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Young People, Social Mixing and Trust in Sport

Report and analysis undertaken by Jump Projects (2019)

In 2015 Dame Louise Casey (2016) produced the 'Casey Report' into integration and opportunity in isolated and deprived communities. After speaking to over 800 people which included community groups, academics, schools and faith leaders and taking over 200 written submissions she concluded that there 'was a problem to solve' (p5). The review was conducted at the time of the referendum that led to the decision of the UK Government to leave the European Union. It was also clear at this time and to date that the heightened moral panics concerning immigration, xenophobia, recession and austerity, terrorism and the shift to the right in Europe and further afield have intensified the pressure on community cohesion, integration, wellbeing and trust. In considering these issues the Casey report makes recommendations on what should happen next.

Drawing on the 2011 census some of the Casey headlines included that, a) people from minority ethnic groups have become more dispersed and segregated b) the majority of minority ethnic groups live in London, Birmingham and Manchester with similar demographic patterns in Scotland and Wales c) South Asian communities (Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian) are more likely to live in higher concentration groups. d) consequently a phenomenon of schools where minority ethnic groups have become the majority has emerged e) this is further illustrated in some areas of high minority ethnicity by faith where Muslim groups tend to live in higher concentrations (Casey Report pp10-11).

Such instances of seeming ethnic fragmentation must be tempered by the social, economic and historical drivers for urban settlement patterns, and the ongoing media and political debates that reify cross racial and cultural differences of blackness and whiteness rather than celebrating diversity within ethnic categories. Hence debates about social mixing/integration and cohesion tend toward emphasising the former over the latter. The report outlined that as a result of case studies and the academic evidence base, the benefits of social mixing include 1) a reduction in prejudice 2) increased trust and understanding between groups 3) an increased sense of togetherness and common ground 4) resilience to extreme views. On the contrary to this, the report stated that a lack of social mixing may lead to i) ethnic segregation, and ii) increased community tensions (Casey 2016: 54).

A range of terms are often used to identify sport and community practice, including but not limited to: grassroots, mass participation, community sport, recreational sport, sport for all, and informal sport. Though these labels are often used interchangeably,

it is with a focus on the intrinsic and instrumental value of sport, with individual and social benefits accrued by participants that sport has been identified as valuable in recent Sport England (2013) policy. Wenner's (1998) study of sport, cites the concept of the 'great good place'. The 'great good place' is represented as a third place after home and work that people feel comfortable in. In such places, there are opportunities for bonding and bridging (social capital) processes to emerge through relationships developed with other 'regulars'. Engagement in such cultural fields – a sports club being a good example - become more than just 'leisure time' or fun activities to participate in, they are an integral aspect of an individual's life, including their connection to a wider community of people. Sport is rarely experienced in isolation and therefore trust becomes a critical necessity in the development of relationships which are drawn upon to achieve shared goals within sport.

The Casey Report's first recommendation called on central government to draw on the power of sport to 'boost social mixing between young people' to enhance integration and social opportunities (p177). Participation in sport has a long history of being associated with positive personal and social outcomes. Systematic government interest in the social value of sport dates largely from the 1960s (Coalter 2007). Over the last 50 years in the UK, the role of sport in stimulating social and community outcomes has become an increasingly salient political topic (Houlihan and White 2002, Coalter 2007, Green 2007). Such an increase is not without reason. Sport was historically, and continues to be coupled with, a whole range of positive benefits which may be bestowed upon willing participants or directed towards reducing social problems. This recommendation follows a distinguished legacy of recommendations for the power of sport to enable social mixing that includes the Cattle (2002) report on community cohesion suggesting that people were living 'parallel lives', Lord Ouseley (2001) report on diversity in Bradford, Trevor Phillips (2005) damning report about the UK 'sleepwalking to segregation', the review into the 'Oldham race riots' by David Richie (2001), and similarly the Scarman (1981) report into the 'Brixton disorders' all made recommendations for the use of sport to enhance the productive use of time, social mixing and qualitative fabric of local communities. Nearly four decades of public policy has been dedicated to using sport as a vehicle for social ends that include working toward social mixing through cohesion, integration, and inclusion initiatives.

