



SPORT AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN GLOBAL SOCIETY

RAMÓN SPAAIJ,
JONATHAN MAGEE
AND RUTH JEANES



Sport and Social Exclusion in Global Society

**Ramón Spaaij, Jonathan Magee
and Ruth Jeanes**

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	viii
<i>List of abbreviations and acronyms</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
1 Introduction	1
2 Social exclusion in the global age	11
3 Sport and social exclusion in public policy	35
4 Mechanisms of social exclusion in sport	62
5 Using sport to tackle social exclusion in the Global North	81
6 Sport for development in the Global South	103
7 Engaging socially excluded young people in sports programs	125
8 Building inclusive sports communities	140
9 Looking back, looking forward: reflections on sport and social exclusion in global society	164
<i>References</i>	174
<i>Index</i>	200

This edition first published 2014

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2014 Ramón Spaaij, Jonathan Magee and Ruth Jeanes selection and editorial material

The right of Ramón Spaaij, Jonathan Magee and Ruth Jeanes to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Sport, social exclusion and global society / edited by Ramón Spaaij, Ruth Jeanes and Jonathan Magee.

pages cm

1. Sports—Sociological aspects. 2. Social isolation. 3. Sports and globalization. I. Spaaij, R. F. J. (Ramon F. J.) II. Jeanes, Ruth.

III. Magee, Jonathan.

GV706.5.S7366 2014

306.4'83—dc23

2013049211

ISBN13: 978-0-415-81490-4 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-81491-1 (pbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-06658-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Baskerville

by Cenveo Publisher Services

1 Introduction

Social exclusion is one of the most pressing challenges facing global society. Profound economic, social and political transformations have produced precariousness for all but the most privileged social groups (Bourdieu 1998; Bauman 2001, 2004). Social exclusion, it is argued, is a widespread and painfully felt feature of contemporary life conditions that encompasses economic, social, political and cultural dimensions (Bhalla and Lapeyre 2004), and is increasing in many parts of the world (UN DESA 2010).

In *The Exclusive Society*, criminologist Jock Young (1999) posits that the transition from modernity to late modernity entails a movement from an inclusive society of stability and homogeneity to an exclusive society of change and division. In his work, Young (1999: 7) argues that there has been a shift from 'a society whose accent was on assimilation and incorporation' to 'one that separates and excludes'. The implications of this transition are profound, in that it has transformed social exclusion into a seemingly permanent problem in which the world of the 'losers' is increasingly separated from that of the 'winners'. For Young, in late modernity social exclusion operates principally on three levels: that is, economic exclusion from the labour market, social exclusion practised among people in civil society, and the ever-expanding exclusionary activities of the criminal justice system.

The notion of social exclusion is thus seen to cover a remarkably wide range of social, economic and cultural issues that lie at the heart of politics (Sen 2000). And not just national or local politics, for at this point in the twenty-first century social exclusion cannot be fully understood without reference to its global context. According to the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization (2004), globalizing processes exacerbate social inequality and its effects on people, families and local communities by dislocating traditional livelihoods and threatening environmental sustainability and cultural diversity. Although this particular interpretation of globalization is contested, such as by those who emphasize how agency and resistance mediate the relationship between globalization causes and outcomes (Guillén 2001), few observers would dispute that social exclusion has global drivers and manifestations rather than being a restricted local or national problem, even if its impact is felt most severely at a local level.

2 Introduction

In the face of this global challenge, sport may be perceived as a rather trivial and peripheral activity. Yet the role that sport plays, or can play, in promoting social inclusion is increasingly embraced in international policy and research (European Commission 2007; Bailey 2008; Kelly 2011). National and supranational government policies have driven to an extent the emphasis on sport as a tool for addressing social exclusion. Sport has been advocated as a vehicle for a range of broader social objectives, including the empowerment of marginalized young people, neighbourhood renewal, social integration and community cohesion (Keim 2003; Coalter 2007; Spaaij 2013b). It also penetrates international development, especially in the areas of conflict resolution and health promotion (Levermore and Beacom 2009). It has been argued that the social benefits of sport extend to spheres that are 'hard to reach' through more traditional political, social and aid activities (e.g. Football Task Force 1999; Bailey 2008). As a consequence, sports programs targeting social exclusion are now widespread in both the Global North and the Global South.¹ These efforts highlight a 'will for inclusion' based on an enduring and omnipotent belief in sport's inherent worthiness and public value (Macdonald *et al.* 2012: 9).

Sports metaphors, with their language of a level playing field, fair play, winners and losers, first past the post, and getting to first base, have informed many a discussion about the economy, wealth distribution and equity. For example, in referring to international trading practices in his 2012 State of the Union Address, US President Barack Obama claims that 'if the playing field is level, I promise you: America will always win'. And in 1993 his predecessor Bill Clinton refers to his country's economic strategy as one of 'expanding markets abroad and providing a level playing field for American workers to compete and win in the global economy'.

While advocates of meritocracy refer to sport as an exemplar of how economic and symbolic rewards are – and ought to be – distributed according to individual merit, social activists draw upon sports metaphors to formulate alternative visions of a fair society. For example, the non-governmental organization (NGO) Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand (2011) states that for those on the losing side of a competitive society, it often feels as if the world is anything but a level playing field: 'Many people living in poverty feel that the rules themselves are unfair, judged by referees biased by a hostile crowd, in an environment where they cannot possibly succeed, let alone win' (Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand 2011: 7). Whereas in sport we expect that there are agreed upon rules and unbiased referees who enforce those rules, in broader society elites are often determined to be their own referees and consolidate the individual or collective gains made. In a similar vein, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2000: 215) argues that the meritocratic ideal of a level playing field is illusory: 'Those who talk of equality of opportunity forget that social games ... are not "fair games." Without being, strictly speaking, rigged, the competition resembles a handicap race that has lasted for generations.'

Introduction 3

However, even in sport itself the existence of a level playing field is a utopia (Kell 2000; Eitzen 2006). In a sense, sport is part of the problem, as it can serve not only as an agent of social inclusion but also to differentiate, marginalize and exclude (Elling and Knoppers 2005; Anderson 2010). Indeed, by its very nature organized competitive sport performs or at least condones the exclusion of some through its emphasis on performance and winning, and (over-)conformity to the norms of the sport ethos (Donnelly and Coakley 2002). Exclusionary processes in sports-related policies and practices are multiple and diverse, embedded as they are in existing ethnocentric, patriarchal and heteronormative systems (Marjoribanks and Farquharson 2012; Dagkas and Armour 2012). They range from explicit and active mechanisms such as institutional racism and gender-based violence to more subtle forms of exclusion associated with unequal power relations along the intersections of class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, religion, (dis)ability and geography. While direct and manifest exclusion may have become less common in sport, the hidden, entrenched cultural processes that affect the extent to which people have access to and feel welcome and connected with a sport organization or sporting group remain as powerful as ever (Elling 2002, 2007; Lake 2013). And while in certain respects (e.g. access to sport participation opportunities) the playing field may be levelling in sport, in other ways the reverse appears to be true as expectations of growing access, opportunity and equity remain at variance with reality.

Social exclusion can occur or be challenged at any level of sporting competition, from the foundation/participation levels through to the performance/excellence levels. These different levels are visualized in the sports development continuum (Scottish Sports Council 1988) in Figure 1.1. Enoch (2010: 46) describes this continuum as 'a logical progression from learning the basic skills at foundation level to performing as an elite performer at the excellence level'. The continuum suggests that elite competitive sport is as much part of 'sport for all' (i.e. the promotion of access to sport) as the provision of community opportunities for participation (Houlihan and White 2002). As such, the continuum seeks to reconcile some of the historical tension between those promoting elite sport and those promoting grassroots participation by suggesting that these dual goals are inextricably interdependent (Bloyce and Smith 2010).

The sports development continuum depicted in Figure 1.1 is instructive for conceptualizing the relationship between sport and social exclusion. Research on sport and social exclusion, including our own, has predominantly focused on the foundation and participation end of the continuum, while scholarly attention on social exclusion at the performance/excellence end has been scant. However, the research that does exist in the latter area confirms the significance of exclusionary mechanisms in high-performance sport. Collins and Buller (2003) show that high-performance sports programs do not cater equally for all sections of the community; rather, they are mediated by social stratification, which provides a filter for who gets in at the beginning of the talent selection process. Young people with a lower socio-economic status, in

4 Introduction

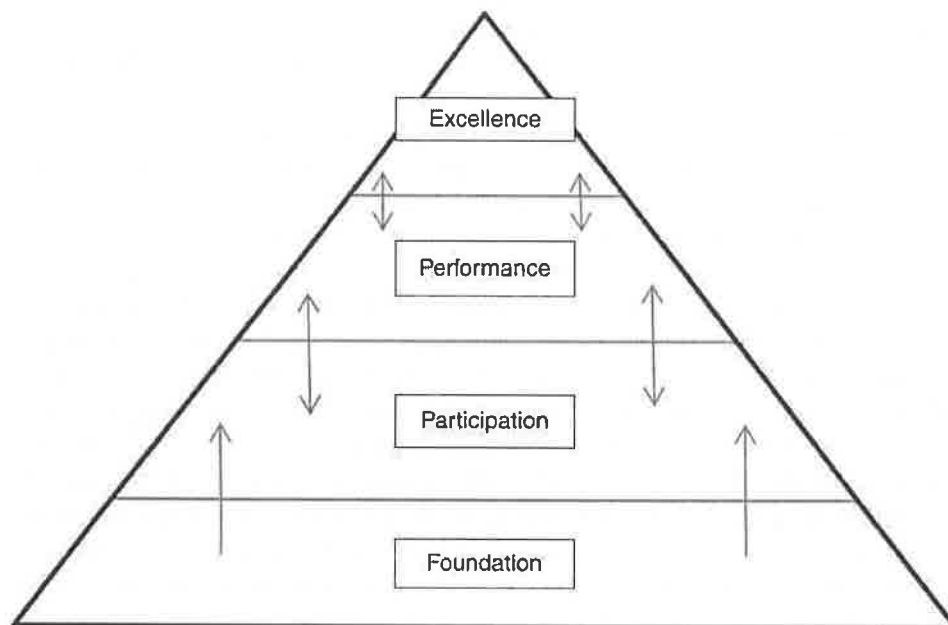


Figure 1.1 The sports development continuum.

particular, are often not being provided with equal opportunities to perform at the highest level. Hence, Kay (2000: 166) concludes that ‘from the humblest levels of mass participation through to the pinnacles of performance, participation profiles are skewed away from the less privileged sectors of our society’.

