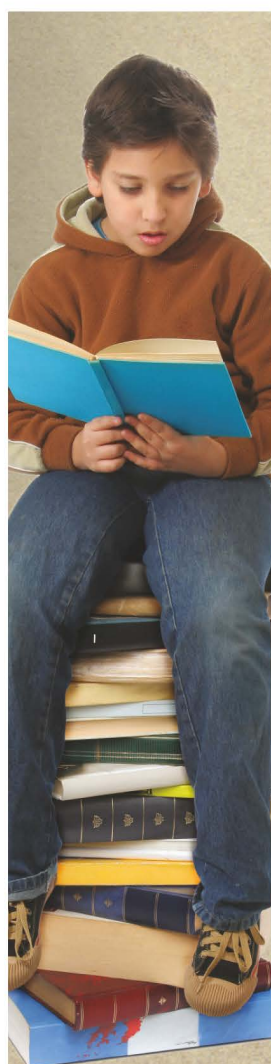


DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

POLICY DEPARTMENT
STRUCTURAL AND COHESION POLICIES **B**



Agriculture and Rural Development



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**RESEARCH FOR CULT
COMMITTEE - THE ROLE OF
SPORT IN FOSTERING OPEN
AND INCLUSIVE SOCIETIES**

STUDY



DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES
POLICY DEPARTMENT B: STRUCTURAL AND COHESION POLICIES

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

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THE ROLE OF SPORT IN FOSTERING
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STUDY

This document was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education.

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CULTURE AND EDUCATION

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Abstract

This briefing paper provides an overview of models of the roles sport can play in different intercultural and multicultural policy approaches. It highlights in particular the relationship between intercultural and multicultural approaches in the development of social capital among marginal groups in society. Central to the discussion is the adoption of a realist approach to identifying causal mechanisms which bring about social change, and the place of Intergroup Contact Theory in explaining the potential for the development of intercultural understanding through sport.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	4
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	5
1. INTRODUCTION	7
2. CONCEPTS OF MULTICULTURALISM / INTERCULTURALISM, NATIONALITY AND CITIZENSHIP AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO SPORTS POLICY APPROACHES	9
3. SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND THE SOCIAL CAPITAL BENEFITS CLAIMED FOR SPORT	15
4. ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIP OF TYPES OF SPORT POLICIES AND PROJECTS TO DIFFERENT TYPES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL	17
5. THE NATURE AND QUALITY OF THE EVIDENCE FOR SOCIAL CAPITAL BENEFITS FROM SPORT	21
6. REALIST EVALUATION AND INTER-GROUP CONTACT THEORY: WHAT CAUSES THE REDUCTION OF INTERGROUP PREJUDICE AND THE GROWTH OF INTER-GROUP TRUST, AND HOW MIGHT SPORT BE EMPLOYED TO ACHIEVE THESE ENDS?	25
7. SPORT AND THE REPRODUCTION OF EUROPEAN VALUES	27
8. SPORT AND STRATEGIES AGAINST RADICALISATION	31
9. CONCLUSION	33
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	35
REFERENCES	37

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CASE** Culture and Sport Evidence Programme (of the UK Government Department of Culture, Media and Sport)
- CMO** Context-Mechanism-Outcome (model adopted in the Realist Evaluation approach)
- DG EAC** Directorate General Education and Culture
- EVS** European Values Study
- ICT** Intergroup Contact Theory
- MS** Member States of the EU
- RCT** Randomised Control Trial
- SR** Systematic Review

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1 Sport Policy Approaches Consistent with Different Philosophies of Integration and Assimilation	11
Table 2 The Hierarchy of Methodologies and Quality of Evidence Identified in Taylor et al (2015)	23
Table 3 Summary of Selected Response to the 2007 and 2012 Eurobarometer Surveys on European Culture	28
Table 4 Potential Causes and Accompanying factors of Radicalisation	31
Figure 1 The Values Perceived as Representing the EU, and the Values Prioritised by Citizens of Member States and Candidate Countries (n=32,728)	30

1. INTRODUCTION

The use of sport for the purposes of fostering social inclusion, social cohesion, social integration, or the development of social capital, is a strategy which has attracted support from a wide range of policy bodies including the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and the IOC (Council of Europe, 2000; Dorokhina, Hosta, & van Sterkenburg, 2011; International Olympic Committee, 2015; United Nations Organisation for Sport for Development and Peace, 2010), of NGOs (Sport and Development, 2013) and commercial sponsors from sporting as well as other industrial domains such as Nike or Microsoft (Millar, 2009; Nike, 2015). Niessen, in a study undertaken for the European Commission on *Diversity and cohesion: new challenges for the integration of immigrants and minorities* provides an example of the types of assertion commonly made in relation to the benefits of sport.

The role of sport in promoting social integration, in particular of young people, is widely recognised. Sports offer a common language and a platform for social democracy. ... and is instrumental to the development of democratic citizenship. Sport enhances the understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and it contributes to the fight against prejudices. Finally, sport plays its part to limit social exclusion of immigrant and minority groups. (Niessen, 2000 : 68)

However while such views about the positive potential for sport to contribute to social cohesion are common, at the same time such claims have been subject to significant critique on the basis not only of the poverty of evidence to support them, but also because sport, under certain conditions, can be a vehicle for generating social *disbenefits* (such as racism, cultural separatism, sexism, and homophobia) (Dorokhina et al., 2011). Sport is of itself a heterogeneous phenomenon, involving, for example, competitive and recreational, individual and team, combat and non-combat, forms; it takes place in a wide range of environments; it engages with a variety of participant groups or types; and it is therefore unsurprising that gross generalisations about the benefits of sport are suspect. Addressing the question of sport's contribution to social inclusion should thus be less concerned with answering the question of whether sport contributes to positive outcomes in terms of social integration than with posing the more nuanced question of establishing the particular contexts in which sport might be associated with the achievement of particular types of positive social outcomes.

This briefing note therefore seeks to outline the conditions under which sport can be employed as a positive vehicle for fostering open and inclusive societies and will focus primarily on the use of sport to develop positive relations within and between different ethnic and ethno-religious groups in European societies.¹ The line of argument developed in the paper consists of the following substantive elements:

¹ Since this briefing paper focuses on ethnic or ethno-religious groups it should be recognised that while sport's role in fostering openness and inclusion for other groups such as gender, sexual orientation, disability, and age, is not a primary focus within this briefing paper, that the use of sport for engendering inclusion for these groups is a significant issue. See the later discussion of the evidence to support the application of Inter-group Social Contact Theory to the 'reduction of prejudice' in respect of ethno-religious but also various other groups.

- An outline of concepts of multiculturalism / interculturalism, nationality and citizenship and how these may be linked to sports policy approaches;
- The development of a typology of sports policies adopted for the purposes of tackling social exclusion and their relationship to different philosophies of integration and assimilation
- Types of social capital and their relationship to the goals of integration and assimilation.
- Realist evaluation, and the role of programme theories identifying causal mechanisms of change, and in particular the significance of Inter-group Contact Theory in explaining the use of sport to achieve positive social outcomes.
- The place of sport in the reproduction of European values.
- The potential role of sport in addressing the radicalisation of young people.

2. CONCEPTS OF MULTICULTURALISM / INTERCULTURALISM, NATIONALITY AND CITIZENSHIP AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO SPORTS POLICY APPROACHES

Perhaps the critical distinction in approaches to the reception, or engagement, of ethnic and ethno-religious groups within wider communities is the distinction between assimilation and integration.

Integration is seen as the process whereby a minority group adapts itself to a majority society and is accorded equality of rights and treatment, while the term assimilation is used in relation to the 'absorption' of ethnic minority and immigrant population cultures into the cultures and practices of the host society. Assimilation thus implies both acculturation in the adoption of mainstream cultural norms and deculturation, the gradual loss of indigenous cultural distinctiveness. (Henry, Amara, & Aquilina, 2007)

As Tariq Modood and his colleagues have argued, these two approaches employ very different concepts of equality (Meer & Modood, 2012; Modood, 2015; Modood, Triandafyllidou, & Zapata-Barrero, 2006). Integration offers a right to have one's cultural differences recognized and supported in both the public and the private spheres, including such examples as the right to wear the hijab, to purchase and consume halal meat, or for Sikh police officers or motor cycle riders to wear the turban in place of uniform or safety headgear. The assimilation approach by contrast recognizes the right to assimilate to the dominant culture in the public sphere with 'toleration'² of cultural differences in the private sphere. Such an approach to assimilation is evident in the French state's approach to the issue of banning the wearing of the hijab in schools, and other locations in the public sphere (Fernando, 2009).