[Trust, Status and Participation](#)

This section considers publications that have a broad focus on the connections between participation in sport and trust. It includes findings from research that consider the influence of demographics on participation and trust.

Putnam (2000: 21) stated that *trustworthiness lubricates social life*. In recognition of the burgeoning literature around social capital, Putnam (2007: 137) likes to use a more concise 'lean and mean' version where he speaks of *social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness*. He came to prominence in 2000 with the release of his book 'Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community'. He analysed a statistical milieu of civic participation rates in the US including sport/leisure participation, over an approximate fifty-year period. His findings alerted policymakers and practitioners to the fact that participation in leisure/sport activities were significant in the production of trust, among other things, and how the decrease in such activity meant a subsequent decrease in trustworthiness in general society.

Trust is one of the most fundamental dilemmas people face in negotiating their way through everyday life. Renowned psychologist David DeSteno (2014) wrote a book devoted to the concept of trust and why it matters at every level and stage of life. Bringing together research from such disparate fields as psychology, biology and robotics, he demonstrates the importance of trust and why giving and receiving it is such a gamble. However, he also highlights how trust has huge benefits. Steno concludes that when trust is established and reliable it can bring great comfort and helps form the basis of solid, fruitful relationships.

2018 saw the most recent research in this area British Social Attitudes (BSA) Survey conducted by the National Centre for Social Research invites responses from 3000 people about what they like about living in Britain and how they think it is run. The BSA survey 35 (Phillips et al. 2018) on social trust illustrated further how trust is mediated by participation in social networks and activities. The status of individuals is a key variable within assessments of trust and well-being linked to social networks. They state that those who take part in regular sports, leisure and cultural groups or associations are more likely to trust. Table 3 of the BSA 35 survey shows the relationship between frequency of participation and trust.

Table 3 Proportion who generally trust other people, by participation in different types of group or association

% saying people can be trusted	Social (leisure, sports or culture)
Frequency of participation	
Never	44
Once in the past year	51
Several in the past year	61
One to three times a month	64
Once a week or more	63

This is further exemplified (in Table 4 of the survey, below) if individuals are in higher socio-economic groups and have higher levels of education, the researchers argue that doing things with others engenders trust and *the more frequently one undertakes leisure, sports and cultural activities with other people, the more likely one is to hold a trusting view* (Phillips et al. 2018: 2). Overall younger people participate more than older people; men participate more than women; higher qualifications participate more than lower qualifications; managerial or professional status employees participate more than routine employees; minority ethnic groups participate more than white groups. It should be noted that when other factors are considered such as education they influence levels of trust. For example, ‘ethnic minorities’ (Black 43% and Asian 51%) are more likely to have a higher degree than white people (38%) then ethnic minorities are more likely to take part in social (leisure, sport or culture) activities than white people, and therefore in principal more likely to trust others. However, Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) note that where Black people take part in more social activities after controlling for other characteristics the same group trusts significantly less.

nb: we emphasise here the need to recognise diversity and intersectionality by de-homogenising group behaviours and circumstance. In Sporting Equals’ analysis of the Active People Survey (specifically on sport) they illustrate that it evidences variability in participation across ethnic groups. For example, the ‘mixed category’

participates most and the White category participates more than all the others. This varies again across all characteristics by gender, age, socio-economic status, disability, and faith (Sporting Equals 2017).

