social Environment

The social environment of a club is important for its ability to promote Social Inclusion. A generally welcoming environment is inclusive to everyone, regardless of their background. Such an environment promotes a sense of belonging to those who attend (Doidge et al., 2020). When the social environment focuses on fun, rather than competitiveness, people from culturally diverse backgrounds are more likely to engage (Doidge et al., 2020; Tuchel et al., 2021). This kind of social environment can be curated by encouraging a positive atmosphere, having fun social spaces, and car-pooling arrangements that promote social interactions such as a club minibus (Doidge et al., 2020). Many initiatives have found informality and flexibility to be important in engaging culturally diverse groups. This is especially the case for groups prone to non-attendance (B. J. Smith et al., 2016). It is also important when the size of a group is prone to fluctuation over time and when it is heterogenous in age, gender, ability etc. (Tuchel et al., 2021). One study on refugees found that initially running separate activities for refugees, while they developed their language skills and physical ability, was helpful for integrating them into a club's regular offerings in the long-term (Tuchel et al., 2021). Doidge et al. (2020) make

several observations about how the club they studied promoted an inclusive social environment: actively greeting new people, giving them a tour, involving them in activities, asking them to put a pin in a map of where they are from and where they live now. All of these promoted an inclusive social environment. Moreover, they found that the club's "refugees welcome" sign, and having flags that represent the club's diversity promoted an inclusive social environment. However, a barrier to promoting such an environment is entrenched norms within a club such as alcohol consumption. Finally, it is also important to engage newcomers in social activities beyond the sport of the club (Stura, 2019).

Minor Themes

A few minor themes are also worth mentioning. Emphasising one's identity as a club member, rather than essentialising their cultural identity can promote social inclusion and also be a measure of success (Doidge et al., 2020; Stura, 2019). Successful and sustainable initiatives targeted a specific population (Michelini et al., 2018; B. J. Smith et al., 2016). They also engaged a small number of people (Stura, 2019). Part of the reason for this is because initiatives for these target groups are considered very difficult (Michelini et al., 2018; B. J. Smith et al., 2016). This is especially the case because of a lack of human resources (Michelini et al., 2018; Nowy et al., 2020). Financial needs could be met through second-hand or subsidised uniforms (B. J. Smith et al., 2016; Tuchel et al., 2021). Donations of equipment or fees were also helpful in this regard (Tuchel et al., 2021). Targeting groups within walking or biking distance of the club, helping people acquire a bicycle, and having a well organised car-pooling system also reduced the financial burden (B. J. Smith et al., 2016). Doidge et al. (2020) argue that by focussing on changing the club culture, clubs can be inclusive with little to no financial cost. Finally, B. J. Smith et al. (2016) acknowledge that initiatives can have underwhelming results. They found no evidence that incurring a loss to provide an introductory

period led to long-term engagement. Moreover, some seemingly successful initiatives did not lead to long-term engagement of the target group either.

Celebrating Culture

Having discussed how social inclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds has been promoted in mainstream sport clubs, it is important to consider how clubs attempted to do so in this study; namely, through celebrations of cultural diversity. Thus, it is important to consider how celebrations of culture are discussed in the literature. However, no research has been identified that explicitly does this in a sport club context. Therefore, cultural celebrations will be considered from more general considerations, moving toward the context of sport.

While celebrations of cultural diversity in sport have had little scholarly attention, there is a significant body of literature that explores them in the context of multicultural festivals. Lee et al. (2012), in their critical literature review, describe that celebrations cover a broad range of activities but are a core aspect of festivals. Celebrations aim to promote a positive affective response in those experiencing them and have the capacity to build a sense of community among culturally different people. McClinchey (2021) agrees that multicultural festivals can promote belonging, the development of social networks through bridging and bonding social capital, and developing a sense of place for festival exhibitors. For these exhibitors, this occurs through the preparation and performance of cultural practices, which provide an opportunity for cultural communication, education, and exchange. Arne Saeys (2021) outlines 3 aspects of emancipatory multicultural festivals that could thus promote Social Inclusion: (1) recognition of the celebrated culture as self-identified by the culture, (2) encounters between people from the celebrated culture and other cultures, and (3) redistribution of resources to deprived areas/groups. While research has demonstrated that (1) and (3) have occurred, observing cross-cultural mixing is rare (Lee et al., 2012; Saeys, 2021). However, as

mentioned, McClinchey (2021) seems to have observed this in her Canadian context through the production of bridging social capital.

The same seems to be true in multicultural sports festivals such as the Amsterdam World Cup (AWC). In the AWC, attendees have the opportunity to express and publicly negotiate their cultural identity (Burdsey, 2008). They present their culture, self-identifying themselves, rather than being labelled by others. However, few people report attending to encounter other cultures, even though this is a stated aim by the event organisers (Müller et al., 2008). Moreover, the event causes cross-cultural tension (Burdsey, 2008). This is also true of competitive sport in general (Dukic et al., 2017; Stura, 2019). Thus, such festivals also have the capacity to strengthen divisions and animosity between groups.[31]

While they do not explicitly consider celebrations of culture, Doidge et al. (2020) do explore some activities that, at least in part, celebrate culture. Their focus is on how the table tennis club that they explored created a welcoming environment for all. One such aspect involves having newcomers place a pin on a world map, showing where they are from, and a local map, showing where they live now. Another involves having various flags on the walls of the club. Those in the club speak positively of these actions and they are considered to help people develop a sense of belonging. According to Doidge et al. (2020, p. 313) the many cultural backgrounds in the club are "celebrated as a positive thing."[32]

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[31] Agergaard et al. (2022) briefly mention an activity in their study on refugee volunteers that extends such multicultural festival activities to sports clubs. Some of their participants were involved in organising cultural days where cultural groups could display their cultural practices and everyone from the club could interact. They mention that this can both be seen as positive and perpetuate dualistic notions of identity that ultimately marginalise the "different and possibly exotic" (p. 630) cultural groups.

[32] It is worth asking how this club relates to the three aspects of emancipatory multicultural festivals. However, only cautionary conclusions can be offered since the study did not seek to answer that question. Club members are able to self-identify their culture by placing a pin in a map on the wall, though it is unclear if they can place multiple pins, for multiple cultural identities. Otherwise, self-identified cultural recognition seems limited. The authors claim that there are regular social interactions between refugees and non-refugees in and out of the club. However, they only provide observational data for interactions during excursions organised by the club. They do not provide data on how resources may be redistributed, apart from the fact that the particular project being

Celebrating Culture, Social Inclusion, and Mutuality

The preceding discussion suggests that it is theoretically possible that celebrations of cultural diversity could promote Social Inclusion in mainstream sport clubs. This is supported by discussions of social inclusion, which work logically in the opposite direction, suggesting that social inclusion could be promoted by celebrations of cultural diversity. So, now I will discuss social inclusion, with a view to how it might be produced by celebrating culture.

One way that researchers have demonstrated the inclusive capacity of sport is through the possibility of experiencing sensations of cultural familiarity through it (Middleton et al., 2020). Many sports are international spectacles. Thus, people play the same sport in different countries and know about similar international sporting affairs. For example, asylum seekers from different countries could bond over their love of international soccer affairs (Dukic et al., 2017). The act of playing sport can, for some people, promote feelings of cultural familiarity, as they have pre-migration experience playing that sport (Dukic et al., 2017). Sports clubs have often been contexts for migrants to connect and maintain their cultural identity through social and cultural ties with others from their cultural community (Mosely, 1997). Additionally, sport can be an integral aspect of one's cultural identity as it is for many Maori people (Bergin, 2002). For others, they seek out familiar people to play with, or to be in their presence, whereby the presence of familiar people promotes cultural familiarity (Fox & Paradies, 2020; B. J. Smith et al., 2016; Whitley et al., 2016). Middleton et al. (2020) theorise that such cultural familiarity promotes an increased sense of security for people from culturally diverse backgrounds, enabling them to build trust in their community and more readily engage in it. The development of trust is important for the development of social capital for

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investigated is government funded, which by nature is most likely a redistribution of resources for the benefit of a disadvantaged group.

community-minded societies (Putnam, 2000). Thus, cultural celebrations have the potential to promote culturally diverse communities characterised by trust and engagement through promoting cultural familiarity. Although familiar people and games can promote cultural familiarity, no research has been identified that considers familiar cultural practices. Thus, it is worth considering how mainstream sport clubs can promote cultural familiarity by celebrating cultural practices to promote Social Inclusion for people from culturally diverse backgrounds.

Organising cultural celebrations lends itself to (and perhaps even necessitates) certain actions that have been demonstrated to promote inclusion. In a recent review, Spaaij, Broerse, et al. (2019) identify a few studies that meaningfully reflect on facilitators to inclusion in sports initiatives for forced migrants (a subset of cultural diversity). Some key areas include addressing the culture, needs, and context of the target group; developing intercultural competence in initiative facilitators; and giving decision-making power to the target group. While these facilitators were identified for a forced migration context, Smith et al. (2016) demonstrate that they have also been effective at promoting engagement of Indigenous, and culturally and linguistically diverse groups in Australian sports initiatives. Having staff that were knowledgeable about the cultural norms of the target group improved the perception of that group regarding the initiative. Moreover, cultural training was recognised as important activity for initiative facilitators. Several initiative providers also recognised a need to better understand the needs and desires of the specific culturally diverse group that they were trying to reach. It is reasonable that celebrating culture could include many of these facilitators and thus promote Social Inclusion.

This leads to a final consideration for celebrating cultural diversity to promote Social Inclusion. It is the importance of mutuality between groups. For such a celebration to be successful, with these facilitators in mind, it requires initiative from those trying to include

(Berry, 2017; Doidge et al., 2020; Stura, 2019). Indeed, as described by Saeys (2021), discussing emancipatory multicultural festivals, effective cultural celebrations require cross-cultural encounters. Moreover, scholars are beginning to highlight the process of social inclusion as a mutual process between those that are, and are not, included (Doidge et al., 2020; Schaillée et al., 2019). Naturally then, there must also be outcomes for the group that is trying to include.

Listening to, and interacting with, people from different cultures can facilitate a learning process that makes people more open to cultural diversity and helps them develop stronger social bonds with culturally different people (Middleton et al., 2020; Stura, 2019). This is especially important for people in positions of power or authority, who are less likely to feel tension because of their cultural heritage. It is important for these people to take initiative in listening to others to promote positive outcomes (Berry, 2017; Doidge et al., 2020; Stura, 2019). This project then, will also consider this mutual process, and discuss the outcomes for those trying to include.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes methodological matters, essentially moving from theoretical to practical and in chronological order. I conclude with ethical considerations as the methodological components are important for understanding ethical practice. The first two sections are more theoretical. I begin by describing my theoretical framework, focussing on four concepts (research questions, axiology, epistemology, and reflexivity) and seeking to answer how my research will produce meaningful results. This section concludes by reflexively positioning myself for the reader. Next, I briefly describe case studies as a methodology and explain how mine was structured.

I then move onto more practical matters. I begin with how participants were found and recruited. This is followed by data collection and analysis. I describe each of the methods used, providing a definition, justification, and explanation of its implementation in my project. The data analysis section describes case reports, explains my thematic analysis method, and discusses how quality criteria were applied to the study. Finally, ethical matters are considered.

Theoretical Framework

> Research students and fledgling researchers—and, yes, even more seasoned
> campaigners—often express bewilderment at the array of methodologies and
> methods laid out before their gaze. These methodologies and methods are not
> usually laid out in a highly organised fashion and may appear more as a maze
> than as pathways to orderly research. There is much talk of their philosophical
> underpinnings, but how the methodologies and methods relate to more
> theoretical elements is often left unclear. To add to the confusion, the

terminology is far from consistent in research literature and social science texts.

One frequently finds the same term used in a number of different, sometimes

even contradictory, ways. (Crotty, 1998, p. 1)

I was one such bewildered research student. While Crotty focusses on methodologies and methods, only touching on "philosophical underpinnings," my bewilderment certainly extended to the latter as well. While I will discuss methodology and methods, my focus here is on what Crotty called philosophical underpinnings. However, I have headed this section as the theoretical framework. Echoing Crotty, and demonstrated by our distinct terminologies, language regarding theory is also far from consistent. Despite this "maze," I believe that the complexity of the research process, and of theoretical considerations, speak to their importance. At its heart is the question: how can I know my results are meaningful? If one cannot be sure that they will attain meaningful results, it bears questioning whether they should conduct their research at all. Thus, it is an important question to answer. Yet, I am still a research student. I do not pretend to offer an authoritative or conclusive position within this maze. However, I will position myself within what I know of the maze and argue for the strength of my position.

How can I know that my results are meaningful? In recent history, students such as myself have been told to work from their ontology, through their epistemology, to their methodology (Clark et al., 2021; Crotty, 1998; D. E. Gray, 2014). For various reasons, as I will explain throughout this section, I do not believe this is an adequate approach. I do not hold firmly, or work out from, any particular theoretical framework. I believe they all have their various flaws and strengths. Rather, in this section, I answer four important questions that shape my understanding of the research enterprise. First, what is the relationship between epistemology and research questions in governing research approaches? I conclude that research questions are the primary drives. However, and second, what governs research questions? This leads into a discussion of axiology and its importance, especially over

epistemological considerations. Third, I get to epistemology itself. How does reality become known, and how does that influence our research approach? Finally, how should a researcher position themselves in research? Answering this question explores the concept of reflexivity. Considering the importance of both axiology and reflexivity, I conclude this section on theoretical frameworks briefly with my own value and sociological background, positioning myself within the research.

Research Questions

What is the relationship between epistemology and research questions in governing research approaches? For many, "ontological assumptions and commitments feed into the ways in which research questions are formulated and research is carried out." (Clark et al., 2021, p. 31). Indeed, the triad of ontology, epistemology, and methodology (also called the metaphysical paradigm) have become the way that research students understand theoretical frameworks. The metaphysical paradigm is so widely accepted that many introductions to research use this triad for differentiating research approaches (Morgan, 2007).[33]

However, many authors are unclear in how they explain the relationship between epistemology and research questions. While Clarke et al. (2021) wrote that metaphysical concerns influence research questions and design, they also comment that one's "choice of research strategy, design, or method must be tailored to the research question(s) [they] are investigating" (Clark et al., 2021, p. 34). Crotty (1998, p. 9) also expresses that "epistemology bears mightily on the way we go about our research." However, he also acknowledges the importance of "the research question" and having "a process capable of… answering that

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[33] See the following references for examples (Clark et al., 2021; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Crotty, 1998; D. E. Gray, 2014).

question," elaborating on this a few pages later (Crotty, 1998, p. 2). At the very least, neither of these authors are explicit about how research questions and epistemology interact in influencing research methods.

I take the position that research questions ought to determine the research approach. If the question is "how many people in the class consider themselves a fan of Donald Trump?" a quantitative, positivist approach will be taken—assuming that there is a single true answer that will remain quite constant for the duration of the semester. However, if the question is "how do people become fans of Donald Trump?" a qualitative, constructivist approach will be taken—acknowledging that everyone's journey to Donald Trump fandom will be in some way unique and highly contextual. Thus, what counts is whether the methods chosen suit the purpose of the study to answer the research questions (Crotty, 1998). The first way I know my results will be meaningful, then, is because I will choose appropriate methods to answer my research questions.

Axiology

What governs our research questions? My contention in this short section is that it is axiology, which is often acknowledged but neglected. Axiology is concerned with the value, or "goodness" of an object (Bahm, 1993, p. 4). Value incorporates several areas, each with a valued and unvalued outcome. Aesthetics—concerned with what is beautiful and ugly. Ethics—concerned with what is right and wrong. Religion—concerned with the ultimate value of life. Economics—concerned with wealth and poverty. "Beauty and ugliness, rightness and wrongness, wisdom and folly, income and expenditure all involve goodness and badness" (Bahm, 1993, p. 4). Since "goodness and badness" are value propositions, each of these areas relies on axiology for the study of their value (Bahm, 1993). Historically, axiology has been neglected. Indeed, Alvin Weinberg (1970, p. 612) has written, "to all intents, axiology is

ignored by philosophers of science".[34] He proposes three reasons regarding the importance of an axiology of science. It is necessary for choosing (1) which science is worth doing (and funding), (2) which science is worth teaching (i.e. curriculum development), and (3) between scientific constructs for the same task, where there are multiple valid options.

Hugh P. McDonald (2004, p. 318), in his book *Radical Axiology*, argues that "the theoretical world often [contains] hidden values that are their regulative principle." Indeed, all philosophical positions pursue a goal they consider valuable. Epistemology has the goal of understanding reality, which is considered valuable to many for theoretical frameworks. This also implies that evaluation is intrinsic to philosophical undertakings as valuable goals need to be distinguished from unvaluable ones. Thus, H. P. McDonald (2004, p. 100) says "radical axiology is the value judgement that the origin of philosophy lies in values, in the evaluation of a project as worthwhile."[35] Thus, it is my axiological position that determines my research questions, not my epistemological one, because I consider them worthwhile. The second reason why I can know my results will be meaningful is because the questions I ask are valuable and the methods I utilise will provide valuable answers.

Thus, I disagree with Clarke et al. (2021) that metaphysical commitments drive research questions. If they were right, it would be unlikely (though not impossible) for any individual to be interested in both Donald Trump questions above. However, I think that both are valid questions, with valid approaches, that would produce valid results.

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[34] However, it is becoming more popular. I have found 2 English books dedicated to axiology (Bahm, 1993; H. P. McDonald, 2004). Additionally, a journal has dedicated a very recent issue to the discussion (in English) of a French book on the sociology of values (McCormick et al., 2020). Moreover, traditional proponents of the metaphysical paradigm are beginning to acknowledge the importance of axiology. Lincoln et al. (2018), who popularised metaphysical paradigm now include axiology as one of the core tenants of their framework. However, I agree with Morgan (2007) that this is not a good fit with the philosophy of knowledge. Rather, values are distinct from metaphysics. While metaphysics is concerned with understanding reality, values are concerned with evaluating reality.

[35] He discusses this in the etymological context of philosophy (philo-sophy): the love of wisdom. Wisdom is practical and future oriented; it is axiological because it pursues a valuable future. Thus, as wisdom is evaluative, the love of wisdom, philosophy, is too.

Epistemology

How does reality become known, and how does that influence our research approach? The notion that different theoretical positions are incompatible is increasingly indefensible. When the metaphysical paradigm was initially being proposed, the authors argued that constructivism and positivism were "not reconcilable" and that "compromises [were] no longer possible." The frameworks were "fundamentally *different*" and "sharply contrasting" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 33). However, as the number of frameworks proliferated they argued that incompatibility occurred at the level of ontology and epistemology, rather than methodology and methods (Crotty, 1998; Lincoln et al., 2018). For Crotty (1998), there cannot at the same time be objective truth (objectivism) and no objective truth (constructivism). He does not provide a detailed defence of this position. However, many would disagree with this as they consider (critical) realism to mix a realist (more objectivist) ontology with a relativist (more constructivist) epistemology (Collier, 1994; Crotty, 1998; D. E. Gray, 2014). Indeed, critical realism finds its place between objectivism and constructivism with the proponents of both lumping it with the opposing theoretical framework (Collier, 1994).[36] Moreover, Crotty (1998)—seemingly in contradiction with himself—aligns constructionism (which he distinguishes from constructivism) very closely with realism, considering it both realist and relativist. Thus, the incompatibility of epistemological positions seems to be on shaky grounds.

However, all of these epistemological positions share something in common: we cannot come to a singular, true understanding of the social world through current scientific methods (Bunge, 1993; Clark et al., 2021; Phillips, 2005).[37] Thus, all these positions agree that there

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[36] This is demonstrated in two introductory textbooks to research methods. Gray (2014) who seems to tend more to a positivist perspective says that it shares much with constructivism. Meanwhile, Clark et al. (2021), who appears to favour more constructivist positions discuss it in conjunction with positivism.

[37] The references refer to critical realists, constructivists, and post-positivists respectively.

are multiple possible interpretations for any social reality. So, what is important is not one's position on the nature of reality, but humility in recognising their interpretation as fallible, not as undeniable truth.

Morgan (2007) has provided a similar critique on the centrality of epistemology to research approaches in his support for pragmatism as a research paradigm. Thus, the third way I know my results will be meaningful, then, is because I acknowledge that our interpretations of the social world are fallible and contextual, and I will report accordingly.[38]

Reflexivity

How should a researcher position themselves in research? Researchers often respond to the acknowledgement that our interpretations of the social world are fallible and contextual by promoting reflexivity. Bourdieu has been described as having a "signature obsession with reflexivity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 36). Etymologically, reflexivity is to turn scientific methods on themselves. For Bourdieu, this turning of scientific methods should be directed at more than just personal bias and the context of the researcher. It extends to the academic field of sociology itself, its assumptions, and the position of a researcher within this field. For Bourdieu, reflexive sociology "*continually turns back onto itself the scientific weapons it produces*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 214). Such a reflexive position that considers the academic field and one's position in it is required to provide a critical account with meaningful results. Otherwise, one's conclusions might be the result of sociological norms working through the researcher, as the researcher has internalised those norms. Thus, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 249) advocate for combining "an advanced mastery of

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[38] It is also worth noting that, these days, no one seems to reject the epistemological positions of others. All are presented as valid options. If the results of all epistemological positions are valid, why then is one's epistemology so important?

scientific culture and a certain revolt against, or distance from, that culture… that pushes [the researcher] not to "buy it" at its face value." In this way, research becomes more than the results of sociological norms working themselves out, through a researcher, and uncritically perpetuating themselves.

Thus, in this thesis, I do my best to position myself, sharing my own context, history, and values. Moreover, I reflect on my position and development in the sociological field, as well as the specific fields I explored through this research. Additionally, since values are so important in my theoretical framework, they are the forefront of reflexivity in this thesis. By knowing my biases, intentions, and values, the reader will be better positioned to understand how I came to my conclusions and to decide whether they agree with the validity of my findings. This is not a game of strategy where I present my best case, hiding my flaws and hoping that they are not found out. Rather, I do my best to lay my cards on the table and to be as transparent as possible. What follows, then, is a reflexive summary of my own position for this thesis.

