



MARMARA
ÜNİVERSİTESİ

**FROM DISCOURSE TO PRACTICE: ANALYSING SPORT-BASED YOUTH
POLICIES TOWARDS SOCIAL INCLUSION**

SELÇUK AÇIKGÖZ

PhD THESIS

SUPERVISORS

Prof. Dr. F. HÜLYA AŞÇI

Prof. Dr. REINHARD HAUDENHUYSE

2019 – ISTANBUL

TEZ ONAYI

Kurum : Marmara Üniversitesi Sağlık Bilimleri Enstitüsü
Programın seviyesi : Doktora
Anabilim Dalı : Beden Eğitimi ve Spor
Tez Sahibi : Selçuk Açıkgoz
Tez Başlığı : From discourse to practice: Analysing sport-based youth policies
towards social inclusion
Sınav Yeri : M.Ü. Spor Bilimleri Fakültesi / Seminer Salonu
Sınav Tarihi : 08.08.2019

Tez tarafımızdan okunmuş, kapsam ve kalite yönünden Doktora Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Danışman (Unvan, Adı, Soyadı)

Prof. Dr. F. Hülya Aşçı

Prof. Dr. Reinhard Haudenhuyse

Sınav Jüri Üyeleri (Unvan, Adı, Soyadı)

Dr. Müfide Yoruç Çotuk

Dr. Veerle Vyncke

Dr. İlknur Hacısoftaoğlu

Dr. Zeno Nols

Kurumu

Marmara Üniversitesi

Vrije Universiteit Brussels

Marmara Üniversitesi

Ghent University

Bilgi University

Vrije Universiteit Brussels

İmza



Yukarıdaki jüri kararı Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu'nun ...2.1/08/2019... tarih ve 26 sayılı kararı ile onaylanmıştır.

Prof. Dr. Feyza ARICIOĞLU
Sağlık Bilimleri Enstitüsü Müdürü V.

Prof. Dr.
Aysen CARGIL KILINÇ

BEYAN

Bu tez çalışmasının kendi çalışmam olduğunu, tezin planlanmasından yazımına kadar bütün safhalarda etik dışı davranışımın olmadığını, bu tezdeki bütün bilgileri akademik ve etik kurallar içinde elde ettiğimi, bu tez çalışmayla elde edilmeyen bütün bilgi ve yorumlara kaynak gösterdiğimi ve bu kaynakları da kaynaklar listesine aldığımı, yine bu tezin çalışılması ve yazımı sırasında patent ve telif haklarını ihlal edici bir davranışımın olmadığı beyan ederim.

Selçuk Açıkgöz

ABSTRACT (TURKISH) / ÖZET

Tez başlığı: Söylemden Pratiğe: Sosyal kapsayıcılığa yönelik spor-tabanlı gençlik politikalarının analizi

Öğrenci Adı: Selçuk Açıkgoz

Danışmanlar: Prof. Dr. F. Hülya Aşçı; Prof. Dr. Reinhard Haudenhuyse

Anabilim Dalı: Beden Eğitimi ve Spor

Amaç: Bu doktora tezinin amacı Türkiye’de yürütülen sosyal kapsayıcılığa yönelik spor tabanlı gençlik politikalarını farklı boyutlarda analiz etmektir.

Gereçler ve Metodoloji: Bu tez, 3 farklı araştırma bölümünden oluşmaktadır. İlk aşamada, eleştirel söylem analizi gerçekleştirilmiş, Türkiye Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı’na (GSB) ait politika dökümanları, resmi raporlar ve konuşma dökümleri gençlik ve spor bağlamında incelenerek bakanlığın sosyal kapsayıcılığa genel bakışı tartışılmıştır. Doktora tezinin temel araştırmasını içeren ikinci ve üçüncü analiz bölümlerinde ise, bakanlık desteğiyle gerçekleştirilen iki spor-tabanlı sosyal projenin katılımcılara etkisi ve proje uygulama süreci nitel araştırma yöntemleri (derinlemesine mülakat, odak grup görüşmesi, gözlem, alan notları) kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Tezin felsefi altyapısını fenomenolojik yorumsamacılık oluşturmakta olup, araştırma dizaynı olarak Yin’in (2008) Çoklu Vaka Analizi yöntemi benimsenmiştir.

Bulgular: Araştırmanın genel tartışma ve sonucu olarak, sporun sosyal bir araç olarak kullanımının söylem düzeyinde tam olarak gerçekleştirilmediği görülmektedir. Bakanlık dökümanları sosyal kapsayıcılığı temel olarak ekonomik katılıma bağlamakta, ekonomik açıdan avantajlı durumda olmayan çocuk ve gençlerin topluma katılabilme sorumluluğunu ise ailelere devretmektedir. İncelenen projelerin de paradoksal bir şekilde, yeni imkanlar, sosyalleşme alanları yarattığı ama futbolun hegemonik etkisinin projenin gençler üzerindeki sosyal gelişime yönelik etkisini nötrleştirdiği görülmekte. Bu duruma ayrıca, projenin yürütülmesi sürecinde yaşanan örgütsel yetersizlik ve ‘proje’ modelinin yarattığı uyumsuzluk da eklenmelidir.

Sonuçlar: Sonuç olarak, bakanlık çalışmalarının hem söylem hem de pratik seviyesinde ‘şekilcilik’ anlayışının ötesine geçmekte zorlandığı, özellikle dezavantajlı, ihmal edilmiş gençlerin eşitsizliklerini giderecek kalıcı çözümler geliştirmekten uzak olduğu görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yapabilirlik, hegemonya, sosyal kapsayıcılık, spor, politika

ABSTRACT

From discourse to practice: Analysing sport-based youth policies towards social inclusion

Student Name: Selçuk Açığöz

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. F. Hülya Aşçı; Prof. Dr. Reinhard Haudenhuyse

Department: Physical Education and Sport

Purpose: The aim of this PhD thesis was analysing sport-based youth policies in different levels towards social inclusion in Turkey. The specific analysis is directed towards the discourse and the practices of the Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS) in Turkey.

Instruments and Methodology: The PhD comprised of 3 different research phases. In the first part, I conducted a critical discourse analysis towards youth and sport related social inclusion policies of the MYS. In the second part, I focused on the two sport-for-development programmes from organisational and social perspectives. In the third part of analysis, I explored the impact of two sport-for-development programme conducted for underserved youth in disadvantaged communities. In the data collection processes, a series of qualitative data were collected such as interviews, focus groups, observations and field notes. In these analyses, a phenomenological interpretivist approach was embraced and Yin's (2008) approach of multiple case analyses was used as a research design.

Findings: The discourse analysis showed that sport's social role is underestimated and the 'mythopoeic' discourse towards the role of sport is maintained without addressing any tangible solutions towards the rights of young people within sport concept. The analysed sport-for-development programmes reflected various outcomes regarding the impact on young people. It showed that the programme presented small improvements in the lives of young people. However, dominance of football within the programmes constrained new opportunities to flourish and as a result, exerted a neutral impact on the participants.

Conclusion: The MYS practices and the programmes were generally seen as 'tokenistic gestures', rather than sincere practices to provide social justice and equal opportunities for the young people in the programmes.

Keywords: Capability, hegemony, social inclusion, sport, politics

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank Reinhard Haudenhuyse for not only being a supervisor, guide but also being a mentor. Without your academic knowledge, patience, sense of humour and critical comments over the years, I would never have got this far. I greatly appreciate the time you invested to literally teach me how to conduct research in every phase of this PhD. I also would like to thank my supervisor from Marmara University, Hülya Aşçı, for teaching about scientific integrity and also for her constant support.

I would like to thank Iain Lindsey from Durham University. His feedbacks and involvement for one of the research phases of the PhD was very valuable. Thank you İlknur Hacisoftaoğlu for your support and friendship. Thank you Müfide Yoruç Çotuk, Veerle Vyncke and Zeno Nols for your feedback and support to improve the PhD.

I also felt great support from administrative staff in different universities I am affiliated with. Thanks to Carine Van den Houcke from Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Fatih Şahin, and Nermin Maksutoğlu from Marmara University and Kemal Say from Trakya University.

I am thankful to the people in the Pardayanlar Bookstore in Edirne, especially Zeki and Diren. Their friendship helped me to ease my mind and regain my focus when I needed. Thank you my friends who were very supportive in this process: Ali Yıldız, Safer Elmas, Aydan Elmas, Cem Tınaz. Thank you Soner Yiğit Karabay for being an inspiration. Your dedication and determination to touch young people's lives in your community through Karaçay Sports Club influenced me greatly.

Thank you to the participants of this PhD research. I am grateful to all the interviewees who gave up their time to contribute to this study. Without the help of some of the interviewees and the programme coordinators, I would never be able to collect data for the cases I analysed.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family; my parents Abdullah and Saadet, my sister Selen and my niece Nehir for their unconditional love and support.

Contents

ABSTRACT (TURKISH) / ÖZET	4
ABSTRACT	5
Acknowledgments.....	6
1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION	12
1.1. The policies and politics of youth sports.....	12
1.1.1. The usage of sport vs. the contribution of sport	12
1.1.2. Sport as a social policy tool.....	13
1.1.3. Development through sport	15
1.1.4. Social exclusion.....	17
1.1.5. Expecting too much?	19
1.1.6. Organisational capacity and dependency	20
1.1.7. The sport inclusion and participation conundrum	23
1.2. The case of Turkey	24
1.2.1. Youth labour workers and employment	24
1.2.2. A look at sport policy in Turkey	25
1.2.3. Current Political Climate in Turkey	28
1.2.4. Where are we headed?.....	29
1.3. Central PhD research questions.....	31
1.4. Overview of the chapters.....	32
2. GENERAL METHODOLOGY	35
2.1. An emerging methodological approach	35
2.2. Philosophical assumptions	36
2.2.1. Ontological assumptions: Anti-foundationalist perspective.....	36
2.2.2. Epistemological assumptions: Interpretivism	38
2.3. Research ethics	39
2.4. Research methods.....	42
2.4.1. Chapter one: Theoretical literature review	42
2.4.2. Chapter two: Critical discourse analysis	43
2.4.2.1. Data analysis	44
2.4.2.2. Reliability and Validity	44
2.4.3. Chapter three and four: Single and Multiple case study analysis.....	45

2.4.3.1. Introduction	45
2.4.3.2. Case study analysis	46
2.4.3.3. Instruments	46
3. Chapter 1: The circles of power: A theoretical literature review on governmentality in sport studies.....	48
Abstract	48
Introduction	49
Governmentality and the construction of problematisations.....	51
Searching Strategy and Inclusion Criteria.....	53
Table 1. Overview of selected papers	54
Research topics	61
Research Methodologies	62
Use of the theory	64
Research Findings	66
Conclusion.....	70
4. Chapter 2: Social inclusion for whom and towards what end? A critical discourse analysis of youth and sport policies in Turkey	72
Abstract	72
4.1. Introduction	73
4.2. Literature review	74
4.2.1. Social exclusion.....	74
4.2.2. Sport's promise of social inclusion	76
4.3. Methodology	77
4.3.1. Critical discourse analysis	77
4.3.2. Analysis	79
4.3.2.1. The MYS documents	79
4.4. Discussion	80
4.4.1. Sport and social inclusion.....	80
4.4.2. Normalisation of 'at-risk youth' as saviours of the nation	82
4.4.3. Promotion of neoconservative family relations.....	84
4.4.4. Neo-liberal priorities and youth	85
4.5. Conclusion.....	87

5. Chapter 3: Opening up the path towards social innovation in youth & sport policy: Understanding the mechanisms of sport-based interventions for young people in Turkey.....	90
Abstract	90
5.1. Introduction	91
5.1.1. Sport and Youth Projects in Turkey	92
5.1.2. The ‘governance’ issue and social innovation	93
5.2. Methodology	94
5.3. Discussion	96
5.3.1. The intentions and aims.....	96
5.3.2. Coordination and partnership	98
5.3.3. Project implementation problems.....	99
5.4. Conclusion.....	101
5.5. Suggestions for policy and practice.....	102
6. Chapter 4: “There is nothing else to do!”: The impact of football-based sport-for-development programmes in under-resourced areas	106
Abstract	106
6.1. Introduction	107
6.2. The Capability Approach and Sport for Development.....	108
6.3. Hegemony Theory and Football.....	109
6.4. Methodology	110
6.4.1. Research design.....	110
6.4.2. Cases	112
<i>Case 1 – Learning Life with Sport</i>	112
<i>Case 2 – From Work to Football Field</i>	112
6.4.3. Research participants	114
6.4.4. Analysis procedures	114
6.5. Findings and Discussion.....	115
6.5.1. Coincidental inclusion in sport	115
6.5.2. From opportunities to limited choices	116
<i>New experiences</i>	116
<i>Neglect of long-term needs</i>	118
6.5.3. The hegemony of football.....	119

<i>Expectations and disappointments</i>	119
<i>Competitive logics</i>	121
6.5.4. Boys-only football programme	122
6.6. Conclusion.....	123
6.6.1. Limitations and Future Research	124
Funding.....	125
7. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	126
7.1. Governmentality: Unmasking the priorities of government on sport and physical activity.....	127
7.2. The policy priorities on youth and sport	129
7.3. Implementation of a football-based development project in organisationally challenging setting.....	130
7.4. The impact of football-for-development in under-resourced settings.....	132
8. Limitations of the PhD	135
8.1. Problematising the unobservable moments	135
8.2. Lost and...found.....	135
8.3. Interviewing beyond the football field?	136
8.4. The absent girl	136
8.5. A picture is worth a thousand words	137
9. Pathways for the future research	138
9.1. The problematisation of social policy	138
9.2. From official policy texts, into the political context	139
9.3. Upscaling and upskilling ethnographic participatory research methods.	139
10. Suggestions for policy and practice.....	140
10.1. A right-based leisure approach.....	140
10.2. The representation of gender	141
10.3. Sport is more than football, and football can be more than just sport... ..	142
10.4. Individualised (heterogenous) sport-for-development programmes	143
10.5. The refugee issue	143
10.6. Top-down to bottom-up: developing sport cooperatives as social and economic initiative	144
10.7. Supporting the ‘good examples’	144
10.8. Developing capacities.....	145

11. Conclusion.....	146
12. References	148
13. Appendices	182
13.1. Interview questions.....	182
13.2 Curriculum Vita / Özgeçmiş.....	185

List of tables

Table 1. Sport Studies with Governmentality as Theoretical Background.....	54
Table 2. Overview of documents.....	79
Table 3. Participants.....	95
Table 4. Field Visits.....	111
Table 5. Interview and focus group sample by programmes.....	113

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. The policies and politics of youth sports

1.1.1. The usage of sport vs. the contribution of sport

Milestones in Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) studies have accelerated the dissemination of SDP studies and practices throughout the world. Although the definitions of sport-for-development (SfD) and SDP are used interchangeably in many cases, Darnell et al. (2019, p. 8) differentiate these concepts. SfD refers:

“In general terms, to the processes, theories, and/or ideologies of using sport to attain “positive” social outcomes. The outcomes sought through this paradigm have varied and continue to do so, and include social development (e.g., gender empowerment), economic development, peace building and conflict resolution, international cooperation and understanding, and health promotion.”

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), on the other hand, defined as “a contemporary phenomenon and illustrative of but the latest incarnation of sport-for-development as well as its increasing institutionalization” (Darnell et al. 2019, p. 8). The concept ‘Sport for Development and Peace’ has also given many scholars the opportunity to address rooted social problems through sport, and thus, an increasing number of scholars direct their attention towards the field. In what Coalter (2007) would describe as sport plus initiatives, sport plays a central role. In other initiatives, defined as plus sport initiatives, sport has a complementary role in a broader conceptual framework. Sport has been used to address diverse social issues at different social levels and is predominantly employed through programmes run by public institutions, local NGOs, national and international organisations and governments. These programmes have addressed various subjects, such as peace, social exclusion, poverty, HIV/AIDS prevention, reconciliation between conflict regions, racial issues, social inequalities, gender inequity and more (e.g., Haudenhuyse 2017; Schulenkorf and Adair, 2013; Kay, 2009; Darnell et al. 2016).

Numerous studies both analysed initiatives that achieved substantial success in addressing social problems, and initiatives that failed due to organisational problems, programme design, environmental factors, lack of volunteers, organisational

incapacity, short-term focus, lack of funding and neo-colonialist intentions of abroad programme organisation (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Whitley et al., 2018). Collins and Kay (2014), referring to the necessity of leaders to designate rigorous development programmes, stated that “universally effective programmes have strong, dedicated leadership/entrepreneurial skills, at least in their start-up and consolidation stages”. Failures in programmes are supposedly inevitable since many SDP initiatives are conducted in deprived, underserved communities with limited support from locals (e.g. Meir and Fletcher, 2019).

States, local governments and public sport authorities have not always used sport in a manner to serve communities or meet the social rights of citizens (Ekholm, 2018; Spaaij, 2009). Rather, the popularity of sport has been utilised towards attaining broader objectives of governments or international organisations. Generally, states and non-governmental organisations have sought to gain from how individuals ascribe meaning to sport and have employed the power of sport to influence the public in ways that benefit themselves. As such, such institutions have frequently exploited sport for their own objectives, in turn creating the illusion that sport development has been for the advancement of communities in terms of enhancing health, providing secure jobs and challenging racism or systematic inequalities.

1.1.2. Sport as a social policy tool

Social policy refers to addressing and ameliorating social problems through the analysis of the appropriateness and effectiveness of policies and programmes designed to improve the individual well-being and collective welfare (Alcock et al., 2014). Understandings the use of sport within social policy have been shaped according to various perspectives and theoretical schools, such as Fabianism, social democracy, neoliberalism, feminism, Third Way, post-modernism and social development (Spaaij, 2014). Neoliberal, social development and Third Way perspectives can be considered the most common aspects closely linked with Sport for Development and Peace.

A neoliberal perspective underscores personal responsibility and advocates individuals’ free will, in order to create (economic) welfare. This perspective assigns limited responsibility to the state, and looks in the direction of the private sector, NGOs and individuals (Harvey, 2005). This philosophy is a way to regulate individuals and

communities by allocating personal responsibility, with the expectation that people will solve their own problems and regulate themselves or the people with whom they share the same environment (Raco and Imrie, 2000). Sport has also played a crucial role in regulating and creating personally responsible individuals. This is mainly because sport attaches great importance to solidifying and bringing people together for various reasons. This potential helps organisers or NGOs to take the first and important step to mobilise (young) people around specific issues. The seductive power of sport generally succeed at inciting many individuals to inform themselves about their responsibilities within their communities (Coalter, 2007). Sport is also provided (directly and indirectly) by policy makers, since sport initiatives are relatively cheap and do not require significant funding like development programmes in other areas (e.g., Coalter, 2010). These practices summarise the general approach of the neoliberal perspective which often almost completely ignores the responsibility of the state regarding the civil rights of individuals. Spaaij (2009:247) also discusses how sport can be understood as part of a ‘neo-liberal policy repertoire . . . aimed at generating social order in disadvantaged inner-city neighbourhoods’ through the use of sports-based programmes to regulate and ‘normalize’ so-called ‘troublesome’ youth.

Another perspective also related with neoliberalism is the Third Way concept. This perspective signifies the activation of citizenship with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the private sector to address social problems in communities (cf. Spaaij, 2014). Unlike neoliberalism, the Third Way concept does not specifically define responsibility as only belonging to individuals and NGOs, but rather anticipates that bureaucratic public institutions provide effective solutions for community problems (Giddens, 1998). Thus, the Third Way demands ‘active citizenship’ from individuals to engage with, identify and address problems. Generating partnerships between different sectors is conceptualised as the nexus of the Third Way (Spaaij, 2014). States are given the role of ‘funder’, and thus, meaningful and possibly effective ‘projects’ are considered as useful. Recently, discussions of the Third Way led to the adoption of another term – ‘governance’ (Grix, 2010). Governance, similarly attempts to responsabilise people to enable the state to ‘govern from a distance’ (Kelly, 2013). Responsibilisation in the context of welfare provision, refers to the shift of responsibilities to nonstate actors (Rose and Miller, 2010). In this context, the notion

of “Big Society” (or participation society), and its less known twin, the “Small State” can be mentioned.

Sport has in the past been used as form of social control to divert people’s attention away from their needs, and this often in order to control society in times of economic crisis or cultural conflict (Houlihan and White, 2002). Early research on sport indicates that sport had a ‘neutral’ meaning in terms of keeping individuals or communities away from negative environmental, psychological and social factors through helping in the prevention of drug use, juvenile crime, hooliganism and anti-social behaviour (Collins and Kay, 2014). This approach was dominant for decades, and a great number of studies still reflect the use of sport as a tool for social control to ‘neutralise’ environments in negative situations (e.g., Lindsey and Grattan, 2012). Although this may be efficient in terms of preventing drug use or juvenile crime, this approach reflects a reductionist attitude and lacks an understanding on how to provide and sustain a positive contribution in the lives of marginalised, underserved people in deprived areas.

1.1.3. Development through sport

State and local authorities have initiated multiple regulations and practices for the practical use of sport for development issues (Houlihan and White, 2002; Darnell et al., 2019). In this process, local authorities have formed partnerships with various organisations in order to enhance the capacity of sports development. There has also been a need to connect sports development with non-sport features to achieve wider objectives within communities. Starting from the integration of sport and leisure with welfare in the 1970s, sports development became refined and development through sport emerged as a practice. Mass participation initiatives became less attractive in the private sector in the 1980s, since other areas of sport were more profitable (Houlihan and White, 2002). This change of perspective in sport significantly helped governing bodies working on sports development because it introduced them to international success parameters, professionalism and social concepts required for the achievement of non-sport objectives through sport. Sport governing bodies were made aware that they could not act alone on environmental, health-related social policies and, thereby, needed partners to promote other social policy areas (Collins and Kay, 2003). This

awareness also facilitated the engagement of political profiles and, thus, resources were allocated for both sports development and development through sport (Houlihan and White, 2002).

Sports development strengthened the welfare provision in relation to community safety, urban regeneration and healthy living at local level (e.g., WHO, 2011). The integration of sports equity into sports development also involved including vulnerable groups, such as (non-western) ethnic minority groups, women, and people with disabilities, and enabled non-sport components to be included in partnership with non-sport governing bodies and NGOs (Hartmann, 2016). Particularly, local and national conferences, publications and declarations seemed to play an important role in forming the fundamental basis for sports equity, as well as informing communities and NGOs about the importance of achieving equity in sport (Houlihan and White, 2002). Houlihan and White (2002) state that these interests were so prevalent during a certain period that it caused the neglect of sports participation practices. Community sport clubs as local NGOs have played a crucial role in terms of addressing these issues in partnership with local governments. They run effectively due to their relatively large numbers of volunteers and club members and their willingness to preserve their autonomy against possible external interventions. The autonomy of community sport clubs allows for a greater commitment to individuals, which increases the possibility of fulfilling social objectives (Allison, 1998). However, it still requires a significant amount of time for programmes to provide sustained positive impacts. According to Collins and Kay (2014) it might take seven to ten years. Houlihan and White (2002) argued that the emergence of development through sport induces competition between similar concepts such as 'development of sport' and 'community development through sport', rather than acknowledging the complementary aspects that would facilitate the development of both concepts.

With the development of Sport for Development and Peace and the use of sport for social change, social development also required a change in the idea of sport's use. Spaaij (2014) argues that social welfare is not antithetical to economic development (Midgley, 2009). Therefore, recently, SDP has transformed into not solely a social development initiative, but also one concerned with economic development (through its acknowledgment of the difficulties of economic development in the majority of the

world). Because many programmes have (cl-)aimed to achieve wider goals through sport, the role of sport and how it must be used with other concepts has gained importance.

1.1.4. Social exclusion

Social inclusion has also been a goal of public policies via sport programmes. Social inclusion programmes initially began as part of government social policy initiatives and, later, transformed into partnerships between NGOs and governments. ‘Social inclusion’ was first defined as a poverty term, but was later understood broadly as a social reality (Spaaij et al., 2014). Over the last two decades, studies of poverty have been replaced by studies on social exclusion. There has been disagreement about and ambiguity surrounding the terms ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social inclusion’ in addition to debates about the best ways to address people’s problems. Spandler (2007, p. 3) explains:

“Just as the conceptual slippage from exclusion to inclusion has happened without much debate, the assumptions which underpin this shift have not been examined. Social inclusion initiatives which attempt to simultaneously fuse the identification of the socially excluded with attempts to incorporate them into the mainstream of society, confuse the identification and tackling of social exclusion with promoting inclusion. In doing so, such initiatives make a series of assumptions about the excluded, the society they are seen to be excluded from, and the solutions that are deemed necessary.”

Social exclusion is viewed as a general concept that contains various other social problems such as discrimination, marginalisation and poverty. Silver (1995) argues that social exclusion originally referred to different concepts such as solidarity, cohesion and insertion and was initially perceived as a threat to state unity (Silver, 1995 p. 537). First used in French politics, the term has been utilised to acknowledge the dominant culture of states and efforts to integrate minority cultures for the purpose of national unity. There are various definitions of social exclusion. Based on an extensive literature review, Levitas et al. (2007, p. 25) give an overarching definition which illustrates the concept’s complexity:

“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.”

Young people, as a disadvantaged group, are at risk of experiencing exclusion throughout their youthhood. Various dimensions of social exclusion intensify young people's vulnerabilities. Young people not only face social exclusion as a consequence of their parents' socioeconomic condition but also may encounter it alone in different domains of social life. They are less able to pull themselves out of exclusion in times of crisis by using friendship networks, which further makes them vulnerable to social isolation (Fahmy, 2006; Levitas et al. 2007). Despite youth's exposure to severe social exclusion, governments are predominantly inclined towards neoliberal policies and attempt to address young people's social issues with economic participation. Axford (2008) argues that policy makers cope with youth's social exclusion by “investing” in employment. Investments in this area show policy makers' intentions of making socially excluded young people more employable so that youth can ‘make themselves socially included’ (Morgan and Parker, 2017). From a broader perspective, a moral underclass discourse (MUD) take less developed groups within society as deficient and aims for moral development through the improvement of personal skills (Levitas, 2005). However, discourses promoting employment or moral education as the sole solution to exclusion leads policy makers to ignore the basic social needs and rights of young people who require support from governments such as inclusive care, work and education and leisure.

Sport was ascribed an important role in achieving the social inclusion of young people, particularly in addressing the social rights of young people such as the right to participate in sport and to attend social activities (e.g., Darnell and Dao, 2017). Social exclusion continues to affect the lives of millions of people around the world (Collins and Haudenhuyse, 2015; Spaaij et al., 2014). Relatedly, sport for social inclusion studies continue to address diverse problems that keep disadvantaged groups from participating in social life (Haudenhuyse, 2017; Haudenhuyse and Theeboom, 2015).

However, studies show that many issues come up in the process of addressing social problems through sport, such as the sustainability of sport for social programmes, lack of organisational capacity and deficient neoliberal logics.

1.1.5. Expecting too much?

The growth of SfD programmes at national and international levels has raised many questions regarding the effectiveness and implementation of these practices. Initially, sport was understood as inherently beneficial, and few studies critically interrogated the impact of sport programmes (Darnell et al., 2019). Later on, in tandem with the increase of SfD studies, critical analyses also erupted not only amongst sport scholars but also social scientists analysing different aspects of sport (Schulenkorf and Adair, 2013). In general, these studies reflect the failures and challenges in SfD programmes, besides their individual and social benefits. The literature shows that SfD studies conducted either by the volunteer sector or as public policy face a myriad of problems, each specific to their social contexts. Considering the fact that most of these studies are conducted by western-based ‘privileged’ researchers in deprived, underserved and conflict regions for vulnerable groups (Massey et al., 2016), the failures and challenges of such programmes could be deemed acceptable to a degree, because they face with multiple problems that directly influence the impact of the programmes. These considerations have led to a discussion around the weaknesses of sport-based social inclusion programmes in regards to their failure to challenge deep-rooted norms and transform communities (Bloyce and Smith, 2010).

Organisational problems have long-lasting effects, particularly in the ‘majority world.’ This term refers the countries that face many social problems in their disadvantaged and deprived territories and also comprise the major truth of the world. These programmes, otherwise known as ‘projects’, are mostly criticised for their narrow focus and time-limited settings (e.g., Lindsey, 2017). Chansa et al. (2008, p. 245) sums up the main problems of the projects: ‘narrowness in scope, fragmentation of the sectors, risks for duplication of efforts and weaken government capacity and local ownership.’ Kidd (2008, p. 376) similarly underlines the under-funded, unregulated and poorly planned character of SDP programmes compared to

mainstream development initiatives. Most of these problems are revealed in the delivery of the programmes.

Programmes that are designed to ‘fix’ problems are poorly defined and lack clarity in terms of programme objectives (Harris and Adams, 2016; Haudenhuyse et al., 2013). Lindsey (2017) adds that the common characteristics of SfD projects also resemble those of previous projects in that only small groups of people benefit. The perpetuation of these problems specifically issues with sustainability, stem largely from the inconsistency of support from external stakeholders. Lindsey (2017) discusses that sustainability objectives have often been viewed as unrealistic by many practitioners in that programmes mostly come to an end after one year. Croix (2017, p. 17) similarly discusses how time-limited programmes aids neoliberal priorities. Because programmes are valued based on quantifiable criteria, those with short-term logic are selected over long-term programmes. The unpredictability of outcomes for long-term programmes is a major constraint in this regard, along with an increasing budget to be financed by donors. While partnerships between the public sector and NGOs are ideally perceived as a way to overcome some organisational problems regarding sustainability or organisational incapacity, previous research has also revealed that having multiple partners may also bring additional problems, such as pressure to fulfil stakeholders’ expectations and match different management styles and resource allocation (e.g. Collins and Kay, 2014).

1.1.6. Organisational capacity and dependency

Several studies have mentioned the donor-driven nature of SfD projects, referring to uncertainty about the longevity of funding and the intervention of local priorities (Akindes and Kirwin, 2009; Lindsey, 2017). SfD programmes’ autonomy increases the possibility of focusing on local needs and also enables opportunities for the self-development of organisations without heavy dependence on external factors (Coalter, 2010). Coalter (2010) states that a low interest towards SfD programmes was also beneficial at the initial stages as it helped programmes come up with their own solutions to problems encountered. Yet the autonomy is not possible for many SfD programmes that require urgent and significant support from national and international agencies. NGOs frequently seek funding opportunities and, inevitably, are forced to

comply with funding criteria (e.g., Svensson and Hambrick, 2015). This can lead to changes in objectives and priorities in order to meet beneficiaries' needs. As Coalter (2010) discusses, these arrangements may cause attention to diverge from local needs. In order to receive funding from national and international agencies, SfD initiatives may also make 'inflated promises,' which often bring many organisational problems that prevent the healthy operation of programmes and eventually cause a collapse before the planned time (Coalter, 2010). Additionally, this increases pressure on local organisations to offer many activities and positive outcomes to obtain funding as well as a new level of unperceived problems in the implementation of programmes. In this regard, Lindsey (2017) discusses that collective ownership or locally based organisations are the most appropriate models for meeting the local needs of communities.

Lack of facilities is another major problem in deprived areas. Underserved youth continue to be faced with a dearth of facilities or low-quality sport gyms and fitness centres (Whitley et al., 2014). In addition, young people struggle to find sport equipment to participate in activities. Teachers and coaches in underserved areas also lack sport equipment to provide sufficient physical activities for youth (Burnett, 2014). These conditions create a vicious cycle of deprivation in that stakeholders become trapped by the surrounding circumstances. This level of material deprivation prevents young people from participating in sport activities, causing a lack of confidence and further leads to exclusion from society (Ekholm et al., 2019; Levitas et al., 2007). The deficiency of services and commodities also influences the well-being of other individuals in the community. The conditions of programme coordinators or teachers in underserved areas similarly tough and underserved as well (Flynn, 2008; Whitley et al., 2014). Additionally, it inevitably becomes difficult to achieve developmental outcomes without direct support from external agencies and organisations. Overall, even if there are adequate sport facilities and sport equipment, the inclusion of youth in sport activities would still not be guaranteed because, as Waring and Mason (2010) discuss, these opportunities may not be accessible for all young people in all communities, which raises questions regarding the (real) impact of sport. Waring and Mason (2010) suggest that agencies should increase their experience of working with marginalised groups and actively participate in the process of inviting these groups to

sport facilities to work towards forming a leisure culture rather than only providing access.

Despite organisational and facility issues, if programmes are comprised of components that assist participants in developing skills, gaining confidence, socialising, increasing sporting opportunities and, perhaps most importantly, gaining a critical look at the inequalities surrounding them, then such programmes may still have a positive impact on beneficiaries regardless of organisational deficiencies. However, this is not common in SDP programmes, since many programmes apply traditional methods so that sport-related objectives become more important than non-sport objectives. Additionally, programme coordinators and educators' expectations are also determinant factors regarding direction of programmes will take. Previous studies have also emphasised that practitioners usually have leisure expertise which may lead to the oversight of other developmental objectives that can empower participants to make positive changes in their communities (Nichols and Crow, 2004; Tacon, 2007). It has also been discussed that practitioners should have the skills to conduct rigorous evaluations in order to measure progress and programme outcomes (Enfield and Owens, 2009). Herrera and Arbreton (2003) mention that providing sufficient staff training along with recruiting effective staff are one of the biggest challenges alongside with providing new opportunities for young people. Haudenhuyse et al. (2012) find that coaches play a mediator role between young people and their families and schools. Coaches or sport educators have the possibility to understand the needs of young people from an adult's perspective. This provides the opportunity to help balance relationships and develop understanding and trust among coaches, youth and parents or school principals (Haudenhuyse et al., 2014, 2012; Moreau, 2018). This justifies indirectly how important it is for coaches to develop their social and educational skills so that they may recognise and address problems youth face in school or at home. These issues are especially pressing in under-resourced programmes, which brings us to the well-known saying in poverty studies which states that programmes for the poor are often...poor programmes.