[Amended from BSA 35, Table 4, 2018]

Table 4 Proportion participating in social groups at least once in the past year, by socio-economic characteristics	
% who participate at least once in the past year	Social (leisure, sport or culture)
All	61
Age	
18-35	65
36-60	66
61+	50
Sex	
Men	62
Women	60
Education	
Degree or Higher Education	71
A-Level or GCSE or equivalents	62
Lower or no qualifications	42
Socio-economic class	
Managerial or professional	70
Intermediate	59
Routine	49
Ethnicity	
Ethnic Minority	66
White	60

Trust and Social Capital

This section focuses on a common theme of social capital and its relationship to trust in social mixing. Sport's role as a significant and accessible social activity reflects the starting point for these policy and theory papers.

Trust is probably the most referenced term in all social capital literature. Rostila (2010: 313) notes, trust "...in some instances, as the core of social capital". Forms of social capital can be based on an intra form (bonding) which involves individuals known to each other to bond, or inter form (bridging and linking) group basis where individuals and groups connect with others outside of their established networks; determined by group motivation, trust and connections. Whilst sociable forms of

social capital discussed above in Wenner's (1998) analysis of sport sees the trustful and welcoming environment that bonding social capital provides, bridging and linking social capital are more often associated with the propensity for wealth creation activity and connecting with other people or groups not necessarily within one's own immediate community, such as job hunting and networking opportunities respectively.

Nichols, Tacon, and Muir (2012) research found that that bridging social capital in sport requires ties to be made between people who are different but this can be a barrier to sport volunteer recruitment even when clubs are actively looking to attract more volunteers. In Nichols, Tacon and Muir's (2012) research project they identified how volunteers within five clubs based their social capital and trust on identity markers. In other words, volunteers within sports clubs gravitated towards and looked for volunteers they shared similar values with. They conclude that this explains why clubs rarely recruit volunteers outside club members or parents of participants meaning trust is influential as a source and outcome of social capital.

Long (2008) implies that bridging social capital is preferable to bonding social capital in sport due to the former's philosophical underpinnings of increasing inclusivity for those often most marginalised in society. However, when discussing notions of trust, it is the bonding form of social capital that sport clubs appear to be based on as highlighted in the study by Nichols, Tacon and Muir. Importantly, bonding social capital does not have instantaneous rewards. It takes time - sometimes a long time - to build the required trust to accept, and be accepted, to a social group beyond that of the family. Authentic bonding social capital is therefore an outcome of longitudinal relationships of sport players, volunteers and officials that require time and effort to produce what may be termed 'thick trust'.

Research for the National Bureau for Economic Research by Helliwell and Wang (2010: 1) on trust, trust in the workplace and in regards to migrants, revealed contextualised forms of trust that included everyday 'general' trust, co-worker trust, trust in the police, and trust in neighbours. Their use of the Canadian General Social Survey and the Gallup World Poll led them to conclude that there is a **strong link between trust and well-being**. This was also found in the British Social Attitudes Survey 35 (Phillips et al. 2018) on social trust who defined it as 'confidence in the moral orientation or trustworthiness of our fellow citizens'. In particular, in their review of literature, Helliwell and Wang identified a strong link between 'the causes and consequences of trust and the study of social capital'. They state that for many researchers, 'trust has been seen as a proxy measure of social capital'. Ties explained by social networks emerging from forms of social capital correlate to

explanations focused on levels of trust between individuals within and across groups. In particular, for sport, their survey data found that the foundation of trust is based on 'shared positive experiences' and is 'nurtured by continued connections' (p22).

Two forms of trust discussed by Putnam (2000) are 'thick trust' and 'thin trust'. Thick trust refers to the type people have within those strong relations epitomised by bonding social capital. Regular interaction, embedded cultural norms, and shared values, would indicate a foundation for thick trust. Once again there is evidence that sport is a site for the production of such thick trust but simultaneously how it can be a barrier for others. Agergaard and Sorensen (2009) outlined the problems faced by ten ethnic minority [sic] young men trying to enhance their social mobility through football. They were often unable to accumulate/develop the necessary social capital that could help them via support networks and status on the pitch to succeed in the game. Their lack of connectedness and bonding social capital appears to be a barrier to fully integrate into the clubs they played for due to what could be viewed as a lack of thick trust from others. Yet, when thick trust is achieved it can be significant in the lives of those involved. Spaaij's (2015) study examining the use of sport among young Somali immigrants within an Australian city recognises that a team or a club can serve as a second family, which is a familiar characteristic of bonding social capital's reliance on strong ties between people and thick trust. Spaaij discusses the seeking and granting of belonging by various stakeholders, which again coincides with thick trust and bonding social capital discussed in those studies above.