It is clear that in the European Union different perspectives on integration and assimilation are integrally related to the understanding of national identity in different states, and to their histories of democratization which form the basis for conceptualizing citizenship and citizen's rights. An assimilationist position is consistent with the French traditional concept of citizenship with an emphasis placed on citizens of the Republic adopting or accepting a set of universal political values and rights, encompassed in a secular, *laïque*, public realm. Acceptance of the political project of French Republicanism, however infers acceptance of the Republic's cultural project with religion-related cultural phenomena consigned to the private realm (Feldblum, 2009). The political-cultural notion of citizenship in France, may be contrasted with the Traditional German ethnocultural notions of national identity, 'membership' and citizenship (Green, 2000). Such a construction of citizenship was also founded upon an assimilationist platform but whereas French national identity and citizenship in political terms also implied adopting a cultural citizenship, in the German case the political rights to citizenship were gained as a product of shared German culture and language which accorded access to such rights, with access to citizenship having been denied to long term 'foreign' residents.

British notions of citizenship were traditionally associated with a pluralist, multiculturalist philosophy, which grew out of the British experience both as a United Kingdom of four 'nations' and as a colonial power in which accommodated access to British citizenship was

² Modood while using the term 'toleration' points out that this terminology expresses a patronizing attitude to cultural differences which may provoke resentment.

provided for (some) Commonwealth subjects particularly up to the 1960s. Janoski sees the integrationist model of a liberal pluralist state with promotion of access to freedom of expression for culturally diverse individuals and groups, as an ironic by-product of colonialism.

The irony is that by conquering nations and offering political and economic incentives to secure the partial allegiance of conquered peoples, colonisers inadvertently expand diversity, tolerance, and citizenship. Over the long run, the oppressing country becomes more civilized. (Janoski, 2010: 3)

Although the nature of citizenship approaches in France, Germany and Britain shifted from these traditional positions in the latter half of the last century, with the introduction of for example naturalisation rights particularly for second and third generation 'foreign' inhabitants in Germany (Green, 2000; Mushaben, 2008), and the increased restrictions placed on access to citizenship in Britain (Howard, 2009), nevertheless as Feldblum (2009: 6) has argued these models remain in important ways "enduring" and "influential". The residual distinctiveness of these dominant models allows us to highlight below a series of contrasting sport policy positions in ideal typical terms reflecting the policy goals relating to fostering cultural openness and social inclusion through sport, which are consistent with these different positions.

Table 1 below is adapted and extended from a typology introduced in an earlier publication (Henry et al., 2007) based on a study commissioned by the European Commission Sport Unit on *Sport and Multicultural Dialogue* (Amara, Aquilina, Henry, & PMP Consultants, 2004). This table seeks to sketch out the relationship between concepts of assimilation and integration, multiculturalism, interculturalism and cultural separatism, and models of citizenship, to policy goals associated with maintaining openness and social inclusion. The model is divided into six policy types, four of which are derived from pluralist characterisations of state and society, and thus reflect forms of integrationist philosophy. While two rely on the unitary conceptions of the state and public culture, and are essentially assimilationist.

Table 1: Sport Policy Approaches Consistent with Different Philosophies of Integration and Assimilation.

	General Philosophy	Generic Policy Approach	Political Orientation	Sport Policy Examples	Policy Outcomes Sought
Policy domains of sport and culture	Integration: Pluralism & Diversity	<u>INTERCULTURALISM</u>	Communitarianism	Funding cultural interchange through sport	Enhanced engagement, understanding and accommodation between cultures.
		MULTICULTURALISM I: facilitating access for all cultures to opportunities	Social democracy emphasis on equal opportunities, antidiscrimination	Promoting equal access to existing types of sporting facilities and opportunities by adapting service delivery	Reduction in inequalities in access to services and facilities, and thus in sport participation. Linking equal access in sport to equal access in other domains.
		MULTICULTURALISM II: Separate but equal development	Protection of political minorities (e.g. by reserved places in parliament / legislature)	Direct funding of (separate) ethnic minority sports associations or competitions	Increased social bonding within ethnic communities reducing deculturation and / or increased participation in sporting activity within specific ethnic communities
		<u>MARKET PLURALISM</u>	Liberal Individualism	Reliance on the market and / or voluntary sectors to meet individual's needs	Increased choice and cultural diversity in the marketplace fostering market responses to expressed demand
	Assimilation: Cohesion, Unitary National Culture	<u>ASSIMILATIONISM:</u> policies target generic policy problems rather than particular (ethno-religious) groups	Assimilation of minorities into mainstream political parties	For example policies may use sport to combat urban deprivation but do so to address the social condition targeted rather than the needs of target groups.	Reduction of deprivation but with no recording of impact specifically on ethnic or religious communities
		<u>NON-INTERVENTION</u>	Homogeneous population; conservative political orientation	No perceived need for action.	N/A

The first of the policy strands we describe as INTERCULTURALISM. There is considerable debate about the distinction between multiculturalism and interculturalism, with perhaps the crucial factor being that while multiculturalism accepts the right of ethno-religious groups to maintain their own cultural traditions, interculturalists point to the fact that such a strategy may both involve the acceptance of practices deemed ethically unacceptable. It may in some instances be contrary to existing legislation in 'host' societies, and will be likely to foster the existence of parallel communities within societies rather than social engagement (Cantle, 2015; Modood, 2015; Parekh, 2006). Intercultural approaches, by contrast, do not accept unquestioningly the cultural norms of ethno-religious minorities, but seek to promote intercultural learning between the constituent cultures within a society, such that the strengths of 'minority' and 'majority' cultures can be observed and adapted through cultural interchange. This interculturalist philosophy is consistent with the politics of Communitarianism (Etzioni, 1993; Tam, 1998), which promotes open dialogue between community groups as a key to establishing ethical policy goals.

Communitarians examine the ways shared conceptions of the good (values) are formed, transmitted, justified, and enforced. Hence their interest in communities (and moral dialogues within them), historically transmitted values and mores, and the societal units that transmit and enforce values such as the family, schools, and voluntary associations (social clubs, churches, and so forth), which are all parts of communities (Etzioni, 2003: 224).

This line of thinking is consistent with the policy in sports terms of fostering inter-cultural exchange through engagement in a common cultural set of goals. (The theory of cultural exchange underpinning such an approach we return to below in our discussion of Inter-group Contact Theory (ICT) in section six of this paper.)

The second policy strand (MULTICULTURALISM I) is a product of a multiculturalist approach seeking to ensure equity in access to services and opportunities for ethno-religious as well as other minority (and in particular disadvantaged) groups. In terms of policy orientation this is associated with an equal opportunities and anti-discrimination stance. Actions taken to enhance the access and participation of disadvantaged groups may involve infrastructure planning and construction decisions (e.g. locating facilities in areas of high concentration of particular ethno-religious groups which are subject to particular forms of disadvantage) or management approaches (e.g. favouring employment of staff with cultural understanding of ethnic or religious groups, and the adoption of promotional campaigns to increase participation in particular communities). Provision to counter discrimination on the basis of religion and belief alongside nationality, sex, racial or ethnic origin, disability, age and sexual orientation, was promoted in Article 13 of the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty, and though most stringently applied to ensure equal opportunities in employment terms, Member States may employ forms of positive action, which is exercised in order to promote equality of outcome (similar proportions of sub-groups within the population availing themselves of access to facilities and services).