1.1.7. The sport inclusion and participation conundrum

The programme recruitment process can also be inclusionary or exclusionary for youth, which is another challenge in attempts to overcome social problems through sport (Kingsley and Spencer-Cavaliere, 2015). ‘Inclusion principles’ are often neglected in SfD programme organisation, despite their effect on programme outcomes and the central role they play in providing opportunities for as many young people from different backgrounds as possible (Rannikko et al., 2016). De St Croix (2018) discusses that the inclusion process for youth-based programmes risks further marginalisation because young people often accept a programme’s ‘deficiency’ discourse in order to be selected. Social exclusion as a result of gender inequality also continues to exist within the field of sports (Ekholm et al., 2019; Oxford, 2019). Previous research argues that ‘heteronormativity’ and ‘hegemonic masculinity’ are main constraints of gender equity as well as low representation of the LGBT community (Coad, 2008; Rannikko et al., 2016). Girls are mainly excluded from sport through embedded patriarchal norms such as gendered socialisation (Oxford and Spaaij, 2019), and their non-participation is predominantly decided by men (Ekholm, et al., 2019). Hegemonic masculinity within sport also limits the participation of girls and leads to the violation of girls’ right to participate in sport in which they have reason to value (Zipp and Nauright, 2018).

It should also be mentioned that there is an alternative way to analyse SfD programmes that gives importance to alternative parameters, such as the small amendments in participants’ lives and new aspirations gained through practices. The SfD also raises criticism in terms of the analyses of programmes. Nicholls et al. (2011) similarly emphasise external stakeholders’ unrealistic expectations that evidence of programmes’ effectiveness may be easily obtained. External stake-holders generally overlook surrounding programmes’ social conditions, while most studies that analyse such programmes are conducted with limited time and resources. The expectations for ‘scientific’ evidence of effectiveness add another layer of burden to local volunteers and programme workers. However, it must not be inferred that these programmes should not provide illustrative evidence of their effectiveness, but rather that expectations should be modest so that both sides are satisfied with the outcomes. In addition, the notion of what counts as evidence should be determined in dialogue with

the programme providers and participants. Evidence needs to have a function, which needs to go beyond the interest of (western-based) academics, to proof or disprove their grand theories. The ‘goodness’ and quality of evidence needs to be judged based on how this evidence can contribute to the improvement of not only the programme but also the broader policy and the community in which the programme is implemented.

In the next section, I first analyse the social condition of youth in Turkey and then detail how sport and youth programmes, also known as ‘projects’, are designed to address these social problems. I also provide a brief introduction regarding the political climate of Turkey

1.2. The case of Turkey

1.2.1. Youth labour workers and employment

Young people are one of the most vulnerable groups in society. The precarious social condition of youth across the world has spawned new discussions about whether leads youth labour to youth proletarianization and, more importantly, youth-as-class (Chevalier, 2016; Côté, 2014; Sukarieh and Tannock, 2015). Côté (2014) argues that the increasing number of young labourers and challenges in youth to adulthood transitions constitute a new class of youth in that young people are both seen as workers and consumers within ideologically shaped employment lines. Researchers have questioned whether youth can be considered as a distinct class (France and Threadgold, 2016; Sukarieh and Tannock, 2015). Côté (2016, p. 531), in later works, states that it is plausible for youth to form a class for itself since there is a solid understanding towards the root of their exploitation. In this regard, France and Threadgold (2016) contradict Côté (2014; 2016) by adopting a Bourdieusian perspective, arguing that youth may be ‘misrecognising the doxa of fields’ and this does mean that young people are not aware of their conditions. In other words, young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are mostly aware of their status and tend to negotiate within their own circumstances in order to survive and overcome problems in their lives. However, France and Threadgold (2016) state that this does not give them opportunity or solidarity opportunity to form a class for themselves.

Current development studies present youth labour and unemployment as increasing problems for young people among other issues (e.g. Sukarieh and Tannock, 2015). Côté (2014) discusses that governments' political-economy-of-youth perspective is highly supportive of the private sector but ignores the interests of youth, leaving young people more vulnerable. As a result of neoliberal approaches that are 'skirting the issue' and, moreover, the normalisation of young people's early admittance into the work force, Côté (2014, p. 540) argues that young people have become 'one of the most economically disadvantaged groups' in the world due to exploitative labour practices.

Practices towards improving the conditions of young people, on the other hand, offers a palliative solution which reproduces inequalities and brings youth back into exploitative working environments. These 'small reforms' that are promoted under 'education and training' mainly promote employment in (industrial) states which require 'cheap labour' and also facilitate entrance of young people into harsh working conditions and into low-paid insecure jobs (Côté, 2014; MacDonald, 2011). In this respect, youth-adult transition aspects has prolonged on youth's side in order to keep more young people working for lower wages and for longer hours.

Previous studies have also discussed how 'specialised training programmes' and 'education within training' opportunities are developed to encourage young people to adjust themselves to the capitalist workforce (e.g., Côté, 2014; Furlong and Cartmel, 2006). Additionally, these 'education' programmes seem to keep young people struggling with their own social class disadvantages, while youth of higher (better of) social classes continue to preserve their advantages through the education they can afford (Côté and Furlong, 2016).

1.2.2. A look at sport policy in Turkey

The administration of sport and youth in Turkey has very unstable history at the central level (Erturan-Ögüt, 2014). Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, sport policies in particular were subject to constant change at the organisational level. Throughout this process, sport was governed by different organisations such as Ministry of National Education, Ministry of State, Ministry of Youth and Sport (1969-1983), General Directorate of Sport and Youth Services. Studies reflect that before

1980's, Turkish governments had a facilitator role towards sports participation, rather than becoming actively promoting the mass participation (Erturan-Öğüt, 2014).. From 1990's onwards, sport was aimed to make it more oriented to professionalism and this was stated explicitly in the different policy documents (Tinaz et al., 2014; Erturan-Öğüt, 2014). These substantial changes at the managerial level prevented policy makers to realise their organisational problems took place within the ministry and local sport institutions. Previous research emphasised that public sport institutions require staff member to compensate quality and quantity deficiencies of the institutions. The studies discussed organisational incapacity has seen as one of the major problems of public institutions and NGOs (Yıldız, 2018; Temel and Akyol, 2016; Uçar, 2015). Tinaz et al. (2014) argued that one of the macro issues in the Ministry of Youth and Sport in terms of organisational development is to play 'catch-up' with other nations, without considering the role of sport amongst people in Turkey. Thus, Tinaz et al. (2014) referred that it is important to develop a diverse sport culture in that people can benefit from.

With the re-establishment of the MYS in 2011, the policy reports that addressed youth issues aligned more with the European Union youth policies. These policy reports signified various concepts such as the integration of youth into society, social inclusion, engagement of young people with decision making processes at the political level. Recent policy documents referring to the priorities of MYS emphasised the importance of social inclusion, integration of young people in Turkey, similar to the European Union Youth Policies.

Erturan-Öğüt (2014) study demonstrated the tendency of local public institutions to support professional sports rather than community sport or mass participation. Looking at the neoliberal practices of the Turkey's sport authorities, the study more specifically explained that the municipalities in Turkey use (mostly professional) sport clubs to promote their own projects and boost the image of their administration. Uçar (2015) also referred to the centralised administration of sport in Turkey. Uçar (2015) argued that if the sport services can be provided through municipalities, it could be more helpful for individuals to reach out sporting opportunities regardless of their economic or social conditions. However, it was reflected that because of the political concerns, municipalities tend to invest performance-based sports, rather than

community sports (Temel and Akyol, 2016; Uçar, 2015). Erturan-Öğüt (2014) discussed that with the legal regulations first applied in 2011, neoliberal policies of public sport institutions became more apparent. This also facilitated the support towards performance sports and reduced the investment towards mass participation. Erturan-Öğüt (2014) also discussed that since 2011, the activities on football stadiums and investment on the mega sport events greatly increased. Furthermore, these investments towards football stadiums aimed to generate capital for private sector, particularly for construction and banking sectors (Erturan-Öğüt, 2014). However, the lack of resources is still prevalent, particularly in the east regions of the Turkey. It is discussed that social inequality became more visible between urban and rural parts of the Turkey, after investment made to the football stadiums (Tinaz et al. 2014). Tinaz et al. (2014) also discussed that Turkey has low participation rates of sports participation towards sports, besides football, which also impedes a country-wide development of sport in the country. After losing Olympic bids in multiple attempts, as Tinaz et al. (2014) asserted, the policy makers have changed their focus more to increase participation in sports and developing sport facilities in rural areas.

Currently, the General Directorate of Sport (GDS) is the main organisation responsible from governing sport. It is an institution directly accountable to the Ministry of Youth and Sport. Some of the responsibilities of the General Directorate of Sport are following (Tinaz et al., 2014, 536):

- Regulating the sport education programmes
- Providing necessary equipment for all kind of sport activities
- Educating sport instructors, trainers and coaches
- Providing books, films and other educational documents for developing all kind of sports

Sport federations are positioned below the GDS and they are responsible from expansion and development of the related sports disciplines throughout the country, designing sport projects and training referees and trainers. Physical education, on the other hand, are mainly governed by the Ministry of National Education (Tinaz et al., 2014).

1.2.3. Current Political Climate in Turkey

The Republic of Turkey has been going through significant political, cultural and social changes since the beginning of early 2000's, mostly related to the ascendancy of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) to the rule in the Turkish government. Particularly after 15 July 2016 coup attempt, the political condition has also shifted to an unsteady state. The declaration of the state of emergency has given immense power to the ruling party, AKP to make substantial changes in the constitution, for example, eased to first criminalise and then fire academics who signed 'We won't be a party to this crime' petition against denouncing attacks on the cities in that thousands of Kurdish people were affected (Baser et al., 2017). The state of emergency was used to suppress opposition. With the changes in the constitution, it is discussed that Turkey has shifted from the republic to party state in administrative level (Kaygusuz, 2018; Esen and Gumuscu, 2016). Kaygusuz (2018) argued that this new model was built on authoritarian mechanism. Relatedly, Esen and Gumuscu (2016) discussed that recent changes in the election processes and constitutional foundation of the republic evolved ruling of the AKP to a competitive authoritarian regime in that electoral defeat in June 2015 turned to violent attacks towards opposition, suppressing dissenting views and media outlets. These acts of the ruling party ameliorated the opposition to voice their opinions in the streets or in the media outlets which helped the party to regain its power in the following elections and also eased to make changes in the constitution (Esen and Gumuscu, 2016).

As it can be seen from the 'peace tuition', the ceased peace process directly influenced the living quality of ethnic minorities, Kurds and Alevi's. Previous research reflected that the discriminative practices towards Kurds significantly changed their conditions in the last 5 years. For example, hundred thousand of Kurdish citizens were evacuated and displaced only in the last few years, due to the conflict in the Southeast Turkey (OHCHR Report, 2017). This also showed how the peace process between Turkish state and Kurds were ineffective because of the very little sincere progress had been made by the state.

Amongst all these political turmoils, The Turkish state also tries to manage Syrian refugees who are reached to 3.6 million. While the number of Syrian refugees still

increase, their rights, living conditions and status are extremely poor and ambiguous. Baban et al. (2017) argued Turkish state policies left Syrian refugees as exposed to precarity and does not consider them as ‘neither refugee nor guest’ (p. 45). Syrian refugees are positioned as in ‘protection’, and this restricted them to access paid employment and benefit fully from the education and health provisions (Baban et al., 2017).

The difficulties refer that Turkey urgently needs to remember some of the democratic, right-based values that prioritise the needs and the rights of individuals in Turkey, which also enrich serenity and reconciliation. These values are one of the many alternatives that could pull out the country from its current chaotic condition which discriminate and polarise communities, neglects the rights of refugees, suppress opposition media and criminalise and incarcerate academics who believe in non-violent acts to lasting peace to the country.

1.2.4. Where are we headed?

Youth-based sport projects continue to attract attention from all around the world (Whitley et al., 2018). The Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport reports show that youth and sport projects have become a critical tool of the Turkish government (MYS, 2018). The annual report of the MYS demonstrates that the government conducted 3,341 youth and sport projects between 2012 and 2018. The government has invested 224.5 million Turkish liras for the operation of projects, which can be classified under four themes: education and traditionalism (with activities like advising/experience-sharing, entrepreneurship, volunteerism and historical awareness); social activity and social involvement (peace building, social involvement, Islamophobia debates); physical activity (competitive sport, national-level sport projects); and sport and social inclusion for disadvantaged groups (motivating people with disabilities, provision of equal opportunities, disaster relief and rehabilitation) (MYS, 2014; MYS Annual Report, 2014).

While projects comprise the majority of MYS activities, young people continue to face social problems in Turkey, such as social exclusion, poverty and unemployment. The current conditions of young people make clear the social problems they encounter. For example, Turkey is one of the countries where the social exclusion

of children and young people between the ages of 10 and 24 is classified as severe. As an outcome of social exclusion, child labour (children under 18) has increased in recent years (CSGB, 2017). It is estimated that 25 percent of Turkish children start working at an early age (OECD; The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016). In this regard, child labourers between the age of 15 and 17 have risen from 601,000 in 2012 to 709,000 in 2016 (DISK, 2017). The working age for Turkey's children is 15. A change in legislation in the mid-1980s that allowed the private sector to employ children younger than 15 years old as apprentices, needs to be considered as one of the main reasons for increasing numbers of child workers (Fişek, 2002). UNICEF (2012, p. 12) addresses the significance of child/youth labour in Turkey as follows:

Some of the worst forms of child labour continue to be observed in Turkey, depriving children of their rights to health and development, putting them at risk and compromising their futures. Girls and boys continue to engage in migratory seasonal agricultural labour, to work on the streets and to perform repetitive and/or dangerous tasks in small enterprises in industry and services.

Relatedly, 85 percent of young people who work in the agriculture sector are working as unpaid family workers, which also has an impact on exclusion in different domains, such as education and leisure (Yurttagüler, 2016). In terms of participation in social life, 25 percent of young people are not able to attend social or cultural activities due to economic deficiencies (KONDA, 2014; Yurttagüler, 2016). As a response to these problems, the family is put forward as responsible for meeting the social needs of young people. This reflects the role of the family in society. In Turkey's welfare model, wherein the family is seen as the guarantor of social rights of family members, problems and challenges are intensified, particularly for families of lower social classes (Çelik, 2008). Relatedly, for families from lower social class or the ones that are socially excluded for various reasons, such as ethnicity or income, to meet social needs of young family members are more difficult without state support (e.g., Yazıcı, 2012).

Yurttagüler (2016), in her analysis of youth-related documents in Turkey, detailed the conceptualisation of youth in Turkish politics. Youth are mainly considered the

future of the nation and a group that can contribute to social and economic development. These expectations are strengthened by statistics illustrating the percentage of young people in the population. As illustrated, young people under 30 years old comprise 49.3 percent of Turkey's population (p. 9). However, the conceptualisation of young people is reversed in cases where young people are considered 'deficient' or potentially criminal (Yurttagüler, 2016). This is because youth labelled with such terms mostly live in under-served, deprived communities. Thus, this 'deficient discourse' contains the risk of further marginalising youth in Turkey. Yurttagüler (2016) also discusses how Turkey's employment policies follow a neoliberal agenda of 'flexicurity' and, within these policies, strategies are harnessed to provide the workforce the labour market demands.

1.3. Central PhD research questions

Following the above discussion on using sport as a tool to generate broader societal outcomes and the specific context and situation of young people in the Republic of Turkey, I formulated four central questions and related sub questions, which facilitated an analysis of the Ministry of Youth and Sports' discourses and in-the-field practices.

1. How governmentality is used as a theoretical concept within sport studies?
2. What are the prominent youth and sport-related policies and discourses in relation to the concept of 'social inclusion'?
3. How does the governance of 'sport for development' programmes operate in under-resourced settings?
4. What is the impact of sport-for-development (SfD) programmes conducted in under-resourced setting?

In order to answer these questions, I developed a multiple case study approach and tried to answer each question by using various theoretical concepts and research methods (*see methodology chapter*).

1.4. Overview of the chapters

For different phases of the thesis, I used the following theoretical concepts. Initially, I introduced the PhD thesis through Foucault's governmentality concept, which is mostly employed to understand government rationalities in terms of individual conduct, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other non-actors for specific government or society-related objectives (Raco and Imrie, 2000). Through governmentality, Foucault (1991) points out the importance of recognising the problematisations of governments and how they operate in accordance with the problematisations of individuals and social groups. The way authorities determine problems also shapes the strategies, discourse and implementation processes. From this perspective, I started my PhD research with the aim of understanding the problematisations on young people and, more specifically, whether sport has any role within the problematisations of the government.

I have not employed any of Foucault's concepts to analyse the data. Rather, I embraced Foucault's general perspective of governmentality to understand the problematisations of governing bodies in specific situations. For example, in analysing the current condition of young people in Turkey, the way they are governed or how young participants in underserved areas are treated, the governance concept was integrated to unveil the operations of such programmes. In general, governmentality 'signifies a research perspective in the literal sense: an angle of view, a manner of looking, a specific orientation' (Bröckling et al., 2011, p. 15). Throughout the PhD, I benefited from several theories such as hegemony theory (Jones, 2006), the capability approach (e.g., Sen, 1999), the governance concept (e.g., Grix, 2010) and governmentality as a general guide (Foucault, 1991; Lemke, 2002; Mckee, 2009).

In the theoretical literature review chapter (Chapter 1), governmentality in sport studies is detailed and discussed. This chapter is presented to provide a general understanding of the operations and priorities of governing bodies. I reflected on how governmentality operates within the field of sport with the help of several important studies on the concept. In this respect, I analysed 'governmentality in sport' studies that employed Foucault's governmentality and biopower concepts to understand or unmask various types of art of governments such as health and body policies, the

transformation of sport policies towards ‘advanced liberalism’, the conceptualisation of physical inactivity and obesity to mobilise individuals towards consumerism related fitness practices and the construction of risk and moral discourse within sport and physical activity field to shape the priorities of individuals and etc. These studies detail how the government mechanisms work without even actively participating in it and assign responsibility of their own to individuals. In this chapter, I discussed the technologies of performance and how these technologies help governing bodies to detach social problems from themselves, depoliticise problems and channel individuals to cope with their own problems.

In the chapter 2, I conducted a critical discourse analysis and analyse the youth and sport related policies of the Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport. I specifically looked at the texts referring to the social inclusion policies of the Ministry. Using Fairclough’s 4-stage model, I revealed the ‘social wrongs’ that are been neglected by the policies and detail where the priorities are given.

In the chapter 3, I analysed a sport-for-development programme from an organisational perspective. In this section, by using the governance concept, I detailed the process of a sport-for-development programmes that were conducted with the partnership of local NGOs and local public institutions. I conducted a qualitative research analysis and collected data through in-depth interviews with programme coordinators, trainers and the MYS executives. I close this section with a series of suggestions for policy and practice to discuss how to develop sincere, well-planned sport-based programmes for underserved young people to challenge social inequalities and contribute their personal and social well-being.

In the chapter 4, I looked at sport-for-development from through the eyes of participants and interrogate whether the programmes have had any impact on young people’s lives in terms of new opportunities and social justice who lives under-resourced and underserved settings. In this chapter, I employed two theoretical background: the Hegemony Theory (Gramsci, 1971) and the Capability Approach (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 2009). With these theoretical perspectives, I looked at the contradicting outcomes of the programmes within poorly planned, under-resourced settings. With an interpretivist epistemological background, I used Yin’s (2008)

multiple case analyses and reflect the different stakeholders' views such as programme participants, parents, trainers, coordinators and programme representatives. In this analysis, I benefitted from different data collection instruments such as in-depth interview, focus group, observations and field notes. The results demonstrated that there was no inclusion principle in the recruitment of the participants which caused injustices amongst the participants. The study reflects the ascendancy of football in the football programmes and how it explicitly influences their future aspirations. I concluded this chapter by arguing how these programmes provide small amendments to maintain their inequalities and also, exploit the impact of football on young people to encourage them to be happy what they have.



2. GENERAL METHODOLOGY

2.1. An emerging methodological approach

Various research methodologies were used in this PhD research. The initial aim of the PhD was to analyse different aspects of policy and build links with different stakeholders to better understand how stakeholders benefit from and conceptualise sport-based youth policies towards social inclusion. In this regard, I start with a critical literature review, in which I present the conceptual framework which formed the genesis of this PhD: Foucault's concept of governmentality. Although I have not employed the governmentality concept 'pur sang' in the multiple case analyses (see chapter 4) or critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see chapter 2), the concept helped me construct the analytical basis of the PhD.

In the first chapter of this PhD, I conducted a theoretical literature review about governmentality studies in sport. More specifically, I analysed studies employing Foucault's concept for sociological or political analysis and discuss how existing studies examine the problematisations of governments. Moreover, I further looked for how government rationalities converge with the social needs of individuals, particularly young people. Another aim of the literature review is to suggest future directions for research.

In the second chapter, I conducted a critical discourse analysis (CDA) following Fairclough's conceptual framework (2012) whereby guidelines offer detecting 'social wrongs' within social policy. Fairclough's framework also sensitizes to detect potential contradictions between policy documents and the social realities of vulnerable groups.

In chapter 3, I analysed the implementation processes and challenges of a football-based programme. This chapter predominantly focused on the stakeholders who organised the programme, such as programme coordinators, football trainers, local youth services and sport officials, school coordinators and parents.

In chapter four, I focused on the impact of two football-based youth programmes. For this study a multiple case study design was adopted, in which various qualitative data collection methods were utilised, such as in-depth interviews, field notes,

observations and photographs, in order to describe the social field. In chapter four, one of the analysed programmes is same with the case analysed in chapter 3. In chapter 4, I only focused on the impact of the programmes in young people's lives in terms of capabilities and limitations and whether programmes short-term focus and poorly planned can be beneficial for young people in underserved communities. In the process of designing this research and discussing the data, I followed Bourdieu's suggestion and selected the theories based on the data. The data, thus, steered me to the theoretical concepts I chose. This method helped to reduce the prejudices I had on the data, related to the statements and comments of research participants. Bourdieu, in this regard, states that (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 159):

For a true theory is one which accomplishes and abolishes itself in the scientific work it has helped produce. I do not have much liking for theory that shows itself, that shows off, against theory made to be shown and seen, or, as we say in French, *tape à l'oeil*, gaudy, flashy theory. I am aware that it is not a taste that is too common these days.

Relatedly, I selected theories where needed and decided after studying the comments of the research participants. Although I performed critical discourse analysis in the chapter two, the selection of theoretical concepts employed in the examination of policy texts also derived from the priorities of the policy documents on youth and sport.

2.2. Philosophical assumptions

In this section, I addressed the epistemological and ontological backgrounds, and relate this to how this has influenced the data analysis methods used in the research. I briefly touched upon other research paradigms to situate my own.

2.2.1. Ontological assumptions: Anti-foundationalist perspective

Blaise (2000, p. 8) defines ontology as the following: 'The claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other.' Ontology aims to understand the core of reality and is concerned with the meaning of what can be known.

According to Grix (2002), two major types of ontological queries can be distinguished, namely: foundationalist and anti-foundationalist perspectives. Anti-foundationalism focuses on behaviour, and its main premise is that the world is socially constructed (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). It supports epistemological foundations such as holism, constructivism, interpretivism and historicism. An anti-foundationalist perspective supports the assumption that social conditions and their meanings necessitate continuous revision. According to anti-foundationalism, not all social phenomena are directly observable, there are structures exist that cannot be observed and those that can may not present the social and political world as it actually is (e.g. Marsh and Smith, 2001). From a philosophical perspective, anti-foundationalism argues that our concepts and assumptions cannot relate to the world in isolation. Anti-foundationalism requires that theories are approached with scepticism, and, as detailed by Bevir (2009, p. 3-4):

Concepts cannot directly represent objects in the world since our experiences of those objects must in part be ones that we construct using our prior theories. Hence anti-foundationalists conclude that concepts, meanings, and beliefs do not have a one to one correspondence with objects in the world, but rather form webs.

Based on this argument, the ontological view defends that isolated propositions cannot be verified. Rather, researchers must apply a web of beliefs within a research programme in order to claim specific knowledge (Singer and Rockmore, 1992). Anti-foundationalists defend the multiplicity of knowledges and understandings against the reduction of reality to a particular form of knowing (Cruickshank, 2003). Knowing does not solely depend on ‘social facts’ without reference to the beliefs and the preconceptions of social actors. Anti-foundationalism rather argues that rooted beliefs and interests will be shaped by prior theories, ideologies (Bevir, 2009).

For the PhD, I embraced an anti-foundationalist ontological assumption as a guide informing the fundamentals of the PhD. I should also note that I did not employ a complete anti-foundationalist perspective but benefit from some of its principles like the way data are interpreted, as it is an approach that relates more closely with the thesis’ research subject than other ontological assumptions. In this respect, I used anti-

foundationalism in the interpretation of data, rather than to select data collection methods or other tools.

2.2.2. Epistemological assumptions: Interpretivism

Interpretivism is defined as a concept that puts the social reality of individuals forth and attempts to understand social reality from the perspective of social actors. More specifically, Bryman (2012, p. 30) defines the concept as follows:

Interpretivism is a term that usually denotes an alternative to the positivist orthodoxy that has held sway for decades. It is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action.

Interpretivism derives initially from the perspective of the individual, and although it is accepted clearly as a subjective approach, it more so aims to make (transferable) conclusions based on individually observed realities. Thus, it is stated that humanism is the one of the premises of interpretivism (Blaike, 2000). Interpretivism explains certain conditions and phenomena in relation to other subjects. Blaike (2000, p. 115) explains the mindset of interpretivism as the following: 'It is necessary to what meanings people give to the actions that lead to such patterns... For interpretivism, the social world is the world interpreted and experienced by its members, from the inside.' Regarding its features, it is perceived as a response to positivism, since positivism aims for objectivity in research while interpretivism advocates the subjectivism of social research due to the explicit role of social actors (Grix, 2004). Moreover, interpretivism defends the notion that the world cannot be understood independently of our knowledge about it. However, it does not ignore the social structures beyond the comprehension of individuals, but rather advocates generating conclusions from the perspective of subjects' social reality and how it affects them. More specifically, interpretivism defends the locality of knowledge and notes how knowledge is situated in local cultures or embedded in organisational fields (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Grix (2004) stated that interpretivism distances itself from

the deductive approach in that interpretivism describes theory as predictive. Rather, interpretivists tend to develop theories based on the construction of the social world by interpreting the experiences of people within social mechanisms (Grix, 2004). In accordance with the general approach of interpretivism, analysing any research also depends on interpretation of the data as social phenomena do not emerge by themselves and researchers' interpretations are based on the knowledge they have already acquired. Consequently, interpretivism embraces a relativist ontology, and thus, advocates that a single phenomenon should have multiple interpretations rather than relying on one truth determined by processes of measurement (Creswell, 2009). With these features, interpretivism represents the other side of the research continuum.

Interpretivism provides several advantages for researchers. Researchers and students get the chance to gain a deeper understanding of phenomena and their complexity within social contexts (Creswell, 2009). Interpretivism also provides more efficient tools for researchers to conduct research or collect data in natural settings (Tuli, 2010). It also allows researchers to probe interview participants' thoughts and values (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007) and enables more detailed understandings of research participants.

Leaning on this philosophical background, I constructed the PhD thesis with the epistemology of interpretivism as it provides the best foundation through which to define and grasp my analyses.

2.3. Research ethics

I have applied culturally responsive relational reflexive ethics (CRRRE) advocated by Lahman et al. (2011, cited in Sparkes and Smith, 2014). This perspective supports a situational approach and asserts because researchers cannot predict or understand the surrounding environment completely, they need to be open and flexible and must consider the process from participants' perspectives.

Each aspect of CRRRE signifies a different part of the research ethics that needs consideration. Initially, for a culturally responsive analysis, researchers should be sensitive towards: a) explicit recognition, valuing, and discussion of cultural differences; b) validation of participants' world-views; c) explicit discussion of power

differentials; and d) acknowledgement of non-traditional research methods (Sparkes and Smith, 2014, p. 212). Second, relational ethics refers to the development of an equal relation and trust between the participants and the researcher. To consider reflexive ethics, researchers need to think of themselves, participants and the wider community ethically and morally, and particular care should be taken to protect the privacy, safety and the autonomy of people in the research site. Researchers also need to inform participants of the objective and possible representation of the research.

Based on the above information about CRRRE, I embraced a situational perspective and followed a procedure from the perspective of the participants. Throughout the process, I was highly sensitive to their concerns on different issues. Initially, I visited the field during a time when public institutions were being scrutinised following a coup attempt that took place one year earlier. Particularly, the programme coordinators of Case 1 in Turkey were highly concerned about my position as a researcher and the reasons behind my visits to interview them. Having contacted participants through the help of a public university increased suspicions in the beginning that my activities were for surveillance. However, after conversation about the objective of the research, in which I explained how I was mainly trying to understand the impact of the programmes, participants were relieved. However, I should also mention that I could not convince them completely, which led to reticence to share some of their views on the programmes and processes. In the phase of data collection for Case 1 (see chapters 3 and 4), I deliberately did not take written informed consent from the participants, particularly from the programme coordinators, to avoid increasing concerns about confidentiality of the research. It seemed more logical for the sake of the research and for the participants to inform them about my objective and process without making them sign any forms (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). Rather, I informed participants that their names would not be mentioned and that they would have complete authority over their interviews so that they could prevent their publication at any time.

Regarding Case 2 (see chapters 3 and 4), the biggest challenge I had was contacting participants of the programmes. The programmes were completed in 2016, a year before I visited the field site for data collection, and local NGOs and public institutions did not have participants' contact details. This made it challenging to reach out to participants and start interviewing them. Later, one of the coordinators of the

programme found contacts via a WhatsApp group of participants who had taken part in the final games and shared the contacts with me. The process of convincing participants to contribute to the research was, however, difficult because most of them worked 6 days a week, 8 to 12 hours per day. These participants were aged between 15 and 21 years old. The only free time they had was on Sundays, their only day off. It was very understandable that they did not want to spend their day off with me. However, there were also some young people who wanted to participate because they had relatively more free time or were working in less difficult jobs which gave them time to meet me evenings or at work. Some of them were excited by the idea of being interviewed and some of them even thought, because I was affiliated with a known university from Istanbul, they might have the opportunity to participate in another sport programme.

During field visits, I had intended to take photographs of the research site. However, I found I could barely take photos due to the discomfort I felt photographing the ‘young apprentices.’ I assumed and felt that they would be bothered if they saw me taking their pictures while they worked relentlessly. I also thought that it would not have been useful to photograph them with their permission as it would have ruined the naturalness of the moment. Thus, I decided to take only a few pictures. Besides, I had also received directly from the programme participants, some photos of practices and the closing ceremony. I acquired permission from school principals, teachers and programme coordinators to use all the photographs presented in this PhD thesis. In order to preserve the participants’ confidentiality, I have used pseudonyms for participant names and the project titles. I have also ethical approval from the Marmara University to conduct this research.

2.4. General research and data analysis strategy

In alignment with interpretivism, I embraced an abductive strategy to analyse different phases of the research. The abductive claims that social reality is a social actor’s creation and, therefore, cannot be considered independently of his or her social activities (Blaikie, 2000). In the data analysis process, the abductive strategy involves a conceptual background based on daily activities and meanings of individuals. Blaikie (2000, p. 117) states that it has two stages:

1. describing these activities and meanings; and
2. deriving categories and concepts that can form the basis of an understanding of an explanation.

2.4. Research methods

2.4.1. Chapter one: Theoretical literature review

Theoretical literature review defined as a review method to identify, describe and transform a concept to new theoretical level with the help of alternative research propositions (Pare et al., 2015). The main value of theoretical literature review lies in its ability to emerge new conceptualisations or enhancing related concepts to close the knowledge between what we do know and what else can be known or what we need to know (Paré et al., 2015). Torraco (2016) refers to this model as its importance to not only develop new perspectives for a specific concept, but also overcome the problems that exist in the use of theoretical frameworks. Therefore, this review type is also concerned with identifying omissions and deficiencies in the literature. Boote and Beile (2005, p. 4) describe the basic requirements a literature review has to follow for a holistic review:

- i) It sets the broad context of the study.
- ii) It clearly demarcates what is and what is not within the scope of the investigation.
- iii) It situates an existing literature in a broader scholarly and historical context.

For extensive literature review, the research should be able to provide synthesis by describing and detailing the links between studies with same theoretical backgrounds. This aims to summarise the knowledge presented through selected studies and, facilitate to use existing studies in a holistic and effective way (Schoormann et al., 2016).

Considering the above points, this PhD study also conducted theoretical literature review. The aim of the review was to analyse the use of Foucauldian governmentality concept in sport studies. More specifically, I aimed to analyse the way concept has been used, with which research methods/instruments and what were the main complementary concepts that accompanied the governmentality concept. Subsequently, I analysed the main findings and tried to offer alternative conceptual

and methodological ways to conduct governmentality in sport studies. The detailed discussion regarding theoretical literature review and the information about research process can be found in the Chapter 3.

2.4.2. Chapter two: Critical discourse analysis

Policy makers' rationales in generating policies regarding sport or any other type of policy domain can be seen in different spheres such as policy documents, programmes of specific activities or public speeches (Gee and Handford, 2012). Policy discourse is one of the prominent ways to understand policy rationales. In this respect, I adapted critical discourse analysis (CDA) and used multiple sources of data (e.g. interviews, policy news) to describe and compare the discourse of the Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS) regarding youth and sport-based policies in Turkey. CDA has a methodology in which different communication tools and social practices can be used (Fairclough, 2001). This methodology is selected to examine the language of policy discourse rather than focusing on 'policy as discourse' (Henry et al., 2007). With this approach, the focus was given to texts and speeches referring to general policies about social inclusion themed social projects and the texts referring to sport and/or youth.

The main rationale of selecting this methodology is to reflect the views of different stakeholders within youth and sport policy processes and compare those with the reality. As Fairclough (2001) suggests, CDA requires an emancipatory aspect to thoroughly view cases, and, for this reason, data need to be collected and analysed outside of the policy texts. Various speeches, statements and conversations should also be examined. This approach supposedly helps to focus the research on social problems revealing the realities of different social actors and stakeholders socio-politically. CDA aims to explain the problems identified by different social actors. It also considers how and why these 'phenomena' have been perceived as problems and how they have been reflected on different social spheres in which the problem occurred.

This PhD specifically employs Fairclough's (2012) conceptualisation of critical discourse analysis. In this approach, the study followed the steps of CDA framework and tried to interrogate the discourse that emerged in different forms (see chapter 2). As Fairclough (2012) states, in order to achieve a broader understanding, critical discourse analysis also needs to be established through a trans-disciplinary research.

Transdisciplinary approach, as argued by Fairclough (2012, p. 12), is unlike interdisciplinary research:

What distinguishes transdisciplinary from other forms of interdisciplinary research is that, in bringing disciplines and theories together to address research issues, it sees ‘dialogue’ between them as a source for the theoretical and methodological development of each of them.

Following the suggestion of Fairclough (2012), I benefited from several theoretical frameworks from various social disciplines (e.g., anthropology, political science, sport sciences).