My Position

It is not just important to consider what my values are but where they come from and why they are valuable. A constructivist position would say that value is constructed as individuals interact with the world and with each other. Humans make values, individually, and corporately. I do not entirely agree with this view. Rather, I believe some things have inherent value, such as human life and health. I think most would agree that murder is wrong because human life is valuable. However, my mother-in-law comes from an Indigenous Malaysian tribe who used to be head hunters. That is, their value was partly determined by the number of heads they collected through what my culture would call murder. The constructivist position must hold that, at that time—murder was indeed valuable. Although it may be valuable for the tribe, most (including the tribe now) would consider their values to be misguided. Proponents

of the moral relativism of constructivism, then, are generally inconsistent. For example, Ernie Laskaris (2018) (along with many others) critiques Richard Dawkins (the famous evolutionist and atheist) for being inconsistent by rejecting any form of moral objectivism and making absolute moral claims. The two positions cannot coincide.[39]

How do we know if the values we hold are truly valuable? One (I believe the best) way is to have an objective value standard. I find this from the Bible (where my values come from, in part), God's revelation to the world about himself. Rather than make a detailed defence for a particular understanding of Biblical values, I will outline my current position, as this is what shapes my research and thus relevant for the reader.

What value do I see in Social Inclusion from the Bible? God is intimately concerned for people from every culture to hear about his work to reconcile people that has rebelled against him to himself. Between his resurrection and ascension, Jesus said to his disciples "Thus it is written, that the Christ [Jesus] should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance for the forgiveness of sins should be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem." (Luke 24:46-47). Jesus wants his disciples to tell of God's reconciliatory work to people from "all nations." One such disciple declares that people from all nations can be acceptable to God, conditioned on faith: "Truly I understand that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him" (Acts 10:34-35). God gives another of these disciples a vision that one day there will be "a great multitude that no one [can] number, from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and languages, standing before the throne" (Revelation 7:9). Thus, God values all cultures equally

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[39] Laskaris draws from another's example of the Holocaust. Had Germany won World War Two, the consistent constructivist would agree that the Holocaust was good and valuable. However, even if Germany could brainwash most of the world's population that what they did was good, most people today would disagree. Rather, drawing on moral objectivism, they would reject such destruction and degradation of human life, because human life is objectively valuable. Thus, I believe there are objective moral and value standards.

and will one day have people from all cultures mingle in perfect unity. This is the value standard from which I believe all other values related to the Social Inclusion of cultures flow.

My sociocultural context also influences my interest in culturally diverse Social Inclusion. I live and am studying in Melbourne, Australia, an incredibly multicultural city. Approximately 27% of the Australian population is born overseas. The city of Melbourne overshadows this with approximately 54% of residents having been born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2022b). In such a culturally diverse context knowing how to mingle well is important. It is almost guaranteed that one will interact with people from other cultural backgrounds in their daily life.

Additionally, I am intrigued by other cultures and their cultural practices, especially when they seem more favourable (to me) than my own cultural practices. I'm particularly interested in food practices; there is almost nothing I will not try. Language is another interest of mine. During this research project, I took time off to go to Central Australia and visit Bible translators who are translating the Bible into Aboriginal languages. During this trip, I also got to meet with Aboriginal people and learn more about Aboriginal culture.

My research has also been influenced by my position within the sociological field. As aforementioned, I have been a research assistant in the Change Makers project. My research is similar to and extends from this. Had Change Makers not run, it is unlikely my research would have come to fruition in the same way. Change Makers is funded by the federal government, so there is also a political influence to my research. Part of the objectives of the funding are to "increase acceptance of diversity [and] build inclusive communities" (Department of Health, 2019, p. 6). Finally, I am fairly new to sociology, having little exposure to it in my undergraduate degree. Thus, I am in the process of developing my sociological methods under the guidance of my supervisors and direction from my university. A benefit of this is that I am not "stuck in my ways," so to speak. I can think critically about all the options

that come my way as I progress through the research project. On the other hand, with this malleability, I might just become a carbon copy of my supervisors and, in the end, apply their sociological dispositions to my own research. Acknowledging this, I seek to balance applying scientific culture while holding a certain critical disposition toward it (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). I hope that in reading this thesis my own critical dispositions will be readily observable.

I discuss my position within the specific research field at the end of the recruitment and sampling section in this chapter since I have explained the clubs involved in the research there.

Theory

Within this theoretical framework I used Bourdieu's theory, focussing on field and capital to help analyse my data. Field involves thinking of the social world in terms of relations, rather than interactions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). An agent's relationship to other aspects of the field affects their actions and constrains and enables certain possibilities. The field involves stakes—something to compete for—and investment—a commitment to competing for the stake (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The relative value of any particular stake and how it is perceived as an investment is determined by the constitution of the field—all of which is subject to change. Importantly, within this field, each agent possesses a certain mixture of capital. Again, the value of one's capital is dependant on the constitution of the field and thus subject to change. However, capital is also used to exert force over the field and thus modify it too (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

For my research, I became particularly interested in Symbolic capital. Symbolic capital, essentially, is recognised as reputation (Bourdieu, 2013; Tomlinson, 2004). As with much of Bourdieusian theory, symbolic capital is dependant on relationships. Indeed, it only exists insofar as it is recognised by others, rather than as intrinsic to a person. Consequently, it is considered "misrecognised" because it is considered a property of the person, rather than the product of social relationships (Bourdieu, 2013; Mead, 2021). Symbolic capital, therefore,

is seen in the things—for example, "castles or land, titles of property, of nobility, or of higher learning—"that are valued or perceived as signs one's reputation—continuing the example, of "snobbishness proper… petty bourgeois pretension" (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 296).

Methodology: Case Study

This project utilised a case study methodology which has a well agreed upon definition. Marilyn Lichtman (2014, chapter 5, case study section, para. 1) defines a case study as an "in-depth examination of a particular case (e.g., individual, program, project, work unit) or several cases." A key feature of a case study is the boundedness of the case; the case must be specific, having set limits so that it is well defined, which is done by the researcher (Lichtman, 2014; Stake, 2005; Stewart, 2014). Case studies are adept at answering "how" and "why" questions (D. E. Gray, 2014).

Traditionally, case studies have been used to test hypotheses as a deductive methodology. They have also been used for theory building and pilot testing in new areas of study as an inductive methodology (D. E. Gray, 2014). A third, more novel approach, is to study cases of intrinsic value—to the researcher or participants—for the purpose of learning. Robert Stake (2005, p. 443) devotes a whole article to "what can be learnt about the single case." Bent Flyvbjerg (2006) champions this view, arguing from the role of cases and theory in human learning. First, he argues that case studies are important for the development of expertise in a field. Foundational to beginner knowledge is rule-based, context-independent knowledge. A characteristic of all experts is that they operate on the basis of an intimate knowledge of a large number of concrete, context-dependant cases. Second, case studies are important because there is no predictive theory in social science. Since social science cannot produce context-independent theories that predict human behaviour, the social scientist can only operate based on context-dependant cases and knowledge. Finally, he draws on logic

from Thomas Kuhn who asserts the importance of scientific exemplars for good science in any field. Thus, argues Flyvbjerg, well executed case studies are important for any scientific field. Stake (2005) calls this approach, focussed on learning from the case, an intrinsic case study since the case has been chosen because of its intrinsic value. This project most closely aligns with this latter approach to case studies, as the case has been chosen because of its intrinsic value.

The case study methodology notoriously lacks standardisation, with many systems of classification (Stake, 2005). However, it is considered important for case studies to be well designed because of the large volume of data they generate (D. E. Gray, 2014; Stake, 2005; Stewart, 2014). While there are several classification systems, this case study was structured with units of analysis to focus the study (D. E. Gray, 2014). They were derived from the research questions and are: (a) the processes implemented, and how they are implemented; (b) How people experience the process and celebration in relation to the club and relevant literature. These were explored within the case of creating, implementing, and evaluating a celebration of cultural diversity in mainstream sport clubs. Such a structure allowed the findings of the research to be more readily applicable to other, relevant settings (D. E. Gray, 2014). These units of analysis are deliberately broad, trying to balance the provision of direction for the case while not over-structuring it which would limit the case's diversity (Stake, 2005). This structuring also helps to define the boundedness of the case such that data collection and analysis relates to the particularity of the case. Focussing on the particulars of the case allows for greater depth into the case than other methodologies which are more broadly focussed (Hodge & Sharp, 2016).

Recruitment and Sampling

Potential participant sport clubs were identified through Victoria University's Change Makers project. A key inclusion criterion was that clubs had identified a need to proactively seek to understand and celebrate the cultural diversity of their club. As a research assistant on this project, I worked with some club leaders, or Change Makers (CMs), from various clubs and several of them fit this inclusion criteria. Thus, these CMs were approached to see if they would be interested in having their club participate. Those that were interested were taken through the informed consent procedure. Any subsequent leaders or people involved in the planning of the celebrations were also asked if they were interested in participating and taken through the informed consent procedures.

Two clubs were recruited for this project. All clubs and participants have been given pseudonyms. While I invited several CMs that I worked with on the project, only Esther from The Netball Club (TNC) agreed to participate. The other CM was Paula, from The Hockey Club (THC). Although I did not work with her, she was well known for being highly engaged in the project. When I reached out to her, she agreed to participate and was already organising a celebration of Indigenous culture in her club.

TNC was a case characterised by inaction. Consequently, Esther was the only participant. Data for TNC comes from two interviews with Esther, and observations recorded in fieldnotes when visiting the club and various meetings. Conversely, THC was characterised by "success." There were five people on the organising committee for their celebration of Indigenous culture, all of whom participated in the research, and two of whom had Indigenous heritage. Three additional participants who experienced the celebration were recruited through snowball sampling, none of whom had Indigenous heritage.

Regarding my social positioning in the clubs, I was very much an outsider looking in with this case study methodology. My first interactions with people from these clubs were in

the Change Makers project and I have never played competitive netball or hockey. However, I have been involved in organised sport and so could understand and empathise with many of their sporting experiences. Thus, I was able to build a strong rapport with the Change Makers of the clubs who would even share more personal remarks unrelated to the research.

I was also something of an outsider in terms of cultural diversity, having grown up to Australian parents of British descent. I was only significantly exposed to cultural diversity in my high school years and, as explained in the introduction, became more interested in understanding other cultures in my university years. This was matched with a lack of rapport with the Indigenous community at THC (see chapter 10 for further discussion).

Data Collection Methods

Observation

Thorpe and Olive (2016) note that observations as a research method receive little attention in published research or textbooks on research methods. However, in their own discussion, they initially only provide a cursory definition of observation as systematically recording human behaviour within a context. However, they later acknowledge that observation involves more than just human behaviour, but should incorporate all the senses, including sometimes neglected senses, such as kinaesthetic sense. This broader perspective on observation is reflected by Carol Bailey (2007) who highlights the importance of observing the physical space as well as human behaviour, including its structure, light, sounds, colours, and scents. Thus, observation is defined in this study as the systematic and detailed observation of people, their environment, and their social and environmental interactions.

Observations provide an opportunity to observe people's behaviour in practice, rather than relying on their opinions and self-interpretations in interviews or focus groups (D. E. Gray, 2014). Additionally, they are useful for observing what people might not be willing to offer

up in an interview. Finally, they also provided specific ideas and examples to be followed up in interviews, giving the interviews more direction and ultimately leading to more nuanced and relevant data from them (Thorpe & Olive, 2016).

The primary challenge in observational research is likely the sheer complexity of the task. Good observational practice should be systematic and rigorous which needs to be reflected in the fieldnotes (C. Bailey, 2007). Thus, fieldnotes should be vivid and detailed, but also clearly understandable for later analysis (Clark et al., 2021).[40] However, this suggestion acknowledges that much detail ultimately gets left out as it is impossible to write everything down, and the researcher will naturally be selective to some degree when observing. Finally, observations also require a reasonable capacity for memory, as notes often begin as mental and jotted notes in the field, before being written up in detail shortly after the observational setting has been left (D. E. Gray, 2014). Thus, several factors increase the complexity of observation, making it a challenging method to do well.

Unfortunately, observations in this study ended up being primarily incidental. While I had time to observe training, games, and club spaces before and after planning meetings, I was unable to attend THC's actual celebration in person. However, they live-streamed part of the event, which I was able to view and take notes on. This aided both the research process and provided valuable data for the case study. From an ethical perspective, observations necessarily have an element of covert research as people can come and go into public spaces without being told about the researcher (C. Bailey, 2007; Thorpe & Olive, 2016). Thus, when interacting with people in more public settings such as games and training, I made an effort to declare my research intentions when interacting with them (Thorpe & Olive, 2016).

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[40] This requirement of vividness and detail is reflected in suggestions to tend toward documentation, if one is unsure of its importance (C. Bailey, 2007; Clark et al., 2021; D. E. Gray, 2014)

Since observations only made up a small part of this research, I did not take a particularly rigorous approach to my fieldnotes. Rather, I took jotted notes when I could and recorded what I could remember once leaving the field, describing in more detail what I perceived to be important.[41]

Focus Groups

Focus groups are a flexible method, having been conducted in a variety of ways. The context of a study, the researcher's preferences, disciplinary norms, and the desired outcome (or the purpose) of the focus group, all influence how the focus group is structured and completed. In broad terms then, a focus group can be defined as any group discussion in which a researcher is actively involved (Barbour, 2018). Fundamental to focus groups are the interactions that occur between members that generate data for research (Sagoe, 2015). Consequently, focus group data is uniquely contextual, as responses are contingent on the context of group discussion, rather than one to one interview interaction. Group dynamics, or particular comments, may influence what others say, or how they do so (Barbour, 2018). Within the case study methodology, the focus groups in this project were relatively unstructured to promote the autonomy of the clubs in their evaluation.

Focus groups are well suited to designing and evaluating initiatives (D. E. Gray, 2014; Sagoe, 2015). Thus, it is a logical method to use as clubs organise and evaluate their initiative in small group committees. Part of the benefit of using focus groups in this way is that they can be guided by the participants. Thus, focus groups share characteristics with naturalistic

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[41] Despite this, I was prepared for more rigorous observation. Carol Bailey (2007) writes in detail about what to observe when observing. She discusses three categories, based on nine specific features of social situations, drawing from Spradley (1980). They are: the physical environment; the participants; and participant actions within the environment. C. Bailey considers each in detail with several specific points about what can be observed. These were of great benefit in conceptualising the breadth of observational research beyond a simple consideration of how participants interact. Thus, her suggestions were followed closely.

observations (Barbour, 2018; D. E. Gray, 2014). This is accentuated in this study as participants are evaluating their own initiative, which will have real implications for their club. Thus, they are closer to their natural social context than other methods could provide, with the researcher performing a primarily observational role.

A challenge with focus groups in this context is that some voices can dominate, while others are left out or even silenced (D. E. Gray, 2014; Sagoe, 2015). It is also challenging to know whether participants are telling the truth, especially if they express new or different opinions within a focus group (Barbour, 2018). However, Rosaline Barbour (2018) considers many of these as opportunities of focus groups if one's interest lies in the processes of discussion, decision making, and group dynamics. Thus, in a case study methodology where focus groups are primarily observational—such as this one—the focus group provides valuable information about the case itself. These aspects of focus groups will also provide relevant data on who is Socially Included. Are people from the target population included in the organisation and evaluation? If they are included, are their contributions considered valuable? Are they encouraged to speak honestly, or do they give only reserved answers due to some kind of social pressure?

Based on the given definition, both planning and evaluation meetings can be considered focus groups. Four focus groups in total were conducted. The first was a planning meeting and lasted for approximately sixty minutes. This was entirely directed by the participants, and I was able to observe, providing only small comments to prevent my presence from becoming awkward, building rapport, and providing whatever helpful insights I could when called upon. In addition to this focus group, a significant amount of planning was conducted via email. I was made privy to all the emails between the organising committee.

The second focus group was an evaluation focus group, lasting approximately 60 minutes. This occurred shortly after their celebration and was led by me due to the difficulty

organising it and the absence of Paula's who was the primary organiser for the round. This is discussed in more detail later. I kept to broad questions and allowed the participants to take it in any direction they thought suitable. These first two focus groups were especially valuable as participants included both people with and without Indigenous heritage, providing novel data on the interactions between people of different cultural backgrounds in the context of promoting cultural diversity and Social Inclusion.

The final two focus groups focussed specifically on outcomes and lasted for approximately thirty minutes. These were much more intentional as the data from the evaluation focus group lacked discussion on outcomes. It was also more structured with a brief set of consistent questions asked to both groups. While this was certainly not enough to reach a saturation point, it provided enough data for an exploratory case study. Unfortunately, for various reasons, people with Indigenous heritage were not involved in these focus groups.

Interviews

Gaining information through verbal communication is seemingly intuitive to human interaction. This is especially true via the question and answer format. Today, this form of knowledge acquisition (or construction) is reminiscent of the modern interview. However, an interview, as a research method, is not easily defined with a variety of options out there (Brinkmann, 2023; Witzel & Reiter, 2012).[42] My definition of interviewing falls somewhere between a more traditional and a constructivist definition. There should be an

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[42] This is interesting considering that interviews have been described as the "*lingua franca* in the sociology of sport and physical culture," with semi-structured interviewing being the "methodological forefront" of the entire discipline (Atkinson, 2015, p. 12). One old and prevalent definition goes like this: "a face-to-face verbal exchange, in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons" (Maccoby & Maccoby, 1954, p. 449). Several authors suggest similar definitions today (C. Bailey, 2007; D. E. Gray, 2014).Others propose more elaborate definitions, influenced by a constructivist framework: "…a craft and social activity where two or more persons actively engage in embodied talk, jointly constructing knowledge about themselves and the social world as they interact with each other over time, through a range of senses, and in a certain context. (Sparkes & Smith, 2013, p. 83)

acknowledgement of the role of the interviewer in influencing the interview, rather simply an information collector (Brinkmann, 2023; S. J. Taylor et al., 2015). Additionally, a distinction in the roles of the interviewer and interviewee also needs to be acknowledged. The interviewer comes to an interview with a specific research question they are trying to answer and with background study to help guide the conversation (Witzel & Reiter, 2012). Thus, my conception of an interview lies close to a fluid and interactive method, purposed to produce conversation about a research problem (C. Smith & Elger, 2014; Witzel & Reiter, 2012). Thus, the researcher is both influencing the interview and is seeking to answer their research question.

This research utilised semi-structured interviews. This provided flexibility during the interview to skip questions and probe for more detail where I thought it would be helpful (D. E. Gray, 2014). Having more open questions in this format encourages participants to describe their personal experiences in detail, which can be supported by the researcher (Clark et al., 2021). Moreover, interviews added to the project by providing in-depth data about the participants' personal "experiences, opinions, attitudes, values, and processes," beyond what focus groups and observations could provide (D. E. Gray, 2014, p. 383). Moreover, such personal data is crucial to the aims of this study as participant experiences and valuations are of central importance.

There are several challenges with interviews as a data collection method. However, while these are intrinsic "problems" of the interview method, they are by no means insurmountable. Rather, the interview process, rationale, and analysis should acknowledge these and be organised accordingly. Moreover, they present an analytical opportunity to explore how these intrinsic aspects (not necessarily problems) emerge and interact with the research process and outcomes (Brinkmann, 2023). These challenges primarily arise from the personalities involved in the interview, which can introduce biases from both parties and influence how each communicates with the other (Brinkmann, 2023; D. E. Gray, 2014).

Two interviews were conducted with Esther from TNC as she was unable to organise any focus groups. This provided an in-depth insight into her experience of trying to celebrate culture but not "succeeding." At THC, I conducted two interviews. The first with Paula lasted for approximately 60 minutes, particularly focussing on her background and contribution to the celebration. The second interview was with Naomi (who has Indigenous heritage) and lasted approximately 30 minutes, getting insight into an Aboriginal perspective on THC's celebration and how they can improve. Additionally, this interview helped place THC's celebration in historical and social context as Naomi has professional experience in an advisory capacity for Indigenous health and research. Several authors have provided detailed lists regarding how to conduct high quality interviews (D. E. Gray, 2014; B. Smith & Sparkes, 2016).[43] I followed these recommendations as best I could, though certainly not without fault.

Data Analysis

Case Report

Writing about case studies for the purpose of learning, both Stake (2005) and Flyvbjerg (2006) argue that it is important to report on the depth and complexity of the case. This depth is important because, without it, one cannot properly understand the case within its context. Sufficient descriptive detail facilitates the reader in understanding the case and to evaluate the researcher's conclusions while also drawing their own (Stake, 2005). Moreover, detailed reporting provides the reader with a case with which they can become intimately familiar so that it contributes to their own expert knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Thick description of the

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[43] Many of those considerations included the following. Questions were concise with only one point being addressed. They were worded such that participants were not directed toward a particular answer. I ensured I understood correctly where there was potential for confusion. I was considerate of silences, understanding that there may be a reason for silence, even if just to think. Occasionally, and with discretion, I adopted a critical and challenging approach to encourage the participant to think critically and justify their answers. Finally, as soon as possible after the interview, I took time to reflect and consolidate any notes I had taken during the interview.

case will be utilised to more accurately represent the case in all its peculiarities (Stake, 2005). Thus the "vitality, trauma, and uniqueness of the case" can be represented (Stake, 2005, p. 457). This detailed reporting will be done by recording the cases in descriptive case reports.

However, Stake (2005) discusses the problematic nature of the case report. Since case study research results in the collection of such large volumes of data, some level of synthesis and organisation is required. Thus, it is important to balance thick, detailed descriptions, with a level of organisation and synthesis such that the case is digestible. Therefore, the case report is an initial level of analysis as the researcher chooses what is (and is not) included and how the case is presented. Since the case report is an initial level of analysis, the reporter must take care to be disciplined in their organisation and synthesis to respect the participants by not distorting their case. Again, this is why a detailed descriptive case report is required—so that it represents the diversity of the case. As Flyvbjerg (2006) writes, summarising the case necessarily means reducing its complexity, and thus the capacity for a reader to become familiar with the case for expert knowledge.

Chapters 4 and 5 contain the case reports for both clubs, both beginning with the club's context. For TNC, this is followed by a description of Esther's difficulty in organising an initiative, followed by a reflection on other forms of Social Inclusion that may be present and Esther's understanding of these. For THC, I go on to describe the history of their Indigenous celebration as well as what was included for the celebration this year. This is followed by considering their evaluation procedures. The outcomes of THC's initiative are considered in chapter 6 in a fairly descriptive manner.

Thematic Analysis

In this project, my interest goes beyond the case to (a) the processes that occur in sports clubs when they seek to celebrate cultural diversity, and (b) the outcomes of the process of celebrating cultural diversity, particularly in relation to Social Inclusion. These are reflected

in the aims and research questions of the study. Thus, in this thesis, thematic analysis (TA) was also used as it provided "robust, detailed, [and] nuanced [answers]" to research questions (Braun et al., 2016, p. 198).