Hewstone (2015) also made theoretical links between diversity, trust, prejudice and social capital while explaining the potential for contact between hitherto unconnected groups to positively change their attitudes toward each other. Few recognise that Putnam (2007: 137) also had clear views about the role of diversity to influence levels of trust. He argued that in the short-term immigration and ethnic diversity reduce community cohesion and social capital due to ethnically diverse neighbourhoods having lower levels of trust. However, over time, forms of social capital emerge that facilitate intergroup and intergroup social networks that overcome fragmentation while developing more rounded identities. Psychologist, Hewstone (2015), explains that for many the notion of 'diversity' brings with it feelings of threat. He argues that little is known about how diversity may affect trust and intergroup attitudes. However, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) are confident that increased intergroup contact can lead to enhanced knowledge about 'outside groups', reduced anxiety about intergroup contact and increased empathy about outside groups.

Trust and Sport

This section considers the relationship between trust and sport. In particular contributions consider themes of relationship building and belonging both inextricably linked with trust and trustworthiness. Above Spaaij (2015) states that these factors appear vital in the rationale behind people becoming involved in sport.

Research on the wider social role of sport, especially for young people and those identified as 'at risk', frequently highlights the importance of relationship building as central to programme success (Crabbe 2007, Petitpas, Cornelius, and Raalte 2008, Coalter 2012). Positive Futures for example, a sport-based youth inclusion programme, was established as a 'relationship strategy' through which young people could be engaged in a flexible and 'organic' way that allowed the development of trust between participant and programme leaders (Positive Futures 2006). Crabbe's (Crabbe 2007, 2008) multiple reports on the impact of Positive Futures schemes adopted a long term approach that prioritised young people's voices and experiences over 'hard' statistical evidence in an effort to understand project impact. A clear finding from this research illustrated that where Positive Futures projects were successful, they were often founded upon the relationships that coaches and leaders developed with young people and stakeholders.

Coalter's (2012) research on sport programmes targeted at 'at-risk' young people also demonstrates the importance of relationship building as a 'sufficient condition' for programme success. Coalter's research was conducted over 5 years with six UK based projects on behalf of Comic Relief, and drew upon a mixture of before-and-after surveys and in-depth interviews to evaluate programme impact. Coalter's findings highlighted that relationships built on respect, trust and reciprocity were key mechanisms underpinning the most significant aspects of provision.

Alongside school, sport clubs are one of the most common environments where parents believe their children can be left in a safe and trustworthy place with responsibility for their child being handed over to another adult. Sport clubs are therefore a location for the placement and generation of trust, something members of sports clubs apparently benefit from. Brown, Hoye, and Nicholson (2014) highlight in their study of 1833 respondents within the State of Victoria, Australia, that sport membership was a strong predictor in the creation of trust. Whilst their study evidenced the elevated trust produced from being part of a sports club, it is not clear what the determinants are behind this. However, answers may be found in the environment and context that sport takes place. Sport usually occurs in a safe and trustworthy location that people feel comfortable in and attend voluntarily because of

the experiences they have when participating. Motivating factors for joining a sports club can be to express oneself as well as desiring membership of a group (Vermeulen and Verweel 2009). Vermeulen and Verweel found that many of the participants in their two studies based in Holland viewed sport and sport clubs as a place for building relationships and generating trust. In many ways sport clubs and environments reflect the great good place discussed in Wenner's (1998) study of the sports bar.