It is worth acknowledging that 'multiculturalism' (or at least 'state multiculturalism') has been increasingly under attack by political leaders in EU Member States, in Britain both by the Centre Left (Kristianasen, 2006), and Centre Right (Doward, 2011), and by key figures including Angela Merkel in Germany (Connolly, 2010), Nicolas Sarkozy in France (Bouvet, 2011), David Cameron in the UK (Featherstone, Ince, Mackinnon, Strauss, & Cumbers, 2012) and by a variety of voices in the Netherlands (Vasta, 2007). However the target of the critique has not always been clear and commentators have suggested that the meanings associated with multiculturalism have been multiple, vague and changing

(Bowen, 2012). We distinguish here therefore between multiculturalism as characterized above by anti-discrimination and equal opportunities approaches to policy (Multiculturalism I), and the *communautariste*, or separate development version of multiculturalism which is indicated below (Multiculturalism II).

The third approach (MULTICULTURALISM II) is associated with what is often regarded as a negative view of the application of multicultural principles. Here the policy application is not one in which special measures may be taken to provide more equal access to existing forms of sport provision enjoyed by other cultural groups in a society, but rather, based on the notion that each cultural group has the right to make culturally specific demands on the state to meet its needs, a pattern of separate but equal forms of provision. This general policy orientation is reflected in political systems which reserve quotas of seats in national parliaments or assemblies for minority groups. In the sporting world this approach can lead to state support for cultural separatism in the case for example of public resourcing of all-Muslim or all-Afro-Caribbean cricket clubs, sometimes playing in virtually all-Muslim or all-Afro-Caribbean competitions, or in the case of funding cultural activities such as kabaddi in which participation may be virtually confined to a particular set of ethnic groups.

The final pluralist type of policy is associated with what we have labelled MARKET PLURALISM, consistent with the classic liberal individualism of the British model of the state (Crouch, Eder, & Tambini, 2000). Here the use of the market to allow ethno-religious groups to meet their own needs chimes with the neo-liberal philosophy of the New Right (Bellamy & Greenaway, 1995). Examples of such an approach include the development and operation of commercial health and fitness businesses by Muslim female entrepreneurs predominantly aimed at a market, which is made up largely of Muslim and other women who feel constrained, or are attracted, to participate in a female only environment in which the requirements for modesty of Muslim groups will be respected and accommodated (Irfan, 2015).

On the other side of the pluralist / unitary divide are two types of approach associated with social cohesion around a unitary, national public culture. The first is epitomized by the French approach, in which a nation state with a diversity of ethno-religious groups requires, in theory, a universal acceptance of a (secular) public culture with the state not differentiating in its approach to provision for citizens from these heterogeneous backgrounds. We term this ASSIMILATIONISM, a position which eschews the need for separate *communautariste* forms of political representation or public provision. Sport as a vehicle for tackling, for example, aspects of urban deprivation and related forms of exclusion, may be delivered intensively to members of particular ethno-religious groups, but only because such groups are overrepresented in areas suffering from such forms of deprivation. The policy target is thus alleviation of deprivation rather than the needs of particular ethno-religious groups. Lathion (2015) presses this case arguing in relation to Islamophobia that focusing on the specific needs of Muslims has been counterproductive:

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the overmediatization of Islam and Muslims in Europe has only worsened the perception of them and relationships with them. [the author thus] proposes a change of focus towards being more creative when speaking about Muslims and favouring a more civic approach. Before being Muslims, they are people who enjoy a legal framework that assures them of their dignity and their individual freedom in exchange for fulfilling their civic duties towards the State and their fellow citizens. (Lathion, 2015: 133)

The second assimilationist policy approach is identified as NON-INTERVENTION and is likely to relate in particular to small nation states such as Malta, in which the population has been regarded as relatively homogeneous, and thus there is little perceived need to make special provision for ethnically and culturally diverse groups. However, global flows of people, and the rapid increase in movement into and within EU Member States, not least the flow of refugee traffic from Africa through Southern Europe, means that cultural diversity is an increasingly common cultural experience even in countries which traditionally regarded themselves as relatively culturally and ethnically homogeneous. Nevertheless the recognition of the need, and the resources, for sport services targeted at ethno-religious groups is likely to be limited where cultural homogeneity has been regarded as the norm.

The implication of the framework introduced in Table 1 is that desired policy outcomes (and thus operational measures of policy effectiveness) will vary considerably according to the philosophies underpinning them (as indicated in the final column of the table). Thus what constitutes policy success for one group, such as generating increased numbers participating in sport, but in mono-cultural contexts (i.e. 'Multiculturalism II', and the promotion of separate but 'equal' development) will constitute policy failure for another group (such as those promoting 'Interculturalism') since it does not generate intergroup engagement.

3. SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND THE SOCIAL CAPITAL BENEFITS CLAIMED FOR SPORT

If we consider the kinds of claim made in relation to the principal individual and social benefits sport can provide, these incorporate a range of forms of personal and social capital (Henry, 2009). Under the heading of personal capital these would include, for example, physical capital (such as developing skills, physical competences or 'physical literacy'); psychological capital (developing self-confidence, and self esteem through the mastery of physical and social skills, and an enhanced sense of self efficacy); and personal social capital (developing trust in others; widening social networks, developing social skills in leadership, engaging effectively in collective effort etc.).

In relation to social capital we refer principally to the two forms of capital identified by Putnam (Putnam, 1995, 2000; Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanettu, 1993) with a third added by Woolcock (Woolcock, 1998). These are:

- **Bonding capital:** This refers to the informal realm, the close ties, usually with family, friends and neighbours, or to members of the same ethno-religious group, who provide support, affirmation and assistance.
- **Bridging capital:** This relates to the civic realm and involves the development of positive relationships ('building bridges') between ethno-religious groups, such as refugees and asylum seekers and other established groups within the host society.
- **Linking capital:** This relates to the institutional realm, building links across institutions to organisations and systems that can help people gain resources and bring about broader change e.g. links through sport to educational, housing, or employment opportunities etc.

Before we go on to discuss issues relating to social capital we should emphasise two points. The first relates to the significance of sport as a source of individual benefits. In the context of the focus of this briefing paper i.e. on the role of sport in fostering open and inclusive societies, we are primarily concerned with issues of *social* capital. Nevertheless the availability of individual capital is also relevant in that inclusive societies would provide relatively equal access to life enhancing opportunities, including the opportunity to engage in preferred forms of cultural activities, incorporating preferred types of sport, and thereby accessing the benefits which may be gained in relation to both social and individual capital.

The second important point is to reiterate our earlier argument that acknowledging, benefits both individual and social, does not equate to support for the crude claim that 'sport is good for people': rather we mean to imply that certain activities, in certain contexts, can produce welfare benefits of particular kinds, for particular groups. Thus the focus of those seeking to identify the types of benefit gained from sport has to be on identifying the types of sport, the conditions under which, and the groups for which, benefits can be secured.

Important developments in the characterisation of social capital have been attributed principally to the work of three leading social theorists, Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. Pierre Bourdieu defines social capital in the following terms:

Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119)

An implication of Bourdieu's approach is that social capital can be used by individuals to their own advantage (chiming with the expression "It's not what you know but who you know that counts.") but also to the disadvantage of others, where social groups promote social closure, and exclusion as well as inclusion.

This definition shares some common features with that of James Coleman whose work in the field of education identified social capital alongside human, physical, and economic capital as resources that explained inequalities in educational performance (Coleman, 1988). However social capital in Coleman's terms is not 'owned' by individuals but rather should be seen as a resource available to them by virtue of social context. Thus in the sporting context the resources available to the individual are those derived from engagement in sport, or the joining of a sports organisation. As Gauntlett (2011: 4) emphasises, gaining access to social capital takes time and effort "because social capital is a resource based on trust and shared values, and develops from the weaving-together of people in communities". Thus it is not simply a matter of engaging with others of one's own community (bonding capital) or from other communities (bridging capital) in sport, because although sport can provide a medium with the potential for the development of reciprocal trust, much work will need to be done to realize that potential.

The focus of the third writer, the American, Robert Putnam, a political theorist, is on the societal or community level rather than the individual. He emphasizes positive aspects of collective life in his definition of social capital which he defines as referring to "the collective value of all 'social networks' and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other." (Putnam, 2000: 19). Implicit trust in one another results in reciprocity (doing things for one another), and this is a rather optimistic account of the role of social capital that ignores the potential for its use in social exclusion. Putnam's work was inspired by his observation of the growing individualisation of social and political life, a process of cultural disengagement from collective activity in contemporary societies which impacts not only on the quality of social life but also on the quality of democracy in societies in which trust and reciprocity are reduced. Although Putnam's early work on social capital emphasized the positive contribution it can make to societies, he subsequently acknowledged the potentially negative, exclusionary effects of the phenomenon that need to be taken into account in policy action.