2.4.2.1. Data analysis

Analysing a text or any type of communicative event with the CDA procedure require different approaches. I conducted an analysis which was focused on a social problem in order to analyse sport and youth policies. Additionally, I also adopted Bacchi's (2009) framework that works to uncover the rationales behind certain policies and policy-related activities and, more specifically, the problematisations that led to the implementation of certain programmes and policies. Bacchi's (2009) conceptualisation provided the opportunity to lay out different aspects of policy processes and different actors (e.g., government, community members) (Boyd and Kerr, 2016). In the second phase of the analysis, in order to achieve a systematic critical analysis of youth and sport policy discourse, I used Fairclough's (2012) four stages framework to analyse social realities and predict how those realities might improve. Thus, I went through the following four stages and explained the texts based on this framework (Fairclough, 2012, p. 13):

Phase 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect

Phase 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong

Phase 3: Consider whether the social order ‘needs’ the social wrong

Phase 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles

2.4.2.2. Reliability and Validity

Van Dijk (2001:96) stated that: ‘*CDA defined and defends its own socio-political position and therefore, it is biased*’. Based on this statement, I conducted a careful analysis in order to present as honest and transparent a research process as possible.

Towards this aim, I took Wodak's triangulation procedure into consideration. Meyer (2001) describes this 4-step procedure as follows:

- Step 1: the immediate language -or text- internal co-text;
- Step 2: the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
- Step 3: the extralinguistic (social) level which is called the 'context of situation'
- Step 4: the broader socio-political and historical contexts.

I employed these principles are employed to help analysis to build certainty for the analysed amongst different cases, texts and discourses that is essential to have consistency in the results. Wodak and Meyer (2009) suggest analysing different types of data (qualitative/quantitative, texts/speeches) to build a comprehensive piece of research. They also mentioned that using different levels of data and establishing engagement amongst them, approximate analysis to participants towards explicit findings and results (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). This study has followed a similar path in the analysis procedure, as it not only focused on the official policy reports but also analysed policy news, regulations and policy reports that are submitted by the MYS to the European Union concerning the EU candidacy.

2.4.3. Chapter three and four: Single and Multiple case study analysis

2.4.3.1. Introduction

For the analysis of two sport-for-development programmes for youth in underserved communities in Turkey, I used a multiple case study analysis. With this methodology, I aimed to describe and understand the social outcomes of projects through the eyes of different stakeholders, with a focus on programme providers and participants. After my first visit to the research field, I recognised that both programmes were problematic in terms of their implementation processes and outcomes for young participants. However, my supervisors and I decided to continue the data collection process with these programmes because they showed many similarities with the previous practices that suffer from many organisational and social challenges. Additionally, I acknowledged that their problems likely stemmed from their location in underserved

communities with limited resources, and I decided it would be important to describe the challenges of such programmes.

2.4.3.2. Case study analysis

Case study analysis has been one of the most widely used methodological concepts in social sciences. VanWynsberghe and Khan (2007) outline seven features of case study analysis that should be considered in research processes: i) small N; ii) contextual detail; iii) everyday settings; iv) boundedness; v) working research questions; vi) multiple data sources; and vii) extendibility. There are various uses of case studies depending on the different school of thought or group of scholars utilising the methodology. This multiplicity also brings challenges and misunderstandings. In this regard, I addressed some of these possible challenges or the tools of case study analysis that were employed in the research conducted for this PhD (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Flyvbjerg (2006) argues against dominant assumption that context-dependent studies are more impactful and valuable than the context-independent studies because the latter usually fail to find appropriate predictive theories that help generalise findings. Relatedly, studies following philosophical frameworks also underline the importance of concrete studies to increase rigor of the study and to reveal what is overlooked (Rorty, 1985). Sample size also has been centre of attention for case study analyses. Flyvbjerg (2006) again, referring to Kuhn (1987), argues that a low number of samples in a specific case study is not a problem of the research per se, but is more the result of the possible problems of a particular case. Flyvbjerg (2006) adds that future research could help remedy this problem through analyses of good case studies with a higher number of samples.

2.4.3.3. Instruments

Throughout the data collection process, a retrospective approach was used. Despite criticism towards the ambiguous after-effects of sport-based programmes, there are very limited studies examining the views of participants after the programmes end. Retrospective interviewing promises insightful information as the research site is revisited because the interviewees and programme coordinators become more open to answering questions they would have avoided prior (Selwyn, 2013). Retrospective interviewing also enables the researcher to overview the projects and understand the ‘*unfolding story*’ of cases. Adding retrospective perspective to the data allows for a

reassessment of the programme period, widens perspective and aids in comprehending the whole process in detail and with the inclusion of non-sporting concepts (Gewirtz and Ozga, 1990).

In sections three and four where I analysed case studies in terms of their impact on young participants and operation of the programmes, I provided more detail regarding the implementation and impact of the methodology on the analysis of two sport-for-development programmes conducted in underserved communities of Turkey.



3. Chapter 1: The circles of power: A theoretical literature review on governmentality in sport studies¹

Abstract

Like in all spheres of social life, governing bodies aim to control individuals and shape organisations in the broad field of sport. Previous research has provided a rich diversity on the governmental techniques of the power and how such techniques can mobilise individuals and organisations towards specific objectives. In this theoretical literature review, we present a detailed analysis of the sport studies that employed Foucault's governmentality as a theoretical concept. Analysing the studies under three topics (e.g. development of/through community sports, high performance sports and body and health politics), this review interrogates the use of governmentality and related concepts, the methodologies and the key findings from the analysed literature. The paper concludes that it is not only relevant to unmask the techniques of governing bodies, but also to develop alternatives to preserve ourselves from potential oppressive, methods of governing.

¹ This chapter will be submitted to the International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics before the public defence of the PhD.

Introduction

Governmentality, or government rationalities, refers to government techniques that are employed by governing bodies or (quasi)-governmental organisations to control and mobilise individuals and populations. Governmentality addresses how objectives of governments lead to the governing of individuals with new technologies and techniques. Governmentality is however not solely about analysing the operational techniques of states, but about encompassing any initiative (e.g. civil society) that aims to direct human behaviour (McKee 2009). Relatedly, Dean (2010) articulated that governmentality is beyond understanding the governing of governments, it is also related with the perception of people who are governed and how do they recognise it. Foucault (1991) identified the emerging techniques of the governments to steer, channel, mobilise and control people and demonstrated how the use of power transformed from using repressive force to consent which facilitates the reproduction of power relations amongst individuals (e.g. Green and Houlihan 2006). Governmentality operates throughout the socio-political system, rather than unidirectionally from the state (McDermott 2007). Or in the words of Foucault (1991, p. 100):

The population is the subject of needs, of aspirations, but it is also the object in the hands of the government [...] interest considered as the interest of the population regardless of what the particular interests and aspirations may be of the individuals who compose it, this is the new target and the fundamental instrument of the government of population.

Governmentality techniques enable the self-regulation of individuals to achieve governmental objectives. Dean (2010, p. 198) explains how implicitly government techniques achieve this to influence individuals' lives as "[...] mechanisms that promise to shape the conduct of diverse actors without shattering their formally autonomous character". With governmentality techniques, the objectives are not explicitly followed or pursued through pressurising the individuals. Rather, governments' re-formed power reside in meanings, intervention and subjectivities (Miller and Rose, 2008). This leads individuals to activate their own subjectivities through various techniques such as autonomy, self-governance and responsabilisation.

Two concepts, biopower and biopolitics are often used as complementary to the concept of governmentality. Biopower refers to the knowledge and strategies of power that aim at governing a population's life forces; whereas biopolitics encompasses the development of indices of knowledge about populations by expert authorities acting within both public (i.e., state) and private institutions (e.g., hospitals) (Nadesan 2010, p. 8). Both concepts are instrumental for understanding the technologies that are developed to mobilise individuals, who are supposed to be 'healthy' and 'moral', according to the standards determined by governing bodies. The multiple functions of the governing body lead to self-regulation of individuals and reconstruction of body and health perception for governmental objectives. These changes strengthen the 'market government' at the expense of social policies (Dean 2010, Bacchi 2012, Lemke 2012). This not only shows the problematisations on individuals and organisations, but also foregrounds other questions regarding the economically-driven priorities of governing bodies. Concomitantly, governing bodies detach themselves from their social obligations, mostly for the cases in that their direct involvement is crucial (Procacci 1991, Bröckling *et al.* 2011). Instead, populations accept that social responsibilities belong to civil ("Big") society, transferring social and political responsibilities to individuals and NGOs. Lessenich (2011) discusses that the issue is not specifically the subordination of the social but the subjectification of the social. In this way, societal issues such as poverty become conceptualised as if it is the consequence of individuals' acts of which individuals hold the power to rectify their 'mistakes' (Lessenich, 2011). Or in other words: individuals can and should empower themselves out of their own poverty.

Governmental techniques, such as, the creation of the risk society or the construction of 'epidemics' narratives (e.g. obesity) are frequently used to govern sport as well as physical activity and health in which individuals become more engaged with *anatomo-politics* (i.e. the integration of individuals with efficient and economic surveillance mechanisms) of their own body and health. With the prevalent use of sport programmes by governments to responsabilise individuals and communities, governmentality has become an important concept to understand the mentalities of governing bodies. In this respect, sport studies also employed the concept of governmentality in various fields such as gender inequality (Svender *et al.* 2012,

Ekholm *et al.* 2019), economic development (Cho 2008), ‘epidemic’ of physical inactivity and obesity (McDermott 2007, Piggan and Bairner 2016), social inclusion (Ekholm 2018, Ekholm and Dahlstedt 2018), elite sport and drug use (Park 2005, Burke and Hallinan 2008), social development and charity (e.g. Batlle *et al.* 2018), transition of sport policy objectives (e.g. Green and Houlihan 2006) and Olympics and participation in sport and physical activity (Piper and Garratt 2013, Bretherton *et al.* 2016, Culpan 2017). Governmentality has helped sport scholars to reveal the priorities of governments and at the same time showed objectives that remain neglected.

Using a theoretical literature review, this paper aims to critically interrogate how governmentality as a theoretical concept has been used in sport studies. For this, we analyse the formulated research objectives, methodologies, the way theories are used and also, the main findings of the selected studies. Through theoretical literature review, we also strive to show how studies reflect the problematisations of governing bodies or dominant groups which distance their social obligations. The remainder of our paper is structured as follows: i) introduction of Foucault’s governmentality, ii) presentation of the overall search strategy and inclusion criteria, iii) overview of selected papers, iv) summary of main findings.

Governmentality and the construction of problematisations

Foucault identifies four modes of technologies to explain the governance of the individuals. These are: technologies of production, technologies of the sign systems, technologies of power and technologies of the self (Dean, 2010).. For example, as Dean (2010) states, governments mainly form ‘moral forces’ that refer to common problems (e.g. health related risk factors) that have to be addressed by citizens themselves. Thus, individuals are “asked” to take actions for such issues to avoid possible threat to personal or social well-being. What is desired ultimately here, is not only to achieve objectives, but equally important to convince and engage individuals in self-regulation (Raco and Imrie 2000, p. 3). Joseph (2013, p. 43) defined the role of neoliberal governmentality in producing risk perceptions to develop **resilient individuals** and argued that ‘[...] Ideas such as reflexive modernity, risk society, network society and information age, all of which posit the idea that we must... adapt to the things beyond our control.’ Through neoliberal governmentality, individuals

mainly adapt themselves in situations where they detect similar problematisations with other individuals or groups and they also become attached to economic concerns of the governing bodies in that individuals are also incited for self-empowerment and entrepreneurship (Joseph 2013). Problematisations reflect the way ruling or elite actors in society perceive a condition or phenomenon (e.g. public inactivity). Foucault (1985) also explains how problematisations are recreated after interacting with individuals and situations. The ‘exigencies’ (i.e. crisis, risks, or sudden economic opportunities) are used for problematisations to be embraced and followed by social actors (Bacchi 2012). These problematisations concomitantly shape the actions which are taken to change or re-shape whatever ‘the problematised issue’ may be. And, as McKee (2009) underlined, government problematisations are not concerned with the ‘truth or falsity’ of political actions, rather it posits the neutral and objective position as a tool to direct human conduct towards specific ends. The “activities directed at shaping, channelling, and guiding the conduct of others” emerge after the specification of such problematisations defined by governments or dominant groups (Raco and Imrie 2000, p. 2189). However, this responsabilisation of individuals happens in partnership and mutual consent with the implementers. The problematisations are not only enforced through force but through the “capacity of autonomous individuals, collectives and institutions for self-action” (Foucault 1991).

Like other areas of life, sport has been a field in which governments, public institutions and civil society organisations play an explicit role to shape the lives of individuals. Sport scientists, therefore, showed great interest towards understanding the rationales behind specific policies (e.g. Green and Houlihan, 2006). Government objectives have started to become more apparent in sports policy practices (Grix and Harris 2016) and accordingly, sport studies increased to understand government rationalities and how these operate amongst actors. In the following section, we present the searching strategy for the literature review.

Searching Strategy and Inclusion Criteria

As inclusion criterion, we focused on the sport studies using governmentality as a theoretical background. Our focus was specifically on studies that used governmentality as a main theoretical framework for analysing the respective governing bodies, policy representatives, NGOs, volunteers, sport policies and body and health politics. Few studies were exempted from this criteria as they provided important analysis through using the governmentality as an auxiliary concept (Kelly 2013, Grix and Harris 2016, Ekholm *et al.* 2019). We have included biopower and biopolitics studies alongside with governmentality, as these concepts are frequently used together to demonstrate how governmental techniques are deployed to mobilise organisations and individuals in a way to generate a top-down persuasion process to shape the health and social priorities of populations (e.g. McDermott 2007). Considering the limited number of governmentality in sport studies, we have conducted a broad selection process. We have excluded grey literature, editorials and unpublished works.

Papers were found via snowballing method, starting with articles published in the *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* and by checking the references list of the articles. We have added various databases to ensure the widest coverage of the governmentality in sport literature. Databases EbscoHost, Google Scholar and the databases of Taylor & Francis and Sage Publications separately searched to identify articles. Search string for the databases were “governmentality” and “sport” or “physical activity”, “body”, “health”. We applied these terms to keywords, titles, and the content of articles. In total, 31 studies were analysed in terms of their use of governmentality concept (Table 1). The next section provides brief information about each study (i.e. authors, title, topics, methods/instrument, important findings). We have structured the discussion around 3 main research subjects: i) Development of/through community sports, ii) High performance sports and iii) Body and health politics.

Table 1. Overview of selected papers**Development of/through community sports**

Author(s)	Title	Topics	Methods/ Instrument	Important findings
1. Ekholm et al. (2019)	*Problematizing the absent girl: sport as a means of emancipation and social inclusion	Gender inequality	Discourse analysis, interviews	Problematization of girls' absence from sport field adds an extra layer to the social exclusion problem, particularly for migrant girls. Additionally, the paper discusses the lack of woman trainers, managers constrains involvement of girls to the sports field.
2. Batlle et al. (2018)	'I just can't bear these procedures, I just want to be out there working with children': an autoethnography on neoliberalism and youth sports charities in the UK	Neoliberal governmentality, Charity org.	Auto-ethnography	While mentioning the positive sides of neoliberal performance standards, the authors stress the detrimental effects of intervention in that the programmers lacked the interest of service user to the energy and time the performance standards they have to meet. Explains this discrepancy as 'borderline hypocrisy' which refers to relations of balance between funders and needs of young people.
3. Ekholm (2018)	Governing by means of sport for social change and social inclusion: demarcating the domains of problematization and intervention	Social change	Interviews, document analysis	Examines the problematisations of the representatives in a social change through sport programme and how problems and solutions are specified within the 'intervention' concept.
4. Ekholm and Dahlstedt (2018)	Rationalities of goodwill: on the promotion of philanthropy through sports-based interventions in Sweden	Sport-based interventions (SBIs)	Interviews	Reflects the contradiction of having philanthropic and naïve sense towards the excluded youth, which neglects the rights of young people who require long-term support.
5. Dortants (2018)	Regulating full contact martial arts and combat sports: how governmentality as an	Governance, joint governing	Interviews	Inform about the operation of full contact martial arts and combat sports (FCMACS) in terms of cooperation between various organisations and the interplay of power. Study reflects the coexistence of different

	analytical framework informs practices of the governing of sports			layers of governing such as coercion and dialogue between organisations.
6. Agergaard et al. (2016)	Politicisation of migrant leisure: a public and civil intervention involving organised sports	Migration, SBIs	Interviews	Discusses how the problematisations towards migrant youth lead to self-interest of the organisers. Authors refer to the diversion that the organisation goes through from empowering young people to mainly perceiving them as 'clients of the organised sport activities'.
7. Dortants and Knoppers (2016)	The organization of diversity in a boxing club: Governmentality and entangled rationalities	Rationalities, gender and boxing	Observation, interviews	Investigates gender diversity in micro setting where problematisations towards women's participation in boxing is analysed. Based on sameness and differences, the study shows the performance criteria predominates the gender of athletes and it creates gender-neutral environment. Concludes with the importance of gender-mixed gyms to transform homosocial field of sport.
8. Grix and Harris (2016)	*Governance and Governmentality of Sport.	New governmentality	Theoretical	Underline the management mechanism between local and central governing bodies.
9. Österlind and Fahlén (2015)	Reconsidering the epistemology of the Swedish sports model through the lens of governmentality: Notes on the state- civil society relationship, government, power and social change.	Sport policy	Document/discourse analysis	Aims to analyse the changes in governing model in sport policy of Sweden. Details the transformations from direct involvement of sport policy to social and health related fields to responsabilisation of 'autonomous' individuals. Reflects also how the governing techniques has implicit way to influence people to execute government objectives through norms, performance parameters and health-related risks.
10. Fahlén et al. (2015)	*Resisting self-regulation: an analysis of sport policy programme making and implementation in Sweden	Self-regulation, sport clubs	Interviews	Analyses how sport clubs have power derived from their volunteers, which gives them the confidence not to comply with the strategies of government.

11. Österlind and Wright (2014)	If sport's the solution then what's the problem? The social significance of sport in the moral governing of 'good' and 'healthy' citizens in Sweden, 1922–1998	Sport's use in Sweden policy	Historico-discursive analysis	Argues that current policy discourse continues to extol individualism and ascribing participation in sport as individual responsibility.
12. Kelly (2012)	*Sports-Based Interventions and the Local Governance of Youth Crime and Antisocial Behavior	SBI's, governance	Interviews	Discusses the 'governing at a distance' model in SBIs that attempts to regulate/control the behaviours of so-called 'problematic' young people without direct involvement to the solution of actual problems.
13. Svender, Larsson & Redelius (2012)	Promoting girls' participation in sports: discursive constructions of girls in a sports initiative	Gender equality	Discourse analysis	Analysis of the way experts aim to shape the self-conduct of girls in terms of health, body and social life. Girls are constructed as unhealthy and 'in high-risk' subjects to normalize the governing technologies. Conclude by showing how gender equality work construct gender equality itself.
14. Agergaard and la Cour (2012)	Governing Integration Through Sports: A Case Study of Civil society involvement in welfare policy	Governance, problematisations	Document analysis, interviews and focus groups	Examines the role of sport organisations to contribute welfare provisions of the state in a sport-based (ethnic) integration programme.. Shows the rationality of project management affected by policy authorities which lead to the meeting performance standards of the policy, rather than collaborating with civil society for bettering the service quality for the community.
15. Garcia and Herraiz (2011)	'Governmentality' in the origins of European female PE and sport: the Spanish case study (1883-1936)	Gender inequality, Women self-regulation	Content analysis, historical documents	Discuss the role of sport to organise and discipline women in Europe and specifically analyse the evolution in women's participation in sport in Spain, using the governmentality concept with a historical perspective. Identifies the dual nature of the developments in the era in which both women were

				empowered and also constrained by dominant paternal perspective. Shows also how women in Spain developed their sport and PE participation with time, the way they desire through local clubs. The study the concepts of Foucault's simultaneously; such as biopolitics, biopower and governmentality.
16. Lindsey (2010)	Governance of lottery sport programmes: national direction of local partnerships in the New Opportunities for PE and Sport programme	Governance, governmentality	Interviews and document analysis	Reports how locals preserved their management rationalities against expectations of national public institution, despite the risk of losing fund by the national institution. Explain this divergence as a result of the national organisations' ineffectiveness to understand local context and use their power instrumentally, rather than interactive.
17. Thing and Ottesen (2010)	The autonomy of sports: negotiating boundaries between sports governance and government policy in the Danish welfare state	Autonomy, governance	Theoretical study	Examines the autonomy of Danish sport organisations are discussed. Using Foucauldian problematisation to discuss the reduction of autonomy of Danish sports, it discusses the importance of non-governmental sport organisations' involvement to the welfare provision to avoid despotic power of the state.
18. Cho (2008)	Broadcasting Major League Baseball as a Governmental Instrument in South Korea	Neoliberal governmentality	Theoretical study	Highlights Korean government's use of sport-themed advanced liberalism to mobilise its population to overcome economic crisis.
19. Green (2007)	Governing under advanced liberalism: sport policy and the social investment state	Social investment state, sports policy	Systematic review, interviews	Discusses the role of sport and physical activity to fulfil the potential of individuals that can lead to take greater responsibilities for individuals and social welfare. States that there is an 'over-valorisation of young people as workers-citizens.
20. Green and Houlihan (2006)	Governmentality, Modernization, and the "Disciplining" of National Sporting Organizations:	National sport organisations and modernization	Systematic review, interviews	Discusses how governments both use centralised and decentralised approaches to allocate autonomy to the NSOs in their local practices, while making them responsible through 'enforcing performance standards'.

	Athletics in Australia and the United Kingdom				
Body and Health Politics					
Author(s)	Title	Topics	Methods/ Instrument	Important findings	
21. Piggin and Bairner (2016)	The global physical inactivity pandemic: an analysis of knowledge production	Health discourse	Discourse analysis	Argue how the holistic view was missed in understanding the rationales of physical inactivity and also ‘judges of normality’ personalise solutions and detach from social context that affect the physical inactivity.	
22. Markula and Chikinda (2016)	Group fitness instructors as local level health promoters: a Foucauldian analysis of the politics of health/fitness dynamic	Health, the fit body	Interviews	Analyses the reflections of bio-politics through local fitness instructors. They look after how the discourse of commercial fitness organisations’ guidelines following a neo-liberal agenda. Reflects how the local instructors construct knowledges and follow and then, incite individuals to stay adherence to the health and fit body parameters. Highlights how fitness are put forward as an obligation to prevent illness.	
23. Österlind (2016)	Sport policy evaluation and governing participation in sport: governmental problematics of democracy and health	Sport and health problematisations	Discourse analysis	Problematisations towards health and sport reproduce the conceptualization of sport as a panacea. Explains how biopower and governmentality intersect in that adults are invoked to empower children for policy objectives.	
24. Piggin and Lewis (2009)	Knowledge, Power and Politics: Contesting ‘Evidence- based’ National Sport Policy	Positivistic knowledge, sport policy	Discourse analysis	Discuss marginalised ‘dissenting views’ and, constraint alternative policy approaches to be recognised or discussed.	
25. McDermott (2007)	A Governmental Analysis of Children ‘at Risk’ in a World of Physical	Physical inactivity, obesity and risk society	Discourse analysis	Conducts broad discussion towards the emergence of physical inactivity and obesity discourse as a part of risk and details how the health issue become	

	Inactivity and Obesity Epidemics			individualised and responsibility is given to children themselves and parents. Touches upon also epidemiology and positivistic construction of the alleged 'risks'.
High performance sport				
Author(s)	Title	Topics	Methods/ Instrument	Important findings
26. Culpan (2017)	Olympism, Constructivism and Foucault's Technologies of Power: Governmentality at Work	Olympism, moral discourse, participation in sports	Theoretical study	Reflects how the foundations of Modern Olympics has been in great coherence with the moral decency that Modern Olympics uses 'moral norms' to mobilise people for physical activity and sport participation.
27. Bretherton et al. (2016)	Olympic sport and physical activity promotion: the rise and fall of the London 2012 pre-event mass participation 'legacy'	Olympics, participation in sport and PA	Discourse analysis, document analysis	Analyses that the policy strategies were ineffective to mobilise people towards increase participation in sport/physical activity.
28. Piper and Garratt (2013)	Olympic dreams and social realities: a foucauldian analysis of legacy and mass participation	Discourse, Olympic legacy, participation in sport	Theoretical study	Demonstrates the concern towards the fear of losing for elite athletes in Olympics Games. Additionally, assert that 'success perception' of authorities cause mass participation provision to be displaced with elite performance.
29. Chatziefstathiou and Henry (2009)	Technologies of power, governmentality and Olympic discourses: a Foucauldian analysis for understanding the discursive constructions of the Olympic ideology.	Olympic discourse	Discourse analysis	Analyses the discourse of Olympic ideology in that it confers ideologies combined with neoliberal priorities and advocates for the 'construction of classist and gendered discourse'.

30. Burke and Hallinan (2008)	Drugs, Sport, Anxiety and Foucauldian Governmentality	Elite sport, drug	Discourse analysis	Discusses how the war on drug use of elite athletes had taken out of context with the involvement of public health discussion which over-criminalise and depict the elite athletes as mere cause of this broad issue.
31. Park (2005)	Governing Doped Bodies: The World Anti-Doping Agency and the Global Culture of Surveillance	Governing bodies and WADA	Discourse analysis	Reveals the techniques that police elite athletes to adapt the rules of the WADA. Also details the discrepancy on how WADA govern 'third world' athletes with surveillance mechanisms of the 'first world.'

Discussion

In this section, we outline the general features of the studies that have engaged with governmentality.

Research topics

This section looks at the topics that are selected by studies to analyse within sport studies. In order to summarise the topics, we classified the topics under 3 themes: Development of/through community sports (i.e. we will refer to this theme as community sports from now on), body and health politics and high-performance sports. Of all the 31 articles analysed, 20 of the articles are categorised under community sports, 5 of them categorised under body and health politics and 6 of them categorised under high-performance sports.

The studies under community sports theme focus mainly on the techniques that are developed by governments and governing bodies to mobilise individuals and organisations for their self-regulation. What is common in most of these studies is prioritised neoliberal agendas (Green, 2007; Green and Houlihan, 2006; Österlind and Wright, 2014), in which public policies are partly avoided or reconstructed at the expense of focusing more on high performance sports and investing in self-regulation of individuals for financial reasons. Some of the other aim of the articles under this theme are; the impact of various knowledges on sport policy construction (Piggin et al., 2009), national institutions as funders of social programmes and the reaction of the local organisations (Fahlén et al., 2015; Lindsey, 2010), sport-based interventions towards vulnerable groups (Kelly, 2013), particularly girls (Ekholm et al., 2019; Svender et al., 2012) and young people with migration backgrounds (Agergaard et al., 2016; Ekholm, 2018; Ekholm and Dahlstedt, 2018). In the cases where governmentality operated via individuals, the studies focus on the problematisations of young people towards their (non-)participation to sports (Agergaard et al., 2016; Ekholm et al., 2019; Kelly, 2013; Svender et al., 2012). Darnell *et al.* (2016) discussed that an additional political dimension in Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) could help approaching how power/knowledge is deployed and what the root causes of discrimination or poverty are. In this regard, governmentality present insightful information, in particular to understand the problematisations between programmers

and the (foreseen) participants (e.g. Ekholm *et al.* 2019). The community sport studies also demonstrate whether government rationalisations embodied by social actors in the communities and how it legitimises, for example, the exclusion of girls or immigrant youth. Yet, community sports studies with governmentality or other critical socio-political concepts are limited (Darnell *et al.*, 2016; Schulenkorf *et al.*, 2016). The studies also focus on other issues that concerns the policies of governing bodies such as responsabilisation of elite athletes' on the use of performance enhancing substances and the dual use of coercion and consent to steer and channel elite athletes which planned to strictly accept the norms and principles of the governing bodies. (Burke and Hallinan, 2008; Park, 2005).

Health-related policies and discourse focused much more on the conduct of biopower amongst subjectivities, which defines action that are shaped by various individualised discourses of self-autonomy, self-empowerment, autonomy. In studies focusing on health related issues, we see a more direct involvement of the quasi-governmental organisations to transfer knowledge constructed by governing bodies (McDermott, 2007; Piggin and Bairner, 2016).

The reviewed studies also neglected concepts such as poverty, discrimination and class. Governmentality is specifically used to dismiss these social problems that are the outcomes of governing and assign social problems via individualisation (McDermott 2007). This attitude of governing bodies mainly accepted by the populations through mechanical discourse of quantitative research and statistics to dismantle the political sides of poverty and discrimination that requires urgent government action. Thus, more attention should be paid to integrating analysis of governmentality techniques in sport with the overlooked social issues (e.g. poverty, discrimination, ethnic conflicts) that calls for intervention of governing bodies. This would enable us to understand better the mechanisms of neoliberal governmentality within sport and enable researchers to engage more with wider political forces (Darnell *et al.*, 2016; Silk *et al.*, 2014).

Research Methodologies

In this section we describe the methods that are employed by the studies. The studies have used various methods and instruments to collect data and analysis such

as discourse analysis, autoethnography, document analysis, content analysis, theoretical/conceptual studies and interviews (13 out of 31 articles) as main data collection tool. Amongst these methods, discourse analysis and similar analysis methods (e.g. document, content analysis) (15 out of 31 articles) are the most used methods in the literature. It is common to use discursive analysis to look at the construction of political language and objectives to reveal the intentions. However, discursive analysis is limited in identifying different social spheres such as school environments and public spaces. For this reason, we suggest researchers to look for the way texts correspond to daily lives (Breeze, 2011). It is previously discussed that discursive governmentality constraints how governmentality take place on-the-ground activities. It has been argued that this type of governmentality analysis disregard empirical reality, confine governmentality to ‘particular stratum of knowing and acting’ (Rose 1999, p. 19). In some cases, we also observe that the results concerning the effectiveness of self-regulation policies mostly derived from discourse analysis and thus, it present limited information regarding the outcome of strategies (e.g. Cho 2008, Bretherton *et al.* 2016). However, these criticisms can be viewed to improve the discursive analysis in the studies. For example, critical discourse analysis (CDA) theory may be considered to recognise the diverse discourses such as texts, public speeches or policy documents (e.g. Tenorio 2011). This could enable more detailed inspection towards the analysis and facilitate the recognition of inequalities embedded into a neoliberal discourse of regulated freedom (Fairclough, 2012; Krzyżanowski and Forchtner, 2016). Additionally, it would help analysing the alternative discourses that challenge, resist dominant discourses (Van Dijk, 2009).

Discourse analysis also delimits an understanding how individuals react to rationalities of governing about sport and health-related policies. It overlooks the agency of individuals, and particular young people. Some discursive analyses also seem to implicitly act as if the rationalities of governing bodies are directly accepted and applied by populations (Svender *et al.* 2012, Österlind 2016, Ekholm *et al.* 2019). However, these studies either analyse the comments of the policy maker or discuss texts and statements. Without down-playing the importance of these studies, we suggest future governmentality studies to analyse possible strategies of resistance and also reflect more about the impact of such policies on subjects.

Interviews were another frequently used data collection method used by the studies. Interviews were mainly used to collect data from policy representatives, charity organisation workers, project coordinators, local sport club representatives to understand the governmental techniques and, simultaneously see the resistance of organisations and individuals towards central governments' objectives (e.g. Ekholm et al., 2019; Fahlén et al., 2015; Kelly, 2013; Lindsey, 2010; Markula and Chikinda, 2016). Here it is worthwhile referring to, Fahlén *et al.* (2015) who show the uncompromising practices of local organisations. Fahlén et al., (2015) demonstrate that the power of sport clubs mainly derives from their significant amounts of volunteers, which gives them confidence to not comply with the strategies and policy objectives of the government. In a similar vein, Lindsey (2010) reports about local organisations that preserve their management rationalities against expectations of national public institution, despite the risk of losing fund. Lindsey (2010) also addresses the ineffectiveness of the national funders to convince local organisations to use their agenda for specific strategies. Although not in detail, Battle *et al.* (2018), in their autoethnography research on the effect of neoliberal governmentality on a charity organisation, also report on the resistance of coaches against external intervention to shape their coaching approaches. Relatedly, Markula and Chikinda (2016) conducted an extensive discussion and show the link between local fitness instructors' practices and commercial fitness sector's health guidelines. The authors provide a unique contribution by taking a further ahead and look at the governmentality knowledge construction practices.

Use of the theory

In general, the studies conduct diverse use of governmentality. The studies mainly conceptualise governmentality as a surveillance mechanism that aims to regulate populations and organisations. For example, governance concept was employed to explain the surveillance mechanism towards local organisations, NGOs and charity organisations (Agergaard et al., 2016; Dortants, 2018; Grix and Harris, 2016; Kelly, 2013). They frequently refer to the governance in order to clarify the intertwined relationship between central governing bodies and local organisations or individuals. The governance studies also present detailed information to discuss the power relations between central government and local organisations. We see in the analysis how

central governments increase their control on the NGOs and public institutions through technologies of performance (Batlle et al., 2018; Fahlén et al., 2015; Green and Houlihan, 2006; Grix and Harris, 2016; Kelly, 2013; Lindsey, 2010; Piggin et al., 2009). In the cases analysed, governments fund charity foundations or local public institutions. In this way, the autonomy fades away and often a neoliberal agenda of the governments prevails. This also cause not only governments to detach the ‘social’ from their priorities but also put the practices of NGOs under risk.

The studies mainly used the governmentality to justify the oppressive and dominant practices of the governing bodies. This perspective, although might be reality, it also prevents to observe and realise the alternative practices that simultaneously take place within oppressive practices. Foucauldian analysis, in this regard, has been heavily criticised in the past. Nehamas (1998, p.170), for example, refer to Foucault’s focus on the negative in the following:

Foucault's second premise, which he modified in his later years, was a relentless suspiciousness of "progress." He was always able—indeed, eager—to see the dark side of every step toward the light, to grasp the price at which every advance had to be bought.

Rorty (1998, p. 139) also discuss the over-emphasis has been given to ‘unmask the present’s’ politics through Foucauldian analysis and how this neglected progressive works to be done to develop a better policy for equality within communities. Engaging with sport, body or health politics of governing bodies that lead to more injustices for communities should not mean that the resistance and alternatives does not exist. Rather, there can also be alternatives within tough, strict governmentality techniques.