Sporting Inclusion, Social Inclusion and Sport's Wider Role

This section draws on reports that have considered the feasibility of the social role that sport can take and the impact it can further make. It considers some of the tensions concerning issues of policy and practice.

The Culture and Sport Evidence CASE. (2010) research programme led by the DCMS aimed to use interdisciplinary research to better understand the drivers, impact and value of engagement. Being closely linked to the taking part survey (limited to its data, sectors). The programme was designed to ensure that additional services in sport interventions were based on clear evidence of need. It stated that it was 'the largest piece of published policy research in culture and sport. The systematic review was carried out in three stages 1) construct a database of studies about engagement, impact and value in culture and sport 2) establish a descriptive map of key quantitative measures of impact of cultural and sporting engagement. 3) establish and assess the impacts of cultural or sporting engagement on young people's learning outcomes. It was found that the benefits of engagement in sport included individual, community and national benefits. At an individual level, diversion, enjoyment, health, self-esteem and self-identity were a third of the evidenced benefits. Yet, at the level of the community, social capital, shared experience, community identity and community cohesion were significant social factors where the CASE programme detailed confidence in committing public funds to support. At this juncture, the evidence base met the political space of good intentions and common beliefs that have regularly featured in public policy that espouse the good of sport for social mixing, connectedness and community goals. At a national level a sense of belonging as a citizen was viewed as an additional benefit of engagement in sport.

Ruiz (2004) conducted a review of literature on the evidence base regarding the social and economic impacts of culture, the arts and sport. As with the CASE study it was used to inform policy in regards to sport. In exploring the available studies nationally and internationally they found it a challenge to find a systematic approach to the evaluation of initiatives or programmes. However, they were able to establish

some dominant themes across the database. In regard to sport they reiterate the social impacts of sport that emerged through the CASE study and in addition include 'personal and community empowerment, improve or create social networks' (p1). As with many of the earlier public sector policy documents the educational and diversionary aspects of sport for young people emerges strongly. Ruiz (2004) found in her review of literature that specific cultural benefits can accrue to particular ethnic groups to enhance inclusion, identity, and pride. Also, while all individuals have the potential to reduce isolation by increasing their networks through sport Ruiz felt this was emphasised more in the literature about sport and disability.

Coalter (2002) suggests that the development of sport in communities often focuses on sporting inclusion, whereby any wider social outcomes are coincidental to the primary aims of addressing barriers to participation, skill development, and progression to competition and excellence (Coalter 2002, Houlihan and White 2002). Sporting inclusion is understood to foster desirable personal character traits which are 'transferable' to other spheres of a participant's life, potentially leading to social outcomes through the positive socialisation of individuals (Darnell 2007, Green 2008). Participation in sport, shaped and delivered appropriately, is viewed as a site through which positive personal development can be gestated (Coakley 2011). This is most clearly identified within literature that highlights the potential of sporting participation as a site for Positive Youth Development (PYD), and the potential for fostering the 5 'C's of positive development (competence, confidence, character, connections, and caring) (Fraser-Thomas, Côté, and Deakin 2007, Holt 2008). The 5 'C's model (Lerner, Brown, and Kier 2005) though not developed in the context of sport, has been identified as a potentially fruitful avenue for understanding young peoples' psychosocial development through sport (Petitpas, 2005; Holt, 2008; 2017). Despite the challenges of capturing different elements of PYD in empirical research, Holt et al's (2017) review of literature of studies on PYD through sport reiterates that a) sustained adult-youth relations, b) life skill building activities, and c) opportunities for young people to participate in, and potentially lead activities, are all central features of desirable PYD provision.