The concept of social capital and its application in policy contexts has been subject to a range of criticisms. Schuller, Baron and Field (2000), for example, cite definitional diversity; over-versatility (its application to a wider range of seemingly diverse policy domains); measurement challenges (a product of diverse definitions); and circularity (whether social capital is a vehicle for making societies more effective in a variety of ways, or whether effective societies exhibit higher levels of social capital). A number of these difficulties are addressed below in the identification of causal mechanisms in our discussion of realist evaluation.

4. ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIP OF TYPES OF SPORT POLICIES AND PROJECTS TO DIFFERENT TYPES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Perhaps the best way of illustrating the contribution of sporting projects to different forms of social capital is to draw on some key exemplars. To this end I will provide a thumbnail description of three projects evaluated as part of a project undertaken on *The Roles of Sport and Education in the Social Inclusion of Asylum Seekers and Refugees: An Evaluation of Policy and Practice in the UK* (Henry et al., 2005) which illustrate the ways in which the three principal forms of social capital may be developed through sport. The approach adopted in this study, undertaken as part of the European Year of Education through Sport, involved an ethnographic methodology, seeking to identify how the participants themselves and grass roots workers and volunteers working directly with participants, described the benefits of the sporting activities of their organisations.

The first case reflects aspects of bonding capital, with a concern for development of social solidarity within an ethnic group, through sporting activity.

SPORT AND BONDING CAPITAL: MULTICULTURALISM II – SEPARATE AND EQUAL DEVELOPMENT

The Case of the Algerian Association in Nottingham

This Association, founded in 2002, was a relatively informal grouping initially predominantly Algerian but subsequently more generally African, refugees. Its activities consisted primarily of sport and particularly football for young adult male members of the group, which took place once per week on a Sunday. Other activities were offered for younger participants but these were also predominantly undertaken by male children. The organisation operated relatively informally, and had few links with any public authorities or other associations (it played football, for example, on municipal sport pitches but did so informally without 'booking' their use).

Our research team which undertook this study was interested to see if the sporting opportunities offered were valued and why, given the parlous position of refugees and asylum seekers, there was a regular and apparently enthusiastic commitment to the sporting weekly meeting. Respondents reported the value of having the lighter moments which sport provided in a relatively stressed situation. The meetings provided benefits of social solidarity, the availability of news, of information on dealing with the everyday challenges, but also reducing the continual sense of stress. As one Congolese refugee expressed it "Sunday is the only day on which I smile".

The activities of this group constitute bonding capital. Although refugees from countries other than Algeria were accepted into the group from the outset, this was the limited extent of any bridging activity, and although opportunities to link with local authorities and to engage in activities other than sport were largely neglected, clearly this limited development of bonding capital was valued by interviewees.

Source: Henry et al. (2005)

The case of the Algerian Association highlights the relationship between the development of bonding capital and the policy strategy of 'separate but equal' development (or perhaps more accurately less unequal development). Providing a vehicle for coping through bonding, particularly for those early in their status as asylum seekers or refugees,

generated some valued positive outcomes that might not otherwise have been realized, suggesting that at certain points, and for certain groups, 'separate development' is not necessarily an inappropriate policy goal, even if for some it may be valued only as a temporary stage on the way to fuller forms of integration. This example of bonding capital illustrates the policy approach and benefits of 'MULTICUTURALISM II'.

The second example relates to bridging capital where sport is used as a means for developing common ground and mutual respect with other ethnic groups and with the host community. As such it is a reflection of an 'INTERCULTURALIST' policy strategy.

SPORT AND BRIDGING CAPITAL – INTERCULTURALISM IN THE SPORTING DOMAIN

The Case of the Bosnia Hertzegovina Community Centre in Derby

The Bosnian Community Centre was established in 1996, with the aim of working as an intermediary between the Bosnian community and the local authorities, to facilitate their integration into the British society and their openness towards the local host community. The priorities of the Centre from the outset focused on a broad range of issues such as housing, education, and protection of the community from violence and racist abuse, and not simply or primarily sport. Nevertheless, sport was seen as a significant activity and the Centre staged a range of sporting activities including 5-a side football sessions, football and basketball tournaments with other refugee groups and members of other local ethnic communities, and developed a folkloric dance club (which is popular among young girls).

The most significant attempts to develop bridging with the local community had been in basketball in which the Association's members have their own team playing in the regional league. Sport can of course be divisive if it is not provided in an appropriate manner and context. For instance, the first Bosnian teams which participated in local sporting tournaments felt a sense of rejection (and at times hostility) from other local participants stemming mainly from problems of communication. However over a period of time an important success in relation to inter-cultural communication began to emerge as the general standard of basketball in Bosnia (and the other former Yugoslav republics) was such that it gave the Bosnian community's players the opportunity to demonstrate their 'worth', and player interchange (or at least recruitment of Bosnian players by other local teams) reflected an integration of the Bosnian team (and some of its player playing for other clubs) into the local sporting community. Bridging did not just take place in relation to the local community, as the leader of the Centre pointed out, sport in the English context also made it easier to organise sporting engagement with Serbian refugees which he suggested would have been very difficult to implement in the home country.

However such success was not universal. A strong sense of isolation and alienation was much more evident among the Roma Bosnians in the community, felt as a product of both their status as refugees and of their Roma culture, and the Roma group did not participate in the sporting activities developed by the Centre.

Source: Henry et al. (2005)

Claims of success in achieving bridging capital outcomes should not be overemphasized. However this case does illustrate the potential for a meritocratic community (in terms of sporting ability) to develop, with forms of intercultural understanding emerging in terms of observed increases in empathy, and reduced intercultural tensions between players from

the Bosnian and the host communities. Mutual respect built on admiration for sporting skills is not without its problems for those with lower levels of sporting ability, or for others who may be excluded (such as the Bosnian Roma members of the community) who may not be accorded that respect. Nevertheless interviewees regarded the progress that had been made as significant and positive.

The final example relates to an example of linking capital as a bi-product of sporting provision. Here in addressing other social problems by providing sporting links, other activities were built upon the ties developed through sport.

SPORT AND LINKING CAPITAL – MULTICULTURALISM I, REDUCING INEQUALITIES IN ACCESS TO SPORT AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL WELFARE

The Case of Madeley Youth and Community Centre, Derby

From the late 1990s, a policy of locating (predominantly male) Kurdish refugees and asylum seekers in the Normanton district of Derby resulted in tensions between Kurdish refugees and the local British Asian / Pakistani community, with violent confrontations between the two groups. An initiative was begun by two local community workers with the support of other authorities including the local police, the local municipal authorities, and a local British Pakistani community group in Madeley, with aims related to bridging capital, the bringing together of the two ethno-religious groups in sporting activities and teams.

One of the major difficulties of working with refugee and asylum seeker communities is that they are transient, particularly in the case of asylum seekers whose status is temporary as they are in the process of waiting for their cases to be reviewed. This means that there are difficulties in communicating with, and targeting services for, such groups. A useful bi-product of the sporting initiative was that public services had a point of contact through which to communicate with the Kurdish population. Thus while the initiative proved successful in terms of *bridging* the two communities (resulting in Pakistani and Kurdish youth playing together and police reporting a significant reduction in intergroup violence) it also provided a good example of *linking* capital with membership of, or at least involvement with, a community organisation through sport providing channels of communication facilitating links with other policy domains, such as police, social services, housing and education authorities.

Source: Henry et al. (2005)

This third case illustrates how developing linking capital is associated with what we term a 'MULTICULTURALISM I' Approach in Table 1 above. Here the concern is to use sport as a channel of communication through which to address inequalities in access to a range of other services.

These approaches described as essentially seeking to enhance different approaches to the development of social capital are not necessarily mutually incompatible, however they do relate to different types of strategy with different empirical measures of success.