Braun et al., (2016) describe TA as a general term, describing several analytical approaches that seek to identify patterns within a body of data. It is a useful way to analyse the experiences of people in a certain context and for considering the processes at work in particular phenomena. Experiences and processes are the key considerations of this project. It considers the experiences of Social Inclusion and the process of celebrating cultural diversity to promote Social Inclusion. Thus, TA was a useful analytical tool for this project. Braun et al., (2016) have developed their own flexible approach, not tied to any theoretical tradition, and is thus able to be adopted for a wide range of applications. They now call it Reflexive TA (Braun et al., 2019). Their approach is popular, having gained recognition in several introductions to research practice (Clark et al., 2021; D. E. Gray, 2014). With a few modifications, this is the approach I adopted.

For Braun et al. (2016) reflexive TA has six distinct processes in three phases. Importantly, this is not a completely linear process but involves forward and backward movement where necessary to facilitate better analysis. The first phase incorporates the first two processes: data familiarisation and coding. The first process of my TA was familiarising myself with the data by listening to and transcribing all the interview and focus group data, and listening to everything a second time to ensure the accuracy of transcription. The second process was coding the data during another reading of the transcripts. I departed from their process here and only coded for descriptive codes, rather than latent codes as well.[44]

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[44] To do both seems needlessly analytically challenging, risks missing potential codes of both types, and causing confusion regarding their relationship. Latent codes, which are more interpretive, were considered in the next phase.

The second phase incorporates the next three processes: Theme development, refining, and naming. Theme development involved clustering codes with similar meanings together. Another departure occurred here. This is because they describe the goal of theme development but provide little guidance for how to get there. Themes should incorporate the richness and diversity of several related ideas and provide analytical/interpretive insight into the research questions (Braun et al., 2016). Presumably, the lack of guidance in this regard reflects their emphasis on the researcher's role in knowledge production during TA (Braun et al., 2019). However, such a juxtaposition between procedures and reflexivity has been critiqued as a false dichotomy. Reflexivity can be seen as complementary to utilising pre-determined processes. Moreover, such an emphasis on reflexivity does not guarantee research quality. Rather, it is just as prone to data manipulation and misunderstanding as other approaches (Wiltshire & Ronkainen, 2021).

Thus, once descriptive themes were coded and organised, the following process was implemented to help explore the richness of the data, and to come up with analytical/inferential themes. First, descriptive codes of similar substance were collected to inform the initial theme development. Then, they were analysed in terms of their answer to the research questions. That is, what does each collection of codes say about the processes and outcomes of celebrating cultural diversity? Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021) call this abductive reasoning, whereby analysis shifts the descriptive data to be conveyed in more abstract terms that are applicable across contexts. Then, a similar process was done with these first order themes whereby implicit meanings, or underlying reasons, were inferred from participants' comments. This aligns with the latent codes described by Braun et al. (2016). Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021) call this retroductive thinking, which explores the causal mechanisms of one's actions or beliefs. Or, in other words, they ask why something occurred the way that it did. Thus, theme

development in this project followed Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021) more closely than Braun et al. (2016), with a few modifications.[45]

The final two processes of this phase, and the last process in the final phase all closely followed the process described by Braun et al. (2016). The fourth process, theme revision, sought to solidify theme coherence, clarity, and their relationship to other themes. The fifth process involved naming and defining the themes including their scope. The third phase incorporates the final process: writing up. Here, the thematic analysis was written into a final report, collecting written analytical fragments, and incorporating them into the report. This involves finding appropriate data extracts to make descriptive and interpretive points. The "report" is reflected in chapters six through eight in this thesis.

Quality

I have already discussed quality on the level of theoretical frameworks, providing an answer to the question: how can I know my results are meaningful? Now it is important to discuss quality in terms of data collection and analysis. Shaunna Burke (2016) describes two possible positions for judging research quality, the criteriological approach, and the relativist approach. While she argues for the relativist position, it is unfortunate that she seems to strawman the criteriological approach. For her, the criteriological approach involves criteria that are "readily identifiable markers of quality" that promote the "search for an objective reality and truth" (Burke, 2016, p. 331). She presents Sarah Tracy's (2010) paper as an almost gold standard for the criteriological approach, due to its widespread acceptance and usage. Without quote, she claims that Tracy presents the criteria as "universal criteria that are fixed and permanent" and that quality requires "adopting all eight of her proposed criteria" (Burke, 2016, p. 333).

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[45] The process followed here is less onerous than that described by Wiltshire and Ronkainen and the focus of the first level of theme development is nuanced to suit the purposes of this project.

However, Tracy (2010, p. 839) actually describes them as "flexible" partly purposed to "encourage dialogue and learning amongst qualitative methodologies from various paradigms." Moreover, researchers are not to "[grasp] too strongly" to them as though a minor transgression would ruin their research quality (Tracy, 2010, p. 849). This is indeed very far from Burke's presentation.

The two sets of criteria are actually almost identical. I have outlined them in Table 1. The first column has been filled with criteria outlined by Tracy. The criteria outlined by Burke have been placed in the second column where they align with the first column. There is some overlap between the criteria, so some boxes have two criteria, and some criteria appear twice. Finally, a description is provided in the third column, summarising the criteria.

The only real difference in Burke's (2016) relativist position is a stronger stance on the flexibility of the criteria which need to be applied contextually. One should not judge autoethnography by the exact same quality criteria as discourse analysis.[46] I agree with Burke (2016) that quality should not be a one size fits all approach. Rather, the quality criteria used should be adapted to fit the research approach and aims. Consequently, some criteria might be more important than others. For my research, as a case study, quality criteria relating to data quality, breadth, and relevance were very important. However, I also considered it important to address all the other criteria too for various reasons.[47]

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[46] Burke has almost exactly repeated a tendency already identified by Tracy (2010); when quality criteria are negatively evaluated, new criteria are often presented suggesting they are more flexible and contextually situated.

[47] Since I worked closely with the case, the research focus and outcomes needed to be significant for them. Since this research took a strong position on axiology and reflexivity from a theoretical perspective, what Tracy (2010) calls sincerity was also very important. Thus, I sought out a topic that would be relevant for the clubs I worked with and would have meaningful outcomes for them. I endeavoured to collect sufficient and appropriate data to warrant the claims I made in the results and discussion. Finally, I worked hard to position myself within the academic field and field of study so that readers can better understand my interpretation. Moreover, I reflect on the value of the research, both personally and for the broader community.

Table 1

Summary of Two Quality Criteria Lists.

Tracy	Burke	Description
Worthy topic	Substantive contribution	The research provides relevant information on a relevant topic
Rich rigour		The aspects of the research approach are appropriate and sufficient to collect meaningful data.
Sincerity	Impact Transparency	Acknowledgement of personal values and personal change.
Credibility	Width Credibility	High quality data, well supported arguments, alternate explanations explored
Resonance	Resonance Catalytic and tactical authenticity	Has a positive effect on or generalisation to intended audiences.
Significant contribution	Substantive contribution	Provides meaningful outcomes regarding various aspects of the research enterprise and social life.
Ethical		The research is ethical.
Meaningful coherence	Coherence	Research questions are answered in a meaningful way and a coherent argument/story is presented.

Ethics

This research was approved by the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee. It was classed as high risk. Since it was conducted in mainstream sport clubs, it was unlikely that there would be highly vulnerable participants. Regardless, there was a possibility that some participants might struggle with English or have cultural differences that cause difficulties with informed consent. It was important that the research provide for these people as Australia's National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research states that ethical research involves fair recruitment procedures and fair distribution of the burdens and benefits of research (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2018b).

This population was provided for in several ways. First, an interpreter was budgeted for. There are ethical issues involved with using interpreters such as poor translation and confidentiality breaches (Mackenzie et al., 2007). Since this research did not focus on sensitive issues, and the outcomes did not relate to participants' standing in the club, or any financial arrangements, the benefits of an interpreter for this group were considered to outweigh the risks. However, no such participants were recruited.[48]

Since THC participated in my research with their Indigenous round, and people with Indigenous heritage were involved on the committee, it was important to ensure that the research was conducted ethically in relation to those with Indigenous heritage who were involved. Once I found out that people with Indigenous heritage would be involved, I contacted Moondani Balluk, the Indigenous Academic Unit within the university, regarding ensuring my research would be culturally appropriate and ethical. After explaining my research, a representative from Moondani Balluk gave their approval for my research in this respect. I

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[48] Thus, an interpreter was not used.

maintained contact with them and brought any questions I had when they arose. This approach is consistent with Australia's guidelines for ethical conduct in research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and communities, which recommends engaging such organisations "to provide regulatory guidance on the conduct…of [a] project" (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2018c, p. 14).

There were also several risks associated with this research. There was a possibility of participants experiencing emotional distress from hearing or recalling traumatic stories, especially for participants who may have had traumatic migration experiences. However, the research did not focus on these experiences, but rather positive ones, reducing the likelihood of experiencing emotional distress. Moreover, participants were reminded of their right to withdraw at any time (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2018b). Special attention was given to these issues in focus groups where there might be social pressure to continue. Additionally, interviews and focus groups took a culturally responsive approach. Such an approach requires understanding how one is embedded in their own culture before trying to understand another's. It requires seeking to understand other cultures, to be sensitive to their needs or desires, and to seek to accommodate them (Lahman, 2018).

Additionally, focus groups present a social risk since they compromise confidentiality by nature and participants might verbally hurt another (D. E. Gray, 2014). Participants were reminded of these risks before the focus group, asked to respect one another, and reminded that this cannot be guaranteed. Participants were also warned that, while what they share can be redacted from the research, it cannot be redacted from the minds of other participants and so they should be careful not to make comments they might have later wished to take back (Liamputtong, 2011). Again, a culturally responsive approach was also taken (Lahman, 2018).

Ethics was considered an active process, monitoring for signs of harm during the research. Whenever harms seemed to arise, focus groups and interviews were paused, and

participants were explicitly given the opportunity to end their participation in that particular activity (Oliver, 2010). If necessary, I was prepared to terminate a focus group or interview should I perceive they were causing unnecessary distress (D. E. Gray, 2014). Finally, the Victoria University psychologist had also given their approval to meet with participants free of charge should that be required.[49] Finally, although focus groups compromise confidentiality, high standards were maintained, from a research perspective, for reporting the data. Thus, data was deidentified to respect participant privacy (Sagoe, 2015). These considerations align with the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research. Principle 5 relates to the respect of the research participants and community, which requires harm from the research to be minimised. It also reflects responsibility 18 which requires respect to be applied in human research (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2018a).

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[49] These last two measures were not used.

Chapter 4: The Netball Club

Context

The Netball Club (TNC) operates in the inner suburbs of Melbourne. Their player numbers have recently grown to just over one hundred, with junior girls' teams in every age level, mixed teams, and various divisions for open age teams. They play in four different associations, one of which they have recently founded (at the time of the research) and continue to organise. There is no central netball facility that can host the club. Therefore, they operate in several facilities in the nearby area for training and games.

The local government area of the club has a significant overrepresentation of people from the Vietnamese community compared with the population of Greater Melbourne. They also have similar representations of people from Chinese and Indian backgrounds. Both groups are relatively highly represented in Greater Melbourne compared with other cultural groups.

From observations in the club, they do not represent the cultures that are disproportionately represented in their local government area. Part of the Change Maker's project involved helping clubs to address this in various ways, one such outcome being to celebrate the cultural diversity of their club and geographic community. However, as I will explain further, the club did not do this.

The club seems to be heavily focussed on improving performance and achieving success, as explained in this fieldnote from the club's AGM: "It was interesting to see the focus on performance and success. They celebrated teams that made grand finals, kids making it onto representative squads, and their prestige as a club regarding their performance and related culture." Conversely, this focus on performance and success overshadowed any consideration of Social Inclusion. Promoting Inclusion in the areas of volunteers, mission, and committee

members "all were scarcely mentioned—not on engaging diverse volunteers, not on having a mission statement/philosophy, nor having an Inclusion position on the committee".

While this may be the case, the club also has a positive relational culture for those involved, according to Esther, the CM from the club. While this will be discussed in more detail later, it can be summarised in Esther's comment that, "the feedback we get from a lot of parents is that they do feel that they're Included, right from when they're welcomed." So, while the club might not be reaching out to their culturally diverse community, it seems they have a relatively strong welcoming environment for those that choose to join the club. Esther also talked about their relational strength in the context of people leaving other clubs that don't have a good balance between performance and relationships.

Initiative

TNC was a primarily aspirational case. While there was some talk amongst the club about doing something to celebrate cultural diversity and promote Social Inclusion, as well as regular affirmations from Esther, little of this aspiration was put into action. I met Esther from TNC in August of 2022. From the beginning, she was excited about the idea of promoting Social Inclusion for migrants and people from culturally diverse backgrounds in her club:

Regan: "Tell me about why you decided to join Change Makers."

Esther: "...it was about Social Inclusion for migrants… just because I come from migrant parents. Not raised in Australia but raised in New Zealand. I thought that was really important. Because maybe migrant groups don't realise there's these other communities that encourage Social Inclusion to play sport."

However, it was five months before this motivation advanced any further. Part of the reason for the delay may have been a lack of volunteers that year in the club and overreliance on the

president for many of the club's processes. This changed after their AGM going into 2023 where more volunteers signed up at a committee level and pressure was taken off the president. In January 2023, the CM expressed a tangible action point she desired to implement. After meeting with a member from an organisation that supports volunteer organisations, she expressed a desire for:

> social gatherings like morning teas or coffee dates and having a budget put towards celebrating and appreciating volunteers and their work. Coming from a Polynesian background, our culture is centred around family, food, and having fun with one another, so I can't believe I did not even think of that idea. I will put this idea forward to the committee.
>
> (personal communication, January 25, 2023).

Thus, she moved beyond expressing an aspiration to promote Social Inclusion, to expressing a tangible action to do so. This desired action both sought to support and encourage the volunteers of the club, with a tentative connection to celebrating their culture through mentioning her own cultural food practices. She would go on to strengthen this connection in an interview in March 2023. Moreover, this comment was more than a wishful idea as she intended to put it forward to the committee. She strengthens this commitment in our March 2023 interview, expressing her confidence in organising it:

Regan: "Is that something you hope to actually put in place?"

Esther: "I am going to. Yeah."

It took until June of that year for the next step toward action to take place. I was invited to a committee meeting to talk further about the research and to discuss how they might be able to celebrate cultural diversity in their club. The meeting occurred on a Monday, and they decided to adapt their awards night to incorporate Esther's idea regarding cultural food celebrations.

The awards night was that Saturday, five days later. After first expressing this specific action in January 2023, five months of lag time past until the committee decided to implement it – and they wanted to implement it in just five days.

Two points should be made here. First, the committee really did seem keen to do this. In reflection, I wrote, "the discussion [moved] onto using this awards night as a sounding board to see how this type of event would go, and to potentially use it as a springboard into other events in the future." However, their positive attitude toward cultural celebrations also centred around the possible personal benefits from enjoying good food, demonstrated in the following fieldnotes:

> At one point, I think it was [the vice president who] said that you could celebrate anything and he would come to enjoy (the conversation at this point mostly revolved around food)… Another mentioned that if they do a cultural food celebration, there would be good food to eat… A small conversation occurred discussing a mango drink that was very enjoyable at a previous event.

Moreover, Esther was especially elated at the result. She texted me later that night, "Great outcome Regan!" And, "It's a great starting point especially for you to document hopeful cultural progression" (personal correspondence, June 19, 2023).[50]

Second, the cultural food celebration at the awards night did not go ahead. After the initial elation from the idea, it was decided that it was too soon to realistically implement. And so, the process came full circle. Starting from a long aspiration period, to a very short planning stage and an intended quick implementation, it returned to inaction, and another delay before any action was planned again. Indeed, as Esther later acknowledged, "so the short answer right

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[50] "Cultural progression" was a novel term that Esther did not continue to use. I think it was the result of trying to be brief.

now is celebrating culture is on hold right now but still in the works" (personal correspondence, July 27, 2023). Thus, from its first mention in January 2023, to seven months later in July, the club had gone full circle to an aspirational position on celebrating culture. It is something they affirm as desirable but continue to neglect to plan and implement in a formal capacity.

Evaluation

Since TNC did not organise a celebration of cultural diversity, they, consequently, did not evaluate it. However, while I will still draw this case later on, some evaluative remarks can be made here to furnish this case report. In particular, I will discuss everyday forms of cultural inclusion and Social Inclusion from Esther's perspective based on my discussions with her.

Everyday Cultural Inclusion?

While the preceding narrative describes TNC's lack of "success" so far in organising a desired celebration of cultural diversity, it does not preclude the possibility of informal forms of cultural celebration occurring in the weekly rhythm of the club. Although the focus of this research was on the processes of a more formal celebration, instances of informal celebratory action were evident.

It seems proper for this discussion to begin with Esther herself. Her parents are from the Cook Islands and migrated to New Zealand where Esther was raised. She then migrated to Australia herself. Thus, she is well acquainted with the experience of migration. Despite her migration journey, she still holds at least some of her traditional Polynesian cultural values closely. She mentions this in relation to the idea to have a cultural food celebration:

> And this again comes back to my case a bit further as well. Like generally when
> we're—like from a Pacific Polynesian background, all of our family are about
> food, coming together with food and having a good time and partying—just
> being healthy.

Her participation in TNC is influenced by this cultural heritage. Growing up in New Zealand, her family was very involved in sport, especially rugby. It was important for her parents to find a sport club with similar cultural values, backgrounds, and a place to "fit in." Speaking of her how her parents looked for a sports club, Esther said:

> What's the cultural vibe around the clubs? And then you find that a lot of the people that were running the clubs were from similar backgrounds. So, it helps just when you're trying to find a way to fit in, which is generally what you're looking for. You're looking for people who come from a similar background as yours, like similar sports.

Here, she makes a connection between sport, culture, and community. Her parents maintained and reinforced their cultural values through a sporting community. This practice was a driving force that motivated their choice of a particular sport club. Thus, the sport club was a medium through which they could experience and reinforce their cultural values. Additionally, the sport club became the medium through which they found a sense of community and could "fit in." This value placed in sport was passed onto Esther. When discussing what she and her daughter looked for in a club, they were,

> trying to find a club that fitted our cultural values as well, that were very supportive, inclusive, created really strong friendships and relationships. And we're finding that [this] netball club ticks all those boxes for us. So, that's why we're still here. And that's why I'm in the committee.

Thus, she reiterates the importance of being able to maintain her own cultural values and to "fit in" to the community, through friendships and relationships. And, while the club has been unable to do a formal celebration of culture, it ticks the boxes for Esther regarding the maintenance of her cultural values. So, despite her cultural difference, and her migrant history,

she and her daughter have no trouble feeling Included at TNC. Indeed, at various points throughout 2023, Esther affirmed that TNC was an inclusive place for her.

Esther did not expand in detail on what cultural values she finds significance in or how she is able to maintain them within the club. One cultural expression she did mention explicitly related to the use and significance of food. Talking about her idea for a cultural food celebration she said:

> Because, you know, I know from our cultural background, you put food down for like half an hour, it can change the mood tremendously. I can tell you, from somebody who was probably an absolute grump before they showed up, and then all of a sudden… you know? It helps… I couldn't believe that I didn't think of [a cultural food celebration], because that's exactly what I do with the netball girls. I bring them—I've always got food. "Are you hungry? Yep? I've got some food." And sometimes they really are stretched. And then I'll come over, "have a bite." And they'll chirp up again.

Thus, Esther has both mentioned that food is culturally important and connected that to how it is the case. For Esther, food can de-escalate a situation, provide stress relief, and improve one's mood. This is not just a reality for Esther, but it is her lived cultural experience. She has grown up seeing and using food to positively moderate social settings. Now, she applies this cultural value to her role in the netball club. She always has food on hand as a way to re-energise the netball players. Moreover, she perceives this action as productive in the experience of the players as they transform from a position of being "stretched" and they "chirp up again".

Notice also that this is not entirely a deliberate application of her cultural heritage. It is partly the expression of an unconscious embodiment of the cultural value. Having grown up experiencing food as a positive stimulus in social settings, she has, to some extent, come to believe in its significance and to embody it in her actions. This is demonstrated in her disbelief

that she did not make a connection between her own cultural food practices at netball events and the possibility of doing something similar for the whole club. Her disbelief demonstrates that her own cultural food practice at the club is something that she considers in some way intrinsic to herself; it is normal for her. It is as if she is asking, "how did something so important to me not cross my mind as a possible application for the whole club?" Also, her disbelief also demonstrates the value she places on that cultural practice. It is likely that her shock comes from some sense of embarrassment in not having made that connection for something that is so valuable for her. Thus, she has embodied that cultural value and so expresses it.

Clearly, then, Esther has in some way been able to live out her cultural values in the netball club. This, most probably, has contributed to her sense of Inclusion in the club, especially because of the positive effect she sees produced by the action. However, this was the only instance mentioned regarding how she, with her cultural values, has been included in the club. More frequently she focussed on the welcoming nature of the club and the ease with which she and her daughter have developed friendships.

Esther and Social Inclusion

Esther mentioned several ways that she felt Socially Included in the club that did not seem related to her cultural identity. First, she is disposed towards building relationships and extraversion. Or, as she put it "I'm quite social and chatty." For her, relationships are personally and professionally important. "I think the one thing with me… in general is relationships – or building relationships – are really important; it's part of my working, or my paid job. I understand how important relationships are." This value in relationship transitions into her participation in the netball club. "We've always just wanted to feel Included in a team that values fun, friendships, and relationships." This notion of the importance of relationship came up several times during our discussions. It was clear that this was a strong motivating force for Esther in choosing and remaining at TNC. In the last quote, the connection she has

made between relationships and Inclusion can be clearly seen. Part of her desire to be Socially Included is to find a place in which she can build relationships.

Second, Esther was particularly concerned about the welcoming nature of her relationships and its connection to Social Inclusion. "So, the reason why I'm still in the club is because I feel like there's a lot of that. There's a lot of Inclusion, a lot of welcoming into the club." Here, welcoming is a means to maintain the membership of those already at the club. And, from Esther's perspective, this culture of welcoming is woven into the fabric of the club. "The feedback we get from a lot of parents is that they do feel that they're Included, right from when they're welcomed." In this instance, welcoming is a catalyst that is a common reason for people staying in the club once they have initially joined. The parents she is thinking of must have stayed long enough to tell her that being welcomed was an important part of their decision to stay in the club. Esther and her daughter have embodied this welcoming attitude and demonstrate it to new families in the club. Moreover, she thinks this a consistent experience for new parents who stay at the club. This is evident in the following story that she recalls:

> I've heard them actually share their experiences with other people; they've told me. You know what I mean? They've told me that "oh my gosh," you know? "Thank you for your daughter for welcoming Cara, because she was so shy, and Kiana just came and took her under her wing, and then off they went, and I didn't have to worry." Do you know what I mean? Yes, stories like that. And there's plenty of them. There's plenty.