Advancing the research landscape

This book critically examines the relationship between sport and social exclusion from both global and cross-cultural perspectives. In so doing, it seeks to contribute to scholarly debate on the interactions, processes and contexts that drive or alleviate social exclusion in relation to sport. While important pioneering work has been carried out on sport and social exclusion (e.g. Collins with Kay 2003), we contend that such research favours a particular focus on policy processes and relies heavily on secondary material.² A key aim of this book, then, is to advance intellectual and policy understanding of more subjective, ‘lived’ aspects of social exclusion in and through sport. It does so by providing first-hand empirical research and critical insights into the real-world experiences of participants and practitioners. In particular, the book gives recognition and voice to individuals and communities that are frequently ignored within research in this field through in-depth, empirically grounded examinations of diverse population groups’ lived experiences, and the social mechanisms that affect those experiences at micro, meso and macro levels. We argue that this approach is a particular

Introduction 5

strength of the book as it advances previous research into sport and social exclusion in an innovative and distinctive way.

Further, we aim to transcend the narrow parameters of the nationally focused body of research into sport and social exclusion. This, we believe, requires more than merely bridging different geopolitical areas through the incorporation of research data from multiple and diverse parts of the world. It requires, first and foremost, a particular theoretical-analytical 'mindset', one that engages dialogically with alternative ideas and perspectives on social exclusion that challenge or complement the dominant Eurocentric approaches. The purpose of this task is to acknowledge and give voice to the diverse meanings that the term 'social exclusion' has in different global regions, as well as to uncover and formulate any possible North-South linkages (Mosley and Dowler 2003) in thinking about and directing action towards social exclusion. Our commitment to synthesizing and applying ideas and experiences from the Global South as part of the dialogue of theory development is based on the belief that social theory from the world periphery has power and relevance for understanding our changing world (Connell 2007).

The book draws on literature and case studies from across the Global South and the Global North – not equally or exhaustively, but fairly broadly, with these materials used to substantiate and illustrate the arguments made. The resulting analysis is attentive to thinking and experiences from the Global South and enables us to reflect on our theoretical and empirical bias towards the Global North. While a globally inclusive approach of this kind is still in its infancy in the sociology of sport, its potential is convincingly demonstrated in Palmer's (2013) account of global sports policy, Kay's (2009, 2012b) work on sport in international development contexts, and Spaaij's (2011) analysis of social mobility.

We admit, however, that we have only been partially successful in this effort. As noted in Chapter 2, this is largely a reflection of the relatively widespread uptake of the notion of social exclusion in Global North research, policy and practice over the past two decades, relative to its Global South equivalents. This is particularly the case in relation to sport. Moreover, as we discuss below, while a significant proportion of our recent research has been undertaken in Global South communities, other case studies discussed in this book were carried out in the countries where we have lived and worked for most of our academic careers – that is, the United Kingdom (UK), the Netherlands and Australia. Thus, while our analysis signifies an important step forward in extending intellectual and policy debates about sport and social exclusion, we also believe that more work is needed to enable a truly globally inclusive understanding of sport and social exclusion.

Key questions

Our exploration of the relationship between sport and social exclusion in global society is guided by three key questions that are pertinent to all

6 Introduction

levels of sport. First, *how does social exclusion affect sport participation and non-participation?* This question addresses the effects of social exclusion and disadvantage on one's ability to participate in sport and the nature of participation. To answer this question, it is necessary to take into account issues of access and opportunity as well as the structural and cultural conditions of sport activities or programs that may promote or inhibit social inclusion (Donnelly and Coakley 2002). However, as will be seen, non-participation does not equal social exclusion, as this occurs when people want to participate but cannot. After all, not everyone wishes to participate in sport. Most sports activities are those of choice, and participation is voluntary with the exception of compulsory physical education in schools. Hence, people may choose not to take part in sport for a variety of reasons including disinterest (Collins with Kay 2003). Given this, voluntary exclusion from sport may be a problem only when it has negative externalities, an argument we explore in Chapter 2.

The second overarching question that this book addresses is *how social exclusion is (re)produced, experienced, resisted and managed in sport*. This question is principally concerned with the processes and mechanisms of exclusion/inclusion that operate within sporting environments. Just as non-participation does not equal exclusion, so participation does not equal inclusion. Rather than merely reflecting existing inequalities, sport, via social agents' interactions with sports spaces, is actively involved in producing and sustaining inequalities and exclusions (Dashper and Fletcher 2013). Thus, sport can reinforce or exacerbate social exclusion through practices of differentiation and inferiorization (Elling 2002; Elling and Knoppers 2005). It is pivotal in this regard to explore the intersections between different markers of individual and group identity such as gender, age, race/ethnicity, class and ability, and how social exclusion can be compounded within sport as a result of such intersectionalities. At the same time, the active negotiation of sports spaces by players and other social agents, and its potential for resistance and subversion, also need to be taken seriously.

The third question that guides our analysis is *how sport is used to combat social exclusion and promote social inclusion in other life domains*. The focus here is on sport as a policy tool for addressing social exclusion in different global regions. The role that sport can play in combating social exclusion is embraced in international policy and research, yet concerns persist about the lack of robust evidence (Coalter 2007; Tacon 2007) and the potentially fatal flaws of sport as a social development tool (Darnell 2007, 2012; Spaaij and Jeanes 2013). We know that sport does not automatically contribute to transcending or breaking down the walls of exclusion, and that it can also strengthen the very social divisions that it is expected to bridge. Sport arguably presents a false front that traps the most severely excluded into a false consciousness in which they believe sport to be a ticket to a better life (Anderson 2010). From this perspective, sport is 'a sedative, a stultifying force' rather than a transformative practice (Carrington 1986: 16). In this book, we

Introduction 7

critically examine these issues as they are being played out in different global regions.

These three questions thus capture different aspects of the relationship between sport and social exclusion. The first looks specifically at the factors and processes affecting an individual's ability to participate in sport, the second at what happens to those who do enter the playing field, and the third at the wider social objectives which sports policies and programs aim to achieve. As this book will show, these issues are often closely intertwined in practice and need to be considered as different pieces of the same puzzle.

In order to address the aforementioned questions, this book draws intensively on more than a decade of research by its authors in the Global North and Global South. This research comprises a range of individual and collaborative projects that address one or more aspects of the relationship between sport and social exclusion. Here, our diverse research endeavours are brought together to present a number of case studies that have developed from our broader research platforms. While our own research (discussed in more detail below) primarily addresses social exclusion at the foundation and participation end of the sports development continuum (Figure 1.1), we recognize that exclusionary processes can be found at any level of sporting competition, and that the different levels are often interdependent in terms of the experiences, causes and consequences of social exclusion.

The case studies discussed in this book are part of a broader data set that was obtained through qualitative research methods and, occasionally, mixed methods research. The predominance of qualitative methods reflects the nature of the research objectives and questions that have driven our research endeavours, our personal expertise and training as researchers, and our own research paradigms. The bulk of our research has sought to capture the voices, experiences and meaning-making processes of the people being studied. Qualitative research strategies are particularly appropriate for obtaining this kind of knowledge. However, in some research projects we opted for a mixed methods design that involved the integration of qualitative and quantitative approaches where this was considered the most suitable methodology to achieve the objectives of the research.

Overview

In Chapter 2 we discuss the key issues and debates in the social exclusion literature to conceptualize social exclusion. Competing interpretations of social exclusion are explored and synthesized. Importantly, we contend that social exclusion is a multidimensional (set of) process(es) that is broader than merely poverty and material deprivation. In so doing, we challenge the view that material deprivation is the core of social exclusion, a long-held view in the sociology of sport. Thus, this view needs expanding to consider the fluidity and complexity of social exclusion beyond poverty – something that is core to the approach offered in this book. This approach situates social exclusion in

8 Introduction

its global context, and provides the conceptual backbone for our empirically grounded analysis of sport and social exclusion.

Following this conceptual discussion of social exclusion, Chapter 3 examines how sport and social exclusion are portrayed and addressed in public policy. The chapter has a particular emphasis on the intersections between social policy and sport policy, and as such provides a comparative analysis of three countries: the UK, Zambia and China. In Chapter 3 we highlight some of the diversities and complexities that become apparent when the intertwining of sport and social exclusion policy is considered beyond the narrow confines of the UK where the bulk of research in this area has been conducted.

Chapter 4 examines how sport excludes or marginalizes particular groups and individuals. It outlines some of the key mechanisms of social exclusion that operate within sports environments in the Global North and Global South before turning to a more detailed analysis of how these mechanisms play out in practice via a case study of sport, gender and social exclusion in Zambia. The research discussed in this case study consists of in-depth interviews with 14 female players aged between 14 and 27. Both gender and poverty have shaped the young women's engagement with sport. The women had played football for a period ranging from one to 12 years and three had participated at elite level. The research focused on exploring the lived experiences these women had of their participation in football. For the purpose of the case study we focus on data that elicited the challenges and barriers the women faced in relation to their sport participation.