It is imperative to discuss whether it is important for individuals to pursue their health-related aspirations and thus, exercise physical activity for their wellness. This is a discussion lost in the middle, as individuals’ health related aspirations are reduced to knowledge constructed on health, fitness or aesthetic preferences which regenerated through private sector or governments. This perspective, although it might be empirically supported and valid in many cases, may simultaneously overlook the positive health and social benefits of physical activity for individuals. This can result

in over-scepticism and would offer little to understand the both sides of coin. The studies also show how alternative practices that are propagated for the prevention of illness or the promotion of a fit body are intertwined and makes it hard to classify one as useful and other as evil, as each one of them can become a tool of neoliberal governmentality. For example, while improved body alignment can be seen as a non-hegemonic exercise (Markula and Chikinda, 2016), it can turn into one of the technologies of agency in a neoliberal way to prolong the people's time they spend at work.

Based on previous arguments, we suggest future studies to consider Foucault's governmentality by weighting different aspects of agency's lives and how such knowledges affect their decisions and acts. In this regard, as a poststructuralist perspective, we advocate Bourdiesian approach to analyse and understand practical implications as a complementary approach to the governmentality concept. Specifically, the concepts such as 'gravity' (e.g. the weight of social space that affects the decision of individual) and 'illusio' (e.g. a way of understanding the intertwined nature of individual interests and social institutions) can be used to understand how and why individuals or organisations invest in the rules and objectives of governing bodies (France and Threadgold 2016). However, it should be noted that this should not be seen as an approval of such governmental practices. Rather, it is mainly used to develop survival techniques against the governmentality mechanisms.

Overall, the studies could engage more with Foucault's concepts (e.g. problematisation, anatomo-politics, biopolitics) to unfold the techniques of governments from multiple perspectives. There are some exceptions to what we referred above. For example, Markula and Chikinda (2016) conclude their study by taking a proactive approach and looking for ways to promote alternative fitness and wellness practices with the study participants that challenges oppressive fitness practices.

Research Findings

Most of the studies regarding findings reveal, as it is one of the principles of the governmentality concept, the way dominant public institutions engage and interact with other organisations and individuals. Governmentality studies aims to unfold the

mechanisms of government techniques that affects organisational, health related preferences of individuals. The results of the studies analysing sport for social inclusion programme towards young people conclude that the problematisations of the representatives and the programmes or policies do not offer a perspective that can increase the participation of young people. The studies that analysed social exclusion are directed towards disadvantaged young people and how those same young people are blamed for their non-participation in sport. The studies analysed social inclusion of young people find out that programmes seem to accuse young people with low self-esteem/low confidence, introvert, unwillingness to compete or referring to their cultural, conservative backgrounds as it prevents their participation (Ekholm, 2018; Ekholm et al., 2019; Svender et al., 2012). The views of representatives towards the programmes as charity work also worsens the outcome of programmes in terms of improving disadvantaged young people's social conditions (Agergaard et al., 2016; Ekholm and Dahlstedt, 2018).

Olympics studies reflect that the objectives of governing bodies to administer individuals for sport and physical activity related objectives are often ineffective (Bretherton et al., 2016; Chatziefstathiou and Henry, 2009; Culpan, 2017; Piper and Garratt, 2013). Further, Piper and Garratt (2013) argue the problematisations of Olympic games' hosts and discuss that their priorities shift from legacy of mass participation provision to elite performance as a precaution to sustain 'success perception'. Olympic studies show that attempts of creating 'docile bodies' and 'risks of health' discourse are still dominant (Bretherton et al., 2016; Chatziefstathiou and Henry, 2009; Culpan, 2017). This also shows the contradiction in addressing social and public health issues in that Olympic discourse, on one side, they seemingly concerned about health issues of the individuals or elite athletes (Burke and Hallinan, 2008; Culpan, 2017). On the other hand, the International Olympic Committee (and other transnational sport organisations) continue to partner with companies that are identified with producing unhealthy food and drinks (e.g. McDonalds, Coca Cola) in the Olympic Games.

Olympism (or its historical background) is also known for its values that contribute to social and individuals lives with merits such as social responsibility, tolerance, generosity, friendship, non-discrimination and respect for other (Culpan,

2017). Today, it is arguable at what level these merits are practiced where Olympic Games held. In this regard, Flynn (1989) refer to “the existence of brute facts and contingencies at the base of our most cherished values... (p.19).” In this regard, the Olympic Games legitimise non-sport objectives that explicitly affect local communities (e.g. gentrification) and ease receiving support for governments to maintain their neoliberal practices, mainly because of the symbolic value of the games which has a considerable amount of citizen support behind most of the host cities and candidates. Here, telos of Olympic Games, which is to contribute social progress, addressing socio-political predicaments and increase mass participation to sports, become subordinated, if not completely neglected (Beamish, 2009). Piper and Garratt (2013) refer to the mass participation legacy of the Olympic Games as ‘dead cult’ and emphasise the contradicting practices and discourses in which discourse refers to mass participation while the practices show the focus on high performance sports. This, inevitably, further marginalises Olympic Games from people in disadvantaged areas.

Many of the selected studies conducted a discursive analysis to examine sport and body/health policies. These studies exert important knowledge in understanding government rationalities such as construction of ‘judges of normality’ for health issues (Piggin and Bairner, 2016), maintenance of sport’s hyperbolic ‘social value’ discourse in national policies (Österlind, 2016), regulation of elite athletes towards drug use and criticising them beyond the context of high-performance sports (Burke and Hallinan, 2008), the possible deficits of designing sport policy with mere positivist approach (Piggin et al., 2009). One of the prominent sides of health and sport policies are efforts to self-regulate individuals for participation in physical activity. Studies highlight how the social problems are individualised (Lemke, 2012), and the health issues are oversimplified by promoting physical activity as the ‘cure’ of obesity. For example, as it is seen in Piggin and Bairner’s (2016) study, the conceptualisation of physical inactivity is mainly constructed upon personal engagement and further, individuals are directly accused of their health issues. Whether it is a study on sport policy, health construction or a study regarding elite athletes, most findings refer to the attempts of governing bodies (or the operations of the power amongst subjectivities) to responsabilise individuals.

The studies analysing health discourses also reflect the intervention of ‘health experts’ and their publications to normalise risk discourse to construct docile bodies (McDermott, 2007; Piggin and Bairner, 2016). In this regard, from a Gramscian perspective, experts and scholars acts as ‘organic intellectuals’, reposition physical inactivity and obesity as an epidemic and attach statistics with moral norms which facilitates the responsabilisation of individuals. There is a focus on problematisations of governments, but it does not directly involve how these problematisations of the governing bodies, which direct policy strategies differ from social problems of disadvantaged groups. While the current studies have great value, we would suggest future research to compare the problematisations of the governing bodies with the urgent social or health issues and further, why exactly government problematisations aims to detach the responsibility from themselves. Relatedly, Piggin *et al.* (2009) also refer to the positivist approach on public sport policies in New Zealand and emphasise how this has caused alternative knowledge to be neglected. They argue that a positivist approach towards analysing sport policies oversimplifies policy and raises additional scepticism towards practicalities of the policy. In accordance with previous discussion, we would argue that quantitative performance standards could be also used as a depoliticisation tool (Yılmaz, 2011). This can facilitate to keep disadvantaged people outside the ethical and political field by explaining poverty or unemployment with numbers as if the states have no part in it.

The studies main refer to hegemonic impact of governmentality in which individuals have no choice but to conform to the rules, promotions and principles of the governing bodies. However, resisting to governments’ self-regulation techniques or attempts of biopolitics may not be the only option to generate alternative for individuals or local groups. Previous research show that despite the multiple channels of governmental techniques to govern, regulate, steer individuals and organisations, there are still various ways to resist and develop alternative while being forced to follow the rules of the governing bodies (Chatterjee, 2004; Prakash, 1999). Prakash (1999) demonstrated that some oppressed cultures gain their emancipation through the values of western modernity. As Prakash (1999) discuss, this further lead local cultures to develop a political movement to demand their rights from colonialist countries.

Conclusion

In this literature review, we sought to present an overview on governmentality in sport studies. We did so by analysing the research objectives, the methodologies and research findings from a critical perspective. We conducted our analysis based on three main research domains: Development of/through community sports; High performance sports; and Body and health politics.

The studies in our review showed similar results across the three domains. The self-regulation of individuals or local organisations, experts, NGOs aiming to meet the expectations of the governing bodies surfaced as one of the main findings across all studies. However, besides few exceptions (Lindsey 2010, Fahlén *et al.* 2015, Batlle *et al.* 2018), current studies rather provide limited information regarding what happened in the field. The studies predominantly analysed the process of governmentality from the view of governing bodies. This partly overlooked the ‘forms of resistance’ within governing bodies or in other organisations in which ‘realities’ occur where individuals resist, fail or reinvent in (self)-regulation (Miller and Rose 2008). In order to understand what happens on the field, we would suggest looking at the interactions between rationalities and the agency of practitioners and participants.

The variety of subjects selected for analysis showed that populations and organisations are aimed to regulate in many different ways such as through Olympics, body and health politics, promoting economic development through baseball and regulation of elite athletes against doping use. The studies could have also engaged with the outcome of government techniques on disadvantaged people in underserved communities, in related to class and poverty concepts. This would help to understand the on-the-ground effects of governmental techniques that eventually overlooks the needs of individuals in deprived areas. Additionally, we would encourage future research to analyse also the combination of sport, youth and unemployment as well, because these concepts are interlinked with each other and significantly affect leisure and employment opportunities of young people. This can help clarifying the actual impacts of neoliberal governmentality on individuals and their social, economic and political opportunities.

Previous studies also emphasised that government technologies of directing should not subordinate traditional governing methods such as coercion or oppression to execute government strategies (Dean 2010, Bröckling *et al.* 2011, Lemke 2012). Domination and liberty are still constitutive parts of (neo)liberal governmentality (Hindess 2001). Therefore, future research in sport should also look for possible processes where both domination and persuasion co-exist. Relatedly, we believe it is essential to analyse the techniques of governmentality in different parts of the world and conduct analysis beyond euro-centric governmentality perspective. This way we can possibly observe the workings of coercion and force in tandem that mobilise individuals. This would likely enhance our understanding on the rationalities of governments and the reaction of agency towards government's responsabilisation techniques.

From a social perspective, the reviewed studies discussed the ways governments assign their social objective to individuals, NGOs or, local public institutions. We partly agree with the studies that reflect their techniques in a negative tone, referring to the governments only considering the economic priorities. However, this can also open a window for political awareness of individuals and local NGOs as they become obliged to social issues. While it is obvious that social issues (e.g. poverty, migration) require direct involvement of states, yet again, individuals and NGOs engaging with these issues may also facilitate to recognise the neglect of governments and, help to develop alternative (innovative) strategies to demand their social rights from governments or create an alternative strategy to generate their own resources without state involvement. Thus, conducting social programmes with the intention of getting funding, may not be solely a negative outcome for NGOs or individuals. It may also help developing resistance techniques against the act of government. Future studies, particularly at the individual level, could benefit from looking at how these government technologies affect the politicisation processes of governed people in/through sports field.

4. Chapter 2: Social inclusion for whom and towards what end? A critical discourse analysis of youth and sport policies in Turkey²

Abstract

This article examines the social inclusion policy strategies of the Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS). Using a critical discourse analysis, based on Norman Fairclough's work (2012), the aim is to analyse the discourses used within policy-related documents regarding social inclusion, youth, and sport. In order to achieve this objective, we analysed 15 key documents, including annual activity reports, national youth and sport policy documents, and strategic plans produced by the Ministry. Findings revealed that the dominant discourses about young people seem to be embedded within neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies in which depoliticised notions of 'employment/apprenticeship' and 'the family' are put forward as solutions for the social inclusion of young people. However, such a discourse risks further sustaining the social exclusion of youth, denying their full citizenship.

² This chapter has been published by the Journal of Youth Studies: Açıkgöz S, Haudenhuyse R, Aşçı H. Social inclusion for whom and towards what end? A critical discourse analysis of youth and sport policies in Turkey. *J Youth Stud* 2019;22:330–45. doi:10.1080/13676261.2018.1506571.

4.1. Introduction

At 24.3%, Turkey has one of the highest populations of young people in the OECD (OECD [The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development], 2019), a matter that receives a substantial amount of official attention in a manner that is shaping the country's future (Yurttagüler, 2016). However, recent data shows that young people in Turkey have different and complex problems. They depend on family support and family income determines their attendance at school, their use of health services, and their participation in organised leisure (KONDA, 2014). Despite this, state priorities seem to differ. Based on the dominant policy perspectives on young people found in various policy documents, Yurttagüler (2016) states that young people in Turkey are considered both as 'the future of the nation' and as 'a group to be controlled'. Sukarieh and Tannock (2015) also argued that the youth are encouraged to work for the benefit of governments and their business-related agendas. Economic recessions have led governments and international companies to view youth as a panacea or 'human resource' for social and economic development. For the post-2008 era, different neoliberal ideologies have been propagated through using concepts such as "youth empowerment" and "youth entrepreneurship". The seemingly benevolent and positive (feel-good) connotations that accompany such concepts, have not only caught the interest of the broader public opinion, but also has served the needs of various powerhouses (e.g. transglobal companies, supranational organisations). For example, international companies advocate economic-based incentives for youth employment (e.g. on-the-job training, apprenticeships), while governments and NGOs focus on voluntary based programmes to improve young people's employability (Sukarieh and Tannock, 2015, 2008). Such neoliberal practices are constructed in limited geographies, but their execution take place in different parts of the world, creating a polymorphic feature that recreates new types of practices (Peck et al., 2018; Wacquant, 2012). And because youth is considered as easy-to-mobilise social category, they often find themselves centred-staged as a malleable group to be managed and (re-)directed in the midst of ever changing neoliberal practices (Wyn and White, 2000).

As a result of the market-oriented practices, social needs of young people face the risk to become neglected. Using Chevalier's (2015) two-dimension youth welfare

citizenship typology, Yılmaz (2017) concluded that youth in Turkey are a representation of denied youth citizenship. Chevalier (2015, 6) argued that this denial of youth citizenship could reflect state policies that highlight and utilise the family for the provision of social benefits, thereby shying away from giving young people the means to achieve independence. Yılmaz (2017) illustrated that denied youth citizenship in Turkey can be explained in two ways. First, access to education is not guaranteed and school-dropout rates are relatively high, particularly after the age of 14 (cf. Goksen and Cemalcilar, 2010). So, they find themselves either jobless or trapped in types of employment that guarantee a perpetuation of their impoverished status (Côté, 2014). Second, the state spends little on young people, making families responsible for providing basic social services and support. It can therefore be claimed that young people are not being granted citizenship, but rather a minority status or ‘denizenship’. This conceptualisation of the youth disables them as active agents in their own lives, disempowering them as actors for social change and increasing stigmatisation and marginalisation (e.g. Wacquant, 2008).

Based on above mentioned problems of young people in Turkey, the aim of this paper is to analyse, the prominent sport-related policies and discourses in relation to the concept of ‘social inclusion’. The problematisations of the MYS and the proposed solutions regarding current problems of young people will be the focal point of this research. Through sport, this study aims to reveal whether adopt rights-based social inclusion policies. Research on sport for social inclusion policies (e.g. Aggestål and Fahlén, 2015; Kelly, 2011) and the right to participate in sport (Donnelly, 2008; McArdle and Giulianotti, 2006) have been mainly conducted in Western countries. For this reason, this study also aims to contribute existing literature by analysing how issues related to sport, social inclusion and youth are represented, positioned and conceptualized by policy authorities in one of the South East Mediterranean Countries, Turkey.

4.2. Literature review

4.2.1. Social exclusion

Young people do not face social exclusion mechanisms and outcomes only because of their parents’ socioeconomic condition, they are also affected in different domains of

social life. This also makes them more vulnerable to social isolation (e.g. Levitas et al., 2007) but, despite this, governments increasingly incline towards market-prioritised policies. However, the scarcity of employment opportunities and working conditions (e.g. instability, job insecurity, poor working conditions, low wages) blurred the lines of transition from youth to adulthood and has furthermore created exploitive mechanisms (Blatterer, 2010; Woodman and Wyn, 2014). As young people are confronted with both the expectations of adults and the requirements of being an adult, they face the economic and social burdens of an ‘emerging’ adulthood, which can have a significant impact on such transitions. The struggle to form families and working in precarious jobs, can result in young people becoming stuck between two age phases of life (Pitti, 2017). This outcome not only delay the transition to adulthood but also lead to social exclusion of youth. Additionally, Krahn et al. (2017) indicate that socio-economic status of parents and gender have still significant role in young people’s transition to adulthood in Canada.

Turkey is one country where the social exclusion of children and young people aged 10–24 is severe. Recent data illustrates that they are faced with a myriad of problems, including youth unemployment, poverty, child labour and lack of engagement in social and cultural activities (CSGB, 2017; Yurttagüler, 2016). Multi-dimensional complexities of social exclusion need to be considered to be able to address the alternatives, particularly for the exclusion of young women. Enneli and Enneli (2017) argue that the hardship of employment opportunities contributes to the erosion of traditional gender structures, but it also keeps young women away from participating in labour market in Turkey.

The countries in Southeast-Mediterranean or Arab region face similar harsh effects of social exclusion that severely excludes ethnically minorities, political opponents and women (Backeberg and Tholen, 2018). As a result of gender inequality and segmented labour market, only small rate of women are being able to work (Paciello and Pioppi, 2014). Paternalist relationships and nepotism in the Arab region, cause further marginalisation through exclusion that leads to frustration amongst young people for the future of themselves and their country (Calder et al., 2017). The precarity of human and social rights in Arab countries - with limited civil society

organisations - fetter young people to combat against exclusion at the legal dimension (cf. Abdellatif, 2004).

4.2.2. Sport's promise of social inclusion

Providing direct participation in social life, community sport is considered a vehicle to meet young peoples' social needs. Several studies have analysed sport's potential role in social inclusion and a wide range of psychological and sociological problems (Aggestål and Fahlén, 2015; Kay, 2009). It also enables practitioners to more easily reach disadvantaged young people, mainly young males, than do other approaches (Spaaij, 2009).

The rise of sport-based social programmes and policies has also been accompanied by an increasing amount of critical research. For example, Spaaij (2009) has argued that sport can be seen as part of a neo-liberal policy area, an instrument to regulate and 'control' disadvantaged people. Bloyce and Smith (2010) criticised such programmes for not offering solutions to social problems, but rather initiating programmes in order to be 'doing at least something'. From another perspective, Haudenhuyse, Theebom, and Nols (2013) suggested practitioners should avoid pre-determined outcomes regarding youth development and embrace a reflexive approach allowing for adaptability to participants' social life situations and 'uncertainty' towards desirable outcomes.

Social inclusion through sport raises more fundamental questions regarding different groups of young people. Previous studies have showed that girls or women are more likely to face exclusion from sport (Coad, 2008; Rannikko et al., 2016). Similarly, young people and families belonging to minority ethnic groups are less likely to be able to participate in sport activities (Amara and Henry, 2010; Mackintosh and Dempsey, 2017). Therefore, sport-based programs may also unwittingly reproduce the inequalities for girls and/or young people from minority backgrounds. It has been largely acknowledged in the academic field that sport may not provide positive social outcome for young people. It may also reproduce some of the social inequalities in the communities (Spaaij et al., 2015). However, the fact that more than any other type of organized social activities, sport-based activities attract young people regardless of their socio-economic background, still keep sport to be considered as an

important component for youth development and policy (e.g. Haudenhuyse et al., 2013).

Another important and undervalued aspect of sport and social inclusion is to acknowledge sport and leisure as fundamental rights of young people. Alongside nutrition, housing and education, leisure is as such considered as a fundamental requirement for children's development (United Nations, 2013). Insufficient leisure time, whether in education or socially, during which children (and human beings in general) can act freely, can have a potential negative impact on their development and well-being. Moreover, when governments invest and provide services for community sport opportunities for young people and expect no benefit in return, this can be seen as an important indicator about the actualization of social right of different group of young people, and in particular does relating to leisure and play (Donnelly and Petherick, 2004; Lord and Stein, 2009). This can be traced in the policies of non-Western countries to understand different approaches and policies towards young people's social rights.

This research employs Fairclough's CDA methodology as its main guide and examines the policy documents of the MYS. Our main intention in analysing the specific documents, is to explain how sport and youth authorities of Turkey approach and conceptualize social inclusion. Our aim is not only to identify the problems related to social inclusion and sport strategies, but also to explain why these problems and government policies emerge. Fairclough's (2012) model enabled us to look beyond sport and see whether social rights of young people are violated. Fairclough (2012) explain that looking from a multiple perspective can contribute to the theoretical and methodological developments of the field. Throughout the study, in addition to our primary aim, we also try to identify the main social problems of young people, identify social realities and explain why these problems and perspectives of the MYS emerge in Turkey.

4.3. Methodology

4.3.1. Critical discourse analysis

This article adapted critical discourse analysis (CDA) to describe and compare the discourses regarding social inclusionary policies in Turkey, within the policy domains

of youth and sport in particular. According to Fairclough (2012), CDA aims to make a case about changing social conditions for the better. Thus, it aims not only to identify ‘social wrongs’, but also understand how and why they emerge in different social spheres (Fairclough, 2012). CDA research is a relatively new field for sport studies (Piggin, 2013). Some of the studies that have employed systematic critical discourse analysis have done so in relation to sport for development and peace, the role of sport in general politics, and gender (e.g. Hayhurst, 2009; Liao and Markula, 2009; Whigham and Bairner, 2018).

4.3.1.1. Four stages

Fairclough’s (2012) four-stage model is used to assess social realities of sport and youth policies in Turkey and the model aims to critically analyse policy discourse by implementing the following plan:

1. Identify the social wrong and construct the objects of research;
2. Analyse what is represented and problematised in the texts.
3. Consider how social wrongs are addressed and embedded within the texts;
4. Argue how social wrongs could be overcome.

Based on this framework, the first step involves describing social exclusionary mechanisms affecting young people in Turkey and identifying social rights violations and their exclusion, as what Fairclough terms ‘*social wrongs*’. The imagined solution then becomes ‘*social inclusion through sport*’, in which it is believed that sport can have an impact on young people’s social rights and social inclusion. In this first stage, the aim is to portray the positioning of social inclusion through sport represented in the MYS policy documents. By analysing sports-based social inclusionary programmes, the objective is try to understand how such programmes are represented in official documents. The second step examines the MYS social inclusion perspectives and narratives, describing the logic behind them to infer how non-sports policies shape or determine the outcome of sport’s use from a political perspective (Fairclough, 2012). The third and fourth stages consider political priorities within the broad sport policy context, including the unearthing and description of the priorities and rationale of the Turkish government as shown in the MYS policy documents. The way social inclusion was conceptualised and how it was used within sport concept is articulated in the conclusion.

4.3.2. Analysis

4.3.2.1. The MYS documents

The initial selection criterion was to take documents produced by the MYS from its foundation in 2011 until 2017 and look for themes related to: social inclusion, sport and social inclusion, community sport, youth projects, and sport-based interventions, deliberately selecting multiple terms to gain a broader understanding of the relationships between different concepts regarding youth, sport, and social in-/exclusion. All documents referring to or containing information about the social inclusion of youth or sport-based inclusionary policies and programmes were analysed. The general information regarding the documents is listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Overview of documents

Documents	Author	Year(s)
<i>The National youth and sport policy document</i>	MYS	2012
<i>Youth council: Report on Disadvantaged youth and participation in social life</i>	MYS	2012
<i>Annual Activity Reports (n:5)</i>	MYS	2012-2016
<i>Strategic plan 2013 – 2017</i>	MYS	2013
<i>Annual ‘youth project’ reports (n:3)</i>	MYS	2014-2016
<i>Youth Projects Call for Submissions – Practical Guidelines (n:3)</i>	MYS	2014-2016
<i>EACEA (The Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency) National Policies Platform – Turkey</i>	NA*	2018
<i>Total no. of documents</i>	15	

*National Agency

In the following section, based on Fairclough’s (2012) model, the position of sport regarding social inclusion and other representations of social inclusion in the policy documents are discussed, organised around the following main themes: sport and social inclusion, short-term programmes, normalisation of at-risk youth as saviours of the nation, neoconservative family relations, and neo-liberal priorities and youth.

4.4. Discussion

4.4.1. Sport and social inclusion

In the MYS documents, statements regarding sport from a social intervention perspective are frequently encountered but without a well-articulated strategy:

The importance of sport has been increasing in today's world. Regardless of language, religion and race, by bringing people together and contributing to world peace, sport is a universal activity. With sport's increasing importance in these matters, all the countries' material and intellectual investment has increased (MYS Annual Activity Report, 2015, p. 27).

Based on statements underlining the importance of sport, Coalter (2010) argues for its mythopoeic status at both policymaking and practical levels. The sports rhetoric in the texts presents broad statements, often lacking information on how sport actually needs to be delivered at the practical level. This ambiguity, Coalter (2010) argues, oversimplifies the possible role of sport. While how the potential of sport was used is unclear, the text referring to the rationale of addressing social inclusion includes legitimacy concerns:

Amongst the liabilities of our country in EU candidacy, tackling social exclusion continues since the year of 2004 under the programme of Joint Inclusion Memorandum [JIM], which has been accepted as an action programme for EU candidate countries (MYS, 2012, p. 7)

Despite references in the above to the *Joint Inclusion Memorandum*, which details a programme designed for candidate countries to prepare for EU requirements on social inclusion and combatting poverty (European Commission, 2004), the texts do not refer to follow-up activities or how these requirements have been implemented. Despite the seeming clarity of policy statements, how they are concluded or processed is ambiguous. For this reason, Hayhurst (2009) suggests that policy statements and policy implementation processes need to be separately described in policy documents.

In a similar vein, only small segments in the annual activity reports refer to the needs of different groups of young people, such as, refugees or people with disabilities, but none of the documents refer to the needs of young people from different ethnicities such as, for example, Romani people or Kurds. Although gender inequality amongst youth is a major issue in Turkey (IYF [International Youth Foundation], 2017), there

is only document, namely the National Youth and Sport Policy (see MYS 2012b), that briefly stresses the way gender equality should be addressed. Taking into account that this is the only policy document of the MYS that is available in English, including such a gender perspective could be viewed as a strategy to satisfy the expectations of international organisations. None of the other policy documents in Turkish explicitly refers to the specific or differentiated social needs of young women and men. Rather than embracing a multi-dimensional approach towards social inclusion, the MYS seem to promote gender-segregated activities for young people (Lüküslü, 2016), which could possibly widen the gender inequality gap. In line with other research (Woodman and Wyn, 2015), the selected policy documents adopt a rather homogenous and undifferentiated to young people and youth policies.

Short-term programmes

Texts and the description of the projects show that programmes tend to serve as ‘tokenistic’ gesture that fits within the policy discourse, rather than delivering programs with effective potential for social inclusion. The annual activity reports refer to how sport for social inclusion addressed within sport-based projects. Considering the fact that Syrian people migrated in large numbers to Turkey after the civil war in Syria, conducting programmes on social cohesion seems legitimate. A text about a recent sport for social inclusion programme, *‘Brotherhood for peace on the green pitch’*, exemplifies the general intentions:

The tournament is a project organised for millions of people who had to leave [Syria] and come to Turkey because of the civil war going on in Syria. This is a project to ensure the generosity of those [Turkish people] who showed hospitality to young Syrian asylum seekers remains sustainable... and thus, touched upon a way to show our Syrian siblings we stand by their side, in which sport is used as a tool... The tournament, where 240 Syrian athletes participated, lasted one month (MYS Annual Activity Report, 2016, p. 123-124).

This programme mainly aimed at addressing an overt and urgent need but remains however vague in how Syrian people’s problems will be resolved, and how sport can be organised and delivered to contribute to the solutions. While it may be difficult to affirm the tokenistic side of projects by looking at texts, the project’s short duration can be viewed as partly explanatory for the intentions. That the programme is being

named as a ‘tournament’ also shows that by organizing one-off events, fundamental issues regarding social exclusion of Syrian youth are not the main concern of the programme.

The ‘*brotherhood*’ or ‘*siblings*’ emphasis above may have different purposes. It could be a call for Syrians to acknowledge Turkish officials’ sincerity or may aim to alleviate potential negative feelings of some Turkish people towards millions of Syrian asylum seekers by emphasising ‘*brotherhood*’ and ‘*generous Turkish society*’. The text also shows that the project was conducted to promote Turkish-Syrian cohesion. However, the use of rhetorical terms like ‘*Brotherhood*’ or ‘*generous Turkish society*’ do not sound like a formal policy report and thus, the discourse becomes de-contextualised from the programme’s outcome. Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) argued that such ‘heartfelt narratives’ involving sport and delicate subjects tend to shift a programme’s focus from problem-solving to the sensitivities of the matters involved, thereby making it difficult to arrive at judgements about the policies themselves.

The texts provided for European Commission by Turkish authorities, does acknowledge the limitations of social inclusion policies in both the MYS and the Turkish state. Compared to the other documents that try to conceal the weaknesses of public institutions, use implicit information and not taking any responsibility regarding the problems (Van Dijk, 2009), this online text differs, as it includes a self-evaluating discourse and it addresses the organisational incapability and lack of policies in fighting social exclusion:

Variability on the level of fundamental determinants among institutions providing social inclusion; Lack of holistic, comprehensive policies in relation to individuals who are subject to social exclusion; Legal and economic barriers to the development of efficient struggling methods against social exclusion (immigrants, disadvantaged segments, etc.) (European Commission Youth Wiki - National Policies Platform, 2018).

4.4.2. Normalisation of ‘at-risk youth’ as saviours of the nation

Where sport was mentioned, sport and the right to play were not presented within the concept of youth citizenship. This could be partly explained by a perception of youth as assets rather than as citizens thereby seeing sport as trivial.

As the general directorate, our basic principle is that the youth need to become more knowledgeable about society, active in national development, aware of humanistic and nationalistic values, entrepreneurial and eager to participate [...] Also, young people who are not in education and employment are targeted for inclusion in economic and social life (MYS, 2012).

The features attributed to youth betray presumptions about the state's expectations of them and why sport receives limited attention in the policy documents. In this extract, youth are depicted based on government priorities like '*eager to participate*', '*nationalistic*', and '*entrepreneurial*'. But do these priorities coincide with what young people actually need and how policies will meet their needs within the concept of citizenship rights? The view of youth as 'future prospects' leads policy makers to deemphasise (and depoliticise) how policies will meet their social needs regarding citizenship rights (Axford, 2010), focussing instead on the attributes demanded of them.

In the documents, there are limited policy or statement of intention specifically addressing young people's social needs, including community sports and social inclusion. Their conceptualisation of youth instead depicts them as the saviours and future of the nation, the backbone of societal and economic development (Serrano Pascual and Martín Martín, 2017; Yurttagüler, 2016). This double-sided view has become a common notion and in similar observations have been made for youth in different geographical areas (e.g. Walsh et al., 2018). This paradox of youth can be explanatory for the discontinuous and inconsistent practices towards young people, which is not specifically an unconscious act but a part of mobile calculative techniques in governing where the relationships are in constant 're-contextualisation' (Ong, 2007).

The skills expected from young people blur the lines between youth and adulthood, making it harder to understand where they are positioned as citizens. France and Threadgold (2016) also argue that the age range of adulthood is widening and has started infringing upon what was considered pre-adulthood, facilitating the responsabilisation of young people in relation to the implementation of policy objectives.

The above also illustrates that those responsible for conducting youth and sport-based projects see young people as individuals who need to be equipped with

skills. Based on our adoption of Fairclough's conceptualisation of social wrong as it pertains to the youth as 'the violations of social rights and social exclusion of young people' (Fairclough, 2012), we note the almost complete absence of sport as a component of the strategic plans to address this issue. The paucity of references in these documents to the role of sport requires us to look outside sport policies and programs and observe how youth is positioned in relation to other social inclusion policies.

4.4.3. Promotion of neoconservative family relations

The dearth of systematic and critical considerations of social inclusion strategies in general, and sport-based social inclusion strategies in particular, aimed at young people in Turkey is salient. Within Turkish youth policy in general, the main solution presented for the social inclusion of youth is the concept of 'familialisation' (Yazıcı, 2012), which predominates in the policy documents examined:

The structural feature of the family, which is the most important element of society, determines the structure of society. From this perspective, the family carries the main responsibility of providing material and moral support for its members, helping in their socialization [...] (The National Youth and Sport Policy Document, 2012, p. 10).

Here we see a post-welfarist approach that assigns responsibility to families and individuals. As Ekholm (2018) argues, the governing discourse neglects governments' role in social problems, trying to develop solutions by encouraging people and groups that experience poverty, social exclusion, or discrimination. In this context, the role of social policy in fighting social exclusion is ambiguous. On the other hand, emphases on the importance of family are consistent in the policy document:

Problems in family life cause serious problems in young people that lead to moral corruption, [...] and psychological problems. Studies support these findings. Accordingly, families who fail to educate their children based on the values and culture of the society they live in, increase the possibility of youth's societal alienation [...] (The National Youth and Sport Policy Document, 2012, p. 11).

This illustrates that the family is viewed both as bearing the main responsibility for young people and the onus for giving them a proper education. Such a view, however, means the family could be seen as 'guilty' of improperly raising the children. In the above

citation, the ‘studies card’ is played out to substantiate the claims that neglectful or dysfunctional families are the cause of young people’s social ills but the policy document did not provide any actual reference. In contrast, in Bora's (2013) study, unemployed young people’s experiences showed that depending on families only postponed economic problems and could also cause psychological problems. Çelik, (2008) argued that young people in poor families struggle to escape the poverty cycle, find jobs that will provide immediate support for their families. This force them to drop out of school and start in precarious works. In the ministry documents, on the one hand we see the power of family being praised, and on the other, young people are encouraged to take temporary intermediate jobs and short-term employment-related training (see next section). Peck et al. (2018) argue that when traditional neoliberal practices become inadequate, such practices often merging with other government models such as authoritarianism or social democracy. In this respect, the neoconservative discourse and practices are seemingly used as complementary of neoliberal practices.

4.4.4. Neo-liberal priorities and youth

In the analysed policy documents regarding MYS-supported projects, social inclusion was absorbed into the concepts of ‘social participation’ and ‘economic participation’ Levitas (2005). (Fairclough, 1989) calls this a ‘logical connector’, where a false cohesion is produced between social inclusion and social/economic participation. ‘An ideological common sense’ is created to establish the social and economic participation of young people as self-action to overcome social exclusion. In the documents, economic deficiencies are conceptualised as a premise of social exclusion:

These projects are for the youth who stayed out of the education system or who were not able to attain a profession... Their aim is to develop socio-economic cohesion and strengthen youth employment by providing them with education, workshops in the country or abroad (Youth projects general call II – practical guideline, 2016, p. 7).