Finally, Esther feels included at TNC because she perceives that there is a balance between a competitive spirit and social focus. This comes out clearly when she discusses why others have joined TNC:

> It's not just us. I know other parents [that] I've spoken to, [who] have come from high performing clubs that win win win win win. They've come to us because

it's not always about the winning. There's more to it, you know? It's about, you

know? They want more. They want fun. They want [their] children to, you

know? Enjoy themselves when they're playing sport.

For Esther, her club does not have a purely competitive culture, which she sees in other clubs. Indeed, from her perspective, many parents leave such clubs because of the overemphasis that those clubs have on competition and come to TNC because their children can have fun and enjoy themselves while playing. This is also her own experience. She introduces this experience by noting that it is not only her experience before explaining how other parents have that experience at TNC.

Reflections

While TNC is certainly a good and Socially Inclusive club for Esther, the preceding discussion draws into question whether TNC is a proactively Inclusive club for people from culturally diverse backgrounds for two reasons. First, while part of Esther's cultural identity is the importance of social relationships, her reasons for feeling Included at the club were rarely explicitly cultural. She seemed to focus heavily on the relational aspect of Social Inclusion. She rarely talked about spatial, functional, or power dimensions of inclusion (R. Bailey, 2005). In fact, when I brought up other forms of Inclusion, Esther said, "well, I think Inclusion is around relationships." This raises uncertainty as to how broad and significant her cultural values are since she rarely connected them with the importance of Inclusion. How much of Polynesian or Cook Islander culture has she taken on in her upbringing – and, for those values that she has embodied, how strongly does she hold to them?

Second, the relational emphasis she identified in the club was never associated with a specific change the club made for the purpose of Including people from culturally diverse backgrounds. The things that made Esther feel Socially Included were just normal aspects of

the TNC's culture when she joined. Consequently, it is worth considering of what Esther's Inclusion is a product. Could it be that it is in fact Esther who has modified, devalued, or even lost her own cultural values in some way to better fit into the club? Alternatively, it could be that, in New Zealand, she was socialised into more traditional Western values (through various means), leaving those parts of her family's Polynesian culture that were consistent with Western values. On the other hand, from my discussions with Esther, it does not seem as if TNC changed the way they do things to be more Inclusive of Esther.

One example that supports the idea that TNC has not changed to be more Inclusive of people from culturally diverse backgrounds is in how Esther joined the committee. For context, from her perspective, people with Polynesian backgrounds are not particularly disposed to roles on committee.

Regan: Do you think that there are certain groups of people that are less inclined to volunteer?

Esther: Yeah. Polynesians. My type. A hundred percent.

Regan: Really?

Esther: Got a lot of opinions. Don't want to come in committee and talk about it. And I don't know why. I think of my husband, and I think it's just his personality is quite shy. It's like, "well, I don't want to be judged." Well, you're judging, and you've got a comment, you've got an opinion. If you want it to get across… you can give it in the most thoughtful and respectful way.

She interprets the question about volunteering in terms of committee participation. For her, people with Polynesian background have a lot of opinions about how the club could or should be run but are not willing to participate in the committee or to make their opinions more publicly known. It is telling that an entire cultural group seems uncomfortable with putting

themselves up for committee positions. This context juxtaposes Esther's participation in the committee. What is different about her?

Esther cites a personal motivation for joining the committee, rather than any initiative of the club to actively Include people from other cultures. She had two interconnected reasons for joining the committee: to better understand the club's operations, and to help her daughter. She said, "I was on the committee… to help my daughter, to understand what's going on at a club level." She also mentions the importance of being a role model for her daughter, who will see her commitment to supporting the club:

> I think it's really important to my kids to be—or to know that I'm doing things like this, so then that way—I mean, you need to lead by example, right? So, I want them to see "okay, well my mum helps me in the committee".

By inference, the importance of her daughter seeing her involved in this way is to pass on this value to contribute to the community which she is involved in. She is providing an example for her daughter to follow in. Moreover, as seen in addition to the previous statements, Esther joined the committee for personal reasons: to understand the club, to help her daughter, and to provide a positive example for her. It seems then, in this regard, that Esther is an anomalous case in the Polynesian community of TNC. She had a strong personal motivation to join the committee which other parents with Polynesian background do not share. Additionally, it was not the club's initiative that brought Esther into the committee as someone from a diverse cultural background, but a culturally anomalous character trait.

Chapter 5: The Hockey Club

Context

The Hockey Club (THC) is also situated in metropolitan Melbourne. They have their own club house and two full sized hockey fields on which to train and host competition games. They have ~600 members, fielding ~34 teams every season with a roughly even split of men's and women's teams. THC has been described as "pretty white," recognising that there is little cultural diversity in the membership and leadership, and that it certainly does not reflect the cultural diversity of their geographic area.

Similarly to TNC, THC resides in a relatively culturally diverse area with some cultural groups overrepresented compared with Greater Melbourne. Due to the rest of their context, I have not been explicit about their geographic location or cultural demographic to maintain their deidentification. In the context of Change Makers, these cultural groups could have been addressed as areas to promote inclusion but, as will be described, they did not pursue this in favour for addressing Indigenous culture.

Their club has a strong commitment to Inclusion. Their board has contained an Inclusion portfolio for several years and they enact this commitment in several ways. While they have recently formed an explicit volunteer Inclusion officer position, the new role is not a part of the board. On their website, they have an Inclusion and diversity policy which acknowledges the value of diversity and the importance of equal treatment regardless of each person's differences. They also have a message from the Inclusion officer which also highlights their Inclusion related events. These include two LGBTQ+ related events, a Men's Health and Women's Round, and, relevant for this project, an Indigenous Round. In this regard, they have an acknowledgement of Country at the beginning of their about page. The Indigenous Round will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Paula is the CM from THC. She was heavily engaged with the program, including working to implement change in her club. She is also currently the driving force behind, and primary organiser of, the Indigenous round. She is personally passionate about Inclusion and took on the portfolio when she joined the board in 2021. At the time of this project, she was the Inclusion officer and no longer on the board.

Initiative

In 2023, THC hosted their third annual Indigenous round. It ran over 2 weeks so that all teams could participate during a home game and coincided roughly with National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance Committee (NAIDOC) week.[51] NAIDOC week was historically a day of mourning, held on the Sunday before Australia day. However, over time, the date was changed to July, it changed focus to celebrating Indigenous culture, and was extended to cover a whole week (NAIDOC, n.d.-b). The focus of THC has been on celebrating Indigenous culture. Being the third Indigenous round, there is some relevant history to consider.

2021 Indigenous Round

Matthew, a board member of THC had a personal interest in Indigenous culture and affairs. So, he wanted the club to celebrate Indigenous culture. Thus, in 2020, with the approval of the board, he applied for a local council community events grant. Paula said that "it was really sort of a personal passion project for [him] and he was part of the grants team. So, he did the application and everyone was fine with it." It was a general grant for any event purposed to serve the local council community. The application was successful, supplying the club with $10 000 to run an Indigenous round event.

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[51] While the name only mentions a single day, which is historically true, the event now occurs over a whole week. Additionally, while the name refers to the name of the committee, the acronym is colloquially used to refer to the week (NAIDOC, n.d.-b).

Three years on, and Matthew is no longer at the club. So, his actions and attitudes were only articulated through Paula who worked with him in the planning during 2020. Unfortunately, it is unclear how Matthew knew about the local council grant or what background experience helped him write a successful grant. However, Paula thought that he either "works for a council, or has worked for some councils in, sort of, the event space." Regardless, he had enough relevant capital to draw from to resource his club for a substantial Indigenous round. Along with Paula and Matthew, one other person was closely involved in the organisation of the round.

The first Indigenous Round was actually called a NAIDOC Round as it aligned with NAIDOC week. With the support of the $10 000 grant, Matthew came up with some bold plans. Paula said that he was "a very driven person and had a very particular idea about what the event should be like." However, his driven personality did not make for smooth sailing for the small committee. While he began organising some ambitious activities:

> [He] just ended up getting really burnt out and so couldn't actually finish off the organisation of the event. So, like a week out from the event, um, basically me and another committee member had to take over, sort of, the bulk of organising the event because—like, sort of, a heap of stuff just hadn't been done.

Paula and the other committee member managed to bring much of Matthew's ambition together, organising several opportunities for celebrating Indigenous culture during the NAIDOC Round. One important and ongoing activity they organised was a welcome to Country and smoking ceremony. This involved liaising with the Indigenous land council for the land on which their club resides. An elder from the Indigenous community came out and

welcomed those at the event to their Country (land). The smoking ceremony is a part of this and will be discussed in more detail for the most recent Indigenous round.[52]

NAIDOC's theme in 2021 was *Heal Country* (NAIDOC, n.d.-a). Prompted by this theme, one of the key celebrations of the event was a native wildlife display, where kids and adults could hold baby crocodiles and large snakes among other animals. According to Paula, the native wildlife display was "such a popular part of the day that we didn't want to lose that, sort of, in the next iterations of the event." For each Indigenous round since, the same company has been invited back and supported by the club.

The Indigenous round also offered a platform for an Indigenous artist to sell their artwork to attendees on the day, rather than being paid by the club to come. This artist became increasingly popular over the year and so had other commitments the following year. This was bittersweet for Paula who said:

> We were sort of hoping to um, build an ongoing relationship with him. But he has done a lot of really cool work in this space. So, he gets really great opportunities around, sort of, NAIDOC week. So, that's um, sort of one of the challenges we sort of face is we build these relationships and they get these better—or bigger opportunities. Which is great, and we love all [of] them but, it means we sort of, have to keep going and finding sort of, I guess, less well known businesses to engage with, like, to an extent. When we're talking about artists, and those sorts of things, it's sort of less well known ones that we can engage with, because they're the ones that are going to come to our event.

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[52] For more information about welcome to Country ceremonies in Australia, see the Reconciliation Australia (Reconciliation Australia, n.d.-a) page *Acknowledgement of Country and Welcome to Country*.

2022 Indigenous Round

In 2022, with Matthew leaving the club, Paula took up responsibility for organising the Indigenous round. The third organising member from 2021, along with three others were included in this committee, one of whom had Indigenous heritage. The committee tried to build on the previous year's event by organising an Indigenous round uniform. However, they were unable to organise and have them manufactured in time. Paula said that "the timeframes just didn't end up working in our favour."

2022 also became a significant learning curve that shaped the 2023 round. There had been political issues between neighbouring Indigenous groups concerning the boundaries of their respective lands. Before the 2022 Indigenous round, the borders were redefined to try and resolve this issue. This meant that THC now sat on the land of a different Indigenous group, meaning they needed to contact a different Indigenous land council to organise the welcome to Country and smoking ceremony.

However, no one in the committee was keeping up with the local Indigenous affairs. So, they did not know about the change in borders. While they began organising a welcome to Country with the same people from the previous year, they were made aware of the issue in time and were able to reorganise. Paula explains:

> So, one of the things that happened in 2022 was we asked the elder that did our welcome to Country in 2021 to come back and do the welcome to Country but, he [wasn't from the right land council anymore]. And we hadn't realised that the borders had changed. So, we had, very kindly, someone from the [other] land council reach out to say, "Hey, I've just seen your event on Facebook. You've stuffed it up and you need—you're on [the Country we are responsible for]. I can get you in touch with the right people so you can get, like, the right elder to come out and do your welcome".

As a result of this, Paula was determined to involve people who were actively engaged with local Indigenous affairs. Paula reflected, "that was a bit mortifying, but I guess part of the reflection on that was we needed to make sure we had more Indigenous people involved in the committee that are, sort of, actively engaged in these spaces." As a result, they engaged a local Indigenous parent, the mother of a player who was also on the 2023 committee. She had worked in management for Indigenous health services and is currently a research fellow in the same setting. Additionally, they utilised more Indigenous advisors. Two female players at the club with Indigenous heritage were not directly involved in the committee but agreed to be contacted to give their opinion or advice on matters the committee wanted advice on. Phoebe, one of the committee members gives an example of this relationship,

> Phoebe: …there were others who just wanted—like, were there if wanted to run something by them—
>
> Naomi: Yes.
>
> Phoebe: —to see if it felt appropriate or considered… I know Rosanna—I could just message her and say "Hey, does this feel right, this idea?" Or, like, "am I on the right track?" Or whatever, and she'd be like, "yeah that's great," or "no," or whatever, "here's why".

The other major learning curve involved their grant application. As Paula explains,

> One of the mistakes we made in 2022 was [that] we applied for the same grant, with basically exactly the same application, but they don't do recurring funding for the same event. So, you have to change what you're asking for so [that] you can kind of get in your event within the grant.

As a result of using a very similar grant application, their application was rejected. This was problematic because those funds were used for the welcome to Country, native wildlife, and

was intended for various other Indigenous businesses as well. Consequently, they turned to sponsorships from private businesses to maintain the grandeur of the event from the previous year. Paula acknowledged that this was not something that came naturally to the members of her hockey club and that the board perhaps even limits themselves by focussing on small business sponsorship. However, Paula sought out large corporate businesses to provide substantial funds for her event. She also recognised that it is not necessarily easy to attain corporate sponsorships but requires an "in." For one of the 2022 sponsors, she said that she has "a friend who works in head office and I was basically like, 'who do I need to email? I need some cash. How do I do it?'" Through this connection, Paula was able to secure approximately $5 000 in sponsorship money for the Indigenous round.

2023 Indigenous Round

In 2023, THC again applied for the same local council grant. Having learnt from their mistakes in 2022, they gave the Indigenous round a new focus. The event was part of a broader strategy to develop and implement a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP). RAPs are intended to promote reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. "At its heart, reconciliation is about strengthening relationships between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous peoples, for the benefit of all Australians" (Reconciliation Australia, n.d.-b). One example Reconciliation Australia gives of this is the promotion of equal opportunities in, and quality of, life. The club began working on the RAP after the Indigenous round, with plans to finish by the end of the year. Consequently, the processes and outcomes surrounding the RAP are not considered in detail in this thesis. It is considered when relevant to other discussions (such as this one about funding).

Focussing the Indigenous round on the RAP was a sufficient level of diversity in the event for the council to accept their application and to provide them with the grant. This time, they received $27 500 from the grant, almost triple compared with the first year. They also

received sponsorships from three private companies, amounting to almost $11 000 in cash and other contributions. Finally, Paula is also concerned with how much money the club makes through their normal services during the event. She spoke specifically about identifying how much money the canteen would make compared with a normal operation day.

Paula is motivated to seek funding beyond the local council grant to increase the event's sustainability. She recognises that one day they might not be able to rely on the same council grant, nor replace it with another one. This is reflected in the following discussion:

Regan: So, what will happen to the Indigenous round once you run out of, sort of, ways to modify the description [for the council grant application]?

Paula: [chuckles] Well, that's part of why we've got—brought some sponsors in. Um, so, the plan with that is to—firstly I want to work out how much money we bring in from, like, the actual event, compared with other, sort of, weekends… basically what's the financial benefit of doing it?

Regan: Is that so that it could potentially be a self-sustaining event? Like, one year's income runs the next year's [event]?

Paula: Yeah. So basically, if I can say—if we're making 5 grand on the canteen extra from what we'd normally make in a premier league round, then I say, "the event's bringing in 5 grand. Like, the club should contribute 5 grand to running the event." Because that's basically—we're setting it off—we're a not-for-profit organisation. So, that's fine.

The club also changed the date of their Indigenous round in 2023. Whereas the previous rounds ran on the weekends of NAIDOC week, Hockey Victoria introduced an Indigenous round that ran the week after. THC changed their round to align with this. Paula thought this was beneficial because,

NAIDOC falls during school holidays, so we don't have junior games that week, so having it in this sort of, later week, I think, is actually better because it means we capture all the junior teams as well, as part of the actual round.

While the change of date was perceived as beneficial, THC were clearly, temporally, leaders in promoting this kind of activity, having been one of the first to organise it. They had run two Indigenous rounds before Hockey Victoria followed suit and promoted it for every Victorian Association. To the best of Paula's knowledge, there were only two other clubs "that had done an Indigenous round event before this year [2023]."

In 2023, THC further expanded its support for Indigenous businesses and celebration of Indigenous culture. As with the previous years, they organised a welcome to Country. It was organised through the local land organisation and run by two Indigenous elders from the local community. They were introduced by the MC for the day, an ex-player and mother of a player who also has Indigenous heritage. She opened the event with an acknowledgement of Country before inviting the elders to begin the welcome to Country.

The elders both talked about the historic, cultural importance of welcoming others onto your Country to create and maintain strong bonds between one another. Part of welcoming, for them, is smoking. The smoking ceremony involves lighting a small fire and placing green leaves to create smoke. Historically, people were both smoked onto the Country, welcoming them, and smoked off the Country, farewelling them. For this event, senior people in the club— team captains, board members etc.—were encouraged to come forward first. The MC led the way, standing in the way of the smoke, waving it onto herself. The others followed suit. Finally, anyone who wanted to participate was welcomed to walk through the smoke.

Many of the younger kids were especially excited at the prospect of smoking themselves. After everyone that wanted to participate had walked through once, the kids would return, hastening to the smoke, flapping their arms to stir it up, and energetically spinning

around, ensuring their body was adequately engulfed before running away again. Many wanted to contribute to the smoke and the elders helped them to add leaves to the fire.

One girl was initially apprehensive, standing at the fringe of those engaged with the smoking ceremony. She eventually warmed up and joined in, jumping into, up, and through the smoke. This sketch, to be sure, does not represent all the children present. Many of the children did not participate or were preoccupied with other things.

The club also engaged some Indigenous businesses before the event, to produce materials for it. This included an artist, a sports clothes manufacturing company, and a glass goods manufacturer. The artist, Levi, is an Indigenous man from their local area. The club worked closely with him in the lead up to Indigenous round as the art because,

> Phoebe: …his artwork was then used across our social media and we constantly were going back and forth for permission from him to use it on—
>
> Regan: In different ways?
>
> Phoebe: Yeah, on our acknowledgement of Country cards as a strip instead of across the shirt. So yeah, there was a lot of back and forth making sure that he approved everything we were sticking it on. Yeah.

So, Levi designed an artwork for their Indigenous round playing uniform, which was then modified to suit the club's social media and to be used on acknowledgement of Country cards which were read from before matches were played. Each of these iterations required approval. The club also purchased the licence to continue using the artwork in the future. This collaboration was valuable to the committee, and they wanted to ensure they maintained a good relationship with Levi, reflected in this conversation,

> Ruth: …you'd wonder, moving forward, how involved Levi is going to be in the club and
>
> Phoebe: Yes.

Ruth: …you'd hope that it wasn't—like you'd never want it to be a transactional relationship—

Phoebe: Yep.

Ruth: We've done the big celebration in the first year and then in five years' time, well, we're still wearing his design on the shirt. Is that relationship still open? Because I think that's an important part. It's not just taking something and holding onto [it]. It's—

Phoebe: Yes.

Ruth: Continuing that connection.

Phoebe: Totally.

This brief interaction demonstrates that one intention of the organising committee was to have an enduring impact beyond the planning and implementation of the Indigenous round event itself. They also discussed other ways they could use the art around the clubhouse to foster that enduring connection with the artist. Moreover, one suggestion was to tell the story of the art and artist wherever it is displayed in the future. This desire for enduring impact was also evident in the choice of uniform manufacturer.

Paula wanted to ensure that the uniform was manufactured by an Indigenous owned business and was of good quality so that people would take pride in wearing and keeping it. She was assured of the quality of the manufacturer she chose because a friend of hers had used them for their basketball club and recommended them to her. Discussing the uniforms, she says,

Paula: [I knew that the uniforms would be] good quality stuff, because I think that's sometimes a—particularly with uniforms, you want them to be good and want them to be wearable and you want people to wear them—

Regan: And you want people to want them.

Paula: —yeah. So, that's been a really good aspect of them. Yeah, and we've

had really good feedback about the uniforms. So, that's been great.

The glass manufacturing company was a local, Indigenous owned business. They were commissioned to make custom-made, glass trophies inspired by Indigenous culture. The trophies were opaque glass boomerangs standing on a wooden board. The glass work had some Indigenous artistic patterns and the THC logo, along with the round and division printed onto it. There was a trophy for both the women's and men's Premier Leagues.

The club engaged several other Indigenous owned businesses that were involved directly on the day. As previously mentioned, the native wildlife exposure was brought back due to its popularity. While people could interact with native wildlife, they could also learn about and play some traditional Indigenous games, run by another business. A catering company was also engaged, and they brought a variety of canapés inspired by native ingredients, including crocodile and saltbush. Naomi said it was "a great array of food".

In addition to this array of cultural experiences, people could also personally support Indigenous businesses as the club invited several retail companies to sell their products at the event.   One business sold clothes, including tops, bottoms, and various accessories. These clothes also explicitly have an Indigenous flavour, whether through the Indigenous flag or a catchy slogan relating to local Indigenous affairs. For example, they were selling a limited edition collection with the 2023 NAIDOC theme "For Our Elders" written on it, including a cap, shirt, and jumper. The other two businesses sold more accessory items such as earrings, keyrings, hats, and ornaments. The products from one of these businesses were also distinctly Indigenous with, for example, the Aboriginal flag on many of their products.

Evaluation

The 2023 Indigenous round expanded significantly on previous years and to describe all the reactions and responses would take up too many pages. Rather, I will focus on the organising committee's evaluation process. Specific outcomes will be considered in the next chapter. Compared with the round itself, the evaluation was relatively lacklustre, with comments about improving their evaluation for future years coursing throughout discussions. This desire focussed on data collection from others in the club, rather than committee reflections. As aptly stated by Phoebe, "we want some data".

In fact, the prospect of evaluation was a tenuous one and was perhaps only conducted because of the influence of my research. I had asked Paula if she planned on organising an evaluation meeting and said that I would be happy to send an email out to get the ball rolling to which she replied, "I haven't organised an evaluation meeting yet, but it was on my list of things to do. I'd be happy for you to send an email through starting that process!" (personal correspondence, August 3, 2023). So, later that day I sent out an email to start the organisation of an evaluation meeting. On August 15, a date was chosen, the 24th of the same month. And just a week out a provisional time was chosen which was only confirmed on the day of the meeting. In the afternoon, Paula let the committee know that she would not be able to make it to the meeting. She later told me that one reason for this was that, as the most involved organiser, she did not want to influence the other evaluators. Closer to the time of the meeting, she sent through an evaluation form. However, I did not see this until after the meeting, none of the participants mentioned it during the meeting, and so it was not used.