Following on from the examination of mechanisms of social exclusion in sport, Chapter 5 shifts attention to the ways in which sport has acted as a domain for combating social exclusion in other life domains. Chapter 5 focuses on sport as a policy tool for addressing social exclusion in the Global North. We draw upon our research in two specific areas – mental health and worklessness – to critically examine the nature, benefits and limitations of the use of sport in these varying contexts. The first case study uses in-depth interviews to examine participants' and staff members' experiences of an ongoing sport program that was part of a broader mental health rehabilitation initiative in the UK (Magee and Jeanes 2010). Research data were collected from participants (males in their 20s or early 30s), medical staff and staff members who organized the sports activities. The second case study combined quantitative and qualitative research methods to assess the extent to and ways in which the Sport Steward Program (now City Steward Program) in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, affected the labour market attachment of participating youth (Spaaij 2009a, 2011). Our critical reflections on this case study are also informed by our evaluation of a similar program in the UK that sought to support workless young people in re-engaging with education and employment. That evaluation utilized interviews with young people, program managers, coaches and education officers to gain a holistic understanding of the experiences of those involved in the program (Spaaij *et al.* 2013).

Introduction 9

This analysis of sport as a policy tool for addressing social exclusion is extended in Chapter 6 through an analysis of 'sport for development' (SFD), which enables us to identify parallels between the ways in which sport is used in the Global North and the Global South. The two case studies that are presented in the chapter build on primary data collected by the authors in Zambia and Brazil, respectively, to scrutinize the role of sport in achieving complex development objectives and to draw attention to the broader social processes and contexts that affect what is or is not achievable in SFD, including the influence of global drivers of social exclusion as a structuring context for local experiences. One of the main SFD initiatives studied in Brazil involved the Vencer ('To Win') program, a program aimed at improving the skills and employability prospects of disadvantaged young people. The study combined different research methods, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and surveys (Spaaij 2012a). In Zambia, the programs under study focused on using sport as a context in which to educate young people about HIV/AIDS (Jeanes 2013). This research utilized interviews with NGO staff, young participants, peer leaders and community stakeholders in SFD programs within specific local contexts, based on our recognition that such programs are clearly not homogeneous across space and time. Thus, when considering how sport is used to combat social exclusion, we do so with an understanding of how specific initiatives are currently operationalized within particular communities in the Global South.

The process of engaging socially excluded individuals to participate in sport activities is analysed in Chapter 7. The chapter identifies how the UK social inclusion agenda has redefined the role of coaches in community sport. This development is explored through a case study of the experiences of one of the authors (Magee) as a community coach on a football program for homeless young men. Here, the relationship-building process between the coach and these individuals is central. Part of a broader data set concerning the uses and challenges of sports activities as a vehicle for improving the lives of vulnerable homeless individuals (Magee 2010, 2011; Magee and Jeanes 2013), this case study finds that sports coaches would benefit from learning from other fields and disciplines. Further, critical pedagogy is professed as an approach that can enable sport programs, and the coaches working on them, to move beyond the goal of merely (re-)engaging participants and instead facilitate social change by collaboratively developing critical and reflective capacities.

Drawing on primary research data and evidence of good practice, Chapter 8 discusses the ways in which sports communities can be made more inclusive for all persons involved. Specific case studies include a discussion of how a bottom-up community development approach has been valuable in creating inclusive active recreation spaces for young people with disabilities, and how some sports clubs have effectively developed opportunities that appeal to people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. The former case study builds on our research into the multilayered aspects of

10 Introduction

social exclusion experienced by young people with disabilities and their families when attempting to participate in casual active leisure and sports opportunities, and places particular emphasis on how young people with a range of disabilities can be supported in articulating their views and experiences (Jeanes 2011a; Jeanes and Magee 2011a, 2011b). The latter case study draws upon three years of ethnographic fieldwork that examined the sport involvement of people with CALD backgrounds in Australia (Spaaij 2011, 2012b, 2013a, in press). This research explored, *inter alia*, the barriers and facilitators to community sport participation as experienced by resettled refugees from the Horn of Africa. Our ongoing research into how diversity based on race/ethnicity, gender and disability is experienced and managed in community sport clubs in Australia also informs this case study (Spaaij *et al.* in press).

The final chapter draws together and critically reflects on the key issues and themes emerging from our analysis of sport and social exclusion in global society. The chapter proposes avenues for future research and considers how sport can be organized and provided more equitably to tackle individual and collective forms of social exclusion.

Notes

- 1 The terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' are used here to make transparent the continuing power inequalities between various regions of the world. Although not strictly accurate development markers (e.g. Australia and New Zealand), their use highlights differences in economic and social growth (English 2005; Kay and Spaaij 2012). The terms are further discussed in Chapter 2.
- 2 A notable exception is the work of Agnes Elling (for example, Elling 2002, 2007).

2 Social exclusion in the global age

Introduction

While the term ‘social exclusion’ is commonly used by policy-makers, academics and media commentators, it means different things to different people. Any systematic analysis of sport and social exclusion, then, needs to clarify the meaning of the term and define its key features and properties. The chapter commences by offering a concise history of the term from its modern roots in France to its contemporary usage in a range of policy contexts and academic fields. We then consider the definition and key features of social exclusion and discuss how it differs from and intersects with related notions of poverty and disadvantage. Following this discussion, we examine the multiple dimensions of social exclusion and the different spatial levels at which they operate, and critically scrutinize the applicability of the concept of social exclusion as a Global North construct to social realities in the Global South. The final part of the chapter outlines how the concept is used in this book. In brief, we conceptualize social exclusion as a process that negatively affects the rights, recognition and/or resources of targets of social exclusion and/or their opportunity to participate in key activities in different societal domains.

In this book, the conceptualization of social exclusion presented in this chapter is applied to sport. The relationship between sport and social exclusion is pertinent both from a policy or social action perspective and as a field of academic inquiry, as sport offers a compelling lens through which to analyse the causes, mechanisms and consequences of social exclusion as well as ways in which these can be tackled. It is within this context that the present book is situated. Critically, sport is not merely a mirror or metric of broader social processes – that is, a microcosm of society (Eitzen 2011) – but also very much part of the processes that shape society’s fundamental social, cultural, ethical and political issues. For example, sport is an important setting for socialization, psychosocial development and self-expression where people learn, negotiate and challenge social norms and identities. Hence, sport provides opportunities to examine the complexities of social, cultural and economic life in local, national and global contexts and, as such, can further our understanding of the nature and effects of social exclusion in broader areas.

12 *Social exclusion in the global age*

Sport constitutes a contested set of relational processes that involve critical issues of power and privilege within particular societal contexts at particular times (Sugden and Tomlinson 2002; Marjoribanks and Farquharson 2012). Our main focus here is on the way sport intertwines with social, political, economic, cultural and organizational forces that reproduce, exacerbate or diminish social divisions and inequalities. *Pace* Bourdieu (1978) and Pociello (1995), we consider sport as a relatively autonomous institution (or field) that has its own dynamics, rule-making and history, and which reflects and legitimates broader social inequalities. At the same time, however, the realm of sport is highly interdependent and cannot be fully understood in isolation from other social spheres such as the economic, political, social and cultural arenas discussed in this chapter. With this in mind, we now turn our attention to the concept of social exclusion.

Social exclusion: a concise history of a concept

It may seem relatively simplistic and somewhat misleading to consider social exclusion as the opposite of social inclusion, but the significance of this first step cannot be downplayed. The sense of belonging to, participating in, contributing to and accessing societal activities encompasses the notion of 'inclusion' as opposed to 'exclusion' and 'feelings of being shut out ... from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society' (Walker and Walker 1997: 8). The intuitive core of the idea of social exclusion is that every member of society should be able to participate fully in it. The social ideal it expresses is one of common membership, where no one is denied access to activities and practices that are central in societal life (Gray 2000).

Unfortunately, the notion of social inclusion is no less complex and contentious than that of social exclusion (Askonas and Stewart 2000; Goodin 1996), and raises important questions such as: 'Inclusion into what?' 'On whose terms?' 'In whose interests?' As will be shown in this chapter, the relationship between social exclusion and inclusion is complex and contested. We know that not being excluded does not necessarily mean a person or group is included (Taket *et al.* 2009). Likewise, social inclusion does not necessarily imply common membership or social connectedness, which refers to the personal relationships people have with others in the community.

In order to understand how the term 'social exclusion' is employed in specific contexts, including sport, we need not only to distinguish between its utility as an academic explanatory concept and its political deployment to justify certain forms of policy intervention (Arthurson and Jacobs 2004), but also to identify the linkages between the two. Our first step in this process is a brief excursion into the historical roots of social exclusion in the social sciences and humanities as well as in a policy context.

The term 'social exclusion' relates to familiar concepts such as poverty, disadvantage, marginalization and social closure. The idea that the theme of

Social exclusion in the global age 13

exclusion conveys can be found in a variety of classic works, such as Aristotle's (1908) *Nicomachean Ethics*. Within sociology these include the works of Durkheim (1895), Weber (1978), Merton (1938), Simmel (1955), Goffman (1963), Becker (1963), Lemert (1967), Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel (1971) and many others. Notwithstanding this historical continuity, it is indisputable that the contemporary usage of the term 'social exclusion' originated in France in the 1970s, where it referred to the idea of the rupturing of the social bond. The stranglehold of post-World War Two austerity had taken a firm grip on many Western European nation states as they struggled to re-establish themselves; nevertheless, by the 1960s economic fortunes were on the rise. Post-war, the French welfare state was characterized by a social insurance model that predominantly provided occupational solidarity and offered earnings-related benefits to the vast majority of the working population (Béland 2007). At the same time, social assistance programs granting genuine social rights existed to help those excluded from the labour market. It was in relation to the latter that the term 'social exclusion' emerged in French social policy and academic discourse (Béland 2007). By the 1970s, however, France's economic fortunes were in decline. High unemployment rates were seen to threaten the social fabric of the nation, and greater attention was focused on those considered to be socially excluded.