5. THE NATURE AND QUALITY OF THE EVIDENCE FOR SOCIAL CAPITAL BENEFITS FROM SPORT

Having illustrated the potential social capital benefits of sport we now move on to the availability, nature and strength of evidence for claims relating to the social capital benefits of sport. In the literature there is a growing body of evidence relating to the general impacts and benefits of sport generally. A relevant initiative in this area is the Culture and Sport Evidence Programme (CASE) developed by the UK government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (2010), and of particular significance is the report by Taylor et al. (Taylor, Davies, Wells, Gilbertson, & Tayleur, 2015) produced under the CASE programme which evaluates the existence and robustness of the evidence base in relation to the benefits of sport. This paper is based on a Systematic Review³ of existing literature, principally employing a database developed by the CASE Programme, together with that of the Canadian National Benefits Hub (NbH) (2015), in respect of studies/papers relating to the benefits of sport and culture⁴.

The process of Taylor et al's Systematic Review involves (a) identifying empirical studies in the CASE and NbH databases and other sources relevant to six particular types of claimed benefits for sport, namely health (physical and psychological), perceived well being, crime reduction, education, and multiple impacts as well as social capital; (b) identifying the nature of the methodology employed in each study and evaluating the rigour with which the methodology is employed⁵; and (c) estimating the strength of evidence produced.

The Systematic Review approach, developed initially in medical sciences to review evidence of the efficacy of different types of treatment intervention, employs assumptions about the quality of evidence produced by different types of research approach, with a hierarchy of approaches from the most to the least rigorous. At the top of the hierarchy is research based on Randomised Control Trials (widely accepted as the 'gold standard' in terms of approach in clinical trials) in which from a sample group or population individuals are randomly assigned to a control group (with typically no intervention), or one or more intervention groups (which is in receipt of a defined intervention or treatment), such that the only systematic difference between the groups is the receipt of the treatment(s). The condition of the control and the treatment group are compared subsequent to the application of the treatment or intervention in order to ascertain differences in the groups that may be attributed to the effects of that intervention.

At the lower end of the hierarchy are approaches which rely on what are assumed to be less rigorous methods, including cross sectional evaluations undertaken at a given point rather than over time, programme evaluations, and more qualitative approaches such as narrative briefs or expert opinion.

³ Systematic Reviews (SRs) have developed since the 1990s, initially in the field of medical research, as part of the emphasis on research rigour in the push for evidence-based policy and practice. SRs seek to avoid the weaknesses of traditional narrative reviews and expert commentaries in summarising research evidence and "attempt to bring the same level of rigour to reviewing research evidence as should be used in producing that research evidence in the first place" ... and do so by seeking to "Identify all relevant published and unpublished evidence ... Select studies or reports for inclusion [on the basis of acknowledged criteria] ... Assess the quality of each study or report ... Synthesise the findings from individual studies or reports in an unbiased way ... Interpret the findings and present a balanced and impartial summary of the findings with due consideration of any flaws in the evidence" (Hemingway & Brereton, 2009).

⁴ The study considers papers relating to the evidence in claims concerning participation in cultural as well as sporting activities, though for the purpose of the current paper we restrict ourselves to matters relating to sport.

⁵ Though details of the assessment of rigour are not fully articulated.

Table 2 indicates the range of forms of evaluation undertaken in relation to the different types of social impact of sport reviewed by Taylor et al. The table, constructed from data provided by the authors, highlights the difference between the nature and volume of the evidence for health benefits and for social capital benefits of sport. In terms of volume, in the CASE and the NbH databases of studies searched by Taylor and his colleagues⁶ (and the small number of additional studies they reviewed), out of 232 studies, 101 (43%) related to health benefits, compared with 25 (10%) relating to social capital impacts. Of the studies relating to social capital impacts none employed a RCT methodology, or a Systematic Review incorporating meta-analysis⁷, while 17 (71%) employed cross sectional studies or case study / programme / qualitative evaluations. Taylor et al. conclude that while there is a relatively clear indication that the evidence supporting social capital impacts is positive, the nature of the evidence is nevertheless much weaker than that for health benefits. This conclusion however fails to consider the difference between the conditions under which a RCT or similar approach (which they regard as providing the most robust evidence) is feasible or desirable.

⁶ The nature of the approach to construction of the CASE database, as the report acknowledges places limitations on the nature of the selection of articles incorporated in the database. In terms of our own concerns in this paper in particular, the selection criteria may well have resulted in under-reporting of studies relating to social capital impacts. Nevertheless the spread across the types of methodology is not surprising.

⁷ Meta-analysis is a set of statistical techniques which allows the combining of findings from independent studies. It classically works to provide a more precise assessment of effectiveness of an intervention, based on calculating effect size for the combined findings of included studies. weighted to reflect the sample sizes of these constituent studies (Crombie & Davies, 2009).

Table 2: The Hierarchy of Methodologies and Quality of Evidence Identified in Taylor et al. (2015)

Social impacts	Systematic Reviews / Meta-analyses	Randomised Control Trials	Cohort (longitudinal) studies	Time series Studies	Case-control (non-random allocation) studies	Cross-sectional studies	Case study / programme / qualitative evaluations	Econ. Eval'ns	Narrative Reviews	Policy briefs / Expert Opinion / Scientific Statement	Total Number of studies reviewed
Sport and Health	9	3	23	-	11	17	8	10	16	4	101
Sport and Well Being	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	1	2	-	8
Sport and Crime	1	-	6	1	1	17	6	-	8	-	40
Sport and Educ'n	2	1	8	-	2	11	-	-	1	-	25
Sport Multiple Impacts	1	1	3	1	-	5	5	1	17	-	34
Sport and Social Capital	-	-	3	1	1	6	11	-	2	-	24
Total	13	5	44	3	15	60	30	12	46	4	232

Source: Adapted from Taylor et al. (2015)

This point is central to the arguments that have been brought to prominence by the school of realist evaluation associated in particular with the work of Ray Pawson and his colleagues (Greenhalgh, Wong, Westhorp, & Pawson, 2011; Ray Pawson, 2013; R Pawson & Tilley, 1997; Wong, Greenhalgh, Westhorp, Buckingham, & Pawson, 2013). Pawson points out that while much experimental work in the natural (including medical) sciences is premised on assumptions of 'closed systems' where the relevant variables and their values are known and controlled, in the social sciences the systems being reviewed are complex *open* systems in which the context of the application of a policy programme or project is dynamic and subject to change. Explanations of programme outcomes in social contexts, if they are to capture the causal mechanisms bringing about change, will have to be able to identify outcomes and account for differential success in achieving outcomes in differing contexts. Thus the RCT is less likely to be feasible for use in social policy contexts. In Pawson's terms the RCT seeks to provide support for answers to the question "What works?", while realist evaluations in dynamic contexts seek to address the compound question of "What works? In what ways? For whom? In which circumstances?". Thus placing methodological approaches in a single hierarchical order is a questionable approach since factors which are critical cannot be 'controlled' or factored in to RCT or experimental settings.

6. REALIST EVALUATION AND INTER-GROUP CONTACT THEORY: WHAT CAUSES THE REDUCTION OF INTERGROUP PREJUDICE AND THE GROWTH OF INTER-GROUP TRUST, AND HOW MIGHT SPORT BE EMPLOYED TO ACHIEVE THESE ENDS?

Realist Evaluation thus promotes explanations of policy outcomes which are framed around an understanding of the context of a programme or policy, the nature of the intervention involved, and the posited causal mechanisms at play in producing such outcomes.⁸ Programme theories (theories which explain how certain interventions bring about particular outcomes) in realist accounts will therefore be required to specify the conditions under which particular outcomes are achieved, and how the context, and the intervention interact (the causal mechanism(s) involved) to bring about the observed effects.

A powerful source of explanation as to how sport (and other forms of social interaction) can, under appropriate conditions, bring about the conditions for the development of intergroup trust is provided by Inter-group Contact Theory (ICT) which suggests that interaction between groups, managed appropriately, will reduce inter-group prejudice, facilitating the development of inter-group trust. The Contact Hypothesis was first articulated by Williams (1947), and subsequently developed more fully in Allport's (1954) work, and although Allport's focus was on the reduction of prejudice relating to out-groups (predominantly focusing on ethnic out-groups⁹) rather than the development of reciprocated trust between those groups, reduction of prejudice may be deemed to constitute a facilitating condition of the development of mutual trust, and thus of the development of bridging social capital.