The Haphazard nature of this organisation is the result of several factors. I could have been more assertive in organising the meeting but, as a case study, I wanted them to take the lead in this. My contribution to the organisation represents a concern to help them progress through the stages of celebrating culture to provide a broader account for my research.

Simultaneously, I wanted to reduce my contribution to promote the natural process of the case study. Additionally, Paula was the primary driving force of the Indigenous round and her contribution to organising this evaluation was relatively reduced. Finally, the lack of commitment to organising an evaluation surely also reflects a lack of commitment to the evaluation itself. Extending this latter reason, the participants in the evaluation lacked some combination of the skills, background, or knowledge to lead the evaluation itself. This is reflected in the beginning of the meeting.

Just three out of five members of the organising committee attended the evaluation meeting. It began somewhat awkwardly. Since Paula was not there, there was no natural leader. So, after a short silence the following conversation ensued,

Phoebe: Talk to us [directed to Regan].

Regan: Well, how do you guys want to do this?

Phoebe: Good question.

Regan: I'm happy to just ask questions—

All: —Yeah, yes.

Phoebe: Yeah, I think that's probably the best way to go.

All: [laughs]

Ruth: Yes.

Offering to ask questions was just one option I intended to give, along with encouraging them to lead the evaluation. However, my initial suggestion was met with such acceptance that it seemed futile to proceed in any other way. The participants of the organising committee clearly lacked the confidence, and perhaps the desire, to lead the evaluation themselves. Thus, while they successfully organised quite a large event for a sport club, they were less committed to evaluation than to planning and implementation. This was such a reality that the evaluation might not have even happened without my influence.

However, while they appeared less committed to conducting the evaluation, they made plenty of evaluative comments. The focus group had two main emphases. First, as mentioned above, they were particularly concerned about improving their evaluative process for future years, even thinking about comparing data collected now with data collected in ten years. The second main emphasis was on improving the THC's engagement with Indigenous culture and the reconciliation movement. This included discussion about the Indigenous round itself, but also more general aspects of the club such as its registration form and the role of the board.

This evaluation was very broad in its scope and so it addressed little in relation to actual outcomes. Thus, I pushed to have some follow up focus groups that focussed specifically on outcomes in the club, its members, and the community. Moreover, I emphasised the importance from the perspective of my research, for people both with and without Indigenous heritage to be involved in each focus group, discussing the outcomes. These were difficult to organise and almost did not happen. However, I was able to organise times that should have been suitable for these purposes with Phoebe. Unfortunately though, no one with Indigenous heritage joined these focus groups. I am unsure why this occurred, but it represents a serious limitation to my research which will be discussed in the final chapter. The first evaluation focus group, then, was the only one that had interaction between people with and without Indigenous heritage.

The specific outcomes discussed by participants, as well as the improvements identified by the committee will be discussed in more detail in the proceeding chapters. In those chapters, I also draw from the experiences of Esther, comparing the clubs, providing a broader context, and making more critical comments through this comparison. Since TNC were unable to organise a celebration, the following chapters were drafted based on THC's Indigenous round and furnished with insights from Esther's experience.

Chapter 6: Outcomes

Introduction

This chapter begins the less descriptive and more analytical aspect of data analysis. It presents some of the work of theme development and refining in the thematic analysis process. In particular, it presents the thematic groupings concerning the outcomes of celebrating cultural diversity and considers them abductively to make more general statements about the achievements that celebrating cultural diversity produces. For this section, I have primarily drawn from THC since TNC did not implement a celebration of cultural diversity.

As is evident in the case studies, neither club acted to celebrate the cultural diversity of migrant cultures in their club or local community. Rather, TNC did not do any action in addition to their usual routine. THC celebrated Indigenous culture. This raises several possible directions for analysing and comparing the cases. Since my intention and focus has been on exploring the processes of sport clubs, the following chapters critically consider why Indigenous culture was pursued, rather than migrant culture as was promoted in the Change Makers project. Consequently, I have not focussed on data relating to the inaction of the netball club.[53] Nor have I changed the focus to outcomes for people with Indigenous heritage in THC.

To begin critically considering why Indigenous rather than migrant culture was pursued, the outcomes of the Indigenous round must first be outlined. This will form a base from which to critique the different cultural focus. There were four broad abductive groupings outlining the achievements of THC in celebrating cultural diversity. Here, I distinguish between abduction and achievement on the one hand, and description and outcome on the other.

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[53] TNC, and particularly Esther's efforts and experience, will be useful in the next chapter as I seek to outline main underlying motivations that influenced the shift to focussing on Indigenous culture in THC driving these particular achievements.

This is to maintain an analytical distinction between the two categories. Generally, outcomes are very specific. A group of outcomes lead to a more general achievement for THC. This latter category is analytically distinct in that it relies on various levels of inference. The first abductive achievement was support for Indigenous businesses. However, it will not be discussed in detail in the proceeding chapters as the various outcomes (how businesses were supported) were described in THC case study. Additionally, implications for the club are less significant and actually focussed externally from the club and toward the Indigenous community more generally. The three abductive achievements discussed in this chapter are the production of symbolic capital, cognitive and behavioural modifications, and influencing positive affective responses. This section will focus on the positive nature of these outcomes. However, they are lacking when considered in the context of other possible achievements. These lacks will be explained in the next chapter. I also discuss Social Inclusion as an achievement as this was an important contextual focus from the Change Makers project.

Major Achievements

Symbolic Capital

The first thematic group of outcomes led to the following abductive statement in answering the research question. The Indigenous round produces positive symbolic capital for THC regarding their engagement with Indigenous culture. This is perhaps the most significant achievement for THC from the outcomes within this thematic group. Much of the discussion concerning outcomes related in some way to how the club is perceived by both insiders and outsiders. Indeed, Ruth, one of the players with Indigenous heritage, presented the club's reputation as the ultimate goal of the event. She said, "[because] ultimately, it's good to promote the club but, it's not—for once it's not about hockey… It's about when people hear

THC they know that it's an Inclusive place." Thus, having a reputation of Inclusivity is the most important thing for Ruth.[55]

Through the Indigenous round, THC has produced various symbols (and enacted various other things) that have influenced a particular perception in the minds of people both internal and external to the club. Internally, this was predominately demonstrated in the adornment of the club with various forms of Indigenous art. Prior to the round, they had a custom made acknowledgement of Country plaque made and placed on the building at the entrance from the main car park. They also had custom made boomerang trophies made for the Premier League games. Both of these were made by companies owned by people with Indigenous heritage. Additionally, they used a wall in the clubhouse to put up all the previous years' NAIDOC week posters which include art relating to Indigenous people, culture, and history.

While all of these required a certain level of investment from the club, the most prominent example of their use of Indigenous art was in their Indigenous uniform. They also used the same design in their social media, on acknowledgement of Country cards (which were read from before every game), and on club merchandise (such as bucket hats and hoodies). Almost every participant agreed that the uniform was well-received by the players in the club, even by groups who were not expected to be interested in it. Paula said, "I think also quite a lot of masters players bought it which I wasn't necessarily expecting in that cohort." Moreover, players at the club continued to wear it beyond the Indigenous round itself, at trainings and even other matches. For participants, they perceived that this ongoing action had a significant impact on the community. In this regard, Paula thought that it would help people to continue thinking about Indigenous culture saying, "I think having the shirts just makes it easier to keep

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[55] Implied in this statement, of course, is that THC is actually an inclusive place too. However, what that means was not explicitly explained here.

it front of mind because people are just wearing it all the time". Similarly, an increased prevalence of players wearing Indigenous-style clothing was also mentioned several times.[56]

Together, these similar acts signify a greater amount of acceptance for the organising committee's plans and actions in relation to the Indigenous round. It demonstrates that people in the club are, at least in part, on board with what the club is currently doing to celebrate Indigenous culture. All these symbols (Indigenous-style clothing and uniform, acknowledgement plaque, boomerang trophies) represent the club's celebration of Indigenous culture and remain as a reminder thereof. This expands on the findings from Doidge et al. (2020) that having a "refugees welcome" flag promotes an inclusive environment. While the flag contains a message, there is a corresponding symbol that the club is actively involved in welcoming refugees. While the content of both is similar in their case, for THC these symbols do not contain explicit messaging but were perceived to still send a positive message. In Bourdieusian terms, these symbols are misrecognised as capital in the perceived reputation THC has for celebrating Indigenous culture. The capital is dependant on the perception of the beholder.

Externally, the attention THC received from external entities who were interested in what they were doing also demonstrates the production of symbolic capital. While this attention does not leave lasting symbols, it has left an imprint in the mind of those in THC concerning their reputation for being leaders in celebrating Indigenous culture. This is put simply in the following conversation:

Thomas: Obviously, Hockey Victoria has jumped in as well and a couple of other

                   clubs have jumped in…

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[56] This was perceived as representing a cultural shift. Paula thought that wearing such clothing was perceived as "less like you're making a political statement and more just like 'I'm just wearing an AIC top'… I think it's an easy, like, gateway into that just being normalised behaviour."

Phoebe: [To] ask how we did it.

Both Hockey Victoria, the governing body, and other clubs have sought advice from THC regarding their Indigenous round. Since they are asked for advice, FHC must have a positive reputation for celebrating Indigenous culture with these external entities. This is reflected in Phoebe's comment which she makes with pride. She recognises THC's reputation and is glad to see it.

Consequently, THC has been endowed with symbolic capital in the perception of several of its members and external entities. There are various things they can point to, various symbols that demonstrate that they are an exemplar case for celebrating Indigenous culture. While there may have been an overemphasis on the reputation they have, rather than any other effect of the symbolic capital, the message of the symbols is important for anyone considering THC and who has a vested interest in Indigenous culture. Onlookers know the THC is a place that has celebrated Indigenous culture in a particular way. For those who value this kind of behaviour, THC's symbolic capital will be perceived as valuable. For those less inclined to consider their relationship with Indigenous culture, the symbolic capital may not be recognised.

Modification

The second thematic group of outcomes led to the following abductive statement. The Indigenous round influenced people through both cognitive modifications, wherein they learnt about Indigenous culture and were more readily disposed to engage with it—and behavioural modifications, wherein they more frequently engaged with Indigenous culture. This was perhaps the second most significant achievement for THC. It overlaps with the symbolic capital provided by changes in apparel worn by members at the club.[58] The participants made

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[58] This is one of the aforementioned ways that the outcomes that produced the symbolic capital achievement also signify other achievements.

the most value statements in relation to these cognitive and behavioural outcomes. It was clearly perceived as positive and as evidence of THC moving in the right direction of engagement with Indigenous culture. I use the language of modification intentionally. These are not substantive changes in the way someone lives or interacts with other cultures. A modification is a smaller adaption of a current practice.[59]

In the symbolic capital section, I have already discussed two of the most prominent behavioural changes identified by participants—wearing the Indigenous-art uniform and wearing other Indigenous-style clothing beyond the round itself. These represent modifications because they are a small change to the players' typical clothing choices, but they are not wearing a completely different kind of clothing.

There was also one other major behaviour modification that is worth discussing. Participants noticed that the juniors in the club engaged with Indigenous culture beyond the Indigenous round. Abraham talked about how his own son sent him photos of Indigenous art that he saw on other hockey apparel and even bought the Indigenous round top of the Australian hockey team while he was interstate. More significantly, this was perceived to be a part of a broader solidarity in engaging with Indigenous culture among the juniors. This dynamic, and the great value applied to it by the participants, can be seen in the following discussion:

Abraham: …the fact that you've actually got a group of boys, under 16 boys, between themselves coordinating to wear their Indigenous tops past the event—

Phoebe: —to affect change at that age—

Abraham: —that says enough for me… I don't think it would matter what level of input you had to get that outcome, that far outweighs what's contributed.

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[59] This will be relevant in the critique in chapter 8.

Phoebe: That feels really satisfying to me because something we've spoken about with Ruth and Naomi… They want to see some kind of change, or lingering benefit to hosting a day like that. So, it's really nice to hear that there has been lingering effects of the day. And I find that much more satisfying than just how the actual day felt like how it went.

For these two, it is more than just the wearing of the Indigenous top, but the collective nature of coordinating an action that continues to display the Indigenous artwork, that is valuable. This supports previous findings that it is important to develop a sense of community when promoting inclusion (Tuchel et al., 2021). The boys have developed a sense of community through this behavioural modification. This is probably the most substantial ongoing action from the Indigenous round, considering its intentional and corporate nature.

There were also several cognitive modifications identified by the participants. While these were less significant than the behavioural outcomes, they were closely linked with them and have a mutual relationship in many respects. There were two main types of cognitive modifications: learnings about Indigenous people and culture, and a cognitive reorientation in one's desire to learn about and engage with Indigenous culture.

Regarding what was learnt from the Indigenous round, on a very basic level, one participant, before the event "didn't realise that [there was] Indigenous heritage in members within the club" and so learnt about that. Others learnt the name of the Indigenous Country that the club sits on and how to pronounce it. They also learnt more about the history of NAIDOC Week through the NAIDOC poster wall. Paula had people mention that they "didn't know that it went back that far" and they commented on "how different they were year to year".

As for the cognitive reorientation toward a desire to engage more with Indigenous culture, this was clearly evident in one focus group discussion. Each of the three involved in

this part of the discussion, in turn, affirmed a newfound desire to learn more about Indigenous culture:

Lydia: And a desire to know more, I think, for me.

Thomas: Yeah, absolutely.

Zeke: Yeah, we are pretty limited in our education around the…

Affect

The most frequently cited achievement, which is most directly related to the celebration of Indigenous culture was a positive affective response to the Indigenous round. With the various celebrations of Indigenous culture on the day, people described it as having a "carnival atmosphere," a "good vibe," a "great welcoming environment," and that "everyone had a great time; all the feedback was really positive." A positive affective response is a core outcome of celebrations described in the literature review (Lee et al., 2012). In terms of Arne Saeys (2021) aspects of multicultural festivals, people with Indigenous heritage were able to self-identify their culture and were financially supported as they were invited as businesses. They were either paid by the club to be there or were selling their own products. As in other contexts, cross-cultural mixing was scarcely identified by the participants (Lee et al., 2012; Saeys, 2021).

This was another area of agreement between those with and without Indigenous heritage. It was especially valuable to those with Indigenous heritage who often initiated such comments to which others agreed, simply evident in this excerpt:

Naomi: …it was lovely to see people enjoying Aboriginal culture and for it to be showcased to community. It was really good.

Phoebe: Mmm. Great.

Additionally, participants with Indigenous heritage were positive about the respect shown for the smoking ceremony and a curiosity around it and other Indigenous cultural practices. In the

following excerpt, Ruth begins by describing how her teammates were curious about the smoking ceremony. She concludes by acknowledging the respect she perceived in the timeliness of her teammates and their accommodation:

> I think it's nice on the day being part of the team and hearing people say, like, "I don't know what a smoking ceremony is about." Or, "what does that mean?" Like, I think it's the whispers amongst teammates, or, you know? … I think a lot happens… even within our team and that kind of conversation starter and that—I think the one really nice thing about it was that it seemed really respected by the club in terms of like this is when it starts, this is when you need to be here, you need to accommodate that as teams and players…

Ruth later reiterates the respect she saw for the smoking ceremony and Naomi concurred that "it was lovely." For these two women with Indigenous heritage, then, they perceived and were pleased by a positive affective response from the club towards Indigenous culture.

Social Inclusion

> …being part of it is actually, like—made me start thinking more about, obviously the whole—I don't want to say movement—but the Inclusion entirety, as a whole... I had a bigger appreciation in terms of us trying to respect and that sort of thing in a work environment but also as a community as well.

In this section, I consider how celebrating Indigenous culture contributed to Social Inclusion as an outcome. I draw from the models of Social Inclusion outlined in the literature review to consider the kinds of Social Inclusion that occurred. There were two overarching characteristics of Social Inclusion promoted by the Indigenous round. First, there was a general association with an Inclusion "movement" aptly reflected in the introductory quote. There, Thomas recognises that this is some kind of "movement," relating it to Inclusion but does not

want to call it that, thus distancing himself from the "movement." He associates himself with the movement, but not too closely. I explain this in a primarily descriptive manner as it was primarily derived by inference, with little active construction by the participants in my data.

The second characteristic of Social Inclusion is how power was distributed and expressed as a Social Inclusion outcome—and how it mediated Social Inclusion. These were prevalent both implicitly and explicitly in discussions with participants. I introduce the analytical metaphor described by Ghassan Hage (1998) of "the stew that grew" to help navigate the relationship of power with Social Inclusion.

Associating With the Inclusion "Movement"

The participants' association with the Social Inclusion "movement" expresses itself in a number of dimensions of Social Inclusion (R. Bailey, 2005). The introductory quote, in its context, demonstrates this well:

> Thomas: For me, I felt more, I've used the word educated but, I'll use it again, like, educated because, you know? … being part of it is actually, like—made me start thinking more about, obviously the whole—I don't want to say movement—but the Inclusion entirety, as a whole… [discussing his work context]… I had a bigger appreciation in terms of us trying to respect and that sort of thing in a work environment but also as a community as well.
>
> Phoebe: It's a bit more tangible when you come and experience it as opposed to seeing it on TV at the start of a footy match.
>
> Lydia: You were in it. You were part of it.
>
> Thomas: Exactly, exactly. I definitely felt more Included. But it made me start thinking more and made me want to start reading more about it.

The association with the Inclusion "movement" was initially facilitated by spatial Inclusion to the "movement" itself. As Phoebe commented, being able to see the activities of the Inclusion "movement" in person makes them more "tangible," no longer spatially detached by a technological instrument. In so doing, people present at the event have a stimulus to consider their own relationship with the Inclusion "movement." Thomas' response to this stimulus was to more closely associate himself to the "movement" while maintaining some distance. This is consistent with Munson's (2008) work on social movement mobilisation, contradicting conventional wisdom that says people develop strong beliefs then join social movements. Rather, "real action often precedes meaningful beliefs about an issue" (Munson, 2008, p. 20). While spatial Inclusion acts as a catalyst, it is also clearly a form of Social Inclusion by itself. Everyone who participated in the Indigenous round—as a player, parent, or visitor—participated in the Inclusion "movement".

Thomas also expresses a functional dimension of Inclusion here. The excerpt is bookended with education. The Indigenous round was an opportunity for him to be educated about the Inclusion "movement." Through the round, he was better able to appreciate his workplace's relationship with Indigenous culture. Moreover, he also developed a desire for ongoing education. He is "thinking more" and wanting to read about Indigenous culture. As mentioned earlier, others also expressed this educational outcome, a functional aspect of Inclusion.

From a relational perspective, people in the club seemed more comfortable in engaging with Indigenous culture, evident in the increased prevalence of people wearing Indigenous-style clothing at the club. Paula thought that this "[built] a comfort level for people" because now wearing such clothing, especially when it has a more political statement, is becoming more like "normalised behaviour." Thus, people who were previously unwilling or unresourced to wear such clothing, now feel comfortable doing so because of the Indigenous round. People

are more content expressing their readiness to engage with Indigenous culture through the clothes they wear.

Social Inclusion was perceived to permeate the whole club on a more organisational and community level. What underpins this theme of whole club Inclusion is what Stewart (2000) called a political praxis of justice, wherein a fair distribution is the ultimate goal. This was most clearly evident in how the club discussed the relationship between Inclusion and the club's Premier Leagues. The club's focus on Premier League with Inclusion rounds was critiqued, while the Indigenous round was praised for beginning to distribute more fairly the activities and benefits of this particular Inclusion round.

First, it was acknowledged that the round was still oriented primarily around the Premier League. Ruth mentioned this in relation to improving the Inclusive nature of the event in the future. As Ruth spoke, Phoebe commented affirmatively several times:

> …for it to be Inclusive going forward, like it doesn't necessarily have to be a Premier League thing… I think sometimes a bit gets lost when everything gets attached to, if you play in the top 2 teams that you get to be involved and front and centre with these kinds of things.

While there were some aspects of the round that permeated the whole club, the smoking ceremony introduced the Premier League games. Elsewhere, Ruth comments that the Premier League was also uniquely live streamed. Indigenous-art awards were also only made for the Premier League matches. This is an example of restricting spatial Inclusion. The Premier League players were closer to some forms of Indigenous engagement than the rest of the club.

Second, as mentioned in the previous sections of this chapter, various outcomes of the Indigenous round were perceived to permeate through the whole club. This was matched by various activities doing the same. For example, everyone was invited to buy and wear the

Indigenous uniform which was taken up by most of the club. Following up from a discussion on the significance of the uniform in this regard, Phoebe said:

> Also, that link across every grade of the game. Like you were saying, everybody got the acknowledgement of Country card, captains read it, or coaches or whatever, across every team, and I think that's a way to Include everyone, not just have it be all P.L. [Premier League] and Premier League day kind of thing.

So, while there were still some aspects of the Indigenous round that were exclusive to Premier League, the committee made a conscious effort to Include the club spatially and functionally "across every grade of the game."

These actions and this attitude toward Inclusion likely reflects something about the organising committee's conception of identity in relation to Social Inclusion as outlined by DeLuca (2013). In this case, the importance of skill within the club is critiqued. Premier League represents the highest level of skill within the club and is often exclusively involved in "Inclusion" rounds. By extending most of the Indigenous round to all players in the club, they critique this skill-centric conception of identity. Now, more than just one's skill determines whether they are Included in the Indigenous round. Thus, in the Indigenous round, THC moves beyond a dualistic notion of identity to acknowledge and address multiple forms of difference (DeLuca, 2013).

Legg and Karner (2021) would describe these forms of Inclusion as occurring on the individual and community level, with some outcomes on an interpersonal level, while there have been few changes on the organisational level.[61] For Legg and Karner, each of these levels also contain factors that moderate how Inclusion is achieved. In this study, the organisational

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[61] Inclusion on the interpersonal level included an increase in conversations regarding the Indigenous round and knowledge of Indigenous players at the club.

level appeared as the most prominent moderating factor.[62] Meanwhile, some community level moderating factors were also identified. The strongest community level factor identified was an inhibitor lack of "buy-in," leaving Paula to do the bulk of the work. Speaking about the involvement of the board in the RAP for this year's round, she said:

> I do want more buy-in from them, for it to be an actual hockey club plan. Like, some of my draw back in this stuff is because it has been driven by me quite a lot—like, I'm not going to do this at the club forever, and this needs to be like an actual club document that reflects the club, not just the Paula wants reconciliation at the club because I think it would be great.