Underpinned by the French tradition of national integration and social solidarity, and specifically by the social thought associated with Durkheim (1895), René Lenoir, Secretary of State for Social Action in the Republican Government of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac (1974–76), published *Les exclus: un Français sur dix* in 1974. In this work, Lenoir focuses on societal and moral deterioration, especially with regard to unemployment as a major source of social exclusion. Social exclusion, he asserts, threatens society as a whole due to the loss of collective values and the destruction of the social fabric that binds its citizens (Taket *et al.* 2009). Lenoir's thinking was based on the idea that the French social contract does not leave individuals to fend for themselves; rather, society owes its members the means to a livelihood and, in turn, members have obligations to the larger society (Silver and Miller 2003). Lenoir (1974) identifies 'the excluded' in France as an eclectic mix of the uninsured, unemployed, people with intellectual or physical disabilities, the mentally ill, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents and other persons considered deviant. While Lenoir's publication illustrates how the notion of social exclusion is seen to cover a remarkably wide range of social issues, over time, the term has broadened even further to cover other groups perceived as excluded in one way or another (Taket *et al.* 2009).

Despite the specificities of the political and social context within which the term 'social exclusion' first emerged, it diffused rapidly throughout Europe, mainly under the patronage of the European Union (EU). By the early 1990s, the term had become a substitute for that of 'poverty' within EU policy programs. This was a significant shift, with the EU pursuing the objective of 'social action' from 1974 to 1994 through three poverty programs, which

14 *Social exclusion in the global age*

ended after the UK and Germany withdrew their support (Silver 2010). According to Silver and Miller (2003), the third EU poverty program gradually transformed into a fight against social exclusion, with long-term unemployment as the main focus. This discursive emphasis on social exclusion has continued ever since, as reflected for example in the EU's 2004–2010 Disability Action Plan, the 2007 European Year of Equal Opportunities for All, and the European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion in 2010.

The adoption of the term 'social exclusion' among politicians, policy-makers and academics in the UK is somewhat remarkable considering that, in the French usage of the term, it sits uneasily with the Anglo-American focus on poverty (Silver 1994). However, it should be remembered that the concept of poverty is itself contested (Alcock 1997) and that, in some accounts, poverty is defined in relative terms that strongly resonate with the notion of social exclusion in the French tradition. An example is Townsend's (1979: 60) influential interpretation of poverty as a lack of resources and participation in 'the activities ... which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which [the poor] belong'.

It was the New Labour government of Tony Blair that in 1997 heralded a new era for social exclusion in UK policy discourse. That same year, New Labour established the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), which assumed responsibility for the development of 'integrated and sustainable approaches to the problems of the worst housing estates, including crime, drugs, unemployment, community breakdown, and bad schools etc.' (Social Exclusion Unit 1998: 2). The SEU was initially concerned with the less severe forms of exclusion affecting large portions of the population; however, it increasingly focused on so-called 'deep exclusion', that is, the most entrenched, durable, and multidimensional manifestations of disadvantage (Silver 2010). Social exclusion was thus central to New Labour's social policy agenda. As Chapter 3 shows, respective policies in the UK focused on the use of sport for wider social purposes, delivering social policy through sport based on the firm belief that sport had the potential to combat various social ills (Collins with Kay 2003; Blackshaw and Long 2005; Coalter 2007). Consequently, substantial amounts of funding were released for programs that used sport to promote the wider policy agenda of addressing social exclusion.

In 2005, the SEU was closed and in 2007 Tony Blair left office, leaving a legacy of 'joined-up strategies to combat concentrations of social exclusion' (Collins 2010: 26). However, these strategies were downgraded as government attention was redistributed. The election of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government in 2010 ultimately sealed the fate of the use of the term 'social exclusion' at a policy level in the UK. Under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government, the rhetoric has shifted to the notions of 'active community' and 'active citizenship'. Indeed, UK policy discourse has applied the emotive terms 'moral underclass' and 'feral underclass' to those citizens who are seen to lack character and personal

responsibility for their own inclusion, such as those who participated in the 2011 civil disturbances in cities and towns across the UK.

The diffusion of the term 'social exclusion' has not been restricted to Europe. In Australia, it is now a key buzz term in national and state policy discourse. Basing itself on the model of the British SEU, the South Australian government in 2002 launched the Social Inclusion Initiative, opting for the term 'inclusion' rather than 'exclusion' to promote its focus on developing holistic and innovative solutions to social exclusion as a way to assist the most disadvantaged members of the community (Silver 2010). This policy transfer was facilitated by Australia's long-standing policy affinities with the liberal Anglo-American welfare regimes, and with the Australian Labor Party's Social Inclusion Agenda that built explicitly on Britain's New Labour's approach, while adding some specific emphases (Silver 2010).

In 2007, the newly elected federal government led by Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd followed the South Australian example by establishing a Social Inclusion Board and a Social Inclusion Unit within the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Headed by future Prime Minister Julia Gillard as the then Minister for Social Inclusion, a list of indicators was developed to measure and evaluate progress on social inclusion, such as housing affordability, access to services and homelessness. The objective of this policy has been to create a 'stronger, fairer Australia ... [where all] participate fully in the nation's economic and community life, develop their own potential and be treated with dignity' (Australian Government 2009: 2). Its strategic focus centres on unemployment, workless households, homelessness, child poverty, mental illness and Indigenous disadvantage population.

Overall, the Australian situation is one where the term 'social exclusion' arrived relatively late, and with some distinctive features (Silver 2010; Hayes *et al.* 2008). However, with the election of Julia Gillard as Prime Minister in 2010, the quest for social inclusion in Australia arguably took a more central position on the political stage to make up for its late arrival and relative lack of progress when compared to Europe. Reflecting this development, social exclusion is now also a significant area of academic and policy research in Australia (e.g. Saunders 2003, 2008; Smyth 2010). Yet, the political currency of the notion of social inclusion/exclusion remains fragile in Australia. In one of its first post-election actions, in September 2013 the newly elected Coalition government disbanded the Social Inclusion Board.

The notion of social exclusion has also diffused to the Global South. As noted in Chapter 1, the terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' are used here to make transparent the continuing power inequalities between various regions of the world. The Global South can be seen to comprise the nations of Africa, Central and Latin America, and most of Asia; as such, it includes more than half of the recognized states in the world. Still, the terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' are not strictly accurate development markers as they conceal the myriad geographies and internal diversity of the Global South (consider, for example, the stark contrasts between China and Zambia,

16 *Social exclusion in the global age*

as discussed in Chapter 3). Further, Australia and New Zealand are obvious deviations from the geographical categorization of North and South (Rigg 2007). However, their usage in this book highlights persisting differences in economic and social growth and the distribution of wealth (English 2005). It also serves to emphasize that both North and South are, together, drawn into global processes. The Global North and Global South consist of social worlds that while closely interconnected are constituted differently. Hence, they are not two discrete, internally bounded worlds facing each other (Tucker 1999).

The diffusion of the term 'social exclusion' to the Global South was driven primarily by international development agencies and supranational government institutions (Rodgers 1995; Gore and Figueiredo 1997). The notion of social exclusion has been particularly influential in Latin America as an extension of the study of poverty and marginalization, and it has also been taken up, albeit to a lesser degree, in Sub-Saharan Africa and South East Asia. Nonetheless, alternative concepts, notably poverty and vulnerability, are still more widely embraced in at least some parts of the Global South (Popay *et al.* 2008). One reason for this is that the direct application of the notion of social exclusion as formulated in the Global North to problems of poverty and exclusion experienced in the Global South has a number of pitfalls (Hashem 1995). At the same time, however, there are also conceptual connections between these separate debates and across geographical boundaries between North and South (O'Brien *et al.* 1997). These pitfalls and possible connections are discussed in depth further on in this chapter.

From the preceding discussion it is clear that social exclusion has diverse intellectual roots with different meanings in different nations across different times. This context specificity should be kept in mind when evaluating the myriad definitions of social exclusion that have been developed and applied in academic research in different global regions. It is to these definitions that we now turn.

Defining social exclusion

Social exclusion is difficult to define. Its meaning and measurement are contested among scholars: for example, whether it should be viewed as a state or a process, as a cause or an effect. However, most scholars would agree that in a broad sense social exclusion refers to a lack of participation in societal activities. Schuyt (2006: 69) describes social exclusion as 'not being allowed to participate; not being able to participate; not (or no longer) wanting to participate'.

The conceptual vagueness of social exclusion can be illustrated by the diverging definitions and frameworks that scholars have proposed in the past two decades. The influential definition of social exclusion proposed by researchers at the London School of Economics Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) provides a useful starting point for discussion: 'An individual is socially excluded if he or she does not participate in key activities

Social exclusion in the global age 17

of the society in which he or she lives' (Burchardt *et al.* 2002: 30). The focus in this definition is on the individual as the primary unit of analysis and on the state or condition of being excluded rather than on exclusion as a process. This definition posits a rigid dichotomy: a person is either included or excluded. In contrast, as will be seen below, many scholars now view social exclusion as a more fluid picture of people along a continuum of exclusion, rather than a clear division between those who are 'in' and 'out'. Burchardt *et al.* (2002: 31) admit that social exclusion 'is clearly a matter of degree' and that, strictly speaking, their definition should refer to being 'socially excluded to a greater degree' and 'the less the extent of participation'.

The CASE definition has also been criticized for not paying adequate attention to agency in the exclusion process – the idea that people are excluded by the acts of others or through choices of their own. Thus, it is not non-participation itself that constitutes social exclusion, but rather the lack of the *opportunity* to participate in activities that people have reason to value (Saunders 2008). Indeed, an earlier CASE definition explicitly addressed the issue of (lack of) agency:

An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society, (b) he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society, and (c) he or she would like to so participate, but is prevented from doing so by factors beyond his or her control.