Allport's hypothesis is expressed in the following terms:

Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals.

(Allport, 1954: 281)

Allport's work defined the conditions under which social contact would be most likely to result in reduced prejudice between groups as follows:

- **Equal status.** Both groups should consist of members with similar backgrounds (education, wealth, skills etc) to take account of perceived status or prestige.
- **Common goals.** Both groups should share a task or the solution of a problem as a common superordinate goal, the attainment of which requires cooperation between the groups.
- **Intergroup cooperation.** Groups work together cooperatively not competitively.
- **Support of authorities, law or customs.** The support of a particular authority or authorities for the nature of contact and interaction between groups will enhance the legitimacy and significance of the project for the participating groups.
- **Personal interaction.** The nature of the personal interaction should involve more than merely formal interchange such that inter-group friendships can develop. These situations will allow for inter-group learning.

⁸ Pawson and Tilley (1997, 2004) refer to this as the CMO (Context, Mechanism, Outcome) configuration.

⁹

The ICT has been subject to detailed, rigorous, evaluation in the work of Pettigrew and his colleagues (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011; Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2010). In particular Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 515 studies across five decades of research in 25 countries, provides very strong support for the application of ICT, with 94% of the studies providing support for the inter-group contact hypothesis. Indeed, so compelling is the evidence in support of ICT that the authors are able to conclude "Given the current state of the research literature, there is little need to demonstrate further, contact's general ability to lessen prejudice. Results from the meta-analysis conclusively show that intergroup contact can promote reductions in intergroup prejudice." (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006: 768).

The authors are also able to demonstrate that their meta-analysis supports the application of ICT not only in reducing prejudice for 'racial and ethnic' groups but also in relation to other out-groups (e.g. physical and intellectual disability, sexual orientation, age groups), and they argue that therefore "intergroup contact theory now stands as a general social psychological theory and not as a theory designed simply for the special case of racial and ethnic contact" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006: 768). In addition the studies subjected to the meta-analysis provide evidence in support of the application of ICT in different geographical contexts (including Europe¹⁰); across different time periods from the 1950s to the early 2000s (with stronger effect sizes in more recent research, probably a product of the development of more rigorous research designs); and across different settings including recreational contexts. The studies also demonstrate the reduction in prejudice towards the out-group itself rather than simply to the individuals from the out-group who took part in the social contact projects being implemented.

The comprehensive evaluation of evidence provides very encouraging support for the use of sport as a tool for reducing prejudice and by extrapolation increasing trust and empathy. This is relevant in 'domestic' European contexts (within Member States) and in sport for development and peace (SDP) projects supported by Member States and implemented in contexts external to the EU. SDP projects which in particular seek to enhance trust and reduce prejudice between ethno-religious groups previously subject to conflict represent key targets for the application of ICT in practical initiatives. (See also Peachey, Lyras, Cunningham, Cohen, & Bruening, 2015, for the application of ICT in an evaluation of the impact of a sport for development and peace project.)

Although the five conditions identified in Althorp's original work for facilitating success in reducing prejudice, are generic, and in some contexts may be difficult to realise, nevertheless the ICT approach provides important and helpful guidelines which can be incorporated as principles in the planning of sport programmes aimed at promoting social cohesion. Sports programmes or projects can be built around these requirements: constructing projects around a need for commitment to a common goal; structuring the task and related activities to require cooperation (rather than competition) between groups; bringing together groups of similar status within their own communities; engaging with / incorporating respected authorities in both communities to lend support and provide status and legitimacy for projects. The salience of these principles in facilitating positive outcomes is strongly supported by the evidence reviewed in relation to ICT, and the reduction of prejudice can be regarded as an important factor in the development of intercultural understanding, and of the 'Intercultural approach' as outlined in the typology developed in Table 1.

¹⁰ 'Europe' as a category is not however broken down to provide more detailed information about the European context.

7. SPORT AND THE REPRODUCTION OF EUROPEAN VALUES

In this section we address the issue of whether sports policies aimed at fostering open and inclusive societies will be likely to draw on, extend or indeed undermine European values. Debate about the existence of European values has a considerable history (Rusu & Gheorghita, 2014), and sociological and policy related research in relation to values has recently been greatly stimulated by the availability of a Europe-wide dataset in relation to European values in the form of the on-going European Values Study initiated in 1989 (European Commission, 2012). The dataset from the EVS has for example been employed to investigate amongst other things ethno-religious value patterns in European contexts such as the relationship between support for multicultural policy and national identity (Citrin, Levy, & Wright, 2014), between religious identity and intolerance to Muslim and immigrant populations, and to racial prejudice (Doebler, 2014; Ekici & Yucel, 2015), between religion and European identity (Schnabel & Grotsch, 2015), and between religion and civic engagement (Storm, 2015).

Central to the EVS approach is the key question of whether a set of European values can be said to exist and can be identified. As the Eurobarometer reports of 2007 and 2012 (European Commission, 2007, 2012) suggest there are four principal standpoints that might be identified in relation to the existence of European values. I characterise (and label) these four approaches as follows:

- **An Essentialist European Model** in which there is a shared heritage of an essential set of core values such as democracy, the liberal economic state, and values emanating from the European Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the shared historical experience of ideologically inspired World and Cold Wars.
- **A Homogeneous Globalisation Model** in which western cultures are seen as broadly similar with globalisation forces resulting in little which distinguishes European culture from that of the United States or other western countries.
- **A Heterogeneous Culturally Diversity Model** in which each country presents a multicultural bricolage, such that defining of a national, let alone a European, set of cultural values proves challenging in the face of a culturally heterogeneous contemporary reality. This approach reflects an approach of valuing diversity and “celebrating difference” in which diversity is perceived in terms of cultural richness rather than cultural incompatibility (Pincher, Iveson, Leitner, & Preston, 2014).
- **A ‘Family Resemblance’ Model** in which each country and communities within countries will have culturally distinctive patterns which distinguish them from other western cultures but which also share across European states, a family resemblance pattern of values. By family resemblance I suggest that not all nations (or sub-groups within nations) within this grouping will share all of a list of ‘essential’ European values but rather, just as with members of a family, some features will be shared by some members of the family, while other members will share other family features so that a loose but discernible pattern of features may be detected (Wittgenstein, 1970). Of course new cultures may be admitted to the ‘European family’ in the process of intercultural engagement, which is a healthy process since culture is alive, rather than fixed and stable, and it will therefore be subject to evolution and change, but in incremental fashion.

The 2007 and 2012 studies address the evidence for support for these different positions in the 27 EU Member States (MS). The results of the surveys together with those of a qualitative study on European values (Optem, 2006) commissioned by DG EAC illustrate

the complex nature of the positions adopted in relation to European culture by EU citizens. We summarise some of the headline findings in Table 3 below but should emphasise that in doing so we do not do justice to differences in the strength and diversity of views between EU Member States, or between different demographic groupings within the EU populations.

Table 3: Summary of Selected Response to the 2007 and 2012 Eurobarometer Surveys on European Culture

<i>I will now read out several statements and opinions that are sometimes heard. For each one please tell me if it corresponds very well, fairly well, very badly, or very badly to what you think personally. (2007 Survey)</i>	<i>% of respondents indicating that the statement corresponds very or fairly well.</i>
Statement 1: 'There is no common European culture because European countries are too different from one another'	53% (38% badly or fairly badly, 9% don't know)
Statement 2: 'There is no specific European culture only a global western culture which is, for example, the same in Europe and United States.'	32% (56% badly or fairly badly, 13% don't know)
Statement 3: 'It is the diversity of European culture that sets it apart and gives it a particular value.'	76% (13% badly or fairly badly, 11% don't know)
Statement 4: 'When compared to other continents it is much easier to see what Europeans have in common culturally.'	67% (19% badly or fairly badly, 14% don't know)
<i>Statement 5: In your opinion in terms of shared values are EU Member States very close, fairly close, fairly distant, or very distant? (2012 survey)</i>	49% 'close' 42% 'distant'.