Levitas (2005) discuss this type of social inclusion as social integrationist discourse (SID), in which social exclusion is conceptualised as ‘exclusion from paid work’. Economic participation is offered as the sole solution to inclusion. Levitas (2005) also discuss that emphasizing economic participation as a route to inclusion (or way to combat social exclusion), can cause more gender inequality in the work place, and can deepen processes of social exclusion for people who are furthest away from the labour

market. Specifically, the term *workforce* provides insight into what may be the underlying intention of policy makers: meeting the needs of industry. Chevalier (2016) also stated that policies addressing young people who dropped out of school primarily aim at preparing them for work. In an environment where disadvantaged young people are labelled ‘low-skilled’, the government concentrates on a demand-side policy, directing low-skilled young people into low-cost training and jobs (Chevalier, 2016, p. 6).

Different studies state that employment programmes that claimed to enhance social inclusion by promoting employment and vocational training rather than education and social rights risk further marginalising young people dealing with the dire outcomes of educational disengagement and inequality (e.g. Morgan and Parker, 2017). In Turkey, Yılmaz (2017) has argued that structural problems in education affect young people’s attendance at school. Despite the problems, MYS has directly related vocational training to education, neglecting young people’s personal development:

[Organising] vocational training projects in order to meet the needs of intermediate staff, in industry with trade associations or companies that are able to employ such intermediate staff through projects. The projects call for programmes that aim to respond to the needs of qualified personnel through national and/or international training courses, education events and workshops (Youth projects general call II – practical guideline, 2016, p. 8).

Here, the emphasis is on *intermediate staff* [ara eleman], meaning low-level labourers from vocational schools. Under this rationale, they are implicitly encouraged to choose a career from a limited number of professions. This could be related with Wacquant (2012) concept of the “centaur-state”, in which general policy discourses mainly contain liberal discourses that legitimise the position of international or supra-national organisations (i.e. European Commission) and to meet the expectations of upper (elite) classes. In contrast, the specific policy discourses regarding marginalised people are uncalculated notions of employment (e.g. flexicurity), equal educational opportunities (that deemphasize current unequal outcomes) or socio-spatial changes (e.g. gentrification) that eventually lead to deeper marginalisation (Flint, 2018). Similarly, Chevalier (2016) argued that school-to-work transitions are determined by the skills

of young people based on their social backgrounds through vocational schools or the higher education system.

The MYS-funded sport for social inclusion programmes were also employed in some cases to allegedly provide social inclusion for disadvantaged youth within the concept of employment. In one of these projects called '*The Apprentices of Industry, the Stars of the Future*' [*Sanayinin Çırakları, Geleceğin Yıldızları*], its purpose is described as follows:

In different districts of Ankara, by selecting from 7 different vocational education centres, the project was carried out for youth apprentices lacking social activity and not able to spend their leisure time efficiently. [The project aimed] to facilitate sportive, social and cultural activity and provide an environment for socialisation, and contribute to the process of the development and discovery of their own potential (MYS Annual Activity Report, 2016, p. 105).

Contrarily, the news about the launch of the project on the MYS official website described it differently:

...To contribute to the discovery of [football-wise talented] youth apprentices who attend training courses in different vocational education centres (MYS, 2016).

In the text, it is clear that general youth and employment-related policies are adapted within the concept of sport and social inclusion. However, apart from intentions of sport for social inclusion programmes, how projects are organised also needs to be scrutinized. For example, relating sport activities to youth apprenticeship risks legitimising 'cheap' youth (or child) labour at the community level (CSGB, 2017). This might also drive socially excluded young people towards apprenticeship, rather than stimulating and supporting them to pursue educational opportunities.

4.5. Conclusion

The study's purpose was to examine documents from the Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport using Fairclough's (2012) critical discourse analysis to understand how social inclusion was positioned regarding young people in Turkey, with a focus on sport-based programmes. It is found that sport is neither strategically used as a social inclusion tool or positioned as a right of young people. In terms of sport for social inclusion, the intention specifically seems to be to create an image of fulfilling social

inclusion responsibilities for international and domestic purposes (particularly in relation to the EU). Based on our analyses, sport-based inclusionary programmes addressing social inclusion can be described as eclectic. In the parts where the selected policy documents mention disadvantaged young people and their needs, such parts lack ethnical and gender aspects and the role of sport in these concepts. The superficiality and inadequate information in the analysed documents on social inclusion through sport also clearly show that the policies and envisaged programmes are far away from any solid theoretical background in how sport can contribute to social inclusion (Coalter, 2017; Spaaij et al., 2014) . Short-termed sport programmes of the MYS can be also related with the impact of the economic recession and accompanying austerity policies, by which the sustainability of programmes receives limited attention due to (neoliberal) political reasons - Big Society, Small Government - about the self-sufficiency of communities and community-based projects (Rossi and Jeanes, 2018).

We see a large diversity of aims and various ‘grand’ objectives encompassing the creation of employment opportunities and providing social cohesion and integration. Although the discourse about social inclusion is overt and considered in different texts, it is mainly built around a combination of neoliberal and neoconservative narratives (Yazıcı, 2012). The general discourse implies that sport-based programmes are shaped by government macro-ideologies about youth and social policy, with the youth conceptualised as an asset for state objectives and neglected as citizens, perpetuating the deep-rooted problems of young people.

Although we analysed the social inclusion discourse in the MYS policy documents, there are also other ministries (i.e. the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Development) in which social inclusion policies are developed. Future research in this area could be expanded to include evidence from these ministries and additionally analyse discourses contained in less structured and more informal verbal statements by relevant authorities. This could reveal more about the ‘hidden agendas’ of governments regarding young people and their expectations of them. Future research also needs to investigate the experiences of young people and how they give meaning and navigate in such discourses of neoliberalism and neoconservatism.

We also acknowledge that, despite recent developments in critical discourse studies, the methodology also brings several limitations. One of the main limitations is that CDA can suffer from a top-down unidimensional perspective that is likely to miss the day-to-day implications of policy regulations in the lives of young people (and their families), and furthermore might down-play the agency of young people and their families to resist or challenge dominant policy discourses (Breeze, 2011; Krzyżanowski, 2016). However, as it was crucial for the MYS (as a rather young ministry department) to legitimise itself both at the national and international level, it remains important to critically analyse how, in relation to young people, elite social policy actors write about different policy problems and solutions. Future research can enrich critical discourse studies by integrating studies of different scholar's sociocognitive approaches to expose the violations of social and human rights (e.g. Van Dijk, 2009).

5. Chapter 3: Opening up the path towards social innovation in youth & sport policy: Understanding the mechanisms of sport-based interventions for young people in Turkey³

Abstract

Similar to different parts of the world, sport and youth projects prevail in Turkey, as an organisational model to address social and health related issues through sport. This aim of this study is to analyse the implementation process of a sport-for-development project conducted in Turkey. By analysing the project, the organisational processes and partnership relationships between a local NGO and local public institution are examined. A series of in-depth interviews are conducted with NGO coordinators, local public institution officials, school teachers to find out about the operations of the project. The study results show that the implementation process of the project contained several organisational problems that caused by internal and external factors such as aims and priorities of the project, organisational incapacity, discoordination between partners. The results reflect that ‘projects’ as an organisational model to address social issues are still in emerging phase in Turkey and analysed case reflect that both NGO and local public institution does not have adequate capacity to meet the social development expectations of the sport-for-development projects. The intentions of the local officials have direct effect on the project which the study concludes with suggestions for policy and practice to conduct socially innovative projects for meaningful contribution to lives of young people in Turkey.

³ This chapter submitted for and accepted through peer-review for the book titled ‘Alternative Futures of Sport: Social Innovation, Digitalization and New Sports: Açıkgoz Selçuk, Haudenhuyse Reinhard, Tınaz Cem (2020) (Book Section). Opening up the path towards social innovation in youth & sport policy: Understanding the mechanisms of sport-based interventions for young people in Turkey. In: Alternative Futures of Sport: Social Innovation, Digitalization and New Sports. Edited by: Tjønndal, Anne. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

5.1. Introduction

Sport-for-development (SFD) projects have become very popular, particularly so in the last 15 years (Burnett, 2015; Sanders et al., 2014). Both academic and practical work has expanded throughout the world and the model of 'project funding' has become the engine of pervasive practices. The implementation process of these projects and how are they constructed within the concept of governance or partnership have been widely discussed in the literature (e.g. Goodwin and Grix, 2011; Grix, 2010; Grix and Phillpots, 2011; Lindsey, 2008, 2017; Sanders et al., 2014). However, we have still limited knowledge about how 'projects' unfold outside western countries or western-based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating in the majority world. Recent studies have highlighted that the organizational (in-)capacity of organizations has caused severe problems in the implementation of these 'developmental interventions' (e.g. Pritchett et al., 2013). Pritchett et al. (2013) articulate this argument by using the concept 'organizational trap', which refers to the hard-to-close gap of organizational capacity (and resources) between western countries and the majority world. The internal complexities of NGOs encourage state and international organizations to take part in the operations of SFD projects run by NGOs, which increases their dependence on external sources. Previous studies have also found that dependency on state actors inevitably increases their involvement in important decisions (Phillpots et al., 2010; Sanders et al., 2014).

As a result of such deficiencies and challenges, public organizations and NGOs, either together or separately, develop their own innovative ways of addressing social issues (e.g. social exclusion, poverty, social cohesion). Organizational innovation requires changes towards management models in coherence with local capabilities and needs (Hartley, 2005; Tjønndal, 2017), rather than models causing 'histoincompatibility', which describes the disharmony between (external) organizational models and local characteristics. For NGOs, an increasing organizational capacity can be achieved through innovative strategies related to policy environment and partnering with local institutions (Osborne, 2008). Ringuet-Rigo et al. (2013) also mention that innovation in organizational systems can facilitate the improvement of performance and bring solutions to problems that hinder impactful projects.

In this respect, the aim of this chapter is to analyze a project conducted by a local NGO and a local public sport institution in a challenging, organizational setting. We describe the implementation process of the project by detailing the workings of the ‘project model’ in organizations with low organizational capacity and limited resources. We focus on both the perspectives of state and non-state actors on the project implementation process (Lindsey et al., 2019). Drawing from the analysis, we conclude by describing innovative, alternative ways that can possibly improve the operations and capacity of organizations. In the next section, we begin by explaining the role of the Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport, the main funder of sport-based youth projects, including the project analyzed in this study.

5.1.1. Sport and Youth Projects in Turkey

The Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS) was re-founded in 2011. After 2011, MYS ran a number of projects and activities regarding youth and sport policies. MYS itself reported that it had run 3,341 youth and sports projects between 2012 and 2018 with a total of 224.5 million Turkish Lira (as at the end of December 2018, approx. 36 million Euro) (MYS, 2018). Although the youth and sports policies are still in an emerging phase, MYS organizes projects with a diversity of aims, such as social cohesion, sport participation, values education and social mobility (e.g. Açıkgöz et al., 2018). It should also be noted that the most commonly funded project themes for sport and youth policies relate to developing infrastructure (e.g. construction work, such as building mobile centres and local sport facilities). These projects cost more than social projects because they develop infrastructure and building construction (MYS Annual Activity Report, 2017). However, very little information about how these projects unfold in terms of their implementation by funded NGOs and the opportunities and challenges in the execution process is available. Relatedly, previous studies have argued that the centralized management model of MYS has a limiting role in the capacity development of local public institutions, sport federations and NGOs (Açıkgöz et al., 2018; Erturan-Ogut and Sahin, 2015; Tınaz et al., 2014).

Although the funds allocated to the NGOs have been reduced, ‘the project’ model is still viewed as the most effective partnership type between MYS and NGOs (MYS, 2018). The projects are largely implemented by the NGOs. The existing information

about the funded NGOs show that the majority of funds are allocated to relatively small NGOs (Youth and Sport with Data, 2014). Relatedly, Erturan-Ogut and Sahin (2015) highlight the dominance of clientelist relations in the selection and budgeting processes of the sport federations in Turkey. Erturan-Ogut and Sahin (2015) claim that the political ideologies of the federations determine whether they will receive adequate funding from the government. However, such mechanisms are not unique to the Turkish context (e.g. Collins, 2014; Rich & Misener, 2019).

5.1.2. The ‘governance’ issue and social innovation

Many development and SFD studies consider project approaches to be ineffective. This is due to problems such as organizational incapacity, a lack of resources, short-term focus, reproductive hegemonic norms and a lack of educational components (Baker and Nelson, 2005; Keat and Sam, 2013; Kidd, 2008; Lawson, 2005; Lindsey, 2017; Sanders et al., 2014). Some of these problems have led governments to build partnerships with NGOs and the private sector. However, these partnerships mainly bring different levels of uneven hierarchical and problematic processes in which every organization has its own belief, ideas and structures. Asymmetrical power relations partly explain why partnerships that are developed between several NGOs and public institutions hamper the effective implementation of projects. While this asymmetrical power may increase the independence of NGOs in projects, it can also prevent rival sources of power from being part of the partnership (Goodwin & Grix, 2011). Thus, governments seek to maintain power by making use of several strategies. The ever-changing nature of partnership types and their impact on NGOs can result in projects having disappointing outcomes when it comes to addressing social problems and including targeted groups (e.g. Fahlén et al., 2015).

One of the major issues in the implementation of projects in the majority world is organizational incapacity. Prichett et al. (2013) describe the reason for organizational failure as ‘isomorphic mimicry’, which refers to the imitation of modern institutions from the minority world, despite their organizational and technical deficiencies. Prichett et al. (2013) have also referred to the inertia of organizations in developing their organizational and technical capacity as the ‘capability trap’. This leads many institutions to (re-)produce ‘failed projects’ due to the stubborn structural problems

that have existed for decades (e.g. incoherent relationship between the adapted model and organizational structure). Previous studies have also underlined the importance of organizational capacity for NGOs and public institutions as the main component for determining the end result of projects (Batley and Mcloughlin, 2010; Lindsey, 2017).

Recent studies have started to emphasize the importance of social innovation, which is defined as ‘changes in the cultural, normative or regulative structures [or classes] of the society which enhance its collective power resources and improve its economic and social performance’ (Heiscale, 2007, p. 59). Social innovation enables organizations to re-define themselves and find ways to overcome the problems they are facing (e.g. Ringuet-Riot et al., 2013; Tjønndal, 2017; Tjønndal, 2018). Adapting an innovative approach might present a good starting point for organizations to renew themselves and to develop programmes and activities that can be meaningful for individuals and communities. Considering the level of problematic SFD projects (Schulenkorf et al., 2016), social innovation can also increase the possibilities for NGOs aiming to create bottom-up change and the development of alternative strategies, such as developing their own resources (McSweeney et al., 2019; Ratten, 2011; Ratten and Ferreira, 2016). Further, social innovation also keeps individuals motivated, particularly organizations in the majority world struggling with organizational inertia (or ‘exnovation’, as opposed to innovation) and the sustainability of their programmes. Decolonized organizational models are more likely to provide social transformation and sustainability with their own locally problem-solving techniques, because they mainly reflect the needs of the local people and leaders in the community (cf. Kidd, 2008).

5.2. Methodology

In this study, we analyze the implementation process of a sport-based project conducted in partnership with Turkey’s MYS and a local NGO. Single case study analysis was adopted in order to reflect the specific project and its implementation with a focus on sport. An interpretivist approach was used as the epistemology for this research. In our analysis of the case we tried to focus on the experiences of the staff during the project and how these experiences unfolded in terms of successes and failures. The selected case is entitled ‘From Work to Football Field’, which was

conducted in Çankırı, Turkey. The project participants were youth apprentices between the ages of 15 and 21 working in several different industrial areas in Çankırı. The main objective of the project was to provide social inclusion opportunities through sport activities (MYS, 2016). The project's main activity was to run football tournaments for participants and organize social trips within the city. The project concluded with final games at a professional football stadium, followed by a closing banquet at which various prizes were distributed.

For the purpose of this study we conducted 10 interviews with staff working in the local public youth services and sport institutions (GSIM), NGO coordinators and teacher/school coordinators from Vocational Training Centres (Table 1). We also used observation- and field notes as complements to the data analysis process. Field visits were made to meet with the project personnel and coordinators from the industrial areas, the vocational training centres (VTCs) and secondary schools. The participants were mainly asked about the operation of the project and the parts that needed to be improved. We adopted thematic analysis as a data analysis strategy, which encompassed the following steps: i) familiarization and coding, ii) theme development, refinement and naming and iii) writing up (Braun et al., 2016).

Table 3. Participants

	Number of participants
Case – Çankırı, Turkey	
NGO project coordinators	4
Local public youth services and sport ins. (GSIM)	3
Head of youth projects (Local Institution)	2
School coordinators	2
TOTAL	10

5.3. Discussion

Three themes were identified regarding the implementation process of the project: i) the intentions and aims, ii) coordination and partnership and iii) project implementation problems.

5.3.1. The intentions and aims

The general intentions of the project implementers were the personal or social development of the young participants. In our case, the uncertainty of target goals and a lack of enthusiasm for conducting the project can lead to organizational problems. When defining the project, the executive in charge of youth projects downplayed the urgent needs of young apprentices:

Previously, we have conducted projects on various subjects but we did not do anything about apprentices... By doing this project, we aimed to increase the loyalty of these young people towards the state, make them feel that we cared about them [and] wanted to raise awareness [about their problems]. (Youth Projects Executive, MYS)

The executive's statements highlight the general government mentality of reaching out to every person and occupying every field to reflect the image of '*caring*'. As we will see in the following sections, some of the officials from the local institutions and NGO workers tried to complete the project as it was planned. An NGO coordinator of the project summarized the intention of state-funded sport-based projects in general, which also addressed the priorities that were made in their own project:

First of all, I think, a project – a serious project I mean – should be satisfying, [It should not be done to] just to make a project, make money or earn fame. (NGO Coordinator 1)

A participant claimed that many NGOs that are supported by MYS set out to gain some kind of fame (e.g. gain political or economic power, conduct more partnerships with the state, or promote their own NGO). The officials also had a similar lack of interest in the project, in that their only aim was to get the job done. This meant that the needs of the young participants in the project were neglected:

As I said, besides our manager, I don't think other people cared much [about] the socialization of young people. They were just men who turned up for work because they had to be there. They were not really bothered about the development of the youth. (Local public institution, official 2)

This lack of interest may also be derived from the top-down order of the MYS executive. This lack of interest of local officials could be explained with not being involved in the process of developing the project. This approach shows how the MYS decides the aim and target group of the projects, which reflects also governmental techniques on how to mobilise NGOs for the objectives they have decided. Following statement of the official from local public institution talk about the genesis of the project:

The idea of the project came from the MYS executives and then, they looked for NGOs who conducted projects with young apprentices or similar employment lines. And then, they asked this NGO, if they want to do it. I am not sure if it was the project NGO wanted to coordinate at the first place (Local public institution, official 1).

The intention of MYS to find a NGO for their objectives about conducting a project about the apprentices, gives notions possible problems that emerged during implementation of process. One of the school coordinators asserted that, despite the problems, the project was beneficial for young people:

I think it is even important to impact one child, to show they are important. I believe that there should be something done for these children to tell them they are valuable and important to us. [With the project] at least it brought awareness for these children. (Vocational Training Centre, School Coordinator)

It can be understood from the above statements that the expectations of the project were limited and they were mainly based on a self-created image of caring. This attitude can be seen as creating an illusion of *false generosity*, in which solutions to problems, such as long working hours, educational opportunities and social rights, are overlooked. Instead, the objectives are narrowed down to make the project aims legitimate and easily achievable (Lankshear, 1993). However, it should also be noted

that this rhetoric has a point, in that these types of sporting opportunities are not always available to young people.

5.3.2. Coordination and partnership

The coordination process involved a number of different parties, which added extra complexity to the implementation process. As the project had initially started in the schools with in-school football tournaments, the school coordinators had to be informed about the project and permission obtained by the local public institutions for the young apprentices to participate in the out of school activities and final games. One of the coordinators from the NGO stated that:

They were very helpful in this matter, school principals, deputy principals, GSIM director and his assistants. We personally could not communicate with the children because there was too many of them (some 600 children), and there were also 7 (apprenticeship) schools. It was not easy... (NGO coordinator 2)

The inexperience of the NGO forced the local public sport institutions to intervene and take more responsibility for the project than had been envisaged:

As the organisation was an NGO, it had to get permission from the schools in order to invite young people from the schools. It had to get a consent from the governorship, they had to ask for consent from the provincial directorate for national education. As the NGO could not do this itself, we had to get involved. (Local public institution, official 1).

The statement indicates that the partnership was not initially planned, but that the organizational incapacity of the NGO led to the local youth services and sport institution (GSIM) joining the project. This outcome also highlights that the NGO was not aware of its administrative responsibilities or the legal requirements for starting the project. Even for state-led partnerships, NGOs need to be aware of the regulations in order to take precautions and avoid setbacks to the project (Lindsey et al., 2019). The permission from the various public institutions shows a level of partnership between local sport institutions and NGOs and can also help public institutions to regulate the operations for the NGO (Brinkerhoff, 2002; Lindsey et al., 2019). To qualify the above statement, problems do not only initially emerge as a result of the partnership but are also due to the management of the project by NGO staff. Here, the organizational incapacity and inexperience of the project staff leads to a chaotic

environment with one problem following another (Tinaz et al., 2014). Although this is not the subject of our study, previous studies have shown that public institutions can provide new opportunities and transfer knowledge through their conducted projects, thereby increasing the capacity of the involved NGOs (Lindsey et al., 2019; Mcloughlin, 2011).

5.3.3. Project implementation problems

Most of the participants graduated from the VTCs a few months after the project had started. For this reason, the VTC coordinators involved new young participants in the project. Although the project was ‘designed’ by the NGO, it was not involved in the selection process of the young participants. The problems leading to the ‘re-recruitment’ of the project participants included the neglectful behaviour of the state and non-state actors. A local official recalled this process in the following way:

I don't think the NGO planned the activity very well. There were young people who we saw at the beginning, but they were absent in subsequent activities, for this reason there was a serious problem of effective outcomes of project aims. Whoever was there at the start of the project should all have participated until the end of the project. (Local public institution, official 1)

The local official expressed his concern about the NGO and how, all of a sudden, the project became the public institution's responsibility. The partnership became an object of stress for the other partner, GSIM [Local public youth services and sport institution] and risked failure (Phillpots et al., 2010). This created an extra workload for GSIM, which also had other responsibilities outside the project (Phillpots et al., 2010). GSIM was right in its reproach and in the way the project was organized. However, as a main responsible body and funder of the project, MYS did not provide organizational and technical support, the absence of which impeded both the development of the project and the NGO itself (see also Batley and Mcloughlin, 2010 for similar observations). The local public institution and NGO personnel also lacked motivation and some of the representatives of the vocational schools did not want to participate in the meetings and activities, which put an extra burden on the rest of the limited staff:

At the beginning of this project, we had a coordination problem. Specifically, GSIM should have fully integrated to this project. For example, it helped the organization but was not really effective, we were barely bringing them to the meetings.... Every time a different trainer or local coordinator came to the meeting, so we had to start explaining everything again. (Local public institution, official 3)

The challenges in including the staff also hindered the involvement of the participants in the project. A lack of communication amongst the partners led to the exclusion of some of the participants. In the following quotation, the main coordinator from the local public institution (GSIM) reflects on this problematic relationship:

Despite the official letter we send through governorship, the principal of one of the vocational schools called me in the morning and said that the letter had not been not received, so he was not going to send students from his school, which reportedly was to send 5-6 bus loads of children from that school. (Local public institution, official 2)

The relationship between the organizations led to apathy towards the project. Even for important tasks in the project, the coordination process partly failed and the process relied heavily on a few project staff. Moreover, the concerns of the coordinators reflected the pressures on high-profile officials (e.g. deputy minister of youth and sport, general director of youth services and sport) who were expected to visit the project's main events. Thus, the number of participants became substantially important for the particular event:

And we had a problem like this, because the department chief, the counsellor and the deputy minister were going to come, a low turnout of participants would have displeased the senior executive, which would not have been a big problem for me, but would have been for my superiors. (Local public institution, official 2)

Referring to a similar context, Cleaves (1980) states that as the norms are formed by superiors who often put more emphasis on success, the needs of the participants are at risk of being neglected. The inclusion of more participants also became important for the project's image, which was about looking crowded and energetic with the participation of hundreds of young apprentices (e.g. Camilleri-Cassar, 2014). The project emerged as an activity that was conducted as an obligation to be completed, yet somehow portrayed an image that the project actually benefited the young people.

5.4. Conclusion

This study has examined the implementation process of a sport-based project conducted with the partnership of a local NGO and the Ministry of Youth & Sport (MYS). The analysis showed that the planning was sporadically managed and that organizational flaws emerged during the implementation of the activities. Although the impact of these failures on participants is beyond the scope of this research, it can be said that the organizational problems directly affected the implementation of the project's objectives and, as such, the experiences of those taking part. Analyzing the operations from a holistic perspective, the project suffered from both a lack of knowledge and organizational incapacity on the part of the staff. Despite these problems that are mainly caused by the NGO, MYS's selection of this organisation and providing no intellectual support at the initial stages of the project showed also how MYS distanced themselves from the project in order to move all the responsibility to the NGO. This also demonstrated the governmentality techniques to responsabilise NGOs for disadvantaged young people not only might cause different problems but also necessitate the involvement of the governing bodies in order to complete the project they invested in.

Due to the major difficulties encountered by the NGO, the project 'moved' from being a state-led regulation to a state-centred project and ended with the direct involvement of officials from the local public sport institution (Lindsey et al., 2019). It became apparent from the findings that the executing NGO was incapable of organizing the project and that the local public institution also lacked the necessary knowledge and organizational capacity to redefine themselves or to enhance the performance of the NGO. Thus, the partnership also failed to empower the NGO. The project process revealed that the activities did not aim for any specific outcome for young people, but rather fulfilled an administrative requirement to create a positive image for MYS. The challenges in the project reflected how the issue of youth participation was downplayed in favour of illustrating an image of a successful project performance by the sport authorities (Weiss, 1993).

There were some stages in the implementation where the rationale behind the overall conduct of the project was questionable and prevented the organizers

overseeing the problems beforehand. Thus, an innovative approach to overcoming problems to develop the operations of sport-based projects was not employed. In our view, ‘sport projects’ can be considered as a new initiative for MYS and its local representatives. However, the organizational capabilities of the NGO are not sufficient to offer a meaningful project. Further, MYS needs to consider the more long-term aspects of running sport projects, such as social exclusion and gender inequality. It would seem that the current structural issues and organizational knowledge hold NGOs back and prevent them from operating emancipative, meaningful and impactful projects.

5.5. Suggestions for policy and practice

Considering the recent re-establishment of MYS and the policy strategy of implementing ‘projects’ in close cooperation with local NGOs and institutions, these changes could be considered as organizational innovations in themselves. However, it became clear from the study that MYS and its local institutions had to re-consider the implementation of their projects in order to be effective and, in the long-run, benefit the targeted populations. From the analyzed case, it appears that the innovative practices of MYS do not always have positive outcomes, largely because the local public institutions lack ‘process innovation’ and have traditional management approaches (Hartley, 2005). ‘Networked governance’, which strives to redesign legislations within the practice of local projects and provides resources and provisions could be an alternative way of organizing and implementing sport-based youth projects. In terms of sport-based projects in Turkey, the authorities should focus on the development of organizational capacity, e.g. through skills-based training for coordinators and local staff, rather than simply providing a small amount of funding for local public institutions and NGOs. This is crucial for the implementation process of sport-based projects in Turkey, especially as local organizations in the country (and probably also in other regions and countries) have very limited capacity for improving and impacting the lives of their targeted groups, regardless of whether these are young people or people with disabilities.

For future projects the public institutions should also employ a programme theory approach as a way of conceptualizing and developing the project (Coalter, 2013;

Pawson, 2006). This theory is frequently used to evaluate socially interventionist programmes and offers guidelines for organizations wanting to develop effective strategies. With the theory, public institutions and NGOs can become more precise in their objectives and more aware of every step of their projects by detailed planning and forecasting. Programme theory considers many different aspects, including recruitment, the project aim, the usage of sport, social relationships, social climate and strategic outcomes (e.g. Coalter, 2013). Programme theory can also help organizations to eliminate most of their encountered problems. However, a crucial element would be to involve community members and the targeted youth in the design of the project. Too many logical models and programme theories seem to be developed during (project staff) meetings by a selected (white/upper middle class) few, who have little understanding of the local contexts and lives of the targeted youth (Haudenhuyse et al., 2013). In order to overcome organizational traps, public institutions and NGOs should embrace a problem-driven iterative approach (PDIA). This approach pays special attention to creating an environment for the authentic involvement of local people in decision making, includes a pro-active and iterative feedback process to identify problems timely and employs agents at various levels to ensure that the projects are implemented in an impactful way (Andrews et al., 2013, p.17).

The Turkish government could extend its funding opportunities to all NGOs, rather than only supporting organizations that politically or ideologically resonate with their objectives. In this way, the government would stand a better chance of creating impactful projects for a variety of groups. Future research must also address the politics of funding opportunities and their underlying logics. Relatedly, a significant number of authentic NGOs in Turkey are already addressing various issues in society through sport, such as sexual violence¹, discrimination² and gender inequality in sport^{3,4}. These NGOs run projects that contribute to the democratization of society and address issues that require urgent action. In the case of Turkey, a partnership between MYS and these kinds of well-organized, genuine NGOs could provide new opportunities for local and central public sport institutions to improve their knowledge and technical skills, while at the same time executing impactful projects for vulnerable groups. Further, MYS could still include small emerging NGOs in order to facilitate

the transfer of knowledge and the opening of new opportunities for NGOs at different organizational levels.

Public sport institutions and local NGOs should be aware of socially innovative practices and management models (e.g. ‘new managerialism’) that implicitly contribute to the neoliberal discourse, and thus, not preclude the main premises of non-profit organizations, such as addressing social issues, prioritizing the needs of local people and developing bottom-up approaches (e.g. Hovden, 2015).

Lastly, the gender segregation practices of MYS also need to be re-considered (e.g. Açıkgöz et al., 2018). Considering the gender inequality gap in Turkey (IYF, 2017), gender mixed sport projects are essential to prevent inequalities resulting from gender segregation amongst young people. Additionally, these gender-mixed activities should be supported by the presence of female coaches and managers to counteract gendered perceptions of men in Turkish sport organizations (Koca & Öztürk, 2015). The representation of women in sport organizations would increase the participation of girls looking for social role models in an unbiased sporting environment (Ekholm et al., 2019). Partnering with well-organized NGOs following an emancipative agenda may also help public institutions to raise awareness about the importance of gender-free attitudes.

NOTES

1. Association for Struggle against Sexual Violence. <http://cinselsiddetlemucadele.org/en/>
2. Network of Sport and Body Movement for Vulnerable Groups. <http://bomovu.org/>
3. Women on the Field. <https://www.kizlarsahada.com/>
4. Turkish Association of Sports and Physical Activity for Women. <http://www.kasfad.org/>



6. Chapter 4: “There is nothing else to do!”: The impact of football-based sport-for-development programmes in under-resourced areas⁴

Abstract

The capacity of sport to contribute to broader social-inclusive and developmental outcomes has been widely addressed in current Sport for Development (SfD) studies. By using both the Capability Approach and Hegemony Theory as analytical lenses, we investigated two football-based SfD programs that were implemented in under-resourced areas in Turkey to explore the impact of these programs on improving participants' lives. Data were collected using interviews and focus group with various stakeholders (participants, coordinators, and participant's parents), field visits and observations. Our findings highlight the contradictions of SfD programs, wherein challenges and opportunities are intertwined, and do not appear to lead to clear identifiable outcomes. The activities embody some values that can lead to new opportunities for young people in deprived areas. However, based on our findings, we argue that the dominance of football and the way it is used, can have a neutralizing impact on the capabilities gained through the programs.

⁴ This chapter has been submitted to the *Sport in Society* journal.

6.1. Introduction

The ability of sport to alleviate processes of social exclusion and inequality has been addressed widely in the current literature (e.g. Spaaij, Magee, and Jeanes 2014; Haudenhuyse 2017). The concepts of Sport for Development (SfD)⁵ and Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), which originally referred to sport-based programs run by international non-governmental organizations operating in the developing world, have been used interchangeably with other concepts such as social integration or social inclusion through sport. Due to the organizational and social contexts affecting SfD programs, many programs struggle to generate the envisioned social change (Schulenkorf, Sherry, and Rowe 2016; Whitley et al. 2018). In this regard, Spaaij (2013) argued that we should have modest expectations of SfD programs conducted in complex and challenging local settings. The developmental outcomes of such programs are often haphazard and irregular, which Spaaij (2013, 68) refers to as ‘fractured progression’.

Previous studies have shown that many SfD programs presented mixed results—owing to both organizational and political challenges—creating uncertainty in the sustainability of program benefits (Schulenkorf, Sherry, and Rowe 2016). Despite such challenges, studies conducted in under-resourced and divided regions illustrate that insights can be gained from SfD programs in terms of their modest ‘fractured’ developmental impacts at the individual level (Darnell and Dao 2017; Massey, Whitley, and Darnell 2016). Notwithstanding the inspiring resilience of local people in under-resourced environments, SfD programs still raise concerns regarding broader social transformative outcomes (Jeffrey 2012). Young and Okada's (2016) study present a case in point in terms of showing the contradiction of outcomes in the programs conducted in under-resourced areas. While positive outcomes on the individual level were identified, such as, competence (e.g. social, academic), confidence, positive life skills, challenges (e.g. lack of human resources and need of sport equipment) were equally present (Young and Okada 2016).

⁵ In this paper, we will use the concept of Sport for Development, because its definition complies with our objective which is exploring the role of sport “to attain positive social outcomes” (Darnell et al. 2019, 8).

The goal of this study is to investigate whether there is anything to be gained, in terms of social justice and reaching equal opportunities, by young people participating in football-based SfD programs organized in under-resourced areas. More specifically, our focus is on the daily operations and on-the-ground experiences of those providing and participating in the football-based programs, which are frequently used in SfD programs (Schulenkorf, Sherry, and Rowe 2016). However, what has been investigated insufficiently is how hegemonic features (e.g. competition, individualization) of football actually translate into the on-the-ground sport activities, and the impact this has on the participants and communities in which SfD programs are implemented. For this, we analyze the implementation of two football-based programs in Turkey, a geographical area that has to date not been included in SfD research.