(Burchardt *et al.* 1999: 229)

An analytical distinction is made here between self-exclusion and enforced exclusion caused by external factors. It is questionable whether voluntary social exclusion is unjust or harmful given that it does not involve a lack of opportunity to participate, but instead arises from free choice (Barry 2002). However, a person's choice to exclude him/herself can arguably still be problematic if it threatens social solidarity, has negative externalities, or when it has negative consequences for the long-term future and wellbeing of the individual involved (Richardson and Le Grand 2002; Le Grand 2003). There is, however, another compelling reason why we ought to take self-exclusion seriously: apparent self-exclusion is often a function of restricted opportunities to participate or a response to the experience of discrimination or moral rejection (Schuyt 2000; Morgan *et al.* 2007). We therefore need to ask: what are the underlying social mechanisms that drive self-exclusion? This question is directly relevant to sport. While individuals may simply choose to absent themselves from sport commitments or from particular sports (Macdonald *et al.* 2012), research also shows that self-exclusion from sport often cannot be separated from available opportunities and experienced material or socio-normative barriers; for example, it can be a response to a perceived lack of opportunity or acceptance (Elling 2002, 2007).

Gated communities and other forms of residential segregation in large parts of the world are a striking example of how self-exclusion on the part of

18 *Social exclusion in the global age*

the powerful can have severe externalities both for those 'left behind' and for society as a whole. In his well-known account of the obstacles to societal participation faced by African Americans in the 1940s, Myrdal (1944) stresses the role of residential segregation in perpetuating racial inequality and social exclusion. Myrdal finds that residential segregation prevented African Americans from associating with other social groups in activities founded on common neighbourhood. It further permitted any prejudice on the part of public officials to be freely vented on African Americans without affecting other citizens. While urban fortresses have emerged in various forms for many different reasons, they seem to have similarly damaging effects on social solidarity, inequality and community cohesion (Blakely and Snyder 1997). For example, Atkinson and Flint (2004) characterize gated communities as 'havens of social withdrawal' that are used by the powerful to insulate against perceived risk and unwanted encounters. In Chapters 4 and 8 we examine how self-exclusion occurs within sports contexts. For example, we describe how minority ethnic sports participants may prefer to play in teams with persons of similar ethnic backgrounds because they feel more comfortable and secure within these spaces. While the majority of ethnic sports club personnel tend to perceive this as a personal choice, research shows the complex mechanisms of social exclusion that lead minority ethnic participants to feel like outsiders within such clubs in the first place (Bradbury 2011; Spaaij 2013a, in press).

Social exclusion as a dynamic process

This example of residential exclusion suggests that social exclusion is a process driven by power relations, an argument that has become quite widely accepted among scholars (e.g. Gough *et al.* 2006; Popay *et al.* 2008). Despite this, policy-oriented notions of social exclusion frequently focus on the state or condition of being excluded rather than on the processual dynamics of social exclusion. The UK government's definition of social exclusion is a case in point. It defines social exclusion as: 'a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems, such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown' (Social Exclusion Unit 2001: 10).

This definition is problematic, however, because it makes no reference to the social mechanisms that create, condone or exacerbate the identified problems. A danger of defining social exclusion as a static condition is that it can be used to moralize about the excluded and blame the individual for their own plight, rather than exposing structural and socio-normative processes largely outside the control of the individual. It thus has the potential to further stigmatize the excluded. In this context, Gough *et al.* (2006: 4) make the important point that the term 'social exclusion' may suggest that individuals are responsible for integrating themselves into a society that is itself fundamentally sound, whereas, in reality, 'it is precisely normal society which creates social exclusion'. A fundamental concern here is that social inclusion policies

Social exclusion in the global age 19

typically seek to adapt socially excluded people to the needs of prescribed mainstream institutions of society, rather than to regulate or change these institutions to accommodate the needs of those experiencing social exclusion (Labonte 2004). An example of this, discussed in Chapter 3, is disability sport in China. While the Chinese state increasingly recognizes the disadvantage and stigma experienced by many people with disabilities, its disability sport policy tends to place the responsibility for social inclusion on the shoulders of individuals with disabilities themselves, rather than tackle the structural and socio-normative barriers to social inclusion that these individuals face.

Indeed, one school of thought views individuals' behaviour, character and welfare dependency as the primary cause of social exclusion. The classic example of this position is Charles Murray's (1982, 1996) underclass thesis. Notwithstanding the fierce criticism that Murray's position has attracted (Murray 1996), it has inspired Conservative political leaders in several countries in the Global North. Murray's viewpoint features prominently in the moral underclass discourse (MUD) that has influenced political and policy debate in the UK and the US (Levitas 2005). Hence, MUD shifts the focus from the structural basis of poverty and exclusion to the moral character and behaviour of the excluded themselves. This discourse presents those experiencing social exclusion as culturally distinct from the 'mainstream' and emphasizes their lack of morals or character (Levitas 2005). This discourse also operates in sport, with many sports programs aimed at addressing social exclusion based on the belief that the targeted participants have deficits. Rather than being defined in terms of the need for social justice or empowering young people to be effective agents of social change in their communities, such programs typically define positive development in terms of providing socialization experiences that compensate for what is lacking or missing in the lives of disadvantaged young people (Coakley 2011).

Examples of this viewpoint abound more broadly. In September 2012, the then US presidential candidate Mitt Romney told a private gathering of donors that 47 per cent of American voters have an entitlement mentality and do not take personal responsibility for their plight. These citizens, argued Romney, believe that they are victims and that government has a responsibility to care for them in terms of healthcare, subsistence, housing, and so on (Mother Jones 2012). Another recent example of a moral underclass discourse relates to the civil disturbances that occurred in towns and cities across England in August 2011. Prime Minister David Cameron rejected any attempt by those implicated in the civil disturbances to justify their behaviour by blaming it on something other than their own criminality, by arguing for 'pockets of our society that are not just broken but, frankly, sick' (Eaton 2011). He identified the 'root cause' of the disturbances as being:

... a complete lack of responsibility in parts of our society, people allowed to feel the world owes them something, that their rights outweigh their responsibilities and their actions do not have consequences ...

20 *Social exclusion in the global age*

Restoring a stronger sense of responsibility across our society in every town, in every street, in every estate is something I am determined to do.

(Eaton 2011)

From this viewpoint, there are no social or political grievances that can legitimate the types of behaviour displayed during the civil disturbances. Other commentators have instead sought to draw attention to the complex and multiple underlying causes of the disturbances. For example, the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2012) points to the low aspirations of young people implicated in the disturbances, with many young people speaking of a lack of hopes and dreams for the future due to the absence of employment opportunities. The Panel also notes the widespread distrust and antipathy towards the police as a driving force behind the disturbances. However, in similar terms to Prime Minister David Cameron, the Panel stresses the lack of shared values and a sense of personal responsibility, and that the disturbances could ultimately be ascribed to a lack of character on the part of the perpetrators. The Panel recommends a new approach to building character, in which schools and parents should take a lead role by instilling character in children and young people so that they make the right choices in life. However, the need to reduce social inequality and its effect on many, particularly young men, remains underemphasized in this and many other accounts of the disturbances (Eaton 2011).

Whereas the MUD tends to be narrowly focused on a lack of personal responsibility as the principal cause of social exclusion, a particular strength of the concept of social exclusion is its concern with the processes and actions by which people are excluded (Rodgers 1995; De Haan 1998). Many scholars who use the language of social exclusion consider the dynamic analysis that it encourages to be a major step forward. Its processual character is emphasized, for example, in the European Foundation's (1995) definition of social exclusion as 'the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from the society in which they live'. A process approach to social exclusion implies that something or someone is excluding someone else (Lister 1998; Silver and Miller 2003); thus, such an approach enables us to identify who or what is doing the excluding, and how these actions operate, are legitimated or condoned (Saunders 2008).

The process character of social exclusion features centrally in the comprehensive definition proposed by Levitas *et al.* (2007: 25):

Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.

Social exclusion in the global age 21

This definition explicates the idea that social exclusion is broader than poverty, embracing issues such as the denial of rights and non-economic dimensions. While poverty and deprivation may also be seen as multidimensional phenomena (Townsend 1993; Morgan and Baker 2006), the multidimensional viewpoint occupies a more central position in definitions of social exclusion. Key here is the concept's perceived ability to link together both material and non-material deprivations, encompassing 'not only the lack of access to goods and services which underlie poverty and basic needs satisfaction, but also exclusion from security, from justice, from representation and from citizenship' (Rodgers 1995: 50). Still, social exclusion clearly overlaps with poverty and deprivation, and some definitions of poverty and deprivation appear more or less indistinguishable from those of social exclusion (Gough *et al.* 2006; Morgan *et al.* 2007). For at least some analysts (e.g. Collins with Kay 2003; Collins 2012), poverty is still the core of social exclusion, where social exclusion can be understood as the process by which poverty and material deprivation are created and reproduced.

The definition by Levitas and her colleagues (2007: 25) draws attention to the fact that social exclusion is felt not only at the micro level, but also at the macro level ('the equity and cohesion of society as a whole'). This multilevel perspective can also be found in the Social Exclusion Unit's (2001: 5) recognition that the human costs of social exclusion affect society as a whole through 'reduced social cohesion, higher crime and fear of crime, and higher levels of stress and reduced mobility'. Indeed, research consistently shows that the effects of social exclusion are almost wholly negative, both for people's psychological and material wellbeing and for the communities in which they live, creating conditions that give rise to conflict, increased inequality and mistrust (Abrams *et al.* 2005).

Levitas *et al.*'s (2007: 25) reference to 'normal' relationships and activities available to 'the majority of people in a society' signals another key feature of social exclusion, namely *relativity*. Social exclusion refers to a particular time and place, and can only be judged within that specific context (Atkinson 1998). Burchardt *et al.*'s (2002: 30) reference to 'key activities of the society' similarly emphasizes the relativity of social exclusion, much in the same way that poverty is now considered a relative phenomenon (Townsend 1979). Both definitions suggest that it is impossible to define or measure social exclusion using a single, universal and unique criterion or indicator. Rather, social exclusion needs to be considered in the light of prevailing social and cultural norms as countries differ and change in their understanding of what social exclusion/inclusion means and what 'normal' activities and relationships are perceived to be (De Haan and Maxwell 1998; Bhalla and Lapeyre 2004). While this appears to be an empirical question, it is also a normative one. The prioritization of which activities are 'normal' or desirable involves a judgement, one that is likely to change over time as expectations and opportunities change.