Sources: (European Commission, 2007, 2012)

As Table 3 illustrates the message emerging from this data is ambiguous. A slight majority concludes that there is no common European culture, suggesting a rejection of the Essentialist model of European culture, with a common, united set of values. Although only a slight majority (53%) felt Statement 1 represented their views very or fairly well, this evidence undermines, to a degree, claims made by some cultural theorists that this essentialist model, which has negative connotations, is enjoying a revival.

We are witnessing a reversion to the type of cultural essentialism that dominated political and academic discourse until the mid-1900s. Its central theme, the purity and superiority of European culture, was dealt a powerful blow by the tradition of post-colonial studies and radical critique of Orientalism. (Ghannoushi, 2007)

Less than a third of respondents (32%) favoured the notion of the emergence of a global western set of values (Statement 2, Table 3). On the other hand Statement 3 seems to celebrate diversity of values with 76% arguing that it is this which gives European culture its particular value. Nevertheless Statement 4 also argues that in comparison with other continents Europeans share stronger or more visible cultural affinity (67% indicating that this reflected their view very or fairly well), and with 49% of respondents to the 2012 survey signalling that in terms of shared values EU Member States are very or fairly close (as opposed to 42% who did not).

However, although this represents a fairly ambiguous picture in terms of the nature of European values, respondents when asked to indicate whether particular values were

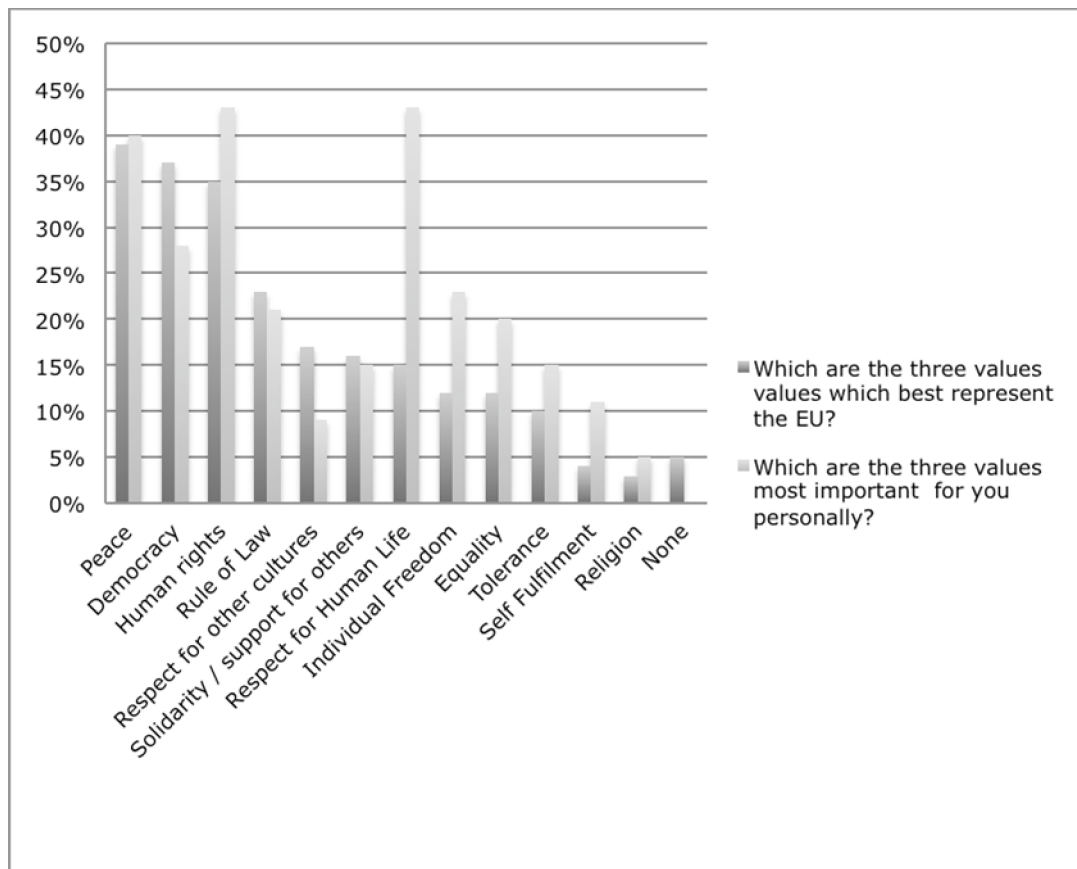
associated with Europe, other countries, or groups of countries, or both Europe and other countries, did identify particular values which they felt were most clearly associated with Europe. These were:

- *Peace (Europe, 57%; Both Europe and other countries, 30%; 17 points difference)*
- *Respect for nature and the environment (Europe, 49%; Both, 33%; 16 points difference)*
- *Social equality and solidarity (Europe, 53%; Both, 29%; 14 points difference)*
- *Tolerance and openness to others (Europe, 47%; Both, 33%; 14 points difference)*
- *Freedom of opinion (Europe, 54%; Both, 31%; 13 points difference)*
(European Commission, 2007: 80)

There was a strong majority (89%) in those surveyed, which recognised the value of cultural exchange, with 88% accepting the view that such exchange could contribute to “global understanding and tolerance” (European Commission, 2012: 81). This lends support to the view that sporting engagement across cultures may be valued, and is consistent with the intercultural policy approach introduced earlier in this paper and with the implications of the evaluation of ICT discussed above which supports the effectiveness of such initiatives.

Figure 1 highlights the values perceived as representing those of the EU and those of the EU citizens who were interviewees. But can sport help to realise those values which are regarded as European? In our discussion of sport and social capital, and sport as a medium of inter-group contact, we have focused primarily on the role of contact in reduction of inter-group prejudice. The reduction of prejudice might be said to facilitate the achievement of ‘tolerance and openness to others’, of ‘social equality and solidarity’, and even the promotion of ‘peace’, but such contact is not a sufficient condition for the achievement of the goals associated with these values. Sport as a medium can bring in-groups and out-groups together but to be effective it must be part of a wider system of policy thought and action.

Figure 1: The Values Perceived as Representing the EU, and the Values Prioritised by Citizens of Member States and Candidate Countries (n=32,728)



Source: European Commission (2012: 9, 12)

8. SPORT AND STRATEGIES AGAINST RADICALISATION

Finally, we consider ways in which sport might mediate the conditions under which radicalisation takes place. Radicalisation is defined as “a process of personal development whereby an individual adopts ever more extreme political or politic religious ideas and goals, becoming convinced that the attainment of these goals justifies extreme methods” (Ongering, 2007: 3; cited in Al Lami, 2009). However although radicalisation may involve a set of stages, or a range of preconditions through which some radicalised individuals go, the process is not one of uniform progression, and it is therefore difficult to prescribe a stage at which interventions can be effectively targeted. As Matthew Francis (Francis, 2012) points out, we need to avoid regarding “radicalisation as a conveyor belt phenomenon, from introduction, to ideological commitment, to isolation, to violence”, and since there is no teleological path to violent radicalism, we need to distinguish radicals from violent radicals (terrorists). (As Francis points out many terrorists are not radicals and most radicals are not violent.)

Francis refers to Crenshaw’s (1981) classic article ‘The Causes of Terrorism’ and in particular her identification of situational, strategic and ideological¹¹ factors to conceptualise the factors associated with the development of radicalisation and these are outlined in Table 4. The situational factors involved in the development of radicalisation are separated into preconditions such as the availability of the internet and social media for the propagation of ideas relating to radicalisation, and motivating factors which stimulate the development of radicals. Motivating factors include socio-economic deprivation (though not all radicals are economically deprived, the members of the 9/11 attacks, for example, had no economic difficulties and were well educated; the two individuals who perpetrated the attack on Glasgow Airport were medical practitioners); the impact of globalisation and the search for identity when, for example, young Muslims feel excluded from Western culture and alienated by, or estranged from, their parents’ form of Muslim practice and are stimulated to pursue more radicalised versions of Islam (Kepel, 2005); political marginalisation where lack of access to positions of power has pushed some young Muslims toward the attractions of radical Salafi rhetoric and practice (Abbas, 2007), and where Western foreign policy has been characterised as humiliating Muslims in conflict zones such as Palestine, Iraq, or Afghanistan, or through illegal and/or degrading treatment of Muslims in for example Guantanamo Bay or Abu Ghraib.