As an analytical lens, we employed two theoretical perspectives to discuss the daily operations and impact of the selected SfD programs. On the one hand, we use the Capability Approach (CA) to detail the possible creation of new opportunities that are gained through the programs. On the other hand, using Hegemony Theory (HT), we discuss the position of football in these programs. In the following sections, we explain our theoretical perspectives in more detail.

6.2. The Capability Approach and Sport for Development

The Capability Approach (CA) is a concept that is intimately related to social justice and equality (Nussbaum 2011; Sen 1999). Sen's (1999) capability approach deals with the well-being of individuals, while Nussbaum (2011) identifies human development as the real purpose of development and defines other types of capabilities as complementary approaches to improving human life (e.g. bodily integrity, emotions, play). The CA identifies the improvement of individuals' lives through *capabilities* and *functionings* (Sen 1999). *Capabilities* encompass the potential of people to fulfil opportunities they have reason to value, whereas *functionings* refer to ideal goals or the realization of capabilities that can be achieved (Sen 1999). Sen uses *capabilities* and *functionings* to address requirements that enhance the freedoms of individuals to do what they choose to do without the impact of any external dominant idea (Sen 2009, 289). Nussbaum (2011) underlined that the mission of the CA is to protect the diversity

of available choices in different aspects (e.g. freedom of speech, political access).

Recently, there has been growing interest in using the CA in sport studies (e.g. Darnell and Dao 2017; Silva and Howe 2012; Svensson and Levine 2017). While the majority of studies are conceptual papers, they all address different issues, such as human rights, and social inclusion. For example, in relation to challenging dominant discourses regarding empowerment and control, Silva and Howe (2012) suggested that adopting the CA could help increasing the participation of people with disabilities. Darnell and Dao (2017) discussed the CA as an enabler of providing, from a right-based perspective, sporting opportunities for all. Darnell and Dao (2017) also argued that the ethical and practical bases of the CA are coherent with the ideals of SfD, in which the self-proclaimed objectives are often to achieve justice and social transformation.

In our study, we used the Capability Approach to explore possible capabilities and aspirations that young people gain from football-based SfD programs. However, in order to identify aspects of a SfD program, particularly football, which might endanger the diversity of choices and hinder capabilities and functions for its participants (and their wider communities), we chose to use an additional analytical lens. For this, we turn to the Hegemony Theory, which we discuss in the next section.

6.3. Hegemony Theory and Football

Hegemony Theory explains the mechanisms of dominance of elite classes/groups and sub-ordination by using a dialectic relationship of power and manufactured consent that are diffused through mass media and (socio-)political discourses (Bates 1975). Hegemony theory mainly entered the field of sport studies in the 1980s, where it served as an analytical lens to understand dominant and counter-hegemonic discourses in sport (Hargreaves and McDonald 2000; Whitson 1984).

More recently, Darnell (2010) used hegemony theory to interrogate SfD programs through the eyes of interns and argues how the power label ‘underserved people’ as ‘in need’ and promote neo-liberal (post-colonial) technologies and skills for development, while providing limited knowledge to contribute to self-development of local people. Thus, hegemony is also significant in terms of understanding how the

interests of policymakers, funders, and program coordinators are served through dominant notions within SfD programs (Darnell and Hayhurst 2012).

The dominance of football continues in SfD programs (Schulenkorf, Sherry, and Rowe 2016). Poorly organized football activities in SfD programs can negatively shape future plans, particularly for disadvantaged young people who are surrounded by limited choices (e.g. Elmas 2017). Through the impact of mass media, football tends to comprise some young people's envisaged aspirations who lives in destitution and, as such, is likely to diminish alternative opportunities. This resonates with what Berlant (2011, 24) calls 'cruel optimism', referring to 'a relation of attachment to compromised conditions of possibility whose realization is discovered to be impossible.'

Further, through civil society organizations, such as, amateur football clubs, young people are often exposed to unquestioned rituals and conventions of professional and commercial football (Whitson 1984). Within SfD, the role of football can raise fundamental concerns, as football is often associated with deep-rooted norms, such as winning at all costs, commercialization, idolization, and gender segregation. As such, according to Darnell and Hayhurst (2012), football aligns itself easily with neoliberalism perpetuating social injustices and social exclusion in many practices around the world. The predominance of football seems to run counterintuitively to social values that the majority of SfD programs claim to prioritize (e.g. awareness of human rights and equality) (Darnell et al. 2016). Sterchele (2015) questions the dominance of football-based activities in SfD programs in the Global South, while the Global North conducts more alternative emancipative and educational sport programs.

It should be noted, however, that our purpose is not to dismiss possible advantages that can be gained from playing organized football (McDonald, Spaaij, and Dukic 2019), but rather to use hegemony theory to understand football's role in opening and closing opportunities.

6.4. Methodology

6.4.1. Research design

In order to address our research question, a multiple case study strategy was selected (Yin 2008), using a series of qualitative research methods such as interviews, focus

group, field notes and observations. Throughout the data collection process, a retrospective approach was used. This retrospective approach yielded insightful information as the research site was revisited (Table 1).

In data collection process, we have applied culturally responsive relational reflexive ethics (CRRRE) approach. This approach, following the perspective that researchers cannot predict or understand the surrounding environment completely, requires the researcher to be flexible and consider the process from participants' perspectives (Lahman et al. 2011). Thus, the first author embraced a situational perspective and was sensitive to concerns of participants on different issues. For example, the field was visited during a time when public institutions were being scrutinized following a coup attempt that took place one year before the field visits. Particularly, the program coordinators of Case 1 in Turkey were highly concerned about position of the first author as a researcher and the reasons behind visits to interview them. However, after honest conversations about the objective of the research and multiple visits to the research site the coordinators were reassured (see also Whitley, Forneris, and Barker 2014). The first author also presented the official documentation concerning permission to conduct social research, provided by Marmara University. We did not ask for a written consent to raise their concerns and only made a verbal statement regarding research and the confidentiality of the personal information. To protect the anonymity, pseudonyms are used for participants and project titles throughout the study. We also changed the name of the cities with another cities in the country.

Table 4. Field Visits

Field Visits				
Program title	Visit No.	Time spent		The field/Location
Learning Life with Sport (Case 1)	1	April 1 st – 14 th , 2017		Football field, school area
Learning Life with Sport (Case 1)	2	August	28 th –	Football field, school area
		September 12 th , 2017		
From Work to Football Field (Case 2)	1	August 12 th – 26 th , 2017		Industrial estates

From Work to Football Field (Case 2)	2	September 16 th –23 rd , 2017	Multiple locations, industrial estates
--------------------------------------	---	---	--

6.4.2. Cases

The cases were selected based on two main criteria: i) the SfD program provided social inclusion opportunities through sport for young participants, and ii) the SfD program was recently completed. Based on these criteria, two cases that were completed at the end of 2016, the details of which are provided in the following paragraphs, were selected.

Case 1 – Learning Life with Sport

‘Learning Life with Sport’ [Turkish: Sporla Hayatı Öğreniyorum] was held in Tunceli, Turkey. Tunceli is considered to be one of Turkey’s most deprived cities (İzmen 2014). The program was proposed to the Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS) by a local NGO and was accepted in December 2015. The program targeted young males between 15 and 19 years old. In the program brochure, several aims were stated: teach life skills, increase the number of licensed athletes, and raise awareness of participation in football in the community. The main activities included daily football practice; seminars on different subjects such as fair play and drug use prevention; and taking a flight to Istanbul (i.e. visiting historical places, meeting with professional players of different teams, attending a professional football game). The program provided sports equipment (e.g. sports shoes, tracksuit, t-shirt) for all participants. The program started in January 2016 and lasted 12 months.

Case 2 – From Work to Football Field

The second case, From Work to Football Field [Turkish: İşten Futbol Sahasına] was conducted in Çankırı, Turkey. While the youth unemployment rate in the city is lower than the average of the country (20.8%), the unemployment rate amongst young people remains rather high (17.7%) (Ankara with Stats 2017). The statistics illustrate the difficult conditions and the risks of high unemployment for young people living in the city. The stated purpose of the program was to provide social activities for underserved ‘young apprentices’ and also to discover talented football players, with the purpose of directing them to football clubs (MYS 2017, 105). Perhaps the notion

of ‘young apprentices’ can be linked to more dominant (neo-liberal) European terms (including associated policies and interventions), such as young people (at risk of being) *Not in Education, Employment or Training* (i.e. NEET) (Yates and Payne 2006). Although the young people that were targeted in this case, were actually in education and training.

Initially, the program began with football games at each of the Vocational Training Centers (VTC), after which teams were formed from different VTCs to play against one of the U-16 football teams of a professional football club. The program targeted young males between 15 and 21 years of age studying in the VTCs and working as apprentices in different occupations (e.g. car repair, barber shops). The program provided sport equipment (e.g. sport shoes, tracksuit, t-shirt) and gifts such as wrist watches for the participants who played in the final game. Overall, the program started in April 2016 and lasted 10 months.

Table 5. Interview and focus group sample by programmes

		Age (Average)	Number of participants
Case 1 – Tunceli, Turkey	Young participants		8
	Focus Group (young participants)	16	5
	Parents of participants	47	5
	NGO programme coordinators	49	2
	Sport Trainer	32	1
Total			21
Case 2 – Ankara, Turkey	Young participants	18	9
	Non-participants	17.5	2
	NGO programme coordinators	32	2
	Local public sport ins. (GSİM)	32.5	2
	Head of youth projects (Local Institution)	53	1

	School coordinators	51	2
Total			18
TOTAL			39

6.4.3. Research participants

In total, 39 people participated in the study. In-depth interviews were conducted with participants, coordinators, school teachers involved in the programs, and other community members (e.g. employers and parents of participants) (Table 2). Field notes were collected during field visits to industrial estates where the programs operated, barber shops where participants worked, schools, and playing fields such as parks. A snowball sampling procedure was adapted for the study, which enabled reaching out to other providers (e.g. coaches) and participants. After the first visit, interviewees seemed more open to answering questions that made them uncomfortable during the first wave of field visits. The second visit also allowed us to generate insights into how the programs further unfolded. The interviews lasted between 12 and 75 minutes and were recorded and transcribed.

A focus group was conducted with the participants in Case 1. The focus group took place in a local youth centre and was conducted with five participants. A similar focus group was not organised in Case 2, since the participants worked long hours, six days a week. The programmes did not include female participants, since they were not the target group of the selected programmes. We further discuss the implications of this in the limitations section.

6.4.4. Analysis procedures

Thematic Analysis (TA) was used to analyze the responses from the interviews and the focus group. The following procedures of thematic analysis were used for the data analysis: i) familiarization and coding; ii) theme development, refinement, and naming; and iii) writing up (Braun, Clarke, and Weate 2016). Following the thematic analysis, the first author produced a report that identified codes and themes. This

process was conducted twice to ensure that no part of the data was overlooked, prior to being reviewed with the second and third authors. The final edit was developed as the basis of the research. Codes and themes were recurrent from the interviews and focus group with participants. For the data analysis, different strategies were used to increase the research rigor, such as involving the second and third author to critically share their observations and confirm that the interpretations were derived from the data.

6.5. Findings and Discussion

We begin this section with exploring processes of inclusion in sport and discuss whether inclusion strategies of the programs also hinder possible opportunities. And then, we discuss separately the capabilities and limitations experienced by participants in the programs and refer to the dual nature of SfD programs in terms of outcomes in under-resourced settings.

6.5.1. Coincidental inclusion in sport

In this section, we describe the problems that accompany the inclusion processes of participants and how they can potentially become the reasons for the exclusion of many young people. The program coordinators and local officials shared different approaches to inclusion, which created uncertainty about whether the program coordinators and staff reached out to the most vulnerable young people:

Because I was involved [in the community] as a teacher, I mainly selected the troubled players—the ones not going home, not studying— [...] with good characters, who would have been better for us [to control], but our primary aim was to select those we could fix and whose lives we could shape. (Case 1, Coordinator, 52-year-old)

While the coordinator's comments reveal a selection process focused on deficit, the participant recalls his involvement differently:

I was on Facebook, and the page of the foundation appeared [...] It was written there that the program was approved by the Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS).

They said a selection will be made of 40 participants, and we started after they selected us. (Case 1, Ali, 16-year-old)

Despite such statements of the program staff, most young participants revealed that they participated or heard about the programs in different ways. The comments reflect young people's willingness to participate, but such comments also generate an amount of uncertainty as to how the 'troubled ones' were determined by program staff (Rannikko et al. 2016). This raises concern about those young people who were not able to weigh their options for participation. The second program displayed a questionable selection process in terms of open access and social inclusion. One of the non-participants who was eager to participate in the program explained the process of being 'excluded':

We heard about the program by accident. We go to school on Tuesdays. The registration lists were also distributed on a Tuesday. And that's how we heard about it. All the teachers said there will be news, that we should be patient. In the end, we gave up. The sports equipment was also left in the school. Footballs, goalkeeper gloves... (Case 2, Mert, 18-year-old)

Not having the opportunity to participate becomes more devastating for some young people when they find out that the program actually took place. From the viewpoint of the CA, such findings illustrate that *functionings* are taken away from young people by introducing the program first but subsequently not fulfilling expectations later (Sen 1999).

6.5.2. From opportunities to limited choices

New experiences

Despite problems of inclusion, the programs investigated seem to have provided something young people have reason to value, although in a limited way. Nussbaum (2011) argues that a minimum level of capabilities (e.g. bodily integrity, senses and imagination) must be provided to allow people to live with dignity. In both cases, participants were provided with possibilities that had not previously been available to them:

We were with 40 people, but we were from different schools. [...] We went to different places; for example, I got on a plane for the first time. (Case 1, Mahir, 16-year-old)

It was good, they gave us football boots, tracksuits, uniforms. We lost 6–1, but still... because we succeeded in making it there, then they organized a very nice dinner at a 5-star hotel. We even had an award ceremony, where they handed out medals. Then they gave us watches. It was very good. (Case 2, Efe, 18-year-old)

As seen in the above quotations, young people were engaged in activities that were not readily available to them outside the context of the program. Based on the data, this seemed to provide them with feelings of joy. As also mentioned by Elling and Claringbould (2005), the material support (e.g. sport shoes) provided for young people suffering from material deprivation encouraged participation. Material support such as clothing or sport-related equipment in our examples cannot, however, be considered as an end in itself, but rather, as a means to achieve other things (Sen 2009). Darnell and Hayhurst (2012, 118) stated that overcoming inequalities and developing opportunities are possible with ‘genuine tools and services where people are treated as citizens’ and not by meeting short-term needs in general (i.e. sport equipment).

The minor improvements or services through sport-based activities also have the potential to lead to new opportunities that can improve participants’ lives. For example, the program coordinator (Case 1) explained how the program opened new leisure activities and career opportunities for young people:

After it was completed, we would meet every Tuesday at the football pitch. We spent 1 to 1½ hours together. We educated our children. We have students that we sent to Schools of Physical Education and Sport. We stay in touch with them. (Case 1, Coordinator, 46-year-old)

Related to the above comment by the program coordinator, Wolff and De-Shalit (2007) argue that initial *functionings* can serve as catalysts for the emergence of new opportunities based on individuals’ desires. This can be illustrated by data showing that both participants and parents of participants had similar experiences:

Actually, there was no program like this in our town until now, either for the recognition of our town or for our children. (Case 1, Parent 3, 39-year-old)

I'd prefer to live in Istanbul, rather than here. It's beautiful here too but, Istanbul has Fenerbahçe [professional football team]. We may never go again... (Case 1, Ali, 17-year-old)

While the above comment may have a negative tone because the participant alludes to external factors outside of his control, the emphasis in the comment on wanting to live in Istanbul shows Ali's desire to decide or consider the life he values (Sen 1999). The excerpt also illustrates that even the basic program activities (i.e. social trip) can have influence on the functionings of young people.

Neglect of long-term needs

The following citation illustrates that playing football may not be the first choice of every young person, especially those who are able to attend football or sport activities outside the program.

Işık mentioned that some guys only came to go to Istanbul without taking part in football activities and that some just signed their names on the attendance list. Işık also commented that some of his friends was not interested in participating in the football activities, because they were already playing by themselves (Notes from an off-the-record conversation, Case 1, 16-year-old, field notes – September 2017)

Most participants of Case 1 also acknowledged that it was the trip to a major city that made the difference in their decision to participate in the program. However, the football activities offered did not seem to be unique opportunities for all young participants. From the viewpoint of the CA, it can be argued that participant's capability set, which defines the alternatives available to them (Sen 1999), is narrowed down to one, and does not leave many choices a (young) person can pursue or be introduced to in regard to sport, leisure, or life in general. As a result, limited opportunities consume more of participants' time. For example, when asked about why young people would not engage in other outdoor (organized) activities besides the

program's sport activities, one participant summarized: 'There is nothing [else] to do!' (Case 1, Aykut, 16-year-old).

Unable to choose and develop their own capabilities, mainly by 'becoming entrapped' in what was offered to them, young people were led to adapt their preferences to the presented choices, which may have diminished the ideas of freedom and fairness in their eyes for future opportunities (Sen 2009). In the next section, we analyze whether football reinforced such program dynamics.

6.5.3. The hegemony of football

Expectations and disappointments

Despite the socio-educational objectives formulated by the selected SfD programs, it was difficult to identify actual educational activities in the selected cases. The lack of educational activities stood in stark contrast to football-related activities, which seemed to occupy a more central part of the investigated programs. This seems to be in line with the findings of Darnell et al. (2016), who has stated that the football components of SfD programs often occur at the expense of other educational and social components. The competitive football activities not only seem to delimit possible alternative capabilities (or opportunities), but also offer little to encourage for lifelong participation in sport (Kirk 2009). Young participants often mentioned the football practices even when specifically asked about social changes after the completion of the program, which were supposedly aimed at raising awareness of drug use prevention:

The way I kicked the ball changed. For instance, I was kicking the ball rather weakly, but after I participated in the practices [...], I could shoot where I wanted to. (Case 1, Aykut, 16-year-old)

With the learning of skills, young people seem to become more attuned to the rules of football and the way football has been perceived by the wider community. Playing football has the tendency to absorb and entangle its participants in broader (hegemonic) aspects and visions related to football, such as consumption, performance, and professionalisation (Ingham and Hardy 1984; Forde and Kota 2016), which might disrupt earlier naïve sentiments (i.e. joy of playing, togetherness) toward

football. Considering the socio-economic conditions of young people and the underserved environments in which they live, football comes to mean much more than a regular sport activity in the eyes of participants (Elmas 2017). Eventually, the aspirations of some young people to become football players come into play:

We had a chance with the games. If we played well, we may have had a chance [to find a football team]. So, we strove to take our chances, but it came to nothing.
(Case 2, Mert, 18-year-old)

One of the intentions of the second program (Case 2) was to discover talents. However, this objective restricted alternative opportunities for the participants who did not aim for careers as football players. Other objectives of the program, such as socialization of the youth apprentices or providing (although limited) social inclusion, were secondary as football became a very crucial part of the future plans of some young participants:

I realize that most of the participants who have agreed to talk to me have a desire to become professional footballer. I believe that my contacting them with the information of the youth and sport ministry and as a researcher from a known university instigated their expectations to find a team with my help and, thus, made it easier to convince them to take part in the research. The interviews I've had so far eventually led to 'how can I find a team for them?' or how much they want to find a team to pursue their dreams and get rid of their jobs. (Case 2, Observation note, August 19, 2017)

The seduction of football seemingly 'disguised the alternatives' for participants and further left some young people desperate to develop a pragmatic relationship with the sport in that football only became desired if it led to a new career path (Collison 2016). The approach of the participants toward the program also reflects how one of the tenets of the program, 'discovering talent', was insufficient in informing young people that participation in sport is a social right for socialization and enjoyment (Darnell and Dao 2017). Rather, the way that the program was run, shows that young people either adapted their preferences by avoiding sporting opportunities or pursued (possibly) unrealistic aspirations (Nussbaum 2001), which we discuss in the following section.

Competitive logics

The dominance of football leads some young people to normalize why those playing badly should be excluded:

The opponent team scored six goals against us. If they had accepted into our team everyone who wanted to play in the final game, they probably would have beaten us by 16 or 26. This [not letting everyone join the team] was done to build a good team. (Case 2, Halil, 18-year-old)

It is apparent in the comments of participants that the programs implied the ‘professionalisation of attitudes’ and competitive logic in which the participants ‘judge others based on performance criteria’, even if this is not specifically required (Whitson 1984). The views of some participants about football games illustrate the potential (self-) exclusion of young people because of a perceived lack of skills. Competitive side of the programs shaped the expectations of participants with the result that the program strengthened the competitive logic that can lead to feelings of anxiety and failure amongst young people (Magee and Jeanes 2011; Darnell et al. 2016). This is problematic, given that research has argued that less formal, more flexible, and a less competitive organization of sport is often the most effective approach when working with people in disadvantaged situations (Andrews and Andrews 2003). Especially since young people in disadvantaged situations are more often confronted with feelings of incompetence, failure, rejection, and lower self-image than their non-disadvantaged peers (Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, and Coalter 2012).

The direction of the programs also reinvigorated the expectations of some of the participants. One participant responded concerning the reason he wished to play football in this program and his ambitions:

I’d go to the practice; I mean, it is a sport, but if we go somewhere [a football club], because I believe I can do it, I have hope inside me. I am 18, but is it possible [to play professionally] after this age? We’ll see. If I did not have such thoughts, I would not have come here [for the interview]. (Case 2, Abdullah, 18-year-old)

Participants often had mixed and contradictory feelings about becoming professional

football players. On the one hand, they were realistic (sometimes even pessimistic), which translated into low aspirations toward football; on the other hand, they expressed limited hopes about becoming professionals. Kintrea et al. (2015) argued that for young people living in under-resourced neighborhoods, excessive aspirations can have a damaging impact on identity and can also strengthen feelings of failure. The encouragement of football related aspirations through the programs can also lead to ‘cruel optimism’ for some participants in that unyielding optimism to become a footballer might turn into ‘an obstacle to their flourishing’ (Berlant 2011, 1).

6.5.4. Boys-only football programme

Traditional hegemonic views also have an impact on issues related to gender and, more concretely, on the way girls were excluded from both programmes. During an informal conversation with one of the programme providers, it was stated that MYS indicated that girls should not be included in the same programme as boys. The following focus group conversation reflects how girls’ participation was perceived from young males’ perspectives:

Interviewer: Did girls participate in the programme?

Ahmet (16-year-old): None of [the girls] in our class attend any of the programmes. They do not want to. Teachers don’t discriminate, as in ‘you come, or you don’t.’ (After a few more questions, the interviewer repeats the question.)

I: Ok, so, you said girls could not go?

(Three respondents answering at the same time): Girls do not want [to go]!

I: Why don’t they want to?

Kerem (16-year-old): We don’t know. For example, a physical education teacher came and said he will form a handball team for girls, but there was no reaction from any of the girls.

I: Are they not interested in sports?

Kerem (16-year-old): I guess.

Ahmet (16-year-old): They are a little interested in handball—some of them.

I: But this was done for boys, right? Even if they want to, they are not allowed to participate.

Mehmet (16-year-old): I don't think they would want to go [even if they were allowed].

This focus group interactions and interviews illustrate how participants were inclined to label girls as 'unwilling to participate' (see also Meân and Kassing, 2008). In the focus group, it is clearly seen how handball is perceived to be a more appropriate sport for girls to play than football. The conversation also mirrored how learned patriarchal norms shape boys' views, in which they discuss the non-participation of girls on behalf of them (Ekholm et al., 2019). This lack of participation could also damage the expectation of the girls of their own well-being who desire to attend such activities (Qizilbash, 1998). However, our study did not unravel the reasons behind the lack of participation by girls and how it affected their well-being, as no girls/young women participated in the study.

6.6. Conclusion

This study set out to understand the value (i.e. capabilities and challenges) of football-based SfD programs conducted in Turkey. Using Hegemony Theory alongside the CA, helped us to understand the effect of football and how it generated positive and negative outcomes for the participants.

In terms of new opportunities and services, it appeared that young people were included in types of activities that they never took part in before (e.g. participating in a social trip, visiting historical places in another city, watching a football match from stadium). These activities met the basic needs of young people, such as, socialization and material support and also, some participants were helped to prepare for sport schools. This 'fractured progression' (Spaaij 2013) could be a starting point for some participants to flourish within the limited services they received in the programs. However, new opportunities were mostly far away from making any sustainable contribution to their future capabilities. Based on our findings, the programs also failed

to provide variety of activities that could enrich the lives of participants beside sporting opportunities.

Because we wanted to reflect the whole picture of programs from participants' perspectives, the overall findings illustrated contradicting outcomes. Thus, it appeared that the analyzed programs provided new social activities for some young participants, while neglecting educational, emancipative activities that could help the struggle against social inequality. Regardless of the intentions of program organizers, small resources, such as, material gifts or meetings with professional footballers appeared more a form of false generosity to divert young people's attention away from their current problems and, with the focus on football, encourage them to be happy with what they have (Ingham and Hardy 1984; Freire 2000). The data showed that, because new capabilities contained hegemonic practices (i.e. providing socialization through football or recruitment based on football skills), opportunities were paradoxically delimited. The role of football within the programs hampered consideration of alternative activities. Additionally, the influence football made on the young participants was also effective in terms of reproducing their aspirations and disappointments toward future opportunities. For this reason, our findings suggest that the capabilities are not inherently good for young people, particularly when dominant traditional norms or ideologies are maintained.

The offered football activities did generate and even renew some of the participants' expectations and future aspirations. However, these capabilities become constrained as expectations and activities were solely and firmly built around football. Because enhancing alternatives is the main principle of the CA against dominating, popular norms (Alexander 2010), we would suggest that, while football-based SfD programs can use football in their programs, they should be very careful to balance football with other social and educational activities. Prior to implementing any football-based activities, program providers should explore the hegemonic perspectives regarding football, challenge these perspectives, and, where possible, transform them through community outreach before any ball is kicked around the field.

6.6.1. Limitations and Future Research

Our research has several limitations. First, in terms of the Capability Approach, it has been argued that the concept does not reveal how processes of inequality or poverty

transpire (Clark 2005). There has also been criticism of hegemony theory, addressing its neglect of a discussion of causes of social production (Darnell 2012). We acknowledge the limitations associated with these theoretical concepts; however, by combining both theoretical lenses, we compensated for the inherent weaknesses of using either of them in isolation.

Lastly, our study could not give voice to girls about their non-participation in football-based SfD programs; the researchers could not overcome the difficulty of reaching out to such groups due mainly to a lack of contact information and dependency on the main coordinators as gatekeepers to the research field. Future research needs to give more attention to the absence of girls and women; this is not a context-specific problem, but it is still prevalent in the practices and studies of SfD (Ekholm, Dahlstedt, and Rönnbäck 2019). We suggest that researchers craft more ways to find solutions to the challenges of conducting research in disadvantaged communities by, for example, actively involving local community leaders and parents in the research as a way of gaining access to marginalized girls' voices.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

7. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this PhD thesis, I investigated different layers of the practices and discourse of the Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS), in relation to the problems of young people. I used different methodologies, to understand the problematisations of MYS in official documents (Chapter 2), the implementation process of a football-based project conducted in a challenging setting (Chapter 3), how sport was used within 2 football-based projects to improve the lives of socially excluded young people living in underserved communities (Chapter 4).

As I mentioned in the introduction, I formulated four central research questions to address the different chapters of the PhD. These are:

1. How governmentality is used as a theoretical concept within sport studies?
2. What are the prominent youth and sport-related policies and discourses in relation to the concept of ‘social inclusion’?
3. How does the governance of ‘sport for development’ programmes operate in under-resourced settings?
4. What is the impact of sport-for-development (SfD) programmes conducted in under-resourced setting?

These four questions formed the basis of my general discussion in which I discussed the findings of the different chapters.

7.1. Governmentality: Unmasking the priorities of government on sport and physical activity

Sport studies employed governmentality as a theoretical concept provides significant information in terms of understanding the approach of governing bodies on sport and how it directly affects the conduct of sport organisations and individuals. Some of the main findings about the sport studies with governmentality as theoretical background were:

- The intentions of governing bodies to regulate individuals, local institutions and NGOs.
- Detachment of the ‘social’ from sport policies (e.g. mass participation, community sport) and shifting towards elite performance sports.
- The individualisation of health problems and further, problematising individuals as mere problem of their health issues.

It could be derived from the studies that government techniques have multiple ways to govern or influence individuals in sports field and these techniques are mostly used to achieve governmental objectives. The majority of the studies underlined the intention of governing bodies to direct local public institutions, charity organisations and NGOs towards the predefined policy strategies. Relatedly, these specified objectives distanced NGOs and individuals more from the social aspect of their work and approximated to consider the economic concerns of sport governing bodies (Batlle et al., 2018).

In the studies, there was a systematic change towards detachment of social aspect from sport policies. Governmental techniques help policy makers to normalise that the ‘social’ is not their responsibility (Lessenich, 2011). More, governments did not explicitly implement in every case what should be the responsibilities of NGOs or local sport institutions, but instead developed mechanisms to gain the attention of NGOs which referred to their organisational needs. For example, the ‘project’ model in this case presented a great example to reflect the paradoxical condition of the local organisations. At one side, they needed financial resources to maintain their activities

as NGOs or build connection with public institutions which can be achieved through applying for a fund. On the other side, applying for certain funds contained the risk of diverting them from their own organisational priorities. Consequently, it forced them to comply with funder's agenda. The studies I analysed reflected this relationship between central governments and local organisations. Moreover, the most studies discussed as if the local organisations or individuals obeyed the demands of the governments. However, the sport studies I analysed were limited in terms of understanding the 'forms of resistances' in local practices. Because most studies conducted a discursive analysis, they partly lacked what really happened at the local level and how individuals corresponded to policy expectations. I should also note that discursive analyses provided crucial information in order to understand the approach of governing bodies. Particularly in health politics, discourse analyses showed how the health issues were individualised through governing bodies or quasi-governmental organisations. Whether the studies referred to Olympic discourse or participation in sport, they revealed the efforts to responsabilise individuals, while continuing the contradicting top-down policies that support private sector that promote unhealthy nutrition and inactivity.

7.1.1. The outcomes of governmental techniques

Sport studies with governmentality concept reflected how the policy priorities of the governing bodies are centralised, while the responsibilities are assigned to individuals and NGOs. It can also be related with other chapters in this PhD that despite the problems and incapacities of analysed local NGOs, MYS choose to responsabilise these organisations to address social issues. MYS apparently did not consider the disadvantaged condition of the NGOs that lacked organisational capacity and struggled with local problems, similar conditions to young people they conducted the project for. This raised concerns towards the main intention of MYS and whether addressing the problems of young people were a priority. Rather, the findings reflected that the intention of MYS was more of portraying the image of meeting the expectations of specific groups at a minimum level.

The analysed cases showed that governmental objectives, which was informing young people about drug use, couldn't fulfil most of its objectives, due to

organisational challenges of the NGO. This part of the PhD also showed that the projects may take place very differently from the way they envisaged by governing bodies, regardless of implementers' views on the governmental objectives.

7.2. The policy priorities on youth and sport

In the chapter two, I examined documents from the Turkey's Ministry of Youth and Sport using Fairclough's (2012) critical discourse analysis to understand how social inclusion was positioned regarding young people in Turkey, with a focus on sport-based programmes.

Main findings of this chapter was:

- Sport for social inclusion: meeting European Union (EU) requirements
- Family-dependent social inclusion
- Sport: neither social inclusion tool, nor positioned as a right of young people

Initially, the texts related to sport for social inclusion practices showed that social role of sport was welcomed through EU social inclusion practices. As the texts stated, some of the social inclusion practices were applied in order to meet the requirements of the EU. This statement by itself identified the intention of the policy makers and how it might impact the outcome of social inclusion practices. Sport, in this respect, also was not conceptualised in the documents as social tool to address different issues. Rather, the policy reports presented examples of the practices sporadically, where sport was used as a social tool, particularly for some social cohesion and socialisation projects. It can be derived from the policy documents that there was unsystematic consideration of sport within policy context.

Young people were also conceptualised as a homogenous group within policy documents. Despite the problems towards gender inequality (IYF, 2017) or different ethnic communities (e.g. Armenian, Kurdish, Romani or Syrian youth), there was no policy addressing the specific needs of different youth groups. On the contrary, the policies developed for Syrian youth, seemed more like an assimilation practice and to meet the concerns of Turkish people, rather than improving the living conditions of Syrian youth.

The general approach towards the use of sport seemed like a result of lack of right-based approach in the policy texts. This was prevalent within general social inclusion discourse. MYS in various texts assigned their social obligations either to young people themselves or to their families. MYS text directly promoted economic participation, and emphasised the concepts such as innovation, entrepreneurship to encourage young people which distance young people to pursue their aspirations. This result is aligned with general welfare state approach of the Turkey that relies upon family relations and solidarity amongst family members to overcome social problems such exclusion and poverty. Turkey's welfare regime is aligned with the some of the principles of the South European welfare regime in which 'social rights are unequally distributed, and the state play important role in the income opportunities of the individual through particularist mechanisms in which patronage relationships play a large role' (Buğra and Keyder, 2003, p.13). In this welfare regime, social rights of young people such as right to play and attending leisure activities, are highly neglected. As the South European welfare regime indicated, the priorities mainly referred to the needs and expectations of the private sector and particularist economic relationships. Different parts of the policy documents also reflected that the concerns are mainly directed towards economic participation of young people, in which policies are embedded within neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies. While families were presented as welfare provider of young people and the importance of family were underlined; there was no intervention or restriction towards economy-based policies in which using youth people as apprentices for heavy industrial jobs were not prohibited. The policy priorities of MYS indicated that, initially, there is a need to embrace general right-based perspective towards the needs of young people. This would, I believe, also open the path for conceptualisation of sport and play as a social right of young people.

7.3. Implementation of a football-based development project in organisationally challenging setting

Despite governments' attempts to mobilise organisations for their own objectives, the important thing is what took place at the practical level and whether the organisations were able to implement the objectives of the projects. In this part of the

discussion, I analysed organisational process of a football-for-development project took place in under-resourced setting.