22 *Social exclusion in the global age***Degrees and dimensions of social exclusion**

Social exclusion is inherently relational. Over time, thinking about social exclusion has moved beyond a simple included/excluded dichotomy or fixed polarity of being 'in' or 'out' (Nevile 2007). Instead, social exclusion is a fluid continuum, a sliding scale that is subject to changes over time (Bremner 2004; Steinert 2007a, 2007b). The boundaries separating the included from the excluded are fluid and emergent, and they arise from the interactions and interdependencies between social actors with unequal power. Where only a binary distinction is recognized, the excluded are discursively positioned outside society and attention is drawn away from the inequalities and differences among the included (Levitas 2005). This renders the powerful and the privileged invisible because they are subsumed under the 'normal and ordinary' (Byrne 2005: 57). In this context, Pease (2009: 37) notes that the concept of social exclusion 'has done little to address those of us who benefit most from existing social divisions and inequalities'. As Chapters 3 and 4 will discuss in greater detail, while social exclusion policy rhetoric has been interwoven with sport for a number of years, this has not significantly challenged the question of who controls and governs sport. Responsibility for this remains within the hands of the dominant groups, usually white middle-class males.

Social exclusion is typically experienced in degrees rather than in all-or-nothing forms. Very few people ever reach the end of the imagined trajectory of absolute social exclusion (Silver 2007), because in almost all cases at least some relational links with wider society or with one's own group or community remain intact. For this reason, some scholars consider social exclusion along a continuum, with intermediate steps of precariousness and vulnerability (e.g. Paugam 1991; Minujin 1998). In its most severe manifestations, social exclusion involves 'deep exclusion' across multiple domains or dimensions, resulting in profoundly negative consequences for quality of life, wellbeing and future life chances (Levitas *et al.* 2007). Wessels and Miedema (2007) refer to this as severe isolation from one or more of the commonly known formal and informal institutions and patterns of association. They distinguish severe exclusion from intermediate or mild degrees of social exclusion. For example, 'preliminary exclusion' is experienced by those who face minor and often temporary disruptions but are still able to participate in key societal domains. In relation to sport, we know that complete social exclusion from sport participation is rare because of the breadth of sport opportunities in organized and unorganized settings (Elling 2007), especially in the Global North (see Chapter 4). For example, in Chapter 8 we explore how those who feel under-served or marginalized by the mainstream sport sector have alternative sport participation opportunities at their disposal, such as alternative sports competitions and leagues that cater specifically for social groups with a history of stigmatization and exclusion, such as gay and lesbian, minority ethnic groups and people with disabilities.

Social exclusion in the global age 23

While conceptualizing social exclusion as a continuum is instructive, there is a danger that the term becomes used in a cover-all sense to describe almost any kind of social disadvantage, in which case it loses its value as an analytical construct. Room (1999: 171) argues that if the notion of social exclusion is to be useful as an analytical concept, then we should use it only when we speak of:

... people who are suffering such a degree of multi-dimensional disadvantage, of such duration, and reinforced by such material and cultural degradation of the neighbourhoods in which they live, that their relational links with the wider society are ruptured to a degree which is to some considerable degree irreversible.

In this interpretation, the process of exclusion can become a state when, over time, it is repeatedly reproduced and reinforced through social relations and practices. In a similar vein, Estivill's (2003: 39) analysis of the complex 'itinerary to exclusion' speaks of 'chronic exclusion' when 'barriers are so insurmountable and distances so great, both symbolically and in reality, between those inside and those on the outside that the insiders no longer see the outsiders, who lose any opportunities and hopes of a possible return'. For Estivill, the chronic state of social exclusion marks the situation in which exclusion is at its most obdurate. This approach resonates with the French notion of social exclusion as a rupture of the social bond, where the process of exclusion involves a downward spiral of cumulative and multidimensional disadvantage, almost to the point of no return (Gallie and Paugam 2000). In this context, recent research on the sport experience of people with disabilities highlights how multiple levels of constraints affect their ability to negotiate access to organized sport (Jeanes and Magee 2011b). These range from physical access barriers and cost of participation to negative attitudes towards their participation and a lack of support from friends and family. These factors combine to create powerful mechanisms of social exclusion.

Although one might question whether a narrow focus on abject or chronic exclusion is analytically helpful, the reference to multidimensionality is critical here. In the aforementioned narrow definition proposed by Room (1999), different dimensions of social exclusion are closely intertwined. From this perspective, social exclusion refers to mutually reinforcing processes of deprivation that lead to the gradual erosion of resources, capabilities and opportunities (Bhalla and Lapeyre 2004). An individual or group is more likely to be vulnerable to exclusionary processes when they experience difficulties in multiple societal domains (Percy-Smith 2000). However, while different dimensions of social exclusion are interrelated, they are also independent in that each dimension represents a process and/or an outcome considered important in its own right (Burchardt *et al.* 2002). Individuals or groups may be excluded in some dimensions or contexts and for some time and not in others. Steinert (2007a: 5) refers to this as 'sectoral exclusions'. He argues that

24 *Social exclusion in the global age*

social exclusion can be broken down into an array of situations of possible exclusion that may or may not be correlated. In many instances these dimensions can be viewed as relatively autonomous: people are excluded from one social system only and can compensate and counteract this by mobilizing the other resources they still have (Abrams *et al.* 2005). For Steinert (2007a: 4), the 'normal' model of being excluded is the 'dynamic, contested, episodic threat of exclusion that the person can fight against and often compensate'. Again, the importance of agency is highlighted. This view of social exclusion also recognizes that the positioning of any individual or group at a particular time in a particular context can be characterized as a multiple and dynamic combination of inclusion and exclusion (Taket *et al.* 2009).

The multidimensionality of social exclusion: competing frameworks

A myriad of analytical frameworks have sought to capture and measure, each in its own way, the multidimensional nature of social exclusion. When taken in conjunction, however, the main scholarly approaches cover five broad dimensions of social exclusion that are outlined in Figure 2.1. While the focus here is on scholarly, theoretically informed approaches rather than policy-oriented models, we recognize that this distinction can be fuzzy, for example where a framework has been specifically developed to inform policy, as in the case of the Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) Survey that is discussed below.



Figure 2.1 Dimensions of social exclusion.

Social exclusion in the global age 25

In one of the earlier theory-driven accounts of the multidimensionality of social exclusion, Madanipour (1998) identifies three broad dimensions of exclusion: economic, political and cultural. The economic dimension refers to access to resources, most notably employment. In the political arena, social exclusion refers to a lack of political power and representation, for example, the complete or partial exclusion from political decision-making. Madanipour's (1998) reference to the cultural arena as a dimension of social exclusion is particularly noteworthy because this dimension is under-explored in many of the later analytical frameworks. For Madanipour, the main form of exclusion from the cultural arena involves marginalization from symbols, meanings, rituals and discourses. He argues that the forms of cultural exclusion vary widely, such as that experienced by minority ethnic groups whose language, appearance, religion or lifestyle are different from those of the majority ethnic group in a society. While different social groups may experience varying degrees of these different but interrelated forms of exclusion, the most acute forms of social exclusion occur when economic, political and cultural exclusion coalesce. In a similar vein, Schuyt (2000, 2006), whose work highlights, *inter alia*, the moral dimension of social exclusion, speaks of the cumulative nature of social exclusion. For Schuyt, the moral dimension of social exclusion refers to pejorative judgements and stigmatization, either hidden or explicit, of those who are perceived to be different and outside of the norm.

A similarly concise, yet more operational, multidimensional framework is offered by Bhalla and Lapeyre (2004), who also distinguish three broad dimensions: economic, social and political. The economic dimension refers to questions of income and production and access to goods and services. The social dimension involves three main aspects: (1) access to basic public goods such as health, education, clean drinking water and sanitation; (2) access to the labour market; and (3) the opportunity for civic participation, for instance in trade unions or local associations. Finally, political exclusion refers to the denial of human and political rights. In this model, the distinction between the economic and social dimensions of exclusion is blurred as they refer to broadly similar phenomena.

Three conceptual frameworks have been particularly influential in shaping social exclusion research in Western Europe, and especially in the UK. These are the work undertaken by CASE (Hills *et al.* 2002), the Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) Survey (Gordon *et al.* 2000; Pantazis *et al.* 2006), and the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (Levitas *et al.* 2007). The CASE researchers identify four dimensions of social exclusion: consumption (the capacity to purchase goods and services); production (participation in economically or socially valuable activities); political engagement (involvement in local or national decision-making); and social interaction (engagement with family, friends and community) (Burchardt *et al.* 2002). These four dimensions strongly resonate with the framework proposed by Bhalla and Lapeyre (2004), albeit that it divides the economic dimension into 'production' and

26 *Social exclusion in the global age*

'consumption'. The CASE researchers are also more successful in their analytical separation of the economic and the social, as in Bhalla and Lapeyre's framework these dimensions overlap significantly due to their incorporation of access to the labour market (or production) as a key aspect of the social dimension.

While the frameworks proposed by Bhalla and Lapeyre (2004) and the CASE researchers (Burchardt *et al.* 2002) include a political dimension, PSE does not. The PSE Survey distinguishes four dimensions of social exclusion: impoverishment, labour market exclusion, service exclusion and exclusion from social relations (Gordon *et al.* 2000). Impoverishment relates to exclusion from adequate income or resources, a form of exclusion that is also at centre stage in the other two frameworks and reflects the British tradition of poverty research. Unlike the CASE researchers, however, PSE incorporates 'service exclusion' as a dimension of social exclusion. This dimension refers to people's use of public and private services as well as the perceived availability of these services. Their incorporation of 'perceived availability' as an indicator of social exclusion, in addition to actual usage, strongly resonates with Bhalla and Lapeyre's (2004) focus on the issue of access (i.e. to services, good and the labour market) and indicates a disconnect between the concept of social exclusion and the indicators used in most measurement tools. Social exclusion is typically framed in terms of the *opportunity* to participate; however, existing frameworks and indicators almost invariably measure *actual* participation or non-participation. Put differently, social exclusion relates to things that people cannot do, whereas most of the data used to study exclusion describe what people actually do or do not do (Saunders 2008). As Burchardt *et al.* (2002: 41) rightly note: 'We neither know whether the (non-)participation is regarded as problematic by the individual, nor whether he or she has other options.'