Table 4: Potential Causes and Accompanying factors of Radicalisation

Category	Sub-Categories		Examples
Situational	Pre-conditions	Enabling	Developments within modernity, for example the internet.
		Motivating	Racial and religious discrimination; economic and social exclusion.
	Precipitant		Foreign policy, e.g. the Iraq war.
Strategic	Long term		Defeat of Western modernity / morality.
	Short term		Attention for aims; fear; etc.
Ideological			Non-negotiable beliefs about what is good for society.

Source: Crenshaw (1981) cited in Francis (2012)

¹¹ Crenshaw employed the term ‘personal’ for what Francis terms ‘ideological’ factors.

These issues in the radicalisation of Islamic groups may be of such an order, and so strongly felt that mediating their impact through sport would appear to be a very challenging goal. Indeed we can disavow any simplistic claims by pointing out that engagement with sport is no guarantee of insulation from radical rhetoric or action. (Shahzed Tanweer, one of the London 7/7 bombers was reported to be an avid sports participant who had studied on an undergraduate degree programme in Sports Science at a British university.) However in relation to tackling pertinent conditions associated with the development of Far Right radicalisation, Ramalingam advocates a range of preventative measures based around, or employing sport. These include the following:

- **Contact:** Programmes to connect individuals across community divides, which might be implemented through informal social networking, sports clubs, professional mentoring.
- **Building purpose:** Activities to ensure that at-risk individuals are empowered citizens and have a sense of goals and achievement. This might include one-to-one mentoring (professional or social), peer leadership programmes, and engagement through activities designed to empower – sports and music programmes.
- **Diversion:** Dealing with youth street movements can be as simple as the provision of alternative social activities for susceptible youth, involving football, extreme sports, and outdoor activities, in some cases led by individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds.
- **Public awareness:** Raising public awareness of the problem through public statements by politicians and local leaders, and public communications of government threat assessments and strategy documents, but also through creative messaging and pop culture, like public concerts, art installations and sporting events. (Ramalingam, 2014: p. 19; emphases added)

In support of these proposals Ramalingam cites programmes which constitute good practice.

In Poland, interviews highlighted a programme run by the Mixed Martial Arts Club to engage skinheads interested in fighting clubs and train them in martial arts. The programme is run by a Chechen, and Chechen people have often been victims of far-right hate crimes in Poland. The Center for Research on Prejudice and the Museum for the History of Polish Jews in Poland have run social activity programmes for youth susceptible to far-right extremism, including football matches. Preventative Police coordinators in Denmark have run multi-ethnic football tournaments, specifically connecting young people involved in Islamist and far-right extremist gangs. (Ramalingam, 2014: 46)

However, since details of any evaluation of these initiatives have not been cited, their impact is difficult to estimate, and thus there is a gap in our understanding of, and a need for further more detailed research on, the roles that sport might play in addressing points of susceptibility of young people to the attractions of radical rhetoric and action.

9. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have sought to address the role of sport in promoting open and socially inclusive societies. We should acknowledge that we have focused predominantly on the social inclusion of ethnic and / or ethno-religious groups rather than other socially excluded categories such as those of gender, disability, age, or socio-economic status though there are important ways in which sport might address the needs of these groups also, within and beyond the target groups of our analysis.

Sport is an area of social life which is relatively separate, but valued, is generally visible, with symbolic value, in which there is an opportunity for cultural engagement or contact between groups which might otherwise be separated by factors such as economic or social status, the geography of the city, or political interests. The development of an open society is one in which individuals and groups are able to participate in deciding how social life should be organised, and this implies involvement in decision-making about health, education, political representation and many other domains beyond sport. Sport alone clearly could not be expected to redress imbalances in social closure and exclusion.

Decision-making in sport is generally speaking not a matter of life or death, as it is in military contexts, nor is it, for all but the sporting elite, about the fundamental distribution of financial resources. However sport is an area in which, because it is separated (to some degree) from such fundamental issues, allows the potential to highlight and develop ethical discussions relating to social interaction in this particular life domain. Social inclusion implies engagement in making decisions about the governance of one's own community or society, having the occasion, the means, and the opportunity to engage in the establishing of the parameters of ethical discourse about everyday life, in propositional discussion or simply in social practices. The perhaps clichéd notions of 'fair play' and 'a level playing field' apply not only to playing sport but also to its management and governance. Failure to act in accordance with those aspirations leaves sport struggling with issues of corruption, doping, and abuse, but the evidence we have reviewed in this paper suggests that provided in appropriate contexts, to appropriate groups, in an appropriate manner, sport can provide symbolic and practical examples of positive moves towards open and inclusive societies. The major challenge of course lies in defining the practical detail and the nuanced application of generic principles in specific contexts to achieve these desired goals.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper focuses on the role of sport in promoting open and inclusive societies with particular reference to the social inclusion of ethno-religious groups. Stemming from the distinction between integration and assimilation, the paper identifies six policy responses to the need for social and cultural integration to accommodate social and cultural diversity within contemporary European societies. The paper traces the relationship between these six ideal typical policy positions and the concepts of national identity, culture and citizenship evident in the traditional models of citizenship in France, Germany and the UK.

The six policy positions identified incorporate four 'integrationist', and two 'assimilationist' approaches. The four integrationist approaches are labelled as follows:

- **Interculturalism**, drawing on Communitarian politics, this approach promotes intercultural exchange through sport, embracing the positive elements in the cultures of both communities.
- **Multiculturalism I**, which, drawing on the social democratic tradition, promotes equality of access to existing sport and other social, cultural, and welfare services.
- **Multiculturalism II**, an approach which espouses support and respect for each culture in its own terms. Such an approach is linked to support for mono-ethnic teams and organisations in sport, with the implication of promoting separate but equal development.
- **Market Pluralism** is an approach in which diversity of provision is fostered through the market and / or the voluntary sector rather than through public sector provision.

The two remaining positions identified are:

- **Assimilationism** in which ethno-religious groups are not recognised by the state as legitimate targets of the provision of sporting or other opportunities, but rather sport may be used as a tool for addressing generic problems such as urban deprivation, though certain ethno-religious groups may be overrepresented in geographical areas affected by urban deprivation.
- **Non-intervention** is an approach adopted where, in particular smaller populations see themselves as relatively homogeneous in cultural terms and thus do not recognise the need for integrationist approaches.

The paper illustrates the relationship between interculturalism and the two forms of multiculturalism with different forms of social capital by reference to three case studies of the use of sport in the social integration of refugees and asylum seekers. In terms of types of social capital generated, Interculturalism is most readily associated with bridging capital, Multiculturalism I with linking capital, and Multiculturalism II with bonding capital. Each such form of social capital has a place in the promotion of open and inclusive societies, addressing in effect different policy goals.

The strength of evidence generated in the literature in support of these forms of social capital is reviewed, together with evidence concerning the use of inter-group social contact through sport for reducing intergroup prejudice. In both cases, and in particular the latter, there is a strong evidence base in support of the effectiveness of these approaches.

The penultimate section of the paper reviews the potential role of sport in the propagation or erosion of European values through consideration of data from the European Values Study. The paper suggests that there is evidence in support of a 'family resemblance' model of European values, and since European culture is 'live' the opportunity for change is both feasible and desirable (though such change through the introduction of fresh perspectives is likely to be incremental rather than radical). Sport can play a role in embodying, reproducing and challenging such values.

Finally the paper reviews the question of the extent to which sport might generate a counter-weight to the development of radicalisation among young Europeans. This is a complex issue. Motivating factors in relation to radicalisation include racial and religious discrimination and political, economic and social exclusion, but these are not the only factors to consider, as reference to the explanatory framework produced by Crenshaw in her influential article, 'The Causes of Terrorism' indicates. Nevertheless the paper identifies examples of successful practice in reducing or countering radicalisation by the Far Right.

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