This lack of buy in from the board is also reflected in the club community according to Paula. She said, "I ended up doing too much myself which is something I really didn't want to do this year and ended up doing anyway." Thus, there is also a history of a community disengagement with organising the Indigenous round which mostly continued this year.[63]

The organisational level of the club is probably the most influential moderating factor both enabling and inhibiting Inclusion. Historically, the club's "Inclusion" rounds have always been focussed on the Premier League, only being extended for the Indigenous round. Thus, it has had an inhibitory function to Inclusion. It is also now at the organisational level that Inclusion is being enabled. The organising committee made an intentional effort to include all levels of the club, even if they did not make it to an equal degree this year. Ruth's comments above were made in the context of continuing to progress Inclusion in the Indigenous round. Several similar comments were made.

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[62] Ironic, I know.

[63] Another inhibitory factor is explained by Zeke. As with many sports clubs in Australia, they "struggle to get volunteers" and that "parents…like having less on, which they realised during Covid-19 lockdowns" (recorded in a fieldnote) further influencing a lack of volunteering in the club. This is clearly a factor inhibiting Social Inclusion.

Power and Making Stew

This section considers how power was distributed, expressed, and how it mediated Social Inclusion for the Indigenous round. Throughout this discussion I will use an analytical metaphor described by Ghassan Hage (1998), which he developed from the children's book *The Stew That Grew*. While he used it to analyse multiculturalism discourse, its application in the present context is helpful. Hage describes how both those for and against multiculturalism share the same fundamental belief of the supremacy of "Australian" culture over other cultures. Although pro-multiculturalism seems more pro-cultural diversity, Hage argues that, in some cases, this rhetoric still differentiates between "Australian" and other cultures. This is aptly described by the metaphor of "the stew that grew," where Blue, an "Australian" during the gold rush helps feed his fellow "ethnic" labourers by encouraging them to contribute their cultural food to a cauldron that builds to substantial stew. Throughout the book, Blue is the one in control of the pot, mixing the stew, and evaluating each person's contribution. While he evaluates each contribution in a positive way (pro-multiculturalism), they are contributing to an "Australian" stew, conceived and cared for by "Australians." The "ethnic" additions simply add to Australian culture.

For Hage (1998), the distinction of power from other forms of Inclusion is an important one. For, it is often at the level of power that Inclusion is not present. In The Stew That Grew, the contribution of "ethnic" people was just as valuable as the "Australian's" contribution. The cultural artefact shares the same Inclusive value. However, this Inclusion is not "maintained at the level of agency [or power]" (Hage, 1998, p. 120). In my project, those with power were able to confine the power (or agency) of those over whom they had power. I will now consider the relationship between power and Social Inclusion in THC and TNC while drawing from this analytical metaphor and focussing on who is "stirring the pot," and THC's evaluation of this power structure.

Both clubs clearly have a hierarchical (social contract) power structure (Stewart, 2000). In THC, there were four distinct levels in this power hierarchy. Most of the organising occurred at the bottom two levels of the hierarchy. At the bottom of the hierarchy were people with Indigenous heritage who were mainly involved in an advisory capacity. This is true for both Ruth and Naomi who took on primarily advisory roles within the organising committee. Naomi, was especially valued for her professional experience and "wealth of knowledge."

On the next level up in the power hierarchy are the main individual organisers who were primarily responsible for the inception, continuation, and organisational "stirring of the pot" of the Indigenous round. It was initiated by Matthew, a man with a vested interest engaging with Indigenous culture in some way. Paula continued the round—partly motivated by her experience in an Aboriginal legal service, her cross-cultural encounters therein, and her cultural safety training. She initiated the round's planning and executed most of the organisation work to make it happen. These people have championed the event and ensured its yearly occurrence.

The third level in this hierarchy, above Paula, is the board of the club. Thus, Paula's power to stir the pot is a delegated one, confined to parameters set by the board. For example, she wanted her club to make a statement in support of the Voice to Parliament referendum, which the board did not support. In contrast, both Hockey Australia and Hockey Victoria made statements in support of the Voice. Paula had the opportunity to speak to Hockey Australia's CEO and, reflecting on that discussion, she said, "I was saying that I was a bit frustrated because I can't get support [on a statement for the Voice to Parliament] from our board, which I find… frustrating is the word I'll use."

Esther at TNC was in much the same position as Paula but with much less freedom granted by her executive committee. This led to a lack of action at TNC. The executive committee was not willing to approve Esther's idea for a morning tea celebration. In Esther's

case, there were only two levels of the hierarchy—herself as a prospective organiser, having a migrant background with Cook Islander heritage, and the executive committee. These examples demonstrate the efficacy of power held in this hierarchical power structure. In both cases, it was the action of the board or executive committee that influenced and shaped the individual's actions.

The fourth level of the power hierarchy resides in external funders. For THC, they received a council grant and sponsorships from private businesses for their Indigenous round. The council grant they received is a fairly broad one for any event "that benefits the City Council community." However, to be accepted for the grant, Paula was aware that her application needed to align with the values that the government council purports. When talking about how she was writing the application, she said that she tried to demonstrate that THC were "going to do what they [the council] want, to align with their strategic plan." Since they were awarded the grant, there is clearly some alignment between their values of celebrating Indigenous culture. However, they are constrained in that their activities must align with the council's "strategic plan." If they wanted to celebrate something that did not align therein, they would not receive council funding. Paula used the same rhetoric of addressing a "strategic plan" when discussing how she acquired funds from private businesses as well. Thus, only certain activities can be funded to the extent that the Indigenous round was. It is the funding powers beyond the clubs themselves that stir the pot in this regard.

Indeed, the Indigenous round was only possible as it was because of external funding. When comparing the Indigenous rounds with other Inclusion rounds at their club, Paula said (and others agreed to) that "there's a huge difference, because there's just so much more funding." Moreover, one of the reasons that this round is the only large round compared with the other Inclusion rounds is because "it's, frankly, easier to get funding for First Nations

[events]." Celebrating Indigenous culture is something worth funding in the assessment of external funders, whereas other causes are less worthy.

In THC, this hierarchical power structure was negatively evaluated. This was noted several times but is particularly clear in a conversation between Paula and Phoebe, the two most involved in the actual organisation of the round:

> Paula: I can personally do plenty, but then, if the club isn't with me, there's no point in one person pushing, or a group of people.
>
> Phoebe: I think also too it's about the community of people in that space too, whether they want that.
>
> Paula: 100% yeah.
>
> Phoebe: Because, like we've spoken about in other meetings, it's all well and good for me to sit over here and go, "yay, we need a really good Indigenous round." But hang on. I have no idea what our Indigenous community really want, I'm not part of that community. I'm looking from the outside, hoping that what I think is helpful…

Here Paula recognises that she is central in the inception and organising of the event, stirring the pot, but is disappointed by that. She wants the club to be "with" her, making it a community oriented event from inception to implementation. Phoebe then acknowledges their relationship with those with Indigenous heritage in this tiered system. She negatively evaluates that she has been "looking from the outside" while holding more power than those with Indigenous heritage in organisation. The desire to break down this hierarchical power structure and its connection to Social Inclusion is more evident as the conversation goes on:

Paula: Part of what I want to do for next year is take a pretty significant step

            back, because I want other people to go and sort of take the reins on it…

            I want it to be a bit more organic than me—

Phoebe: —Inclusive.

Paula wants to give up the pot ladle so that multiple people can stir the pot in her place, or, as she puts it, to "take the reins." She would also seem to want less pot stirring altogether. That is, as power is distributed fairly, the hierarchy will break down, allowing for a more "organic" or communal way of organising where responsibility and authority are more equally and fluidly distributed. Phoebe evaluates such a change in organisational structure as "Inclusive."

To summarise, there are at least four levels of power in this hierarchy. External funders determine what causes are worth engaging with, the board sets confines that can be organised within, organisers with relevant cultural capital and individual desires hold the power to organise particular activities for an event, and those with diverse cultural backgrounds advise on what they would and would not approve of. This structure was negatively evaluated by the organising committee who preferred what Stewart (2000) would call a social compact model.

Chapter 7: Motivations

Introduction

In this chapter, I continue the thematic analysis and transition to the product of a new analytical tool: retroductive thinking. This involved summarising the implicit meanings expressed by participants and the causal mechanisms (or influencing motivations) that shaped the actions planned and implemented, the achievements, and the value given to those achievements. In this section, I draw more from TNC and the experiences of Esther. Their different contexts, experiences, and outcomes are helpful to get a fuller understanding of the achievements and their underlying motives.

This section begins to critically consider why Indigenous culture was pursued rather than migrant culture. By understanding the motivations of the club in celebrating migrant culture, logical inferences can be made to understand why a club would pursue Indigenous rather than migrant culture. My analysis identified two overarching motivations. An explicitly stated desire to be genuine in celebrating Indigenous culture and a desire to be economical. The former was not as helpful for my purposes in this chapter, so it is not discussed in any detail. The second motivation was implicit and came from a critical consideration of THC's achievements. It is not specifically a desire for financial economy but is oriented toward maximising achievement and minimising a whole range of costs.

Economical Desire

My intention in this section is to reframe THC's achievements. In particular, I demonstrate particular achievements that they have neglected or not considered. One's perceptions are often compared with looking out a window. They are looking through a frame and the frame limits their perception of the scenery outside. This discussion attempts to get a better view of

the scenery outside. In so doing, I attempt to demonstrate that there are other achievements that could be pursued and that the particular achievements pursued were the result of an underlying motivation to be economical.

In analysing the outcomes expressed by participants from THC, it was evident that their achievements came at a small personal cost to them. They achieved a large amount of symbolic capital, cognitive and behavioural modifications, and positive affective responses toward Indigenous culture. However, none of these came at a great cost to the club itself.[64] To provide a brief example, from a financial perspective, the event has never come at significant financial cost to the club. They have always had government grants and corporate sponsorships.

Since the achievements of the Indigenous round did not come at a significant cost to the club, it is reasonable to infer that there was some unstated motivation, especially in those whose actions contribute to the achievements, that there is a desire to be economical and to reduce personal cost in the outcomes of the Indigenous round. This is interesting because, while the intentions of the first Indigenous round are unclear, the organising committee now frame it in political terms, aligning the event with the goals and values of social movements or activism.

The alignment of the round's purpose with activist ideals are clear in both planning documents and throughout discussions at the club. One of their objectives was to "develop a Reconciliation Action Plan" (live planning document). Even in the name, the RAP recognises historic injustices committed against Indigenous people and the ongoing consequences of those injustices that need reconciling. In an interview, when asked why it was important to support

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[64] One might object to such a statement knowing the sheer size of the event. And indeed, the event is certainly a result of a substantial personal cost to Paula with respect to her time. However, nothing of the sort can be said about the club and community more broadly.

Aboriginal businesses for the Indigenous round, Naomi talked about how it is important to address these ongoing consequences.

> I think, if you're wanting to break the cycle of, kind of, poverty and employment and uplift people, then it's good to support people who are getting out there and have their own business and making money. So, I think it's an important thing to do from a strengths-based point of view to support Aboriginal people and Aboriginal businesses.

Conversely, TNC do not explicitly align themselves with the goals of activism or social movements. However, some of their actions do suggest that they are still influenced by this social movement thinking. In the case of Indigenous Australia, they too had (before I started working with them) begun the process of designing a representative uniform with Indigenous artwork for a new association they were starting.

However, while, both clubs aligned themselves in some way with activism rhetoric—and produced positive achievements therein—my contention in this section is that those achievements were constrained in relation to activism rhetoric. The achievements produced were neither particularly ongoing, progressive actions, nor substantive change. Thus, it was a constrained activism

Throughout the proceeding discussion I use the terms "modification" and "change" intentionally. "Modification" represents a difference in one's expression, whereas a substantive "change" represents a difference in a kind of expression. A modification is not a change in the kind of thought or action someone has, whereas a substantive change is.

In what follows, I discuss how the achievements of THC, although positive, were constrained. I discuss how each of the major achievements were constrained in terms of

ongoing, progressive actions and substantive change. I also use TNC as a comparative case to further explore the nuance of these achievements.

Symbolic Capital

Symbolic Capital and Action.

While THC certainly has a substantial amount of symbolic capital for their reputation in celebrating Indigenous culture, especially in relation to the rest of Victorian hockey, this symbolic capital, on its own, is not particularly active. It does not require ongoing, progressive action on the part of the club or the individuals therein. This was evident in the organising committee's discussions about writing a RAP. For example, Phoebe talked about how splitting the event across both NAIDOC and Reconciliation weeks "might help us take more… action that has real weight to it as well if we pay more attention to reconciliation week, rather than just the NAIDOC week." Notice the desire to have "more" action that has "real weight." She wants the club to be taking progressive actions that have more substantial and far-reaching outcomes. By implication, this is not yet happening.

Moreover, this is evident in most of the aforementioned actions of the club. Putting up artwork and an acknowledgement in the club require various levels of permission and the work of no more than a small group of people. Beyond that, people are free to respond to the club's adornment however they are inclined to. It does not necessitate that anyone follow suit; it does not produce ongoing action.

Conversely, the decision of many players around the club to continue wearing Indigenous-style clothing represents some level of ongoing action. They continue to decide to wear the Indigenous uniform or other Indigenous-style clothing that they previously did not wear. However, this ongoing action in the choice of clothing worn does not necessitate any progressive action. While they may be wearing new clothes (that, to be sure, send a positive

message in relation to Indigenous culture) it does not mean that they are doing any other action. Again, this action primarily sends a message from the individual to others but does not actively act upon others in any way. No such progressive actions were reported in my discussions with people at the club.

Symbolic Capital and Change.

Perhaps more significant is that symbolic capital, in this case, does not produce a substantive change. In fact, symbolic capital does not necessitate a change in a person or organisation. Rather, it points to the perception of a particular characteristic of that entity. Symbolic capital can be acquired through a simple act (e.g. putting artwork up in a clubroom) but it is not symbolic of the act itself. Rather, it symbolises something about the entity that motivated the act (e.g. a desire to celebrate Indigenous culture). In the case of THC, the simple acts that produced symbolic capital for the club did not represent changes in the organising committee, and probably not the club's board either. Instead, those acts were an expression of a desire to promote and celebrate Indigenous culture which they already possessed.

For those who decided to wear Indigenous-style clothing, it is unclear from my data to what degree that represented a change in their own motivations or desires. It could be that they were always willing to wear Indigenous-style clothing and the Indigenous round merely acted as a catalyst to get them going. For example, perhaps they bought their first piece of Indigenous-style clothing because there was a pop-up stall selling such apparel on the day. On the contrary, there is some evidence that, for some people, there was a meaningful change in their attitude that led them to change their clothing choices. Paula perceived a cultural shift in how people perceive Indigenous-style clothing. She thought that wearing such clothing was now "less like you're making a political statement and more just like 'I'm just wearing a AIC top'… I think it's an easy, like, gateway into that just being normalised behaviour." This was followed up by an example from another participant in the focus group whose son bought the

Australian Indigenous round top when he went interstate for hockey. He did this out of his own desire and volition.

However, there are also many examples of how this symbolic change did not lead to or produce substantive change in the context of THC. For example, Paula was acutely aware of the events overreliance on her for yet another year. She said, "I ended up doing too much myself which was something I really didn't want to do this year and ended up doing anyway." Phoebe, who probably did the second most amount of work considers that she "didn't have a huge job, by any means." This demonstrates that the bulk of the work has fallen on the very capable Paula with very little transfer of those capabilities to others. This is an absence of change because the development of planning cultural capital would be a substantive change for the planning committee. Organising an event like this is predicated on having volunteers with sufficient cultural capital to liaise with local government, generally plan an event of this scale, and be vested with a certain amount of authority from the club to do so. Moreover, such a change in a person's cultural capital would empower them to shape such cultural engagement to promote further change.

Similarly, Paula, despite here significant cultural capital, did not express a change in her own cultural capital. This year's Indigenous round introduced the need to prepare a RAP, which Paula lacked confidence (and the cultural capital) to do on her own. More significantly, it is not something she has been able to get help with from the local Indigenous community. On one occasion she "had a meeting booked in and then [the man from the land council] didn't show up." For her, the RAP is both beyond her personal skillset and requires engagement with the land council which she has been unable to meet with. She is not able to develop the cultural capital required (or mobilise others' cultural capital) to complete the RAP. Thus, she is struggling with the RAP which she expressed in this way:

…because we have to engage so heavily with the [local] land council, I'm sort of finding it hard to come up with a plan before—like really working out what the process looks like from their perspective, um, until I meet with them.

Symbolic Capital and TNC.

Analysis of TNC adds insight into the pursuit of symbolic capital relevant to understanding the pursuit of Indigenous rather than migrant culture. In particular, TNC, as a comparative case, demonstrates the cultural significance of symbolic capital in two important ways. First, TNC were disadvantaged in the pursuit of symbolic capital. Whereas intrinsic to THC's symbolic capital was their physical clubhouse, TNC has no physical space to adorn and thus rely on hired out spaces. Thus, they cannot display symbolic artefacts to represent their own efforts at cultural engagement.

Second, however, this has not deterred them from seeking symbolic capital as a mark of their engagement with Indigenous culture.[65] The club set out to establish a new netball association for their club to play in. Netball Associations in Australia recruit representative squads to play at higher levels. Each representative squad has their own uniform. For their new association, TNC opted to get an Indigenous design on the representative team uniform. Thus, whenever a representative team plays, they display a symbol of TNC's engagement with Indigenous culture.[66]

Although only a pattern of two clubs (albeit Indigenous round uniforms are more common in national level sports), such a pattern suggests there is a broader cultural significance

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[65] What their intentions in this form of engagement is unclear as the process was organised before Esther was involved in the committee.

[66] Interestingly, this form of symbolic capital probably produces even less in the way of ongoing, progressive action and substantial change. None of the players make a decision to wear it. It is compulsory for any representative player. Moreover, it does not require any form of change within the attitudes or motivations of those wearing it.

driving the value and pursuit of symbolic capital. If the netball club is still pursuing symbolic capital despite their constraints, they must value it highly and perceive that it is valued in society more broadly. It would seem, then, that TNC consider the benefit of symbolic capital to be worthwhile where it comes at a low cost to attain, but are unwilling to attain it when it becomes a high cost.

Behavioural and Cognitive Modification

Behavioural Modifications and Action.

Cognitive modifications were less significant but closely related to the behavioural modifications. Consequently, I have not considered them here but focussed on behavioural modifications. I have already discussed the outcome of increased prevalence of Indigenous-style clothing being worn at the club in the symbolic capital section as it related to that. Here, I will consider the juniors uptake of the uniform, their collective organisation to continue wearing it, and their continued engagement with Indigenous culture beyond the Indigenous round.

This is probably the most substantial ongoing action from the Indigenous round, considering its intentional and corporate nature. It also demonstrates some level of progression as Abraham's son (and possibly others) is engaging with Indigenous artwork in other contexts as well. However, this progression is an expansion of quantity rather than a change in quality. Abraham's son's engagement with Indigenous culture still relates to Indigenous artwork on hockey related paraphernalia rather than expanding the type, or quality, of Indigenous cultural expressions he is engaging with.

Behavioural Modification and Change.

While there has been a change in behaviour in relation to clothing choice and the collective action to organise this, it is probably not as substantive a change as it appears. One reason for

this—identified by the participants but not connected with the value of the behavioural modification—is that kids in school are much more exposed to Indigenous culture, and education therein, than previous generations have been:

Abraham: I think this generation of kids are more exposed to First Nations, Indigenous issues—

Phoebe: —Yes. It's so much bigger in schools now.

Abraham: We just didn't get it as kids.

This was mentioned in another focus group as well. Speaking about the importance of education about Indigenous culture, Zeke said, "the kids probably do get a fair bit now in school but, I didn't get much." Children, then, are undergoing a different socialisation experience in relation to Indigenous culture than their parents—one that promotes a positive view of Indigenous culture and predisposes them to celebrate and engage with it. It is not so much of a substantive change for them to organise to wear Indigenous-style clothing, rather it is a modification of current behaviour. Having grown up with education about Indigenous culture, they are already willing to partake in such behaviour.

Modifications and TNC.

For THC, the area of behavioural modifications was probably the most significant in terms of promoting action and change. They require an ongoing investment of a person to maintain. For example, some people continued to wear the Indigenous uniform after the Indigenous round, representing some form of ongoing action. However, in TNC, behavioural modifications were the least adopted and presented the most resistance, especially from the executive committee. While THC's Indigenous round led to modifications in others, TNC themselves were not willing to modify to celebrate culture at all.

As already discussed, TNC pursued or affirmed both other major achievements—symbolic capital and affective responses. However, while celebrating culture was affirmed as something they would want to do, it was regularly subordinated in discussions for other matters. As Esther said, explaining why there was a delay in celebrating culture, "So, we've got a lot going on. We've probably, maybe bitten off more than we can chew at this stage." Additionally, when she was able to bring it up with the committee, she suggested that the committee spend a small amount of money to celebrate the volunteers of the club. This idea was rejected. She also relates this rejection to TNC's busyness with other activities as well: "That wasn't welcomed, for whatever reason, so it didn't sort of push forward. There's a lot going on with the club." Thus, it is the committee that is not willing to modify its attitudes and behaviours towards cultural diversity to work towards celebrating it.

What does resistance to behavioural change suggest? Considering that they require the most ongoing, progressive action, and substantive change, it is that behavioural change is hard to achieve. By inference, then, it seems as if TNC has a desire to be economical in their engagement with cultural diversity. Symbolic capital and affective responses are easier to adopt and maintain and provide value to the club, whereas behaviour modifications are more demanding for clubs and individuals.

Those at THC seem to agree that this active kind of involvement in cognitive and behavioural modification or change is difficult to achieve. In discussing their value, Paula says, "what actually permeates more is that really subtle, sort of, gradual mindset shift," which Phoebe called "actual culture change." Notice that Paula considers this shift to be a gradual change, even though they have run three Indigenous rounds.

Moreover, although THC did achieve some kind of behavioural and cognitive modifications in the club's community, the same resistance in TNC's committee was present

in the THC's board. That is, they did not demonstrate a concomitant willingness with the members to modify their actions to support the Indigenous round. This is present in two ways.

First, similarly to TNC, THC board seemed unwilling to make a financial investment into the Indigenous round. However, they did not need to to because Paula was able to fully fund the event through external funding. In speaking about this, Paula assumes that the board would not run the round at a financial loss to the club:

> Basically, if I can say, "if we're making 5 grand on the canteen extra from what we'd normally make in a premier league round," then I say, "the event's bringing in 5 grand. Like, the club should contribute 5 grand to running the event," because that's basically—we're setting it off—we're a not-for-profit organisation, so that's fine.