Based on the findings, I contend that one of the reasons of organisational problems were the 'project' model. This model was used by MYS to mobilise NGOs for social activities on young people. Because both local sport institutions and NGOs were incapable of organising a sport-for-development project, they faced with many problems during the implementation process. The project model required a strong governance framework in which main objectives of the project has to be established, the roles of partners are identified, and partners have capabilities to support each other to overcome problems. Despite the partnership between local NGO and MYS, the support at the ministry level was given only when there was an urgent need to rescue the project from failure. The programme analysed was dealing with various problems that forced also the involvement level of local public sport institution. This caused a shift from state-led regulation to state centred implementation of the project (Lindsey et al., 2019). In this regard, Tınaz et al. (2014) discussed that these organisational issues emerge in Turkish sport organisations mainly because organisations aim to catch up with international organisations without proper analysis and design.

All the problems were also related with the intentions of the executives who engaged with the project. The concerns of some local coordinators showed that the main priority was not to meet the expectations of young people but actually projecting MYS executives that this is a successful sport programme with hundreds of young participants. It should be also noted that this was not the intention of all the project staff. The findings also showed that some partners were also reluctance to take part in the project. Despite involvement of different partners (vocational schools, local public sport institutions, NGO), the parties could not come together to plan the process which led to the exclusion of participants and re-starting the recruitment process in the midst of project schedule. This did not specifically mean that local partners were reluctant to support young people's participation in sport activities.

These internal and external factors reflected the unpredictable side of programmes, particularly conducted in underserved settings. From a wider perspective, youth and sport projects faced an organisational trap which defines the

disharmony and incapacity of the organisations outside the western countries (Pritchett et al., 2013). The main reason of this trap can be conceptualised as the adaptation of Western organisational project models in the Majority World. In the case I analysed, I observed that the organisations were far away from fulfilling the expectations of conducting a development project as well.

In terms of sport, the findings also illustrated that sport was only conceptualised as a simple activity: young people playing football. However, the project objectives and the policy document stated otherwise, referring to the potential of sport to achieve social objectives. Thus, the main problem I can assert, in terms of implementation of projects, was the lack of expertise of local organisations to enhance capabilities of young people, provide alternative, emancipative activities (Lawson, 2005). The projects also suffered from poor communication between partners, lack of organisation planning as well.

Despite these problems of local organisations, I should also note that the ministry itself and the project models are relatively new in Turkey. Thus, there should be modest expectations towards these projects in terms of achieving social objectives. I made suggestions to enhance the organisational capacity of local NGOs to conduct more impactful activities for young people in underserved communities. These suggestions are reflected both in the chapter 3 and the suggestions section.

7.4. The impact of football-for-development in under-resourced settings

In this PhD, I analysed the impact of two sport-for-development programmes conducted by local NGOs (two local organisations that address the employment issues and conduct charity works at the local level) with the partnership of MYS. The programmes were designed by the local NGOs to enhance socialisation opportunities and social inclusion of young people who live in underserved communities.

I used capability approach (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2011) and hegemony theory to discuss the narratives of young participants, programme coordinators and participant parents. It was revealed that initially the inclusion process to the programmes were highly problematic. This could further lead to disappointment amongst some young people who wanted to take part in the activities but were not invited. Some participants

who initially presented new opportunities but could not take the opportunity, partly lost their belief in social justice and become more reluctant to pursue new opportunities. Both programmes also showed that there was a rather unprincipled social inclusion, which was not a recruitment process where many young people were treated equally in terms of inclusion.

In terms of developing aspirations and capabilities, the programmes provided ‘something new’ for young people they had never similar activities before. Previous research also indicated that initial functionings opens new doors for individuals to gain new opportunities and aspirations (Sen, 1999; Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007). Although, the sports equipment provided for the young participants were not an end, it eased the participation of young people to the activities and also to the subsequent post-programme football games etc. In this respect, the importance of providing material support should not be undervalued, as it helped young people to comfortably participate and feel equal amongst other young people. Considering from the perspective of a sport-for-development, it could be seen that the programmes provided several benefits. One of them was the aspirations it created in young people’s minds. After attending to football activities, visiting football stadiums, the participants started to develop aspirations and desires concerning their future lives and educational opportunities.

The findings exerted that the position of football within the programmes made a significant impact. The hegemonic features of football which were reproduced within the programmes led young participants to develop competitive logic and substitute their naïve sentiments to football with more aggressive, individualist approach. This happened mainly because the programmes, particularly in the Case 2, positioned the football not as a social inclusion tool but as a tool to discover football talents. Although the programmes were not capable of making such auditing for talent, the participants, who saw this opportunity to become professional football players and eventually, developed their social conditions. The content of the programmes also enabled young people to be surrounded with different levels of football. Football was so dominant in the programmes in that not only sport activities were about playing football matches or doing practices, but also non-sport social activities were about football, such as visiting the museum of football clubs, meeting with one of the most popular sport

club's players, watching a football game in a stadium. These activities took place at the expense of other alternative, educational activities. This further narrowed down the capability set of young participants, that refer to the alternatives provided to them.

Overall, despite contradicting outcomes of the programmes, which is very common amongst programmes conducted in under-resourced settings (Massey and Whitley, 2016), the programmes provided fractured progression within the communities. This may not substantially change the lives of young people in underserved communities, but it can be useful for some participants to take a step further and develop new aspirations to improve their lives.



8. Limitations of the PhD

In this section, I present the challenges and limitations of the PhD. Here, I identify general limitations I had during the whole PhD process. The specific limitations regarding the research processes, the theoretical backgrounds I employed and overall analysis, can be read in the different chapters of this PhD.

8.1. Problematising the unobservable moments

One of the biggest handicaps in this PhD was the unobservable moments during the design of the study and the data collection. The problems that the programmes faced, also led to substantial changes of the research questions but also theoretical frameworks that were used to analyse the data. Although, one of the aims of the PhD was to analyse the impact of two sport-based development programmes in underserved communities in Turkey, after my entrance to the field, I realised that the programme had faced myriad of problems in that it, at that point, did not seem to make sense analysing any impact of the programmes. Some of these problems were; not implementing the exact same schedule, irregularity of non-sport activities, organisational incapacity of the NGOs and local public institutions, the dominance of football activities, the absence of educational activities, the deficient discourse and the problematic inclusion criteria applied in the process of participation recruitment. These problems led me to not change the programmes, but rather look more closely the processes of the programmes and the role of local organisers. I also did not have alternative sport-based development programmes to select. I eventually transformed my main question to: ‘What is to be gained in the poorly planned programmes in underserved communities?’

8.2. Lost and...found

The general organisational problems regarding stated objectives and the operations of the activities delimited the understanding towards the operations of the programmes. For example, because the programme coordinators of Case 1 (Live for yourself, not for the substance) could not find the participant list and the contact information, we had to develop alternative ways to reach out to the participants. Because the town was very small and with the help of one of the programme coordinators, we looked for the participants in the district and tried to convince to

conduct interviews. In Case 2, the NGO who applied to conduct the programme also did not have the information of the participants. Thus, I had to find the responsible person who contacted the young participants during implementation of the programme. The information of the participants was found by determination and luck, because the numbers of the participants were only available in the *WhatsApp* group that the responsible person from the local public institution formed. The contact numbers in the *WhatsApp* group were only available information about the participants.

Additionally, during the data collection process, the local public institutions were under scrutiny, because of the coup attempt took place in 2016. I believe, that this also affected the interviews I had with the some of the coordinators and local staff who took part in the implementation of the programme.

8.3. Interviewing beyond the football field?

Because the programmes did not basically provide anything other than football practices and tournaments, the young participants did not remember the one-off events such as fair-play seminar or the workshop on drug prevention. Some of them also stated that they did not participated in those activities. Besides these insincere activities of the programme organisers, young participants had also difficulties remembering the other social activities and interactions during the football-based activities. The interviews were conducted 1 year after the programmes were completed. This was a strength of the PhD, as most studies conduct interviews with young people during the programme which makes it hard to observe any sustainable impact of the programmes on young people. However, the down-side was during the interview with some of the participants, it was very difficult to have an in-depth conversation about the programme that took place in the past.

8.4. The absent girl

The fifth limitation was not problematising the lack of girls in the programmes. Both programmes did not include girls and one of the coordinators in the programmes stated that this was an order that came from MYS. However, I missed the opportunity of understanding the perspectives towards the non-participation of girls in the programmes at the same time with boys. Although I did briefly discuss in Chapter 3

(critical discourse analysis) on the rationales of MYS to order gender-segregated activities, this PhD should have conducted interviews with girls (parents and community members) from the same environment to give them a voice and reflect why they they were not participating or how do they think about their non-participation.

8.5. A picture is worth a thousand words

The last of the limitations (or struggles) I had during data collection was the “unwillingness” to take the pictures of young participants, particularly the participants of the Case 2, who worked as ‘apprentices’ in factories and in the industrial states. As a researcher, I experienced lack of self-confidence and uncertainty when I tried to take their photos, while they were working. This is the main reason there is no single photographs illustrating young people. The opportunity was partly missed by not taking their photos, as it could have illustrated the hard conditions they work in at such a young age. I believe it would enhance the research in terms of reflecting the hard-working conditions of young people. However, this was an ethical decision that had to be taken to eliminate possible disturbance from my behave.

9. Pathways for the future research

9.1. The problematisation of social policy

Future research should focus on analysing the problematisation processes of NGOs, public sport institutions and, in general the governments. This should help researchers to understand why many sport-for-development programmes or community-based sport policies re-invent themselves or fail (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Whitley et al., 2018), particularly the well-organised programmes operated and designed by the practitioners or scholars in the Global South. The problematisations towards the government rationalities could help to further the discussion on what the main priorities are of the governing bodies regarding individuals and local organisations in deprived areas. Deriving from Foucault's governmentality concepts, Bacchi (2009) provides an important analytical framework to not only recognise the government's techniques to govern people but also to understand the rationales behind such problematisations. From the understanding of the priorities of the governments or policy makers new questions can emerge in how governments try to preserve and maintain the status-quo or which politics are being served. Although looking at general politics of governments may seem as if it is not the scope of sport studies, we can also observe the real intentions by analysing the governments' attempts to bring Olympic Games to their country or through the relationship between professional athletes and politicians such as prime ministers, presidents or other influential elite actors. The relationship there that seen important to create a personal contact also shows what are the priorities. In this context it is worth citing (Haudenhuyse, 2018, p. 7) who argues that our analyses need to go:

[...] beyond merely analysing the lived experiences of [young] people (which remains important to develop a clear understanding of their societal position in relation to sport (non-)participation), but would also need to include an analysis of influential 'elite' social actors (e.g. high-level policymakers, think tanks, public intellectuals, lobby groups, (inter-/trans-)national development organisation, commercial enterprises, employers, educational and leisure provisions).

9.2. From official policy texts, into the political context

In terms of critical discourse analysis, future research should not be limited with analysing texts, policy documents. Rather, we should look at the daily conversations, speeches, and conversations of the policy makers and politicians. Although analysed texts and policy documents revealed a rich amount of information about the trajectory of sport-based policies, it is still predefined and partly fictional. Additionally, it may not refer to the true intentions of the public institutions. On the other hand, speeches, meeting reports, daily conversations are more likely to give hint about the hidden agenda of the politicians, what they give value and what they want wider populations to hear (e.g. Gee and Handford, 2012). A policy document or text has limited readership but a speech of, for example, the president regarding sport could reach to the millions. For this reason, I suggest future research to analyse also spoken discourse and compare with daily practices towards sport-based social activities and programmes such as community sport, participation in sport and addressing social issues through sport.

9.3. Upscaling and upskilling ethnographic participatory research methods

Considering the high number of ‘thwarted SfD programmes’, I think researchers need to move forward in embracing participatory action research methods and more directly engage themselves with local practices using ethnographic research strategies. The programmes in deprived areas frequently require urgent needs from local people in order to develop economic and social background for the programmes which can strengthen the sustainability. However, this engagement of researchers should not stay at the level of knowledge transfer, rather researchers should ‘get their hands dirty’ and find ways to support local people in aspects that they value or perceive as a priority. I realise that this requires extra time and effort which many researchers may not have due to their own circumstances, but I think it should be acknowledged that the priority in the deprived areas is to develop solidarity amongst people who directly affected by the inequalities in their communities and thus, ‘be there for them’.

Overall, I think in the following process, social researchers interested in sport for development in under resourced areas should directly engage with SfD programmes and strive for a bottom-up development with local people. This would facilitate to see

impactful, transforming communities through sport for development programmes. However, this would also mean that sport researchers need to be equipped (or at least been given the opportunity in their curriculum) with the necessary competences and experiences during their education to conduct this type of research, in scientific rigours and meaningful ways.

10. Suggestions for policy and practice

Due to the focus of this PhD, for this section, I mainly addressed policy and practices in Turkey. Yet, I developed suggestions for international sport policies and sport-for-development practices as well.

10.1. A right-based leisure approach

In Turkey (and probably also elsewhere), the different layers of sport-based discourse and practices show that there is a need to embrace right-based approach towards young people and children. Policy makers and sport institutions should develop programmes and practices in accordance with individuals' rights. The philanthropic view towards addressing the issues of young people not only maintains the inequalities, but also continues to lead to an inefficient use of public resources in the form of short-term and tokenistic projects, that are not capable of delivering the officially stated policy objectives. SfD policies should be designed in a long-term and it should consider the living (and leisure) conditions of the participant after the programmes have ended.

Additionally, this PhD has showed that there are significant deficiencies in the conduct of youth-based sport for development programmes. The programmes seem to have provided something important for young participants (of which many of them were labour workers), these provisions were significantly ineffective to provide even short to mid-term enhancement of young people's lives, let alone long-term impact. Considering the needs and living conditions of youth labour workers, policy programmes targeting such youths, should be designed and organised in a right-based perspective. Youth labour and exploitative working conditions of young people violate their social rights and sport programmes should channel their focus towards this issue. A basic condition is that young people have available free time, both in quantity and quality, for organized sport and social participation. Sport, in this respect, could be

used as an extension of social policy to provide alternative opportunities and give them a social space to be themselves.

10.2. The representation of gender

The policy documents and the analysed programmes also raised some issues in related to gender:

- Lack of awareness of the programme coordinators towards the gender (in-) equality
- Dismissal of the gender (in-)equality issue at the policy level
- Overlooking the possible effects of gender-segregated activities (e.g. lack of understanding and empathy between sexes, prejudices towards opposite sex, development of unhealthy relationships in adult life, heteronormativity).

Both policy discourse and the programmes I investigated, did not provide any information towards gender (in-)equality. The policy documents considered ‘youth’ as a one homogenous group and did not specify their various needs based on their differences. Girls were also rarely represented within documents. The only document that address gender equality and the steps that should be taken in this regard is the National Youth and Sport Policy Document. No other policy reports, annual performance reports did raise any issues towards addressing the gender (in-)equality issues. On the other hand, previous research showed that there is a tendency towards gender-segregated activities (e.g. Lüküslü, 2016).

The discussion of gender-segregated activities creates a dilemma. At one side, these activities increase the participation changes of girls mainly because their parents only allow (or they prefer that way) if it is girls-only activity. This opens a new door for those who cannot get a chance of participating in organized social leisure activities (Ekholm et al., 2019; Elmas et al., 2016). On the other hand, these gender-segregated activities, particularly in boys’ space, can facilitate a hegemonic masculinity and widen the gap of gender inequality (Gatens, 2007). Because boys and girls in same age are not in contact, they might grow up with prejudices against each other. This does not specifically mean that girls and boys will not have contact outside the sport programmes, but this could contribute to the strengthening of gender inequality within

sport programmes. For example, it can reproduce the football field as homo-social field, strengthen the heteronormativity towards playing football and thus, constraint the participation of girls who desire to play football or other sports.

In terms of gender segregated activities, the programmes I analysed were also only for boys. Traditional hegemonic views had an impact on issues related to gender and, more concretely, the way girls were excluded from both programmes. During an informal conversation with one of the programme providers, it was stated that MYS indicated that girls should not be included in the same programme as boys.

10.3. Sport is more than football, and football can be more than just sport

Football is the main component of the sport activities in MYS. The projects I analysed also used football as cornerstone of their projects. Considering that symbolic power the football has amongst disadvantaged young (predominantly male) people, I suggest two options.

First, the football-related activities should not be designed as the main activity. Rather, it should be used as complementary activity to other sport and educational activities. This would still attract young people to participate in the programmes and be enhanced through diversity of the emancipative activities.

Secondly, I suggest practitioners and policy makers to promote and optimise the conditions for traditional games that were especially popular in pre-television area. Traditional plays and games are more impactful on young people in terms of developing their personal and social skills (cf. Sterchele, 2015). These games, additionally, keep young people away from hegemony-producing sports which promotes competitiveness, individualism and consumer culture (e.g. Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012). I should also add that I do not condemn football for being inherently bad for the youth, as the opposite has been proved by the literature (e.g. Forde 2015, McDonald *et al.* 2018). Rather, a systematic approach has to be developed towards the deployment of football in sport-for development and play-for-development programmes. Such improvements could facilitate the inclusion of girls alongside with other vulnerable groups such as young people with migrant backgrounds or young people with disabilities. From another perspective, considering the immense attraction

that football has for (a large amount of) young people, we should embrace a perspective ‘good pragmatism’ in which young people are kept away from discriminatory practices. Rather football should be used to learn lessons from discriminatory practices and thus, develop diverse social environment (Bora, 2010).

10.4. Individualised (heterogenous) sport-for-development programmes

The SfD programmes, in general, include many young people into social activities. However, these programmes are mostly operated in a perspective in which young people are considered as a homogenous group. As the findings of this PhD thesis also demonstrate, the programmes appeal to young people in different ways. The programmes had different influences for many young participants. For some, it was a football activity, something they enjoyed after school or after their works or saw as an opportunity to visit other cities and watch football games from stadium. For others, the programmes were seen as an opportunity to pursue football-related career or get away from their compelling and unpromising jobs. In here, the aims of the programmes (e.g. ‘discovering talent’) also incited young people to rekindle their desire about becoming a professional football player. Considering the impact of the programmes for different young people, there has to be more individualised programmes that should be designed after spending time with possible participants in the field. The programme coordinators should also include more volunteer/educator who can personally be interested in understanding the needs and expectations of young people in the programmes. These individualised programmes can also be more effective in terms of explaining the aims of SfD programmes to young people and thus, develop a mutual understanding and collaboration to achieve programme objectives.

10.5. The refugee issue

Currently, there are more than 3.5 million Syrian refugees live in Turkey (UNHCR, 2019). MYS has to conduct sincere practices that address the problems of Syrian young people in Turkey, such as employment and citizenship status. So far, the policy reports reflected as if the projects were not made for Syrian people but to mollify

the Turkish people to avoid conflict. Furthermore, as I discussed, the projects are presented as a form of charity work for Syrian people. Therefore, there is a need to suggest a planning strategy, in that sport has a mediator role, for Syrian youth to offer them a valuable, equal life opportunities and bond a bridge between Syrians and other communities in Turkey.

10.6. Top-down to bottom-up: developing sport cooperatives as social and economic initiative

Previous studies, as I discussed, report many issues based on economic and social constraints (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Svensson and Seifried, 2017). In order to overcome this issue, I think a new concept, sport cooperatives, should be embraced or at least its applicability should be tested (Kokkinidis, 2014). The concept basically refers to individuals coming together to develop alternative solutions to their economic, social, cultural needs in an autonomous way (www.ica.coop/en, date accessed 27 June 2019). With the direct involvement of researchers, a sport cooperative could potentially overcome many organisational and social issues and generate its own resources to support activities and volunteers. It may be hard to increase the number of volunteers in disadvantaged communities, because the local people also face with the consequences of social problems such as poverty or discrimination. However, a well-designed ‘sport cooperative’ can develop ways to financially support local people or provide tools that can help them in deprived areas to gain a dignified life. Further, this could also limit or prevent dependency towards external sources (Kokkinidis, 2014).

10.7. Supporting the ‘good examples’

The government should support the NGOs that does a good job in terms of addressing social problems in Turkey. More specifically, they should promote and award the NGOs to encourage similar works from different NGOs. This can allow NGO to give detail regarding the way of their operation, implementation process, enhancing organisational capacity, the use of resources, partnership etc. Additionally, awarding an NGO for its project on a specific subject, can also raise awareness towards the subject and it can influence NGOs to embrace the sensitive subjects such as migration or poverty through sport.

10.8. Developing capacities

The results show that supported NGOs and also local public sport institutions of MYS lack human capacity that can conduct, organise, develop well-designed programs. The results show that the most salient side of the programmes is the lack of human capacity to address the problems in underserved communities where the programs took place. The future funds for sport-based programmes should invest in development of human capacity of local people and local NGOs that are willing to conduct such programmes in under-resourced settings. The sustainability of positive outcomes and transformation of underserved communities through sport heavily depends on the development of human capacity of local people and their active involvement to the social issues with the direct support of states in this aspect (Rossi and Rynne, 2014).

11. Conclusion

In this PhD, I examined the policies and practices of the Turkey's Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS) from multiple aspects, by giving concern to the social inclusion of young people in Turkey. Looking at the discourses of youth and sport policies, the impact of the two sport-for-development (SfD) programmes on young people and the implementation of a sport-for-development programme, I wanted to present a holistic view on the sport and social inclusion related discourses and practices for young people in Turkey.

From a top-down policy perspective, I argued that the problematisations of MYS towards youth differed significantly from the needs of youth in Turkey. Social inclusion was considered within economic participation and social needs of young people were directly assigned to families, without considering families' socio-economic backgrounds. While general social policies towards young people were surrounded with neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies, sport was used sporadically without systematic consideration as social inclusion tool or as social right of young people. Rather, it was used in line with general governmental objectives.

The SfD programmes I analysed revealed that they were effective in terms of providing new opportunities for young people. The analysed programmes helped the participants to get out of their working and living environments for a short period of time and allowed them to socialise through football. These new opportunities helped participants to become part of something they value and also, experience new things that they never did before. These opportunities helped some participants to develop aspirations from the capabilities that were offered to them. I also concluded that material support are still crucial means to facilitate the participation of young people in underserved communities. Despite these positive outcomes of the programmes, football component became a constraining feature for the programmes, in which young people were highly influenced by the hegemonic aspects of it such as individualisation, competitiveness and judging others based on performance criteria. Additionally, because football activities were so dominant within and outside the sport activities, it veiled possible alternative, educational opportunities the young people could have developed. Despite the organisational problems the NGOs had, the necessity of the

programmes in the particular communities allowed participants to benefit and enjoy from it. This also showed ‘fractured progression’ the programmes provided, which opened a new door for participants to enjoy, explore, negotiate and develop aspirations towards their future lives, in order to live with dignity.

MYS, in order to address social issues through, should develop a systematic programme theory for its ‘sport projects’ and conceptualise sport as a right of young people. This would help to improve the quality of sport-for-development programmes to combat with inequality in Turkey.



12. References

Abdellatif AM. Human Rights in the Arab Mediterranean Countries: Intellectual Discourse, Socio-Economic Background and Legal Instruments. *Mediterr Polit* 2004;9:319–43.

Açıkgöz S, Elmas S, Aşçı FH. Questioning Research Method Approaches in Social Fields of Sports Sciences Through Eyes of Researchers in Turkey [Akademisyenlerin Gözünden Sporda Sosyal Alanlardaki Yöntem Yaklaşımlarının İrdelenmesi]. *Türkiye Klin J Sport Sci* 2018;10:139–49. doi:10.5336/sportsci.2018-61727.

Açıkgöz S, Haudenhuyse R, Aşçı H. Social inclusion for whom and towards what end? A critical discourse analysis of youth and sport policies in Turkey. *J Youth Stud* 2019;22:330–45. doi:10.1080/13676261.2018.1506571.

Adams A, Kavanagh E. The capabilities and human rights of high performance athletes. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2018;1012690218791139. doi:10.1177/1012690218791139.

Agergaard S, Michelsen la Cour A, Gregersen MT. Politicisation of migrant leisure: a public and civil intervention involving organised sports. *Leis Stud* 2016;35:200–14. doi:10.1080/02614367.2015.1009848.

Aggestål A, Fahlén J. Managing sport for public health: Approaching contemporary problems with traditional solutions. *Soc Incl* 2015;3:108–17.

Akandes G, Kirwin M. Sport as international aid: assisting development or promoting under-development in Sub-Saharan Africa? In: Levermore R., Beacom A, editors. *Sport Int. Dev.*, Springer; 2009, p. 219–45.

Alcock C, Daily G, Griggs E. *Introducing social policy*. London: Routledge; 2014.

Alexander JM. Ending the liberal hegemony: Republican freedom and Amartya Sen's theory of capabilities. *Contemp Polit Theory* 2010;9:5–24. doi:10.1057/cpt.2009.13.

Amara M, Henry IP. Sport, Muslim identities and cultures in the UK, an emerging policy issue: Case studies of Leicester and Birmingham. *Eur Sport Manag Q* 2010;10:419–43. doi: 10.1080/16184742.2010.502743

Andrews JP, Andrews GJ. Life in a secure unit: The rehabilitation of young people through the use of sport. *Soc Sci Med* 2003;56:531–50. doi:10.1016/S0277-9536(02)00053-9.

Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı. [Ankara Development Agency]. İstatistiklerle Ankara. [Ankara with Stats]. Ankara: 2017.

Axford N. Is Social Exclusion a Useful Concept in Children's Services? Author(s): Br *J Soc Work* 2010;40:737–54. doi:10.1093/bjsw/bcn121.

Baban F, Ilcan S, Rygiel K. Syrian refugees in Turkey: pathways to precarity, differential inclusion, and negotiated citizenship rights. *J Ethn Migr Stud* 2017;43:41–57. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2016.1192996.

Bacchi C. Why Study Problematizations? Making Politics Visible. *Open J Polit Sci* 2012;02:1–8. doi:10.4236/ojps.2012.21001.

Bacchi C. Analysing policy: What's the problem represented to be? 1st ed. Frenchs Forest, N.S.W.: Pearson Australia; 2009.

Backeberg L, Tholen J. The frustrated generation youth exclusion in Arab Mediterranean societies. *J Youth Stud* 2018;21:515–34. doi:10.1080/13676261.2017.1394996.

Bairner A. Re-appropriating Gramsci: Marxism, hegemony and sport. In: Carrington

B, McDonald I, editors. *Marx. Cult. Stud. Sport*, London: Routledge; 2009, p. 195–212.

Baker T, Nelson RE. Creating something from nothing: Resource construction through entrepreneurial bricolage. *Adm Sci Q* 2005;50:329–66. doi:10.2189/asqu.2005.50.3.329.

Ballet J, Biggeri M, Comim F. Children's agency and the capability approach: A conceptual framework. *Child. Capab. Approach*, London: Springer; 2011, p. 22–45.

Barker-Ruchti N, Schubring A, Aarresola O, Kerr R, Grahn K, McMahon J. Producing success: a critical analysis of athlete development governance in six countries. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2018;10:215–34. doi:10.1080/19406940.2017.1348381.

Bates TR. Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony. *J Hist Ideas* 1975;36:351–66. doi:10.2307/2708933.

Batley R, Mcloughlin C. Engagement with non-state service providers in fragile states: reconciling state-building and service delivery. *Dev Policy Rev* 2010;28:131–54.

Battle IC, Carr S, Brown C. 'I just can't bear these procedures, I just want to be out there working with children': an autoethnography on neoliberalism and youth sports charities in the UK. *Sport Educ Soc* 2018;23:853–65. doi:10.1080/13573322.2017.1288093.

Beamish R. Marxism, alienation and Coubertin's Olympic project. In: Carrington B, McDonald I, editors. *Marx. Cult. Stud. Sport.*, Oxon: Routledge; 2009, p. 88–106. doi:10.1080/02614360903267005.

Bevir M. Anti-Foundationalism. In: Flinders M, Gamble A, Hay C, Kenny M, editors. *Oxford Handb. Br. Polit.*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2009.

Blaike N. Designing social research: The logic of anticipation. Oxford: Polity; 2000.

Blatterer H. The changing semantics of youth and adulthood. *Cult Sociol* 2010;4:63–79. doi: 10.1177/1749975509356755

Bloyce D, Smith A. Sport policy and development: An introduction. London: Routledge; 2010. doi:10.4324/9780203890684.

Boote DN, Beile P. Scholars before researchers: On the centrality of the dissertation literature review in research preparation. *Educ Res* 2005;34:3–15. doi: 10.3102/0013189X034006003

Bora A. Aile: En Güçlü İşsizlik Sigortası.[Family: The Strongest Unemployment Insurance]. In: Bora A, Bora T, Erdoğan N, Üstün İ, editors. *Boşuna mı Okuduk? Türkiye’de Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği* [Did We Study in Vain? The White Collar Unemployment in Turkey]. 4th Edition, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2013, p. 181–201.

Bora T. Left, Cynicism, Pragmatism [Sol, Sinizm, Pragmatizm]. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2010.

Bourdieu P, Wacquant LJD. An invitation to reflexive sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago press; 1992.

Boyd J, Kerr T. Policing ‘Vancouver’s mental health crisis’: a critical discourse analysis. *Crit Public Health* 2016;26:418–33. doi:10.1080/09581596.2015.1007923.

Braun V, Clarke V, Weate P. Using thematic analysis in sport and exercise research. In: Smith B, Sparkes A, editors. *Routledge Handb. Qual. Res. Sport Exerc.*, Abingdon: Routledge; 2016. doi:10.4324/9781315762012.ch15.

Breeze R. Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics Q Publ Int Pragmat Assoc* 2011;21:493–525.

Bretherton P, Piggin J, Bodet G. Olympic sport and physical activity promotion: the rise and fall of the London 2012 pre-event mass participation ‘legacy.’ *Int J Sport Policy* 2016;8:609–24. doi:10.1080/19406940.2016.1229686.

Bröckling U, Krasmann S, Lemke T. *Governmentality: Current Issues and Future Challenges*. Oxon: Routledge; 2011.

Bryman A. *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2012.

Buğra A, Keyder Ç. New poverty and the changing welfare regime of Turkey [Yeni yoksulluk ve Türkiye’nin değişen refah rejimi]. Ankara: Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Programı (UNDP); 2003

Burke M, Hallinan C. Drugs, sport, anxiety and foucauldian governmentality. *Sport Ethics Philos* 2008;2:39–55. doi:10.1080/17511320801896125.

Burnett C. The ‘uptake’ of a sport-for-development programme in South Africa. *Sport Educ Soc* 2015;20:819–37. doi:10.1080/13573322.2013.833505.

Burnett C. The impact of a sport-for-education programme in the South African context of poverty. *Sport Soc* 2014;17:722–35. doi:10.1080/17430437.2014.882903.

Calder MD, MacDonald R, Mikhael D, Murphy EC, Phoenix J. *Marginalization, Young People in the South and East Mediterranean, and Policy: An Analysis of Young People’s Experiences of Marginalization across Six SEM Countries, and Guidelines for Policy-makers*. POWER2YOUTH Working Paper; 2017.

Camilleri-Cassar F. Education strategies for social inclusion or marginalising the marginalised ? *J Youth Stud* 2014;17:252–68. doi:10.1080/13676261.2013.834312.

Çelik K. ‘My state is my father’: youth unemployment experiences under the weak

state welfare provisions of Turkey. *J Youth Stud* 2008;11:429–44.

Chansa C, Sundewall J, McIntyre D, Tomson G, Forsberg BC. Exploring SWAp's contribution to the efficient allocation and use of resources in the health sector in Zambia. *Health Policy Plan* 2008;23:244–51.

Chatterjee P. *The politics of the governed: reflections on popular politics in most of the world*. New York: Columbia University Press; 2004.

Chatziefstathiou D, Henry I. Technologies of Power, Governmentality and Olympic Discourses: A Foucauldian Analysis for Understanding The Discursive Constructions of the Olympic Ideology. *Esporte e Soc* 2009;4:1–28.

Chevalier T. Varieties of youth welfare citizenship: Towards a two-dimension typology. *J Eur Soc Policy* 2016;26:3–19. doi:10.1177/0958928715621710.

Cho Y. Broadcasting Major League Baseball as a Governmental Instrument in South Korea. *J Sport Soc Issues* 2008;32:240–54.

Clark DA. *The Capability Approach: Its Development, Critiques and Recent Advances*. Global Poverty Research Group Working Paper WPS-032. University of Manchester.; 2005.

Cleaves PS. Implementation Amidst Scarcity and Apathy: Political Power and Policy Design. In: Grindle MS, editor. *Polit. Policy Implement. Third World*. 2017 Editi, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Legacy Library; 1980, p. 281–303.

Coad D. *Metrosexual, The: Gender, Sexuality, and Sport*. Albany: SUNY press; 2008.

Coalter F. Sport and Social Inclusion: Evidence-Based Policy and Practice. *Soc Incl* 2017;5:141. doi:10.17645/si.v5i2.852.

Coalter F. 'There is loads of relationships here': Developing a programme theory for sport-for-change programmes. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2013;48:594–612.

Coalter F. The politics of sport-for-development: Limited focus programmes and broad gauge problems? *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2010;45:295–314. doi:10.1177/1012690210366791.

Coalter F. A wider social role for sport: who's keeping the score? London: Routledge; 2007.

Coffé H, Geys B. Toward an empirical characterization of bridging and bonding social capital. *Nonprofit Volunt Sect Q* 2007;36:121–39.

Collins M, Haudenhuyse R. Social Exclusion and Austerity Policies in England: The Role of Sports in a New Area of Social Polarisation and Inequality? *Soc Incl* 2015;3:5–18. doi:10.17645/si.v3i3.54.

Collins M, Kay T. Sport and Social Exclusion. 2nd Editio. London: Routledge; 2014.

Collison H. Youth and sport for development: The seduction of football in Liberia. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan; 2016. doi:10.1057/978-1-137-52470-6.

Côté JE. A new political economy of youth reprised: rejoinder to France and Threadgold. *J Youth Stud* 2016;19:852–68. doi:10.1080/13676261.2015.1136058.

Côté JE. Towards a new political economy of youth. *J Youth Stud* 2014;17:527–43. doi:10.1080/13676261.2013.836592.

Côté JE, Furlong A, editors. *Routledge Handbook of the Sociology of Higher Education*. London: Routledge; 2016.

Creswell JW. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods*

Approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA, US; 2009.

Cruickshank J. Realism and sociology: Anti-foundationalism, ontology and social research. London: Routledge; 2003.

CSGB. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security: The National Programme on Combatting Child Labour [Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı: Çocuk İşçiliği ile Mücadele Ulusal Programı]. Ankara; 2017.

Culpan I. Olympism , Constructivism and Foucault ' s Technologies of Power : Governmentality at Work. *Diagoras Int Acad J Olympic Stud* 2017;75–94.