In contrast to sporting inclusion, projects that seek wider community development outcomes through sport often emphasise the process of social inclusion, in which the breaking down of barriers to participation are part of a wider yet necessary process in which sport is used instrumentally in the promotion of wider community outcomes (Coalter 2002, Collins and Kay 2003, Spaaij, Jeanes, and Magee 2014). These wider social outcomes often encompass, but are not limited to: crime reduction and community safety (Hartmann and Depro 2006, Nichols 2007, Kelly 2013); health and

wellbeing (Sport England 2017); social cohesion (Long et al, 2002, Delaney and Keaney 2005, Nicholson and Hoyer 2008); and economic development (Gratton, Shibli, and Coleman 2005, Sport England 2013). Spaaij, Jeanes, and Magee's (2014) research drew upon case studies of four Sport for Development initiatives in Cameroon and Kenya to explore the potential of sport in stimulating and sustaining community development, specifically around issues faced by women and girls. The research highlighted the underlying 'educational' dimensions of such initiatives, and the central role of peer leaders and 'educators' being immersed within local culture and context in order to best instigate wider communal change.

Structural Influences on Social Mixing and Trust in Sport

This section considers broader structural issues that influence the quality of social mixing and the capacity for practitioners and policymakers to effectively implement such interventions through sport. Individual and collective dispositions to others and how they affect feelings of trust are outlined.

The BSA 35 2018 found that by using statistical modelling they could make links between social ties and the status of social networks. However, in relation to these models other factors must be considered such as participation in particular social activities and socio-demographics. So, a moderate number of ties leads to greater levels of trust though beyond a certain point 'the propensity turns the other way'. Additional strong predictors of levels of trust in social mixing include the social position or status of ties. That is, who and what social position the ties are with. In addition, for ethnic minority groups it finds that Black people have lower levels of trust when social networks, participation rates and socio-economic factors are concerned. Higher levels of unemployment, and discrimination make persistent negative disparities between Black-Caribbean and Black-Africans and white people. Compared with 0.5% of white people, 10.5% of Black-Caribbean's and 11% of Black-Africans reported being rejected for promotion and/or training opportunities. These variables are likely to have a 'dampening effect' (BSA 2018: 16).

Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) go on to state that both individual and community factors affect how people trust each other. Though based on the General Social Survey in the US, their research has specific implications for racialised groups in British society. They identify key findings that influence low levels of trust that include a recent history of traumatic events; belonging to a group with historical discrimination (Black people more so, though women to a lesser extent); a lack of economic success in terms of income or education; living in a racially mixed

community and/or one with a higher income disparity. This final statement challenges public policy messages that increased social mixing is better for society.

Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) argue that at the level of the individual living in a less socially mixed neighbourhood there is a less trusting disposition toward more racial integration. Just as in the study on volunteering in sports clubs by Nichols, Tacon and Muir (2012) Alesina and La Ferrara (2000) hint that familiarity breeds trust. In their study on sports clubs and association groups such as youth groups, hobby groups they explored the beneficial effects of social capital and the development of trust. They found that there is a preponderance for individuals to interact with others similar to themselves in terms of income, race or ethnicity. They also propose that some of these decisions are based on levels of 'aversion' to others. The authors' conclude that income inequality and racial and ethnic heterogeneity reduce the propensity to participate in a variety of social activities including recreational [...] groups (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000: 850).

Based on their research and recurrent findings from reviews of literature, Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) propose some prevalent drivers of trust for sport stakeholders, 1) trusting others may be a moral or cultural attitude 2) trust may be based on past experience with others 3) people may be more willing to trust others that are more like themselves 4) people may trust others with whom they have had more interaction or where there is the expectation of repeated interaction. Added to this, as individual circumstances change or addresses shift through domestic/incoming migration, understanding trust building becomes more of a challenge.