Second, the board of THC were resistant to changing their philosophy of political engagement. While Paula wanted the club to make a political statement about Australia's Voice to Parliament referendum, the board was not willing to make any statement. Reflecting on this, Paula said, "I was a bit frustrated because I can't get support [on a statement for the Voice to Parliament] from our board, which I find… frustrating is the word I'll use." Although Paula wanted them to make a statement in support, she was less concerned with the content of the statement than with the political alignment it represents. For her, the important thing is that people know the position of the club because "silence, in fact, does not make it more welcoming." Thus, although Paula wanted THC to make a statement about their position on the Voice (even if it was a neutral one), they were unwilling to change or modify their philosophy of political silence.

Thus, behavioural and cognitive modifications were presented with the most resistance to change and were the most difficult to achieve. By inference then, the executive committee

and the board of these clubs were motivated by a desire to be economical and were not willing make significant investment into celebrating culture in some way.

Affective Response

Affective responses, as an achievement, do not necessitate any ongoing or progressive action. They are simply response to stimuli which dissipate with the absence of the stimuli. The round produced a positive affective response, but the stimulus became absent once the round was over.

Additionally, an affective response does not produce a substantive change. Indeed, while on the surface such a response appears as a change of mood, in reality it is a normal response to a stimulus. People found enjoyment in the event not because the round changed them in some way, but because the round catered to their current desire. It is a kind of passive response wherein nothing is required of the person except to respond naturally.

It is evident that TNC also sought positive affective responses in relation to celebrating cultural diversity. As described in the case study, they reflected on their positive response to food from different culture. As already mentioned, this kind of pursuit does not require much investment, ongoing action, or substantive change to achieve. There is little other contribution that TNC case makes in this regard for the purposes of this thesis.

Social Inclusion

Similarly, the outcomes identified in relation to Social Inclusion did not include or necessitate ongoing, progressive action or substantive change. Although everyone was included in the event to some degree, it was not really optional; if you want to play hockey that week, you need to be present on the day. Thus, it does not necessarily represent an action from the club community in participating. Since the round was a single day, nor does it necessitate ongoing action in relation to celebrating Indigenous culture. However, this spatial Inclusion did have a

progressive effect; people began associating more closely with the Inclusion "movement." However, it was not a complete effect in that Thomas still held the "movement" at some distance from himself. So, spatial Inclusion was at least able to progress him a little closer to the Inclusion "movement".

The lack of ongoing, progressive action is also evident in functional Inclusion outcomes. While participants felt educated, and had an increased desire to learn, there is no evidence that they had changed their lifestyle in an ongoing way because of this or to pursue education.

The forms of Social Inclusion present also did involve substantive change. Again, being present for the round was not really optional. So, one's presence does not necessitate a substantive change in them. Moreover, I found no evidence that substantive change in terms of Social Inclusion occurred. From a function perspective, the education learnt is an expectable consequence of one's spatial Inclusion at the round. Anyone who observed the welcome ceremony would have learnt something about Indigenous culture (or at least reinforced their knowledge).

From an organisational perspective, there are progressive modifications to make the round more Inclusive of every player in the club, rather than having an exclusive focus on the Premier League (as THC's other Inclusion rounds still have). However, as already discussed, these modifications are primarily driven by Paula, rather than the club itself and thus do not represent significant progression at an organisational level. Moreover, despite the organisational modifications, the round is still not producing ongoing, progressive action, or substantive change within the club community to a significant degree.

Promoting Indigenous Culture is Economic.

It is reasonably likely that this economic motivation, present in both TNC and THC, has influenced their decision to focus on Indigenous rather than migrant culture as promoted in the Change Makers project. This is because there would be a perceived lower cost and greater reward for celebrating Indigenous culture compared with migrant culture. Moreover, this suggests a motivating factor of personal gain for the clubs in addition to any desire celebrating and supporting cultural diversity. This is supported by four premises. First, celebrating Indigenous culture is low cost. Second, celebrating migrant culture would come at a greater cost. Third, celebrating Indigenous culture is high reward (for the club). Fourth, celebrating migrant culture would produce a smaller reward (for the club). I will elaborate on these in two groups.

Celebrating Indigenous culture comes at a comparatively smaller cost than celebrating migrant culture in these clubs' contexts. While there are overrepresent migrant groups in THC's local government area for which the council would have probably supported an initiative to celebrate their culture at THC and engage them with hockey, Paula perceives a greater accessibility of funds from private businesses for events relating to Indigenous culture. As she said, "there's a huge difference, because there's just so much more funding… It's, frankly, easier to get funding for First Nations [events]."[69]   Thus, for Paula, in her context, there are more funds available for celebrating Indigenous rather than migrant culture.

Targeting Indigenous culture also comes at a smaller cost in a non-financial sense. In an urban context, there are different factors between celebrating Indigenous and migrant cultures making it easier to organise and Indigenous celebration. Most importantly, there is a

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[69] The difference is between their other inclusion rounds (men's health, women's, and pride).

far less significant language barrier to celebrating Indigenous culture. Most Indigenous people in Melbourne have grown up in an urban setting, whereas a significant number of people from migrant cultures, especially parents, may speak English as another language. For example, approximately 50% of one migrant group, that is overrepresented in THC's local government area, speaks their native language at home rather than English.[70] Thus, to target migrant culture would require a greater investment into understanding those cultures and perhaps involving interpreters and translators.

Celebrating Indigenous culture also comes with a higher reward to the club compared with celebrating migrant culture. This is supported by several factors. First, Australia's colonial history with its Indigenous people has led to significant and ongoing political discussion and attention. Thus, addressing Indigenous culture has always carried a substantial significance. And this is true for THC's celebration of Indigenous culture. Naomi speaks of the support for Indigenous businesses and the positive affective response to Indigenous culture within this historical context, evaluating it as positive historical progression:

> I think, if you're wanting to break the cycle of, kind of, poverty and employment and uplift people, then it's good to support people who are getting out there and have their own business and making money. So, I think it's an important thing to do from a strengths-based point of view to support Aboriginal people and Aboriginal businesses.

Second, this year's Indigenous round ran in the lead up to Australia's Indigenous Voice to Parliament referendum. Although addressing Indigenous culture has always carried substantial significance, this year represented a peak of Australia's relationship with its Indigenous people

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[70] This is a deliberately general example to maintain the anonymity of the club.

being in the minds of its citizens. The referendum was a culmination of the response to the Uluru Statement from the Heart which was presented in 2017 by the Indigenous Referendum Council established by the government. It called for, in part, a constitutionally enshrined Voice to Parliament (The Uluru Statement, n.d.).

This is important because of the kind of achievements from THC's Indigenous round, and TNC's Indigenous representative uniform. They produced symbolic capital. This symbolic capital is not beneficial for people with Indigenous heritage but for the clubs themselves. The symbols are economically attained and perpetually point to the clubs' reputations. Indeed, a positive reputation for Inclusion was Ruth's primary goal for the Indigenous round. She said, "for once it's not about hockey… It's about when people hear THC they know that it's an Inclusive place." And symbolic capital only positively reflects the clubs' reputations insofar as it is recognised by society. Since Australia's relationship with its Indigenous people is a popular and contentious topic, addressing Indigenous culture is of more value to many Australians and so symbolic capital can produce greater value for the clubs. On the contrary, migrant culture does not have the same perpetual significance in Australia and so cannot provide the same kind of symbolic capital.

Third, this disproportionate value placed on Indigenous culture in Australia is further compounded by the demographic makeup of the local areas within which these clubs reside. For both clubs, up to 40% of the population were born overseas—which is slightly higher than Greater Melbourne—whereas those identifying as Indigenous make up less than 1% and is equivalent with Greater Melbourne. I do not mean to imply that addressing Indigenous culture is superfluous because of the size of its population. Rather, I am simply highlighting that the influencing factors that promote celebrating Indigenous rather than migrant culture are relatively strong.

Since there is greater gain for the clubs to be had in celebrating Indigenous rather than migrant culture, it seems reasonable to infer that they were motivated to some degree by a desire for personal gain rather than simply celebrating and supporting Indigenous culture. Otherwise, they may have addressed migrant culture as promoted by the Change Makers project. Thus, the first reason that the clubs may have pursued Indigenous rather than migrant culture is because of a desire for personal gain, wherein such a pursuit produces a greater personal gain at a lower cost.

Chapter 8: Power, Prestige, and Field

To identify a second reason that Indigenous rather than migrant culture was celebrated by the clubs, I analysed the cases by considering how the field from a Bourdieusian perspective influenced this. In particular, I further explored the pursuit of symbolic capital by the clubs. Therein I focussed on symbolic capital as prestige—not just reputation, but a kind of exalted reputation. To achieve prestige, one must reshape the field to either more favourably appraise one's capital, or to grow one's capital. Thus, power was also an important consideration. Those with power are better able to reshape the field for their own advantage. In this chapter, I consider how power can be utilised to reshape a field. Therein, I draw from my discussion on Social Inclusion from chapter 6 as the context for first considering power. Then, I expand on how power was utilised to promote prestige within the field.

Power to Reshape the Field

I identified two major ways that power reshaped the field in relation to Social Inclusion. First, those with power are able to affect the value of something. In fact, there is a distinction between those who have the power to evaluate—and to choose what is evaluated—and those who do not. Hage (1998) elaborates on this with "the stew that grew" metaphor. In *The Stew That Grew*, it is the "Australian" Blue who has the power to evaluate the "ethnic" contributions to the stew, whereas the "ethnic" contributors are voiceless. For Hage (1998, p. 121), "the distinction between valuing negatively/valuing positively mystifies the deeper division between holding the power to value (negatively or positively) and not holding it." Even by positively evaluating another culture, one is distracting from the reality that they hold the power to evaluate, whereas the evaluated does not.

For THC, one of the key achievements was the general positive affective evaluation of experiencing Indigenous cultural practices, whereas there was little reflection about what

appears to be the normative "Australian" culture. Evaluation of the organisation of the event focussed on just that, organisation, rather than how Indigenous and "Australian" culture can be celebrated in a more Inclusive manner. For TNC, their power to evaluate is seen in their emphasis on the positive affective response to other cultural food experiences they have had in the past. They have the power to evaluate other cultural food practices in relation to their own, normative food practices.

Thus, the power hierarchy (as discussed in chapter 6) has a value determining function within the field. Paula values celebrating Indigenous culture. However, she is only able to do so insofar the celebration satisfies the values of the board. And the board, in this case, would only approve something that can be externally funded. Thus, for THC, what is celebrated is ultimately determined by the value propositions of the external funders. There is a hierarchy of value within this field that determines what can and cannot be celebrated.

The consideration of external funders adds a second major way that power reshapes a field. Those toward the top of the hierarchy, for THC, influence, not just what is valuable, but what is accessible. Again, without external funding, the celebration of THC would not have been possible. And without the approval from the board, the celebration would not have been possible. Those with power are able to enable and limit the possibilities for celebrating culture and promoting Inclusion. And those with the power to organise such an event get to choose from the range of possibilities and then to choose how it is implemented.

In the case of THC, Paula wanted to run an Indigenous round. This was made accessible by both the club and financial sponsoring institutions such as the local council and several private businesses. However, the way she could implement this desire was limited. As already discussed, she was unable to organise for the club to make a political statement as a part of the round. Moreover, she recognises that the board is unlikely to financially support the event, making the organising committee dependant on external sponsorship.

However, there are also several other Inclusion rounds at THC that do not receive the same level of funding or extravagance as the Indigenous round. As mentioned, Paula states that this is because of the ease of getting funding for the Indigenous round. However, she is only particularly motivated to lead the Indigenous round. Thus, she has a level of power over the direction of the club and their Inclusion rounds in this regard.

To return to the field, external funders and the board have a significant amount of power to determine what is valuable and accessible. They strengthen some relationships while weakening others to promote a particular outcome—in this case, the pursuit of Indigenous rather than migrant culture. Paula, as the primary organiser for THC, has a significant amount of delegated authority to organise the various aspects of the Indigenous round. However, and briefly, she has a significant amount of cultural capital that opens up otherwise non-existent relationships. This is demonstrated in her ability to get both council and corporate funding to then further open up possibilities for the Indigenous round.

In the case of TNC, there was no external funding reason that they pursued an Indigenous representative uniform. Rather, the cultural milieu clearly values such an action. Indeed, the club received lots of positive feedback about the uniforms. Thus, the executive committee saw the value of such an action, pursued it, and consequently developed symbolic capital.

However, while they are influenced by the cultural milieu in this regard, they themselves also acted as a limiting force for Esther. They exercised their power to limit opportunities for celebrations of cultural diversity in their own club and Esther was demonstrably powerless to pursue something of her own accord, despite the structural limitations. Thus, she was particularly constrained in the field due to a lack of power; celebrating cultural diversity was inaccessible for her.

Power to Procure Prestige

Those with power within a field are also able to procure for themselves prestige within that field—and this can occur on several levels. Most obviously, prestige is procured in the production of symbolic capital. And this symbolic capital can produce prestige in several ways.

Beginning toward the bottom of the power hierarchy, Paula produced a small amount of symbolic capital for herself in the acquisition of the Indigenous round uniform. However, more significantly for her, through the Indigenous round, she exercised her organisational power to reshape the field to increase the value of symbolic capital, thus increasing her prestige for wearing such clothing. This increase in symbolic value is simply demonstrated in the increase uptake in wearing of clothes in the club community that have Indigenous art, including the non-uniform merchandise such as hoodies and bucket hats. Moreover, as the organiser of the round, it is most likely that she has developed a certain reputation for her organisational role, giving her a unique form of prestige. Bourdieu has recognised this pattern of the powerful maintaining their capital in terms of social capital. Those with capital are sought after, reducing the burden on the capital-laden to search out new social connections (Bourdieu, 1986). So, in this case, those who exercise their power to increase the relative value of symbolic capital, also increase their prestige as people admire their work. Indeed, at several times, participants commented on the value of the work that Paula had done for the round, implying a recognition her of symbolic capital and prestige.

A second level, explained in more detail in chapter 6 is the club itself. A significant amount of symbolic capital, recognised both internally and externally, was developed for the club by the actions of the Indigenous round. But the reputation or prestige of a club is also a reflection of those in power in the club—in this case, the board. By permitting the Indigenous round and promoting certain aspects of it, the club was able to develop a significant amount of symbolic capital and provide a positive reflection on the board. Thus, in the Indigenous round,

the board is also exercising its power to increase the value of symbolic capital, to produce it for itself, and through which to promote its own prestige. Indeed, one of the boasts of the participants was that other organisations were, as Phoebe said, "[asking] how [they] did it."

Finally, at the top of the hierarchy, the actions of external funders can also be understood as reshaping the field for their own prestige. This is particularly evident in Paula's method for attaining external sponsorship. As already discussed, she sought to articulate how supporting the Indigenous round would contribute to fulfilling their "strategic plan." Therein, Paula recognises that many corporate companies have "First Nations people [as] one of their priority areas." In requesting sponsorship money, she articulates the benefits to the prospective sponsor that address their strategic plan. In one example that she gave, she said:

> I'm going to send you some really nice photos so you can put them in your annual report at the end of the year. It's going to satisfy your shareholders. It's going to look lovely. And you're giving to this event that supports First Nations businesses and First Nations people and culture in the local community.

Paula perceives that the sponsors she reaches out to want to develop symbolic capital of their own. If they can add a photo to their annual report to show their shareholders how they have been supporting Indigenous people and businesses, they can promote their prestige through this symbolic capital. Thus, they also seem to be motivated by a desire for prestige. By funding the Indigenous round, they simultaneously reinforce the value of Indigenous related symbolic capital and reshape the field to extend its value by continuing to perpetuate the presence of celebrating Indigenous culture throughout society.

At each of these levels of the power hierarchy, the relevant agents acted in ways that either enabled or limited the production of symbolic capital and thus prestige. This reflects how Social Inclusion can be enabled or limited at various levels (Legg & Karner, 2021).

At the individual level, Paula enables the procurement of prestige in the Indigenous round through her organisational leadership and initiative. This contrasts with their other Inclusion rounds which are much smaller and less well known and admired. Speaking on the comparison between the Indigenous rounds and other rounds, Phoebe commented that for "the other rounds we tend to have a colourful pair of socks and a ribbon, whereas Indigenous round is a much bigger deal." While Paula was actively involved in the Indigenous round, she never mentioned trying to pursue funding for the other rounds or encouraging those who organise them to do so. Therefore, the size of the Indigenous round compared with other Inclusion rounds is closely tied to individual factors (Legg & Karner, 2021). In fact, regarding the difference in the sizes between the Inclusion rounds, Paula said, "There's also not as many people actively engaging in that space, whereas there are people going, 'we really want to have an Indigenous round. This is really important to us. Let's do this well.'" As already discussed, Paula fits into the latter category as one with a passion for the Indigenous round as an Inclusion area. Since the size of the Indigenous round and the production of symbolic capital therein is tied to individual factors, so is the procurement of prestige through the Indigenous round.

In the previous quote, Paula affirms the importance of the individual level in enabling celebrations of cultural diversity. Where she was uniquely involved, the Indigenous round thrived, but where she was not involved the other Inclusion rounds were less extravagant. However, individual enabling power is not always enough. At TNC, although Esther wanted to organise a celebration of cultural diversity, her executive committee, and the broader club community were not adequately supportive, and even contributed a limiting force. While it could be argued that Esther did not have sufficiently valued cultural capital within her field to organise such an activity without the support of the board (whereas Paula might have been able to do so in that context), such considerations are beyond the present scope of this chapter. Rather, considering the organisational and community enabling or limiting forces is important.

The board at THC were more supportive compared with the executive committee at TNC. Much of Esther's experience with TNC involved delays for "more important" matters. When celebrating cultural diversity made it onto the agenda, it was often too far down to get addressed that meeting. When it did get addressed, it got delayed or rejected. Conversely, THC board had an Inclusion portfolio and other Inclusion rounds before Paula joined the committee. They were already engaging in this area in some way. Moreover, someone from the board was on the Indigenous round committee and another was involved in one of the outcome focus groups.

Additionally, while both clubs expressed a declining volunteer culture, TNC was suffering more significantly than THC. This was evident in the magnitude of complaints therein. While Esther regularly mourned over it, only one person from THC mentioned it to me explicitly. In contrast, Phoebe from THC was also more positive about the volunteer culture at their club. This was further evident through the number of participants from each club. While THC had four people supporting Paula in their organising committee, all involved in the research, along with three others, Esther was the only one at TNC trying to celebrate cultural diversity and the only one involved in my research. Clearly, then, there was a stronger culture of support for celebrating culture at THC than TNC. This supports previous research that demonstrates the importance of adequate human resources to engage with different cultural groups (Michelini et al., 2018; Nowy et al., 2020). Having a stronger volunteer culture provides more human resources for mobilisation in celebrating cultural diversity.

Thus, both at the organisational and community level, there is a degree of power to influence the actions of the club, the production of symbolic capital and thus who and how prestige is procured. At TNC, the power to procure prestige was held tightly in the executive committee which produced symbolic capital through the representative team uniform. In contrast, they limited Esther's ability to celebrate culture in any way, let alone to produce

symbolic capital. Moreover, the community devalues symbolic capital and the prestige therein by also not supporting Esther in her endeavour. At THC, however, symbolic capital and the prestige therein was more highly valued, with support coming from both the community and the board in organising the event.

In summary, those with power exercise their power to reshape the field by influencing the value of particular things and their accessibility. Having influenced the value and accessibility of, in this case symbolic capital, those with power are better able to acquire it. They do this in particular ways by enabling and limiting certain possibilities within the field for their benefit in procuring prestige. A second reason that the clubs may have pursued Indigenous rather than migrant culture is because of the varied influence of power that positively influence the value of symbolic capital, the accessibility of it, and thus their own ability to procure prestige through it.

Chapter 9: The Politics of Progress

In this chapter, I briefly consider the two clubs in relation to the broader social context of promoting Social Inclusion. As already highlighted, part of the reason for the focus on Indigenous culture was likely the broader social context in Australia that values political engagement with Indigenous culture and people. Indeed, the participants identified an "Inclusion movement" to which their relationship was shaped by the Indigenous round. Thus, there is a broader cultural movement to promote Inclusion in various ways into which the Indigenous round, and TNC's representative uniform fits. This chapter begins to place the clubs within this broader social movement, raising questions for this movement along the way, and suggesting future directions for research. It is divided into two parts. First, a consideration of the relationship between the clubs and the broader "Inclusion movement". Second, a consideration of implications for promoting change through sport clubs and in society.

The "Inclusion Movement" Context

The first important question to raise in relation to considering the relationship between the clubs and the broader "Inclusion movement" is: what is the function and purpose of sport clubs? Of course, they are a place to play sport. But should they be involved in political activism in some way? THC's board was averse to making political statements, whereas Paula was keen to do so. However, concurrently, even having an Indigenous and other Inclusion rounds could be perceived as political statements. Not every club do or would implement all of these rounds. How ever one answers this question will influence how they believe sport clubs should relate to the broader "Inclusion movement." Making an argument either way is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I will raise some considerations to help understand the place of sport clubs within this broader context.

First, it is important to reiterate the context of the Change Makers project. The change makers from both clubs were trained and encouraged to promote supportive and Inclusive environments for migrants from culturally diverse backgrounds. However, neither club pursued such an initiative. Rather, both clubs focussed on celebrating Indigenous culture in some way—the possible reasons for which have been discussed throughout the thesis. It is interesting to note, therefore, that although there were forces pulling both toward migrant and Indigenous culture, that both clubs pursued Indigenous culture, demonstrating something of the efficacy of the cultural forces that value and promote engagement with Indigenous culture.

Thinking to the broader socio-cultural context, there are several ways that outcomes and motivations of these clubs are similar to the broader "Inclusion movement" and political activism more generally. The pursuit of symbolic capital, the general association with the Social Inclusion "movement," and the desire to be economical were strong themes within this thesis. Being present in both clubs (to various degrees), it would be worth exploring how present these dispositions are in other clubs and in other "movements" throughout society. Longitudinal or historical studies to explore the development of these tendencies would also be interesting.

The production of symbolic capital and associating oneself with Inclusion movements are common ways that people are politically active and often overlap. Indeed, in Australia, they are the most prevalent ways I see people participating in social movements and political activity. Buying an item of clothing with a political statement, changing your email signature to affirm a particular social movement, adding pronouns to the end of your name, and making pithy and political statements on your favourite social media sites all seem to be increasingly common in Australia. These are all single actions that provide lasting symbols laden with a message that the bearer of those symbols supports the corresponding movement. Additionally, while there are many political lobbying groups, the primary way to support their work is

generally to give financially. While they do call for volunteers and engage them in various political actions, these seem to be becoming less common, in favour of financial support, and perhaps a yearly march. However, as with the achievements of THC's Indigenous round, these actions do not necessitate any ongoing, progressive action, or substantive change.[73] I am not implying that these are bad forms of political engagement but continuing my critique that the lack of ongoing, progressive action, and substantive change seen in THC may extend to social movements in Australia more broadly. Moreover, I think it is a valuable area of research. How prevalent is this trend? Why is it occurring? What are the consequences?