The aforementioned frameworks are relatively concise with regard to the number of identified dimensions of social exclusion. In contrast, some scholars propose a far more expansive model. For example, one widely cited research collection distinguishes seven dimensions of social exclusion: economic, social, political, neighbourhood, individual, spatial and group (Percy-Smith 2000). While we agree that neighbourhood, spatial and group dimensions are critical in that some persons are more vulnerable or exposed to exclusion due to who they are (seen to represent) and where they live (see Chapter 6 for the Zambian case study), we also believe that this approach conflates the societal *domains* in which exclusion occurs with the *levels* at which it operates. We will return to this issue further on in this chapter.

The Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix is arguably the most comprehensive framework for operationalizing and measuring social exclusion. The matrix identifies no fewer than ten dimensions of social exclusion that fall within the three main areas of resources, participation and quality of life (Levitas *et al.* 2007). Resources comprise three dimensions: material/economic resources (e.g. income); access to public and private services (e.g. housing, transport);

Social exclusion in the global age 27

and social resources (e.g. social support). The second area – participation in economic, social, cultural and political life – is at the core of many definitions and theories of social exclusion, including the aforementioned frameworks. For Levitas and her colleagues (2007), this area covers four dimensions of social exclusion: economic (e.g. paid and unpaid work); social (e.g. participation in common social activities); culture, education and skills (e.g. literacy, access to education); and political and civic participation (e.g. citizenship status, voluntary activity). Finally, quality of life is broadly concerned with health and wellbeing, living environment (e.g. housing quality, neighbourhood safety), and crime, harm and criminalization (e.g. objective and subjective safety, exposure to bullying and harassment, discrimination).

Scholarly approaches to the multidimensionality of social exclusion are not restricted to Europe. In Canada, Galabuzi's (2004, 2006) work on social exclusion among minority ethnic groups stands out for its emphasis on issues of access and opportunity. Galabuzi (2004) identifies four dimensions of social exclusion as it relates to minority ethnic groups:

- Exclusion from social production: denial of opportunities to contribute to and participate actively in society;
- Economic exclusion: unequal or lack of access to normal forms of livelihood;
- Exclusion from civil society: disconnection through legal sanctions, institutional mechanisms or systemic discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, disability, sexual orientation or religion;
- Exclusion from social goods: failure of society to provide for the needs of particular groups, such as adequate housing and language services, and sanctions to deter discrimination.

These four domains of exclusion closely correspond to the production, consumption, social relations and services dimensions discussed above, but have an explicit focus on institutional mechanisms and discrimination as drivers of social exclusion. This emphasis is one of the main strengths of Galabuzi's (2004, 2006) approach as it explicitly addresses the question of who, or what, is doing the excluding.

Despite their differences, the frameworks discussed in this section share a commonality in their recognition of social exclusion beyond poverty. This multidimensional understanding of social exclusion challenges the view that poverty is *the* core of exclusion, a view that is held by Collins and Kay (2003) in their influential account of sport and social exclusion. Another commonality among the different frameworks is that they all emanate from the Global North where the concept of social exclusion originated. However, the challenges and pitfalls of applying a concept or theory of social exclusion developed in the post-industrial states of the Global North to industrialized, newly industrialized or pre-industrial countries in the Global South are multiple. It is to this issue of North–South comparison that we now turn.

28 *Social exclusion in the global age***Social exclusion and the Global South**

The above-mentioned approaches to social exclusion can be conveniently grouped together under the umbrella term of 'northern theories' in that they were invariably produced in post-industrial societies in the Global North and mainly reflect the social issues facing these societies. Northern theories of social exclusion have been exported to the Global South through a global network of institutions including universities, scholarly journals, international development agencies and supranational government institutions. While we use the term 'northern theories' to refer to this general process, we recognize the internal diversity of social exclusion theory and research within the Global North. This diversity is evident, for example, in Silver's (1994) typology of social exclusion paradigms, which shows that different scholarly approaches to social exclusion and the different political uses of the term emanate from competing social science paradigms and political ideologies. In other words, there is no such thing as a single, unified northern theory of social exclusion in the singular.

The question remains, however, of what (if any) relevance Global North approaches to social exclusion have for countries in the Global South that often face qualitatively different economic, political and social realities. This is a multi-layered question. At one level, it recognizes the need to contextualize epistemic knowledge into the local cultural, political and economic context (Apffel-Marglin and Marglin 1996). At a deeper level, it relates to the fundamental critique of northern social science that alternative ways of thinking about the world are marginalized, with little dialogue and little recognition. This critique posits that the production of knowledge about the Global South has taken place as an integral part of the unequal power relationship between the North and South, where the Global North is seen to have the power to articulate and project itself and its worldview on to others (Tucker 1999).

In *Southern Theory*, Connell (2007) argues that even where it addresses global inequalities, mainstream social science still works through categories produced in the Global North and fails to engage to any real degree with the knowledge produced by the Global South. Social science in the Global South can inject themes and ways of thinking about the modern world that are relatively uncommon or neglected in northern thought. To encourage a process of mutual influence, it is pivotal that scholars in the Global North pay closer attention to work from the Global South and engage with it dialectically to develop multiple perspectives (Tucker 1999). As Connell (2007: xii) puts it:

... colonised and peripheral societies produce social thought *about the modern world* which has as much intellectual power as metropolitan social thought, and more political relevance. Since the ground is different, the form of theorising is often different too. Work needs to be done to develop the connections, as well as the contrasts, between these bodies of thought and those of the metropole.

Social exclusion in the global age 29

In the field of social exclusion research, some groundwork has indeed been undertaken to identify such connections and contrasts. Gore and Figueiredo (1997) were among the first to consider whether the concept of social exclusion formulated in the Global North could be applied in different types of societies. They argue that while social exclusion occurs within all societies, it has different meanings and manifestations and therefore 'does not permit easy generalization and comparisons' (1997: 9). Still, they recognize that the notion of social exclusion offers opportunities for dialogue and two-way learning between North and South. In a similar vein, De Haan and Maxwell (1998: 8) find that although the particularities of place and history remain important, there is 'great scope' for global communication across geographical boundaries considering that poverty and social exclusion debates have strong resonance in different global regions. Bhalla and Lapeyre (2004) similarly conclude that the concept of social exclusion has universal relevance and validity even though its particular features and prevalence may differ between particular countries and global regions.

Others, however, are not so sure. There are a number of reasons why it may be difficult to apply the term to Global South contexts in any meaningful way. Commencing with Lenoir's (1974) use of the term in France, social exclusion in the Global North has been strongly associated with a lack of access to paid employment in the organized workforce and with the loss of rights associated with work and social welfare. It is defined first and foremost in relation to the welfare state and formalized labour market, against standards considered the norm in developed countries at particular points in time (Saith 2007). Where social exclusion is defined in terms of the denial of the opportunity to participate in 'normal' relationships and activities available to 'the majority of people in a society' (Levitas *et al.* 2007: 25), this implicitly refers to norms that are in many respects Eurocentric. In many developing countries it is difficult to define exclusion in these terms due to profound differences in social security and labour market arrangements (Saith 2007). In the Global South, informal and casual employment is the rule, and seasonally determined irregular employment the norm.¹

In the Global North, the assumption is that when we refer to social exclusion, we are speaking about a marginalized minority who are unable to participate in the normal range of activities, or acquire a sufficient standard of living, relative to most citizens. In 1970s France, Lenoir (1974) calculated that this applied to about 10 per cent of the population. Even in more alarming estimates, such as the recent estimate that 23 per cent of the EU's population is 'at risk of poverty or social exclusion' (European Commission 2012), the underlying assumption holds that there is a majority from which a small or more sizeable minority is excluded in some form. In contrast, and judged by the same standards, the excluded may form the majority in many countries in the Global South, where they are living in poverty, are excluded from formal labour markets, and/or have little, if any, entitlement to social protection from the state. In essence, then, this would require a complete analytical

30 *Social exclusion in the global age*

reversal of the majority–minority relationship that underpins northern notions of social exclusion. One of the dangers here is that if used merely to describe a static condition or to identify specific groups that are being excluded, the concept of social exclusion may be ‘a broad screen, a curtain’, which hides rather than makes visible problems of severe destitution in countries where such problems are in fact part of normal life (Popay *et al.* 2008: 44).

We concur with Kay (2012b: 221) that comparing how the concept of social exclusion is applied in Global North and Global South countries is ‘a useful exercise in highlighting how these settings differ as economic, political and social contexts’. Moreover, Global South approaches to social exclusion offer important insights for scholars in the Global North. First and foremost, they bring to the fore important differences in understandings about the nature of the problem and the form or conditions of inclusion that are deemed important in particular societies or by particular groups within those societies. Four distinct themes stand out in Global South conceptualizations of social exclusion: civil and political rights; social recognition and human dignity; violence and personal security; and global power relations. These themes are discussed below.

Much of the European writing on social exclusion focuses on non-participation in paid employment and economic activity. In contrast, a rights-based understanding of social exclusion is more strongly established in the Global South (Mathieson *et al.* 2008), where the denial or systematic violation of political, civil or social rights is often considered a key, defining feature of social exclusion. Exclusion from basic rights can include a lack of access to public services such as healthcare, education, housing, water supply, sanitation and social security (Gore and Figueiredo 1997; Breman 2004). Exclusion from land rights or native title is another pressing form of social exclusion that affects many Indigenous peoples across the globe, including those in Latin America and Australia (Hunter 2008; Popay *et al.* 2008).