Hewstone (2015) posits that more is known now about the 'when' and 'how' of effective types of contact. In addition to the frequency of contact the 'quality' of contact determines the extent to which contact positively affects outgroup attitudes (Hewstone 2015: 420). These findings were further supported in a meta-analysis systematic review of 515 studies by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006). Simply put, their study concludes that 'familiarity breeds liking' under a range of conditions, settings and groups. In effect, rather than establishing a set of conditions to reach positive contact outcomes Pettigrew and Tropp are persuaded by the positive outcomes of threat reduction and anxiety of contact that facilitates increased trust in new network or 'outgroup' members and reduced prejudice. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) suggest that more longer term studies are required to fully test the familiarity and prejudice reduction thesis which resonates with the recommendations of the National Citizen Service evaluation of the value of increased contact between young people. The NCS started in 2011 and in 2016 when the report was being written the first cohort

would only just have turned 21 years old. Therefore, the long-term impact of the project would not yet have been established. It is too early to say whether the programme is going to meet its long-term objectives of contributing to a more responsible, cohesive and engaged society (Comptroller and Auditor General 2017: 7)

[Sport, Social Mixing and Relationship Building Initiatives](#)

This section includes sources that have considered practical steps to enhance social mixing and engagement in sport and related contexts. Some of the issues relate to establishing the conditions under which claims of replicability and success can be made.

The National Citizen Service is an organisation established to promote social mixing for young people from different backgrounds, develop transferable employment skills, and promote social and civic engagement in local communities (Laurence 2018). In the study on NCS' ability to enhance social integration in its projects with young people it was found through an evaluation of nearly 14,000 participants over a year by Laurence (2018: 25) that the programme has more positive impacts on social integration for those young people less socially integrated to begin with. This finding emerged as young people from more segregated communities initially reported lower community cohesion and lower levels of social integration. However, due to the limitations of the local nature of NCS an issue noted for further work on the programme involves bridging the gap between mixing participants from different communities. This is particularly emphasised where young people living in ethnically homogenous communities are not given the chance for 'positive mixing' with young people outside of their locale. A proposed solution is the initiation of 'matchmaking teams' to facilitate mixing across local authorities, ethnic and socio-economic lines.

Perks' (2007) results gleaned from the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating for Statistics Canada examined whether participation in sport influences community engagement into adulthood. Essentially, does participation in sport as a youth influence participation in community activities as an adult. The majority of data was collected via telephone survey with 14,724 Canadians surveyed. Notably, the study asked questions retrospectively about whether or not an individual had participated in any organized team sports during their school years, whether early experiences with sport participation extend to involvement in a broad range of community activities as an adult, and if the effects of early sport experiences on community involvement extend to later periods in the lifecycle. The findings suggest that sport participants tend to be more socially integrated than non-sport participants.

The findings in this study show the positive contribution of organized youth sport participation to continued community involvement throughout the life cycle. The study raises the question about whether certain sports inhibit or promote social inclusion. For example, highly competitive sports, when contrasted with recreational sports, might be more likely to produce negative feelings among participants that undermine, rather than enhance, social cohesion and subsequent levels of community involvement. Again, as with other studies included here, the mechanism of participation needs investigation. The authors acknowledge that the study was somewhat simplistic as it did not provide detailed information around youth sport participation.

In the evaluation of a Comic Relief sport for development programme, Coalter (2012) evidences the value of sport in aiding social inclusion and provides examples of publicly funded sports-based interventions. This paper evaluates the effectiveness of six sports-based interventions in the UK that sought to address issues of gang membership, racism, at-risk youth and conflict, as well as address perceived lack of aspiration and ambition among young people. The six interventions are as follows; a football programme in an inner city in north England noted for gang-violence and unemployment, a basketball-based project in several deprived areas of a major Scottish city aimed at 'at-risk' youth and immigrants and asylum seekers, a programme based in the east end of London using football (and other activities) to address issues of gang membership among Bengali youth, a sport-oriented project in a major Scottish city addressing issues of territoriality, gang membership and substance abuse (pg.598). The interventions were publicly funded by Comic Relief over a five-year period however the centrality of sport within the initiatives or programmes varied. Method used to capture data included pre-and post-surveys of participants and in-depth interviews among young men who had been in a programme for at least 3 years. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted with 37 participants whose ages ranged from 14 to 21 years of age.