Similarly to this perceived reduction in the involvement required for political action, both clubs expressed a declining volunteer culture. Such a pattern might suggest that the desire to be economical is extending into more areas of Australian life. Indeed, volunteering was steadily declining from 2010 to at least 2020 dropping from 36.2% to 24.8% between those years—an 11.4% decline (Volunteer Australia, 2022).[74] If clubs and researchers value the mainstream sport model, this is a pattern that needs addressing. Moreover, sport clubs are also one of the largest groups wherein people volunteer (Volunteer Australia, 2022). If volunteer culture is worth addressing anywhere, it would be worth starting there. Future research could focus not just on the reasons for the decline in volunteering but on what contexts promoted those reasons. Moreover, how these contexts and reasons can be addressed could be considered to re-promote a strong and growing volunteer culture in Australia and other places experiencing a similar decline. Finally, it may be an opportunity to reimagine volunteering, considering new

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[73] Indeed, even more involved forms of political engagement are becoming less involved. From my limited exposure to these social movements, they now write emails to politicians for you (all you need to do is write in your details) and send petitions for you to sign straight to your email inbox—all from the comfort of your own home. I also suspect that most protest attendees show up, participate, go home, and pat themselves on the back for their political engagement for the year.

[74] Between 2019 and 2020 (accounting for Covid-19) volunteering dropped 4%.

ways that volunteering can be done and promoted for the benefit of societies and those who volunteer.

This kind of political action that produces symbolic capital and associates oneself with the political movement, raises the question: who benefits? If one produces symbolic capital and generally associates themselves with a movement, they produce a benefit for themselves. However, their actions have no necessary positive consequence on others. In fact, people could respond positively, negatively, or neutrally to such actions, as often happens. Nor do such actions create a substantial benefit for people with Indigenous heritage. While they may indirectly raise awareness or provide moral support, the action itself does not confer a tangible benefit. Thus, the cultural "Inclusion movement" for Indigenous people seems to have a greater direct effect on the reputation of those who partake in it, rather than the Indigenous people such actions purportedly serve.

While these are the actions that take place in the general populace, the government spends a significant amount of money every year on addressing socio-economic inequality for Indigenous people. There is an initiative called Closing the Gap that seeks to address this purpose. Closing the Gap reports are released every year. However, according to the federal government's annual Closing the Gap report for 2023, only four of the seventeen Closing the Gap targets were "on track" to being reached in the stated timeframe. Four targets regressed, while the remaining nine targets have either unknown or "slow progress" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2024, p.6).

For example, the two outcomes collected under "strong families" are reducing the overrepresentation of children in the child protection system and promoting safe Indigenous homes. Data for the former suggests this target is regressing while, for the latter, sufficient data was not collected to make a judgement on its progress. These are the outcomes despite

$645.1 million being committed to addressing just these two targets (Commonwealth of Australia, 2024, p.42). A vast financial input has produced a seemingly relatively insignificant output. While critiquing how money should be spent to address socio-economic inequality is beyond the scope of this thesis, it seems clear that the government's methods are either ineffective or inappropriate for addressing their stated targets. Thus, further research into how to appropriately address socio-economic inequalities would be beneficial.

Consequently, it seems as if the benefits of the government's actions are not well concentrated in Indigenous people. While there surely are benefits for Indigenous people, there are also benefits to the government. And these benefits reflect those that have been discussed in this thesis. The Closing the Gap initiative requires reports on the government's actions throughout the year, every year. Thus, the government produces a report about how much money they have committed and the subsequent outcomes from their commitments. Ignoring the outcomes for a moment, these reports remain as lasting symbols of the government's reputation for both committing and responding to socio-economic disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Thus, the government produces significant symbolic capital for itself.

But returning to the outcomes and the question of who benefits, with slow progress made on the targets as a whole, there is a distinct lack of positive substantial change for people with Indigenous heritage. Thus, an even stronger similarity can be drawn between the clubs in this project (especially THC) and the broader movement to engage with Indigenous culture for its benefit. In particular, THC also spent a relatively large amount of money for little substantive change in their context.

Consequently, while addressing the disparity in socio-economic outcomes, there is a disparity in the input by the government and the outcomes produced. While slow progress with little relative substantive change is produced with the relatively vast quantity of resources

invested, every action contributes to the symbolic capital of the government and their reputation for the breadth and depth of their commitment and response to socio-economic disparity. A question for future research, therefore, could be: why is there such a disparity between input and output?

Implications for Change

My research has suggested that the production of symbolic capital, with little substantive change for people with Indigenous heritage, is a prevalent theme in Australian society. Moreover, there are several influencing factors that promote the pursuit of Indigenous culture, rather than, in particular, migrant culture. While these factors do in part relate to the importance of addressing Indigenous disadvantage, there were factors through which much was to be gained for those who promote or celebrate Indigenous rather than migrant culture. Since the project arose out of the Change Makers project, I now consider several implications for promoting change in society in a general sense.

First, I have observed what can be described as a movement to a top-down model for promoting change. There were power hierarchies in both clubs that determined how promoting change occurred. In THC, most of the organisational work was done by the deeply invested Paula, who recognised a lack of investment by the rest of her community—both above her in the board and below her in the club's members. Thus, a small number of people created an implemented an action for change which others simply experienced and considered but were not necessarily involved (or moved to involvement) in the movement.

Similarly, political lobbying groups, according to my personal observations, are moving to a more top-down structure, reducing the amount of involvement necessary to be politically active. Political activity can now be done by simply donating to a group who will do the rest on your behalf—or perhaps attending the occasional march.

The government also is seeking to address socio-economic disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Australia. This requires even less involvement on the part of the society who are simply required (literally) to vote for their preferred officials who then carry on the work on their behalf. Moreover, rather than having to raise funds in the traditional since, as political lobbying groups and sport clubs do, the government receives funds through the tax system to then be redistributed. While there is certainly organisational work in the collecting and paying of taxes, the work on the part of society is not with the express intention of addressing these disparities. Thus, people can be even less involved in correcting these disparities by deferring both the work and responsibility to the government.

This transition toward a top-down model, according to my research, is not working. Indeed, the primary outcomes for the clubs in this research were benefits for those in the clubs, not for those they were supposedly serving. While significant amounts of symbolic capital were produced for those in the clubs, procuring for themselves prestige within their community, there was little in the way of change for those with Indigenous heritage. While there were indeed some benefits for the Indigenous community, the weight of achievement leant significantly toward those in the clubs doing the celebrating or promoting of Indigenous culture.

Consequently, my research would suggest that transitioning to a bottom-up model would be more effective at promoting change in the club and for people with Indigenous heritage. For example, the club could form an intentional and proactive community of those who are committed to engaging with Indigenous culture. This community should be active in some form of Indigenous cultural engagement in an ongoing way. This will provide the foundation for several progressive actions and substantive change. First, everyone who joins this community will be able to contribute more time and energy than previously into organising the next Indigenous round. Second, if the community grows to more than two, they will be

able to share ideas and expand the Indigenous round beyond its current activities. Third, every new person in the community will represent a change in both the community, and THC's community, slowly welling up to a substantive change. Fourth, as the community grows, they can organise different educational and action opportunities throughout the year. These could include participating in activities run by the local Indigenous land council, providing educational opportunities through books or video screenings, attending Indigenous related political events, and hosting debates. However, it should promote a desire to continue learning about Indigenous culture and issues in the members of the community.

Such an approach would help to flatten out the power hierarchy. In particular it could focus on flattening out the power to evaluate highlighted by "the stew that grew" metaphor. Promoting change in this way should consider the relationship between diversity and normativity. How can Indigenous culture be moved from being the evaluated to being on equal footing with "Australian" culture and thus involved in stirring the pot (Hage, 1998)? Conversely, how can Indigenous culture also maintain the level of diversity and uniqueness that those with Indigenous heritage would have for it (Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2018)? One possibility could be to emphasise the relational aspects of Social Inclusion and make an effort to acknowledge the complexity of each individual's identity and their relationship with their own cultural heritage. Doidge et al. (2020) explore such a case for newly arrived migrants in the UK, where the club's emphasis is on welcoming (relational Inclusion) and prioritising their identity as a table tennis player. Thus, other facets of their identity can maintain their distinction and diversity. In this case, it would mean considering how to prevent Indigenous culture from being essentialised into a spectacle for the benefit of "Australian" culture, rather than Socially Included as part of the whole.

Second, there are implications from my research regarding considerations for how promoting change is resourced and enacted. Financial input to support or celebrate Indigenous

culture in my research led to a disproportionate amount of symbolic capital for the clubs compared with ongoing progressive action, substantial change, and benefits for people with Indigenous heritage. This pattern also seems to be matched in government action with vast sums of money spent for little progress. Thus, it is questionable whether a financially dependant approach is even appropriate or helpful. Rather, a financially equitable model that would be more accessible to contribute to could be considered.

This would mean considering how an investment of time and energy could promote substantive change for people with Indigenous heritage, rather than the production of symbols primarily in a physical space. Doidge et al. (2020) describe one such model that has proven effective. It is a financially equitable model in that it does not rely on financial means to promote inclusion and positive outcomes for (in their case) migrants. As mentioned, it is a relational model that focusses on promoting a welcoming environment for all, regardless of their background. It involves investment into the community and curating the social (rather than physical) environment. It removes cost as a barrier, making it possible for more people to achieve. In this way, it provides a fair playing field and financial equality. It also reduces the importance of the upper echelons of the power hierarchy (although the board in their example positively contributes) that influences what is valuable and its accessibility, and their own accumulation of it. Consequently, this model would fit well with the bottom-up model as suggested above.

My research suggests that promoting and resourcing change is difficult to achieve. Even when financial resources are available, change is often not achieved. Other kinds of resources are also important to consider. With a national trend toward declining volunteering, less human resources are available to promote change, increasing the reliance on large, often political groups or government to take action. However, even when these groups do act, real change is still often lacking. In considering how to better resource change, one significant

point of interest is in social conceptions of time. Many things are given timeframes. For THC, their government grant had spending and reporting deadlines; their Indigenous round had a specified timeframe linked to a national day of recognition; constraints placed by the timing of seasons (which was a big problem in TNC for a lack of "time off" netball); all while people are constrained by their usually busy schedules, compounding the issue of declining volunteer culture. Providing answers to these resourcing issues goes beyond the scope of this thesis, but future research could consider how, for example, time could be better utilised or acknowledged. For example, promoting change should consider appropriate deadlines for change and whether deadlines are even appropriate.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

What happens when mainstream sports clubs try to promote cultural diversity? In beginning to answer this question, this thesis has presented two case studies of sport clubs as they tried to create, implement, and evaluate a celebration of cultural diversity. Esther, at TNC, "failed" to get a celebration organised, while Paula, at THC, "successfully" organised the club's third annual Indigenous round as a celebration of cultural diversity. The latter involved supporting Indigenous businesses by paying some to come to the club and provide a service—both before the event (art, uniform, acknowledgement of Country plaque and cards) and during (animals, food, games), while others were afforded a platform to sell their products. Every home game in every league started with an acknowledgement of Country and the Premier League was introduced by a welcome to Country.

However, since this research follows from Victoria University's Change Makers project, which has a focus on migrant culture, it was interesting to note the conflation between Indigenous and migrant cultures within THC. This was also present to a degree at TNC which, although they did not do a celebration of cultural diversity in response to the Change Makers project, did make an Indigenous design for the representative team of a netball association they started. Thus, in answering "what happens when mainstream sports clubs try to promote cultural diversity?" I was particularly interested in why clubs focus on Indigenous rather than migrant culture, even when there is a stimulus to promote the latter.

The first identified reason that the clubs may have pursued Indigenous rather than migrant culture is because of a desire for personal gain, wherein such a pursuit produces a greater personal gain at a lower cost. This understanding was derived from understanding the achievements of the club and then critically analysing them to understand the underlying motivations of the club.

THC's Indigenous round led to three broad achievements. First (and foremost, at least for Ruth), the production of symbolic capital in relation to their reputation for celebrating Indigenous culture. This was achieved, in part, by adorning their physical space with various cultural artefacts: an acknowledgement of country, a NAIDOC wall poster, Indigenous art-uniforms and merchandise, and other Indigenous-style clothing that members continued to wear. These and other actions garnered interest from external entities, solidifying the reputation of the club from the perspective of the organising committee and other members. Second, within the community, there were both behavioural and cognitive modifications—adaptions of current practice but not of a different kind. Behavioural modifications mainly addressed clothing choices and were particularly pronounced in a group of junior boys who organised to continue wearing their Indigenous round uniform and bought the Australian Indigenous round hockey merchandise. Regarding cognitive modifications, the club primarily identified particular learnings about Indigenous culture and a cognitive reorientation toward a desire to learn about and engage with Indigenous culture. Third, the Indigenous round produced widespread, positive, affective responses. This was a particularly strong area of agreement between people with and without Indigenous heritage in the club's evaluation.

Additionally to the main achievements, Social Inclusion in the context of the Indigenous round is also considered. Social Inclusion, as an outcome, was primarily seen as a general association with an Inclusion "movement—" wherein the participants more closely associated themselves with this "movement" while also maintaining some distance from it—facilitated by spatial Inclusion. THC, underpinned by a political practice of justice, wanted the Social Inclusion of the round to permeate the whole club, identifying how they achieved this, while acknowledging aspects of unfair distribution (such as the welcome to Country being exclusive to Premier League). Their pursuit of justice also reflects an adaption toward a more complex conception of diversity within the club. Finally, Social Inclusion occurred primarily

on an individual and community level, while the organisational level contained the strongest moderating factors, both for enabling and inhibiting.

Social Inclusion was also intimately connected to its relationship with power in this study. Power (as an aspect of Social Inclusion) was distributed hierarchically (social contract structure). External funders choose what is worth funding, the board defined the parameters of Indigenous engagement, Paula led and had the power to make the final decision on almost everything within the set parameters, and people with Indigenous heritage took a primarily advisory role. This pattern was also evident at TNC. This was negatively evaluated by the organising committee at THC, desiring a more "organic" (social compact) power structure where responsibility and authority are more equally and fluidly distributed.

Thinking critically about these achievements, an economic motivation—a desire to reduce personal cost—driving the clubs' choices to promote Indigenous rather than migrant culture was inferred. While their actions were framed in terms of activist or social movement ideals, the achievements lacked both progressive, ongoing action, and substantive change that one would associate with a social movement. Symbolic capital is characterised by the recognition one receives for what they have (done). The emphasis is on the past tense, not on ongoing action. Moreover, THC's actions did not require or produce a substantive change for the club or its members. TNC followed in the pursuit of symbolic capital but were structurally limited in their ability to attain it. Their disadvantaged pursuit suggests that symbolic capital is a broader strong cultural value.

Behavioural modifications produced the most ongoing action, but they were neither progressive nor produced substantive change. People's disposition toward Indigenous culture did not seem to change and their actions were adaptions of current practices, not a change in kind. Cognitive modifications did not lead to actual, ongoing, progressive learning, but rather seemed to be fleeting modifications. Affective responses are merely a natural response to a

stimulus and do not necessitate any ongoing, progressive action or substantive change once the stimulus is removed. TNC fit into much the same paradigm, having pursued symbolic capital through Indigenous art on their representative uniform and clearly valuing positive affective responses to other cultures—if only for self-gratifying desires. However, they were unwilling to express or pursue modifications in any way to celebrate cultural diversity.

Similarly, the various aspects of Social Inclusion, such as spatial and functional Inclusion did not lead to ongoing progressive action. This is partly due to the compulsory nature of the event being included as a round within the season rather than as a separate event. Nor did the round produce substantive change in terms of Social Inclusion. While at an organisational level, the club is making progressive modifications to promote Inclusion, these are not contributing to substantive change.

Because of this lack of ongoing, progressive action and substantive change, it seems as though the clubs are motivated by a desire to be economical. They pursue those actions that would produce the greatest gain for themselves at the lowest cost to themselves. Thus, the first reason that the clubs may have pursued Indigenous rather than migrant culture is because of a desire for personal gain, wherein such a pursuit produces a greater personal gain at a lower cost.

A second reason that the clubs may have pursued Indigenous rather than migrant culture is because of the varied influence of power that positively influence the value of symbolic capital, the accessibility of it, and thus their own ability to procure prestige through it. This was observed in both the ability of those in positions of power to reshape the field in which they operate and then to procure prestige in such a field.

Those in positions of power reshaped the field in two ways. First, they shaped the value of particularly components in the field. This is seen in the evaluation of Indigenous rather than

the normative "Australian" culture. This value system is modulated by the power hierarchy which determines what can and cannot be celebrated according to their own value systems. In this way, those with power also determine what values are accessible to promote.

Those with power are then also able to procure prestige in this reshaped field. This was observed in every level of the power hierarchy, except for the Indigenous advisory level. Paula exercised her organisational power to shape the value of symbolic capital she adorned herself. Moreover, being the primary organisers would positively contribute to her reputation. The board achieved vicarious prestige through the production of symbolic capital for the club as a whole. Since the club has a positive reputation, this reflects positively on the board. The external funders were also perceived by Paula to be motivated by their own prestige. Thus, she asked for funding by emphasising they symbolic benefits that those organisations would gain. The power to procure prestige was also enabled or inhibited at various levels. In addition to the levels of the hierarchy, the community at THC also enabled to Indigenous round whereas the community in TNC inhibited Esther.

Those in power were able to reshape the field and capitalise on this to procure prestige for themselves. Thus, a second reason that the clubs may have pursued Indigenous rather than migrant culture is because of the varied influence of power that positively influence the value of symbolic capital, the accessibility of it, and thus their own ability to procure prestige through it.

These clubs fit within a broader social movement to better "Include" several aspects of society. One question this study raises is: what is the function and purpose of sport clubs? In particular, how should they contribute to this broader social movement? While THC were averse to making political statements, some clubs would see the Indigenous round as a political

statement. There are several considerations to be made when considering how clubs fit into this context.

First, there are strong forces promoting the celebration of Indigenous culture compared with migrant culture. While there was government funding to promote Indigenous culture through the Change Makers process, both clubs in this research were drawn toward celebrating Indigenous culture instead. Second, the clubs' actions produce similar outcomes to my observed trends in political activism. In particular, a variety of common political actions in Australia today involve the production of symbolic capital and are economic in the same way as the achievements in this study. Third, the clubs are also part of the national trend in declining volunteer culture. This could both be motivated by and producing such a desire to be economical that promotes the pursuit of symbolic capital. Fourth, in both clubs and the broader society, it seems as though the promotion of Indigenous culture produces significantly greater benefits for those doing the promoting than those with Indigenous culture backgrounds.

This broader social movement seems to be moving toward a top-down model. However, my research suggests that this is not providing increasing benefits for people with Indigenous heritage. Significant amounts of symbolic capital, and the associated prestige, are accumulated without corresponding benefits of comparable measure for the Indigenous community. Thus, my research would suggest a bottom-up model, wherein those who are interested in promoting change for the Indigenous community form an active community to that end and invite others to join it. Such an approach would flatten out the power hierarchy, including the power to evaluate, inviting evaluation of both cultures, while navigating relationships between diversity and normativity. Such a model would benefit from taking an approach that is not financially dependant as has been positively demonstrated in other research.

As a master's research project, there are surely many limitations. A few are worth highlighting. In this kind of research, the lack of data collection focussed on people from different positions and cultural backgrounds within a club interacting with each other is concerning. This thesis only went a very small way in addressing this gap—with only one focus group with cross-cultural and all (but still only) three with cross-positional interactions. For various reasons, I was unable to collect any more data than this. It was enough to analyse the case study but surely missed other important data that could have contributed. Future research should address cross-positional and (especially) cross-cultural interactions more thoroughly.

Along with the somewhat lacklustre data collection, I lacked a certain amount of rapport with the Indigenous community at THC. This was evident in my relationships with the committee members and their varying levels of participation in the research. Paula and Phoebe (without Indigenous heritage) were very helpful in keeping me updated so that I could carry out my research. I was introduced to four people with Indigenous heritage at the club (including two committee members). While I interviewed Naomi, she is less directly related to the club as a mother and works in an advisory capacity for this kind of activity. Thus, her participation in my research is readily understandable, while she is not actually a member of the club. Ruth was less responsive to communication than the others. For the others, I had some communication, but it did not continue, and they did not participate in the research. Finally, although Paula and Phoebe were keen to have people with Indigenous heritage in the final two focus groups, this did not eventuate.

Unfortunately, I do not know why exactly this is the case, but it is certainly problematic. THC were a later addition in the recruitment process and since they were organising such a big event, things moved very fast, reducing the amount of time to build rapport. Moreover, I had a lot to learn in under two years for this thesis which also inhibited a focus on rapport building. Due to the pace of progression then, it would be understandable if there was also a lack of trust

with me as a researcher. If that was the case, I clearly also did not do enough to alleviate doubts and earn their trust. Another general barrier was the lack of time that my participants could offer. People often made reference to their busyness. Esther was especially adamant that the parents at TNC were very busy. However, the consequence of the busyness of people at both clubs is that there is less time to build rapport with them. This seems to be a pervasive issue throughout sport clubs (which is also evident in my assistance with Change Makers as well).

While the necessity of building rapport with participants, especially those with diverse backgrounds, is a well-established suggestion for research, it is especially important for research students. Research students have strict time constraints and lots to learn, reducing the overall amount of time for actual research. This is something I was not really prepared for and thus took me by surprise. This, then, should be a point of emphasis for research students to consider when designing their projects, especially so that they can consider whether working with a particular group will be viable. In this way, students will be able to get more out of their projects and have more to offer in their theses.

While I initially had a focus on Social Inclusion for this research, troubles with data collection meant that it could not be a major focus for analysis. Thus, there are still gaps in Social Inclusion research that need addressing in line with the literature review. How participants construct and value Social Inclusion, as well as arguing for the value of each conception, are especially important.

Finally, the introduction of a focus on Indigenous culture in one of the clubs was problematic for writing this thesis as a master's student. With a contentious and complex colonial history, locating Indigenous culture and history within my research and positioning myself within that matrix would be incredibly complex and certainly beyond the scope of a thesis focussing on promoting migrant cultural diversity. Thus, I have not even attempted to do so with any significance as any attempt to do so would have been insufficient and lacked

the appropriate nuance. This consideration, alongside the results of my research, present an opportunity for future research—particularly considering the role that sport has to play in ameliorating the ongoing effects of colonisation on Indigenous culture and Australian life.

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