Rights-based approaches to social exclusion are concerned not only with economic exclusion and inequality, but also with cultural forms of injustice that stem from ‘who you are’ and ‘where you are from’ (Kabeer 2000). Economic and cultural exclusion are often intertwined, sometimes inseparably so, such as when stigmatization leads to a denial of access to employment or public goods (Correa-Velez *et al.* 2013). Cultural forms of exclusion are ‘manifested in the ways in which dominant social groups invisibilise, seek to impose dominant values, or routinely devalue or disparage certain categories of people’ (Kabeer 2000: 4). This interpretation resonates with the aforementioned cultural realm of exclusion theorized by Madanipour (1998) in relation to European cities, as well as with Galabuzi’s (2004) analysis of the exclusion from civil society experienced by minority ethnic groups in Canada.

In Global South approaches, cultural exclusion is often expressed in terms of a lack of social recognition and human dignity (Fraser 1997). In Brazil, for instance, the urban poor refer to their lack of recognition and visibility and their status as ‘second-class citizens’, a social reality they confront on a daily

Social exclusion in the global age 31

basis (Dagnino 2005; Perlman 2010). Human dignity, which many urban poor consider a central component of citizenship (Wheeler 2005), refers to being treated with respect and without discrimination or prejudice in everyday life. The Brazilian case, discussed in depth in Chapter 6, suggests that the formal assertion of political and social rights does not automatically alleviate the pervasive sense of exclusion in everyday life experience, where large segments of the population can be effectively marginalized from active participation in the public sphere. Northern theories of social exclusion tend to underplay the importance of human dignity and social recognition as central components of social exclusion. It could be argued, however, that within the context of systematic human rights violations, 'social recognition' might be a more appropriate term than 'social inclusion' (O'Brien *et al.* 1997).

Another theme that is undervalued in northern approaches to social exclusion is the role of violence and personal insecurity as a contributing factor to, and effect of, exclusionary processes (Valencia Gutiérrez 2001; Valencia Agudelo and Cuartas Celis 2009). Where violence is seen as a consequence of social exclusion, the emphasis tends to be on the restricted range of resources and social support available to people, which may include criminal activities and gang membership. In areas experiencing deep social exclusion, gang membership and violent behaviour can be among the very few means of gaining power and recognition as well as providing important coping mechanisms for the people involved, including economic livelihoods and social support (McIlwaine and Moser 2001; Barker 2005). At the same time, violence contributes to and exacerbates exclusionary processes in that it reduces the dignity and wellbeing of other human beings and restricts their full and equitable participation in public spaces. In the Global South, sport is frequently used as a place where safe public spaces can be developed for those that struggle to access them elsewhere (Meier and Saavedra 2009); however, at the same time, sports spaces can themselves be violence-inducing (Daimon 2010). In reality, such violence disproportionately affects the lives of marginalized people who have themselves not resorted to violence (Berkman 2007). Residents of socially excluded communities often cannot depend on institutions such as the police and the justice system to protect their civil and human rights (Arias 2006). These issues are central to the lived experience of social exclusion of many people in the Global South.

Exclusion or adverse inclusion?

In addition to directing our attention to social issues that are especially salient in Global South contexts, a global perspective on social exclusion shifts attention from internal structures and relationships within nationally bounded societies towards an appreciation of the forms of social exclusion that reside in the relations between nations and global regions. This perspective casts a different light on the questions 'Exclusion from what?' and 'Inclusion on

32 *Social exclusion in the global age*

whose terms?' As we have seen, scholars often address the first question by identifying the main dimensions of social exclusion – economic, social, political and cultural. The more critical among them problematize the very notion of social inclusion because of its narrow focus on participation in the modern capitalist system that, in their view, can never be truly inclusive (Gray 2000; Byrne 2005). Bowring (2000: 320), for example, contends that the social inclusion debate eschews a critique of the dominant roles, norms and practices from which marginalized people are excluded, and therefore is 'in danger of leaving the cultural hegemony of capitalism intact'. Others argue that, by definition, social inclusion implies exclusion, as there can be no inside without an outside. Thus, the notion of social exclusion/inclusion necessarily fixes attention on boundaries and margins, on what differentiates one class of persons from another (Goodin 1996).

An important insight that can be gleaned from a global perspective is that the central issue is not the false dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion, but rather the terms and conditions of social inclusion (Mathieson *et al.* 2008). As noted earlier, a key concern is that social inclusion relates only to involvement in prescribed mainstream institutions of society that reproduce or reinforce the status quo. This insight has led some scholars to propose the term 'adverse incorporation' (Du Toit 2004; Hickey and Du Toit 2007), based on their belief that the key to understanding social exclusion is to come to grips with how marginalized people are actually incorporated within broader social and economic formations of power in ways that exploit and marginalize them and undermine their ability to control and impact the systems into which they are locked.

The most notable differences between the concepts of adverse incorporation and social exclusion relate to issues of power and the extent to which poverty is understood in relational as opposed to residual terms (Hickey and Du Toit 2007). The social exclusion discourse has been criticized for emphasizing the residual rather than relational aspects of poverty, thereby moving analytical attention away from an understanding of how power relations within society underpin poverty. The notion of exclusion may be ill-equipped to deal with issues concerning the adverse terms of inclusion or relations that do exist between people and various political, economic and social processes and structures (Byrne 2005). However, in recent years attempts have been made to capture these relational aspects through the lens of social exclusion by drawing attention to causal processes and embedding those explanations within an understanding of the larger relational structures within which people are inserted (Gough *et al.* 2006; Popay *et al.* 2008). For example, we now know that marginalizing or exploitative processes operating in the global political economy graft themselves on to the dynamics of exclusion operating at local and national levels (Beall 2002). These developments have led some to explore the synergies between the two concepts in the analysis of poverty in the Global South (Hickey and Du Toit 2007).

Spaces of social exclusion

In this book, we draw on the aforementioned theories and approaches to conceptualize social exclusion as a (set of) process(es) that negatively affects the rights, recognition and/or resources of targets of social exclusion and/or their opportunity to participate in key activities in different societal domains. This process operates across different spatial scales, ranging from the interpersonal level through to the global level. In its more extreme forms, social exclusion results in a person or group being effectively 'shut out' from the social, economic, political and/or cultural systems that operate in particular spaces and times (Walker and Walker 1997).

Our approach presents social exclusion as a relational, multidimensional, multilevel process – features that have been extensively discussed in this chapter. It is well attuned to a global perspective on social exclusion by enabling an analysis of the processes that marginalize or unfavourably include individuals, families, groups, localities, nations and global regions in terms of a fair share in social, economic, cultural and political resources and social recognition (Sen 2000). The focus on relational exclusionary processes entails a 'strong' conception of social exclusion that forces attention on to inequality and emphasizes the role of the agents or institutions that are doing the excluding (Veit-Wilson 1998). This conception challenges the dominant policy focus on the 'weak' concept of social exclusion, that is, one that explains social exclusion as an outcome of an individual's handicaps and character. Our approach also recognizes temporality as a key element in the dynamics of social exclusion. Temporality refers not only to the fact that patterns of exclusion develop and change over a long course of time, but also to the idea that exclusionary processes are often historical, in some cases to the point where they become defined culturally in terms of a 'natural essence' of the excluded parties and seen as inevitable (Abrams *et al.* 2005). In other words, social exclusion can become consolidated, structurally and culturally, over time.

Our understanding of social exclusion is informed by the World Health Organization (WHO) Social Exclusion Knowledge Network (Popay *et al.* 2008), which identifies different spatial scales at which social exclusion operates. These different scales are mutually constitutive; hence, in general, exclusionary processes at the more abstract levels provide a context and pretext for the more specific and concrete levels (Abrams *et al.* 2005). Exclusionary processes operating at the global level may be seen to articulate with exclusionary axes at the national, local or community level. However, while these different processes can be mutually reinforcing, they can also mitigate or counteract each other's effects. As such, we view social exclusion as a *glocal* phenomenon that involves the mutual, interdependent shaping of local struggles and global forces (Robertson 1992). The results of this interplay between exclusionary processes at different spatial scales will be different for different localities or groups and at different points in time.

34 *Social exclusion in the global age*

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to consider in detail the multitude of processes that give rise to or exacerbate social exclusion at these different levels. However, a number of drivers of social exclusion at neighbourhood, institutional, national and global levels have been referred to throughout this chapter. There is now a vast literature on exclusionary processes in a context of globalization (e.g. Jordan 1996; Bhalla and Lapeyre 2004; Breman 2004). The bulk of this literature focuses on economic and labour market transformations, welfare state retrenchment and formal institutions as the core mechanisms of social exclusion. These mechanisms can be seen to intersect with cultural and symbolic processes that differentiate and stigmatize particular groups, nations and global regions (Estivill 2003). These intersections will be examined in relation to sport throughout this book.

By portraying social exclusion as a dynamic and relational process, we argue that both parties involved in the relationship – targets and sources – have the potential for influence. Recent theory and research emphasize the structural conditions and institutional mechanisms that create, condone and exacerbate social exclusion. While this approach is of vital import in addressing the question of who/what is doing the excluding, any fine-grained analysis of social exclusion also needs to take into consideration the agency and subjectivity of those who face exclusionary processes (Vobruba 2000; Marsh 2004). Indeed, people who are being excluded are not simply passive victims. They may be resourceful in coping with given circumstances by drawing on the material, social or psychological resources they still have, or conversely they may play an active role in their own exclusion. The process of social exclusion is actively constructed, negotiated and resisted in the interactions between sources and targets of exclusion, especially in situations where the targets are aware of the interdependencies involved (Abrams *et al.* 2005). Here, again, the interplay between different spatial scales is critical to our understanding of the nature and effects of social exclusion. In Chapter 3, we examine this interplay with specific reference to sport, social exclusion and public policy.

Note

- 1 We owe this important observation to Dr Wendy Mee.