The study found that sport provided a sense of social connection. For example, playing football every week provided new migrants with social connections with other people and helped develop their language skills (pg.601). Closeness, support, and accessibility were identified as underpinning many of the programmes, of which Coalter claims 'has a wider influence on both behaviour and aspiration' (pg.602). Through the interventions, participants overcame fear and developed self-confidence. Participants learnt to monitor and reflect on their behaviour, and the role of coaches and their availability and approachability reinforced positive behaviour. The sport initiatives were described as having trust and reciprocity at the centre of the programmes and for providing a place where young men could mature

in a safe and supportive environment (pg.606). These findings were also found by Draper and Coalter (2016) in a study of soccer and its contribution to developing life skills for young people in South Africa.

Other community sport initiatives have also highlighted the importance of relationship building and the role of sport. Sport England's Sport Action Zones (SAZ) were targeted at deprived communities with the objective of providing 'help to communities to help themselves', with the overarching aim of increasing sports participation in deprived communities and establishing sustainable provision (Hallaitken 2008). The SAZs provide insight into the importance of practitioners working at a local level with the community in order to build relationships that enable the formulation of actions based on local knowledge that would otherwise have remained 'hidden' or unconsidered (Walpole and Collins 2010). In Hallaitken's (2008) report and across the literature on the wider communal outcomes of community sport discussed above, it is clear that starting with participants' interests, "where they're at" both literally and figuratively, is vital in the pursuit of the wider social value of sport and relationship building for young people (Long, et al., 2002, : 74).

The UK Government's sport strategy Sporting Future emphasised the social impact of its work utilising sport as it also centred building social capital as a goal of its interventions concerning individual, community and social development. The document offers an example of Sussex County Cricket Club work with young Muslim cricket players as they established pathways for integration. The policy states that such sport based projects can strengthen communities by bringing people together from different backgrounds, improve a sense of belonging in local communities while enhancing community links, cohesion and building social capital.

In his research on sport networks and social capital Hylton (2008) utilised Putnam's (2007) pared down definition of social capital: *social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness*, to establish that longevity and increased contact by the officers of the Black sport pressure group gained them a level of status and cultural capital as key stakeholders. This prolonged contact meant that bridging links with established stakeholders in sport networks in Yorkshire led to improved success and positive outcomes as they became more trusted and included in what was initially an elitist and white dominated sport policy network. Drawing on the research on social capital by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998: 243) he was able to argue that social capital as *the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by*

an individual and social unit reaffirmed that the pressure group had been successful in stimulating social capital (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998: 243) .

Summary

There is evidence in this review of literature that social mixing enhances trust for social population in the context of sport. This has been further emphasised for young people. The development of social capital to bridge across groups and to bond within groups have been substantively argued. There is a case to be made for the influence of intersectional issues (age, ethnicity, gender, disability, faith) and broader structural influences (socio-economic status, education, discrimination) on levels of participation, trust, and inclusion.

For many one of the most fundamental problems in understanding the way that social mixing, trust and sport successfully coalesce revolves around a need for conceptual and theoretical clarity about how programmes work, under what time period and by extension, how they should be implemented.

This concern is reiterated by The Centre for Social Justice's (2011) suggestion that there remains a need for greater political ownership in the delivery of sport-based interventions for social outcomes, as well as a more rigorous understanding of why, where and how appropriate programmes can be delivered.

As Helliwell and Wang state in this review that there is, a strong link between 'the causes and consequences of trust and the study of social capital' sport's role within this for young people should be further examined. Shared positive experiences emerge in a range of studies as a contributing factor to resilient connections. Over the years, policymakers have made the links between sport's value in the maintenance of a socially functioning society though the challenges of familiarity leading to aversion, anxiety with the 'other', structural determinants 'dampening' trust, the place of socioeconomic status influencing participation and broader intersectional issues require further deliberation.

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