Darnell SC. Power, Politics and “Sport for Development and Peace”: Investigating the Utility of Sport for International Development. *Sociol Sport J* 2010;27:54–75. doi:10.1123/ssj.27.1.54.

Darnell SC, Chawansky M, Marchesseault D, Holmes M, Hayhurst LMC. The State of Play: Critical sociological insights into recent “Sport for Development and Peace” research. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2016;1–19. doi:10.1177/1012690216646762.

Darnell SC, Dao M. Considering sport for development and peace through the capabilities approach. *Third World Themat A TWQ J* 2017;1–14. doi:10.1080/23802014.2017.1314772.

Darnell SC, Field R, Kidd B. The History and Politics of Sport-for-Development: Activists, Ideologues and Reformers. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK; 2019.

Darnell SC, Hayhurst L. Hegemony, postcolonialism and sport-for-development: a response to Lindsey and Grattan. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2012;4:111–24.

Dean M. Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society. London: Sage Publications; 2010.

Denzin NK, Lincoln YS. The SAGE handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.; 2005.

de St Croix T. Youth work, performativity and the new youth impact agenda: getting paid for numbers? J Educ Policy 2018;33:414–38. doi:10.1080/02680939.2017.1372637.

DISK [Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey]. “Türkiye’de çocuk işçi olmak” [Being Child Worker in Turkey]. İstanbul: 2017.

Donnelly P. Sport and human rights. Sport Soc 2008;11:381–94. doi: 10.1080/17430430802019326

Donnelly P, Petherick L. Workers’ playtime? Child labour at the extremes of the sporting spectrum. Sport Soc 2004;7:301–21. doi: 10.1080/1743043042000291659

Ekholm D. Governing by means of sport for social change and social inclusion: demarcating the domains of problematization and intervention. Sport Soc 2018;21:1777–94. doi:10.1080/17430437.2017.1417986.

Ekholm D, Dahlstedt M. Rationalities of goodwill: on the promotion of philanthropy through sports-based interventions in Sweden. Manag Sport Leis 2018;23:336–49. doi:10.1080/23750472.2018.1554450.

Ekholm D, Dahlstedt M, Rönnbäck J. Problematizing the absent girl: sport as a means of emancipation and social inclusion. Sport Soc 2019;22:1043–61. doi:10.1080/17430437.2018.1505870.

Elling A, Claringbould I. Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in the Dutch sports landscape: Who can and wants to belong? Sociol Sport J 2005;22:498–515. doi: 10.1123/ssj.22.4.498

Elmas S. “Wish I were a Footballer...” Professionalism, Upward Social Mobility and Letdown in Football [“Bi Futbolcu Olursak...” Futbolda Profesyonellik, Sınıf Atlama ve Hayal Kırıklığı]. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2017.

Elmas S, Hacisoftaoğlu İ, Aşçı H. Kadınlara Özgü Mekânlarda Egzersiz Yapmak: Sosyal-Ekolojik Model. Türkiye Klin J Sport Sci 2016;8:76–86. doi: 10.5336/sportsci.2016-51226.

Enneli HÇ, Enneli P. Reinforcement and erosion of traditional gender roles among young people in a poor metropolitan area of Turkey. J Youth Stud 2017;20:349–65. doi:10.1080/13676261.2016.1217320.

Erturan-Ogut EE. Türkiye’de Spor Yönetiminin Neoliberal Dönüşümü [Neoliberal Transformation of Sport Management in Turkey]. Amme İdaresi Derg 2014;47:31–58.

Erturan-Ogut EE, Sahin MY. Political clientelism in Turkish sports federations. Eur Sport Manag Q 2015;14:556–66. doi:10.1080/16184742.2014.950307.

Esen B, Gumuscu S. Rising competitive authoritarianism in Turkey. Third World Q 2016;37:1581–606. doi:10.1080/01436597.2015.1135732.

European Commission. EACEA (The Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency) National Policies Platform, Turkey; 2018.

European Commission. Social Inclusion in the New Member States: A Synthesis on the Joint Memoranda on Social Inclusion. Brussels; 2004.

Fahlén J, Eliasson I, Wickman K. Resisting self-regulation: an analysis of sport policy programme making and implementation in Sweden. Int J Sport Policy 2015;7:391–406. doi:10.1080/19406940.2014.925954.

Fairclough N. Critical Discourse Analysis. In: Gee JP, Handford M, editors. Routledge Handb. Discourse Anal., Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; 2012, p. 9–20. doi:10.4324/9780203809068.ch7.

Fairclough N. Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research. In: Wodak R, Meyer M, editors. Methods Crit. Discourse Anal. 1st Editio, London: SAGE; 2001, p. 121–38. doi:10.1007/s10993-009-9143-x.

Fairclough N. Language and Power. Harlow: Longman; 1989.

Fişek G. Türkiye’de Çocuk Emeği Çalışmalarına Genel Bakış. Fişek Enstitüsü Çalışma Ortamı Derg 2002.

Flint J. Encounters with the centaur state: Advanced urban marginality and the practices and ethics of welfare sanctions regimes. Urban Stud 2018. doi:10.1177/0042098017750070.

Flynn RJ. Communities that care: A comprehensive system for youth prevention and promotion, and Canadian applications to date. IPC Rev 2008;2:83.

Flyvbjerg B. Five misunderstandings about case-study research. Qual Inq 2006;12:219–45. doi:10.1177/1077800405284363.

Forde SD. Fear and loathing in Lesotho: An autoethnographic analysis of sport for development and peace. Int Rev Sociol Sport 2015;50:958–73. doi:10.1177/1012690213501916.

Forde SD, Kota A. Football as a terrain of hope and struggle: beginning a dialogue on social change hope and building a better world through sport. Qual Res Sport Exerc Heal 2016;8:444–55. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2016.1212915.

Foucault M. The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979.

Basingstoke [England]: Palgrave Macmillan; 2008. doi:10.1057/9780230594180.

Foucault M. Governmentality. In: Burchell G, Gordon C, Miller P, editors. Foucault Eff. Stud. Gov. with two Lect. by an interview with Michel Foucault, University of Chicago Press; 1991; 87–104. doi:10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2.

Foucault M. The use of pleasure: The history of sexuality, Vol. 2. New York: Vintage; 1985.

France A, Threadgold S. Youth and political economy: towards a Bourdieusian approach. J Youth Stud 2016;19:612–28. doi:10.1080/13676261.2015.1098779.

Furlong A, Cartmel F. Young People and Social Change: New Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press; 2006.

Gee JP, Handford M. The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Oxon: Routledge; 2012.

Gewirtz S, Ozga J. Partnership, pluralism and education policy: a reassessment. J Educ Policy 1990;5:37–48.

Giddens A. The third way: The renewal of social democracy. Malden, Mass.: John Wiley & Sons; 1998.

Goksen F, Cemalcilar Z. Social capital and cultural distance as predictors of early school dropout: Implications for community action for Turkish internal migrants. Int J Intercult Relations 2010;34:163–75. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.11.006.

Goodwin M, Grix J. Bringing structures back in: The “governance narrative”, the “decentred approach” and “asymmetrical network governance” in the education and sport policy communities. Public Adm 2011;89:537–56. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9299.2011.01921.x.

Gramsci A. Selections from the Prison Notebooks. London: Lawrence and Wishart; 1971.

Green M. Governing under advanced liberalism: Sport policy and the social investment state. *Policy Sci* 2007;40:55–71. doi:10.1007/s11077-007-9034-y.

Green M, Houlihan B. Governmentality, Modernization, and the “Disciplining” of National Sporting Organizations: Athletics in Australia and the United Kingdom. *Sociol Sport J* 2006;23:47–71. doi:10.1123/ssj.23.1.47.

Grix J. The ‘governance debate’ and the study of sport policy. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2010;2:159–71. doi:10.1080/19406940.2010.488061.

Grix J. The foundations of research: a student’s guide. London: Macmillan International Higher Education; 2004.

Grix J. Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research. *Politics* 2002;22:175–86. doi:10.1111/1467-9256.00173.

Grix J, Harris S. Governance and Governmentality of Sport. *Routledge Handb. Sport Polit.*, Oxon: Routledge; 2016, p. 3–15.

Grix J, Phillpots L. Revisiting the “Governance narrative”: “Asymmetrical network governance” and the deviant case of the sports policy sector. *Public Policy Adm* 2011;26:3–19. doi:10.1177/0952076710365423.

Gruneau RS. Modernization or hegemony: Two views on sport and social development. In: Harvey J, Cantelon H, editors. *Not Just a Game Essays Can. Sport Sociol.*, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press; 1988, p. 9–32.

Guardian T. Olympics are a carnival of junk food marketing 2016.

<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/aug/05/olympics-carnival-junk-food-marketing-campaigners-kelloggs-mcdonalds> (accessed June 22, 2019).

Hargreaves J, McDonald I. Cultural Studies and the Sociology of Sport. In: Coakley J, Dunning E, editors. *Handb. Sport. Stud.*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd; 2000, p. 49–61. doi:10.4135/9781848608382.

Harris K, Adams A. Power and discourse in the politics of evidence in sport for development. *Sport Manag Rev* 2016;19:97–106. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2015.05.001.

Hartley J. Innovation in Governance and Public Services: Past and Present. *Public Money Manag* 2005;25:27–34. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9302.2005.00447.x.

Hartmann D. *Midnight basketball: Race, sports, and neoliberal social policy.* University of Chicago Press; 2016.

Hartmann D, Kwauk C. Sport and Development: An Overview, Critique, and Reconstruction. *J Sport Soc Issues* 2011;35:284–305. doi:10.1177/0193723511416986.

Harvey D. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2005.
Haudenhuyse R. Introduction to the Issue “Sport for Social Inclusion: Questioning Policy, Practice and Research.” *Soc Incl* 2017;5:85. doi:10.17645/si.v5i2.1068.

Haudenhuyse R, Theeboom M. Introduction to the Special Issue “Sport for Social Inclusion: Critical Analyses and Future Challenges.” *Soc Incl* 2015;3:1. doi:10.17645/si.v3i3.381.

Haudenhuyse R, Theeboom M, Nols Z. Sports-based interventions for socially vulnerable youth: Towards well-defined interventions with easy-to-follow outcomes? *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2013;48:471–84. doi:10.1177/1012690212448002.

Haudenhuyse RP, Theeboom M, Coalter F. The potential of sports-based social interventions for vulnerable youth: Implications for sport coaches and youth workers. *J Youth Stud* 2012;15:437–54.

Haudenhuyse RP, Theeboom M, Skille EA. Towards understanding the potential of sports- based practices for socially vulnerable youth. *Sport Soc* 2014;17:139–56. doi:10.1080/17430437.2013.790897.

Hayhurst LMC. The power to shape policy: charting sport for development and peace policy discourses. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2009;1:203–27. doi:10.1080/19406940902950739.

Heiskala R. Social Innovations: Structural and Power Perspectives. In: Hamalainen TJ, Heiskala R, editors. *al Innov. Institutional Chang. Econ. Perform.*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar; 2007.

Henry I, Al-Tauqi M, Amara M, Lee P, Henry I. Methodologies in comparative and transnational sports policy research. Loughbrgh Univ Inst Sport Leis Policy, Eds *Transnatl Comp Res Sport Glob Gov Sport Policy* London 2007.

Herrera C, Arbretton AJ. Increasing Opportunities for Older Youth in After-School Programs. A Report on the Experiences of Boys & Girls Clubs in Boston and New York City. New York, NY: ERIC; 2003.

Hindess B. The liberal government of unfreedom. *Alternatives* 2001;26:93–111.

Houlihan B, White A. The politics of sports development: development of sport or development through sport? Routledge; 2002.

Hovden J. Assessing the sociology of sport: On sport organizations and neoliberal discourses. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2015;50:472–6. doi:10.1177/1012690214566645.

Ingham A, Hardy S. Sport: Structuration, subjugation and hegemony. *Theory, Cult Soc* 1984;2:85–103.

IYF [International Youth Foundation]. Global Youth Wellbeing Index. 2017.

İzmen Ü. Bölgesel Kalkınmada Yerel Dinamikler: Tunceli Modeli ve 2023 Senaryoları [Local Dynamics in Regional Development: Tunceli Model and 2023 Scenarios]. İstanbul: 2014.

Jeffrey C. Geographies of children and youth II: Global youth agency. *Prog Hum Geogr* 2012;36:245–53.

Jones S. Antonio Gramsci. London: Routledge; 2006.

Jongerden J. Looking beyond the state: transitional justice and the Kurdish issue in Turkey. *Ethn Racial Stud* 2018;41:721–38. doi:10.1080/01419870.2017.1330486.

Kay T. Developing through sport: evidencing sport impacts on young people. *Sport Soc* 2009;12:1177–91. doi:10.1080/17430430903137837.

Kaygusuz Ö. Authoritarian Neoliberalism and Regime Security in Turkey: Moving to an ‘Exceptional State’ under AKP. *South Eur Soc Polit* 2018;23:281–302. doi:10.1080/13608746.2018.1480332.

Keat RA, Sam MP. Regional implementation of New Zealand sport policy: new instrument, new challenges. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2013;5:39–54.

Kelly L. Sports-Based Interventions and the Local Governance of Youth Crime and Antisocial Behavior. *J Sport Soc Issues* 2013;37:261–83. doi:10.1177/0193723512467193.

Kelly L. ‘ Social inclusion ’ through sports-based interventions ? *Crit Soc Policy*

2011;31:126–50.

Kennelly J. ‘This Is the View When I Walk into My House’: Accounting Phenomenologically for the Efficacy of Spatial Methods with Youth. *Young* 2017;25:305–21. doi:10.1177/1103308816680437.

Kidd B. A new social movement: Sport for development and peace. *Sport Soc* 2008;11:370–80. doi:10.1080/17430430802019268.

Kingsley BC, Spencer-Cavaliere N. The exclusionary practices of youth sport. *Soc Incl* 2015;3:24–38. doi: 10.17645/si.v3i3.136

Kintrea K, St Clair R, Houston M. Shaped by place? Young people’s aspirations in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. *J Youth Stud* 2015;18:666–84. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2014.992315

Koca C, Öztürk P. Gendered perceptions about female managers in Turkish sport organizations. *Eur Sport Manag Q* 2015;37–41. doi:10.1080/16184742.2015.1040046.

Kokkinidis G. Spaces of possibilities: workers’ self-management in Greece. *Organization* 2014;22:847–71. doi:10.1177/1350508414521098.

KONDA. Türkiye’de Gençlerin Katılımı [Youth Participation in Turkey]. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University.; 2014.

Krahn HJ, Chai C-A, Fang S, Galambos NL, Johnson MD. Quick, uncertain, and delayed adults: timing, sequencing and duration of youth-adult transitions in Canada. *J Youth Stud* 2017;1–17. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1421750

Krzyżanowski M. Recontextualisation of neoliberalism and the increasingly conceptual nature of discourse: Challenges for critical discourse studies. *Discourse Soc* 2016;27:308–21.

Krzyżanowski M, Forchtner B. Theories and concepts in critical discourse studies : Facing challenges , moving beyond foundations. *Discourse Soc* 2016;27:1–9. doi:10.1177/0957926516630900.

Lawson HA. Empowering people, facilitating community development, and contributing to sustainable development: The social work of sport, exercise, and physical education programs. *Sport Educ Soc* 2005;10:135–60. doi:10.1080/1357332052000308800.

Lemke T. Foucault, governmentality, and critique. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; 2012.

Lemke T. Foucault , governmentality, and critique. *Rethink Marx* 2002;14:1–17.

Levitas R. The inclusive society?: social exclusion and New Labour. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Springer; 2005.

Levitas R, Pantazis C, Fahmy E, Gordon D, Lloyd E, Patsios D. The Multi-dimensional Analysis of Social Exclusion. Bristol; 2007.

Liao J, Markula P. Reading media texts in women’s sport: Critical discourse analysis and Foucauldian discourse analysis. In: Olympic women and the media, Markula P, editors. Palgrave Macmillan, London.; 2009, p. 30–49.

Lindsey I. Governance in sport-for-development: Problems and possibilities of (not) learning from international development. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2017;52:801–18. doi:10.1177/1012690215623460.

Lindsey I. Governance of lottery sport programmes: National direction of local partnerships in the New Opportunities for PE and sport programme. *Manag Leis* 2010;15:198–213. doi:10.1080/13606719.2010.483831.

Lindsey I. Conceptualising sustainability in sports development. *Leis Stud* 2008;27:279–94. doi:10.1080/02614360802048886.

Lindsey I, Chapman T, Dufield O. Conceptualising relationships for sport and the Sustainable Development Goals: differing configurations of state and non-state actors. Unpubl Manuscr 2019.

Lindsey I, Grattan A. An ‘international movement ’? Decentring sport-for-development within Zambian communities. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2012;4:91–110. doi:10.1080/19406940.2011.627360.

Lord JE, Stein MA. Social rights and the relational value of the rights to participate in sport, recreation, and play. *BU Int’l LJ* 2009;27:249.

Lüküslü D. Creating a pious generation: youth and education policies of the AKP in Turkey. *J Southeast Eur Black Sea* 2016;16:637–49. doi:10.1080/14683857.2016.1243332.

Mackintosh C, Dempsey C. The British Asian Muslim male sport participation puzzle: an exploration of implications for sport development policy and practice. *J Youth Stud* 2017;20:974–96.

Magee J, Jeanes R. Football’s coming home: A critical evaluation of the Homeless World Cup as an intervention to combat social exclusion. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2011;48:3–19. doi:10.1177/1012690211428391.

Markula P, Chikinda J. Group fitness instructors as local level health promoters: a Foucauldian analysis of the politics of health/fitness dynamic. *Int J Sport Policy* 2016;8:625–46. doi:10.1080/19406940.2016.1220407.

Marsh D, Furlong P. A skin not a sweater: ontology and epistemology in political science. *Theory Methods Polit Sci* 2002;2:17–41.

Marsh D, Smith MJ. There is more than one way to do political science: on different ways to study policy networks. *Polit Stud* 2001;49:528–41.

Massey W V., Whitley MA, Darnell SC. Sport in under-resourced, underdeveloped, and conflict regions: an introduction. *Qual Res Sport Exerc Heal* 2016;8:409–12. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2016.1214617.

Massey W V, Whitley MA. The role of sport for youth amidst trauma and chaos. *Qual Res Sport Exerc Heal* 2016;6778:1–18. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2016.1204351.

McArdle D, Giulianotti R. *Sport, Civil Liberties and Human Rights*. London: Routledge, 2006.

McDermott L. A Governmental Analysis of Children “At Risk” in a World of Physical Inactivity and Obesity Epidemics. *Sociol Sport J* 2007;24:302–24. doi:10.1123/ssj.24.3.302.

McDonald B, Spaaij R, Dukic D. Moments of social inclusion: asylum seekers, football and solidarity. *Sport Soc* 2018:1–15. doi:10.1080/17430437.2018.1504774.

McKee K. Post-Foucauldian governmentality: What does it offer critical social policy analysis? *Crit Soc Policy* 2009;29:465–86. doi:10.1177/0261018309105180.

McSweeney M, Kikulis L, Thibault L, Hayhurst L, van Ingen C. Maintaining and disrupting global-North hegemony/global-South dependence in a local African sport for development organisation: the role of institutional work. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2019:1–17. doi:10.1080/19406940.2018.1550797.

Meân LJ, Kassing JW. “I would just like to be known as an athlete”: Managing hegemony, femininity, and heterosexuality in female sport. *West J Commun* 2008;72:126–44. doi: 10.1080/10570310802038564.

Meir D, Fletcher T. The transformative potential of using participatory community sport initiatives to promote social cohesion in divided community contexts. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2019;54:218–38. doi:10.1177/1012690217715297.

Meyer M. Between theory, method, and politics: positioning of the approaches to CDA. In: Wodak R, Meyer M, editors. *Methods Crit. discourse Anal.*, Sage London; 2001, p. 14–31.

Moreau N. Opening the black box of a sports-based programme for vulnerable youth: the crucial role of social bonds. *Qual Res Sport Exerc Heal* 2018;1–15. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2018.1430060.

Morgan H, Parker A. Generating recognition, acceptance and social inclusion in marginalised youth populations: the potential of sports-based interventions. *J Youth Stud* 2017. doi:10.1080/13676261.2017.1305100.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport]. 34.6 Million Turkish Lira Support from the Ministry of Youth and Sport to Youth Projects [Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı’ndan 444 Gençlik Projesine 34.6 Milyon TL Destek]. Ankara: 2018.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport]. “Sanayinin çırakları, geleceğin yıldızları projesi [Apprentices of Industry, Stars of Future Project].” Ankara: 2016.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport]. Youth and Sport with Data [Verilerle Gençlik ve Spor]. 2014. doi:10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport]. "Proje ve Koordinasyon Genel Müdürlüğü" [General Directorate of Project and Coordination]. Ankara: 2012.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport]. Annual Activity Report [Yıllık Faaliyet Raporu]. Ankara: 2017.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport]. Annual Activity Report [Yıllık Faaliyet Raporu]. Ankara: 2016.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sport]. Annual Activity Report [Yıllık Faaliyet Raporu]. Ankara: 2015.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sports]. Youth projects Call for Submissions II - Practical Guidelines [Gençlik Projeleri Genel Çağrı II - Uygulama Kılavuzu]. Ankara: 2016.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sports]. Youth council report: Disadvantaged youth and participation to social life [Gençlik Şurası Ön Komisyon Raporu: Dezavantajlı Gençler ve Sosyal Hayata Katılım]. Ankara: 2012a.

MYS [Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sports]. The national youth and sport policy document. Ankara: 2012b.

Nations U. United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), “General comment No. 17. On the right of the child to rest, leisure, play, recreational activities, cultural life and the arts (art. 31).” 2013.

Nehamas A. The art of living: Socratic reflections from Plato to Foucault. Berkeley: University of California Press; 1998.

Nicholls S, Giles AR, Sethna C. Perpetuating the “lack of evidence” discourse in sport for development: Privileged voices, unheard stories and subjugated knowledge. Int Rev Sociol Sport 2011;46:249–64. doi:10.1177/1012690210378273.

Nichols G, Crow I. Measuring the impact of crime reduction interventions involving sports activities for young people. Howard J Crim Justice 2004;43:267–83. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2311.2004.00327.x

Nussbaum MC. *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; 2011.

Nussbaum MC. Symposium on Amartya Sen's philosophy: 5 Adaptive preferences and women's options. *Econ Philos* 2001;17:67–88. doi: 10.1017/S0266267101000153

OECD [The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development]. *Young population*. 2019. doi:10.1787/3d774f19-en.

OECD [The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development]. *Education at a Glance 2016: OECD Indicators*. 2016. doi:10.1787/eag-2016-en.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). *Report on the Human Rights Situation in South-East Turkey: July 2015 to December 2016*. 2017.

Ong A. Neoliberalism as a mobile technology. *Trans Inst Br Geogr* 2007;32:3–8.

Osborne SP, Chew C, McLaughlin K. The once and future pioneers? The innovative capacity of voluntary organisations and the provision of public services: A longitudinal approach. *Public Manag Rev* 2008;10:51–70. doi:10.1080/14719030701763187.

Österlind M. Sport policy evaluation and governing participation in sport: governmental problematics of democracy and health. *Int J Sport Policy* 2016;8:347–62. doi:10.1080/19406940.2015.1123755.

Österlind M, Wright J. If sport's the solution then what's the problem? The social significance of sport in the moral governing of 'good' and 'healthy' citizens in Sweden, 1922–1998. *Sport Educ Soc* 2014;19:973–90. doi:10.1080/13573322.2012.726217.

Oxford S. 'You look like a machito !': a decolonial analysis of the social in / exclusion of female participants in a Colombian sport for development and peace organization sport for development and peace organization. *Sport Soc* 2019;1–18. doi:10.1080/17430437.2019.1565389.

Oxford S, Spaaij R. Gender Relations and Sport for Development in Colombia: A Decolonial Feminist Analysis. *Leis Sci* 2019;1–18. doi: 10.1080/01490400.2018.1539679

Paciello MC, Pioppi D. A Comprehensive Approach to the Understanding of the Dynamics of Youth Exclusion/Inclusion and the Prospects for Youth-Led Change in the South and East Mediterranean. *Power2Youth* 2014;1–27.

Paré G, Trudel M-C, Jaana M, Kitsiou S. Synthesizing information systems knowledge: A typology of literature reviews. *Inf Manag* 2015;52:183–99. doi:10.1016/j.im.2014.08.008

Park JK. Governing doped bodies: The World Anti-Doping Agency and the global culture of surveillance. *Cult Stud - Crit Methodol* 2005;5:174–88. doi:10.1177/1532708605274945.

Parry SJ. Hegemony and Sport. *J Philos Sport* 1983;10:71–83. doi:10.1080/00948705.1983.9714402.

Pawson R. Evidence-based policy: a realist perspective. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage; 2006.

Peck J, Brenner N, Theodore N. Actually Existing Neoliberalism. *SAGE Handb. neoliberalism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd; 2018, p. 3–15.

Phillpots L, Grix J, Quarmby T. Centralized grassroots sport policy and ' new governance ': A case study of County Sports Partnerships in the UK – unpacking the

paradox. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2010;46:265–81. doi:10.1177/1012690210378461.

Pickett BL. Foucault and the Politics of Resistance. *Polity* 2006;28:445–66. doi:10.2307/3235341.

Piggin J. Discourse Analysis and its Application to Sport Policy Analysis. In: Henry IP, Ko LM, editors. *Routledge Handb. Sport Policy*, Routledge; 2013, p. 23–34.

Piggin J, Bairner A. The global physical inactivity pandemic: an analysis of knowledge production. *Sport Educ Soc* 2016;21:131–47. doi:10.1080/13573322.2014.882301.

Piggin J, Jackson SJ, Lewis M. Knowledge, power and politics: Contesting “evidence-based” national sport policy. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2009;44:87–101. doi:10.1177/1012690209102825.

Piper H, Garratt D. Olympic dreams and social realities: A Foucauldian analysis of legacy and mass participation. *Sociol Res Online* 2013;18:1–10. doi:10.5153/sro.3063.

Pitti I. What does being an adult mean? Comparing young people’s and adults’ representations of adulthood. *J Youth Stud* 2017;20:1225–41.

Prakash G. *Another reason: Science and the imagination of modern India*. NJ and Chichester: Princeton University Press; 1999.

Pritchett L, Woolcock M, Andrews M. Looking Like a State : Techniques of Persistent Failure in State Capability for Implementation. *J Dev Stud* 2013;49:1–18. doi:10.1080/00220388.2012.709614.

Procacci G. Social economy and the government of poverty. In: Burchell G, Gordon C, Miller P, editors. *Foucault Eff. Stud. Gov.*, University of Chicago Press Chicago; 1991, p. 151–68.

Qizilbash M. A weakness of the capability approach with respect to gender justice. *J Int Dev* 1998;9:251–62.

Raco M, Imrie R. Governmentality and rights and responsibilities in urban policy. *Environ Plan A* 2000;32:2187–204. doi:10.1068/a3365.

Rankin-Wright AJ, Hylton K, Norman L. Negotiating the coaching landscape: Experiences of Black men and women coaches in the United Kingdom. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2017;1012690217724879.

Rannikko A, Harinen P, Torvinen P, Liikanen V. The social bordering of lifestyle sports: inclusive principles, exclusive reality. *J Youth Stud* 2016;19:1093–109.

Ratten V. A social perspective of sports-based entrepreneurship. *Int J Entrep Small Bus* 2011;12. doi:10.1504/ijesb.2011.039010.

Ratten V, Ferreira JJ. *Sport entrepreneurship and innovation*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis; 2016.

Rich K, Misener L. Playing on the periphery: troubling sport policy, systemic exclusion and the role of sport in rural Canada. *Sport Soc* 2019;1–20. doi:10.1080/17430437.2019.1565387.

Ringuet-Riot CJ, Hahn A, James DA. A structured approach for technology innovation in sport. *Sport Technol* 2013;6:137–49. doi: 10.1080/19346182.2013.868468.

Rorty R. *Achieving Our Country : Leftist Thought in Twentieth-Century America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; 1998.

Rose N. *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1999.

Rose N, Miller P. Political power beyond the State: Problematics of government. *Br J Sociol* 2010;61:271–303. doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01247.x.

Rossi T, Rynne S. Sport development programmes for Indigenous Australians: innovation, inclusion and development, or a product of ‘white guilt’? *Sport Soc* 2014;17:1030–45. doi:10.1080/17430437.2013.838355.

Rossi T, Jeanes R. Is sport for development already an anachronism in the age of austerity or can it be a space of hope? *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2018;10:185–201.

Sanders B, Phillips J, Vanreusel B. Opportunities and challenges facing NGOs using sport as a vehicle for development in post- apartheid South Africa. *Sport Educ Soc* 2014;19:789–805. doi:10.1080/13573322.2012.711304.

Schoormann T, Behrens D, Kolek E, Knackstedt R. Sustainability in Business Models- a literature-Review-based Design-Science-Oriented Research Agenda. *ECIS*, 2016, p. 1–18.

Schulenkorf N, Adair D. *Global sport-for-development: Critical Perspectives*. 1st Edi. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; 2013.

Schulenkorf N, Sherry E, Rowe K. Sport for Development: An Integrated Literature Review. *J Sport Manag* 2016;30:22–39. doi:10.1123/jsm.2014-0263.

Selwyn N. Researching the once-powerful in education : the value of retrospective elite interviewing in education policy research. *J Educ Policy* 2013;28:339–52. doi:10.1080/02680939.2012.728630.

Sen A. *The Idea of Justice*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press; 2009.

Sen A. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred Knopf; 1999.

Sen A. Gender Inequality and Theories of Justice. In: Nussbaum M, Glover J, editors. *Women, Cult. Dev.*, Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1995.

Serrano Pascual A, Martín Martín P. From ‘Employability’ to ‘Entrepreneuriality’ in Spain: youth in the spotlight in times of crisis. *J Youth Stud* 2017;1–24. doi:10.1080/13676261.2016.1273513.

Silk M, Francombe J, Andrews DL. Slowing the social sciences of sport: on the possibilities of physical culture. *Sport Soc* 2014;17:1266–89. doi:10.1080/17430437.2014.849649.

Silva CF, Howe PD. Difference, adapted physical activity and human development: Potential contribution of capabilities approach. *Adapt Phys Act Q* 2012;29:25–43. doi:10.1123/apaq.29.1.25.

Singer B, Rockmore T. *Anti-Foundationalism: Old and New*. Philadelphia: Temple 1992.

Spaaij R. Sport and Social Policy. In: Maguire J, editor. *Sci. Sport*, Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics; 2014, p. 277–303.

Spaaij R. Changing people’s lives for the better? Social mobility through sport-based intervention programmes: opportunities and constraints. *Eur J Sport Soc* 2013;10:53–73. doi: 10.1080/16138171.2013.11687910.

Spaaij R. Sport as a Vehicle for Social Mobility and Regulation of Disadvantaged Urban Youth: Lessons from Rotterdam. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2009;44:247–64. doi: 10.1177/1012690209338415

Spaaij R, Farquharson K, Marjoribanks T. Sport and social inequalities. *Sociol Compass* 2015;9:400–11. doi:10.1111/soc4.12254

Spaaij R, Magee J, Jeanes R. Sport and social exclusion in global society. London: Routledge; 2014.

Sparkes AC, Smith B. Qualitative research methods in sport, exercise and health: From process to product. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; 2014.

Sterchele D. De-sportizing physical activity: From sport-for-development to play-for-development. Eur J Sport Soc 2015;12:97–120. doi:10.1080/16138171.2015.11687958.

Sukarieh M, Tannock S. Youth rising?: the politics of youth in the global economy. London: Routledge; 2015.

Sukarieh M, Tannock S. In the best interests of youth or neoliberalism? The World Bank and the New Global Youth Empowerment Project. J Youth Stud 2008;11:301–12. doi: 10.1080/13676260801946431

Suzuki N. A capability approach to understanding sport for social inclusion: Agency, structure and organisations. Soc Incl 2017;5:150–8.

Svender J, Larsson H, Redelius K. Promoting girls' participation in sports: Discursive constructions of girls in a sports initiative. Sport Educ Soc 2012;17:463–78. doi:10.1080/13573322.2011.608947.

Svensson PG, Hambrick ME. “Pick and choose our battles” – Understanding organizational capacity in a sport for development and peace organization. Sport Manag Rev 2015;1–13. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2015.02.003.

Svensson PG, Levine J. Rethinking sport for development and peace: The capability approach. Sport Soc 2017;20:905–23. doi: 10.1080/17430437.2016.1269083.

Tacon R. Football and social inclusion: Evaluating social policy. Manag Leis

2007;12:1–23. doi:10.1080/13606710601056422.

Taylor WG, Piper H, Garratt D. Sports coaches as ‘ dangerous individuals ’— practice as governmentality. *Sport Educ Soc* 2016;21:183–99. doi:10.1080/13573322.2014.899492.

Temel C, Akyol E. From sports facilities to sports organizations: The role of metropolitan municipalities [Spor tesislerinden spor organizasyonlarına: Türkiye’de büyükşehir belediyelerinin rolü]. *J Hum Sci* 2016;13:3711–9.

Tenorio EH. Critical discourse analysis, an overview. *Nord J English Stud* 2011;10:183–210.

Thorpe H. ‘Look at what we can do with all the broken stuff!’ Youth agency and sporting creativity in sites of war, conflict and disaster. *Qual Res Sport Exerc Heal* 2016;8:554–70. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2016.1206957.

Tinaz C, Turco DM, Salisbury P. Sport policy in Turkey. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2014;6:533–45. doi:10.1080/19406940.2014.893247.

Tjønndal A. ‘I don’t think they realise how good we are’: Innovation, inclusion and exclusion in women’s Olympic boxing. *Int Rev Sociol Sport* 2018;1012690217715642.

Tjønndal A. Sport innovation: developing a typology. *Eur J Sport Soc* 2017;14:291–310. doi:10.1080/16138171.2017.1421504.

Tonts M. Competitive sport and social capital in rural Australia. *J Rural Stud* 2005;21:137–49. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2005.03.001.

Torraco RJ. Writing integrative literature reviews: Using the past and present to explore the future. *Hum Resour Dev Rev* 2016;15:404–28.

TÜİK [Turkish Statistical Institute]. İşgücü İstatistikleri. [Turkey Workforce Statistics]. Ankara: 2017.

Tuli F. The basis of distinction between qualitative and quantitative research in social science: Reflection on ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives. *Ethiop J Educ Sci* 2010;6.

Uçar A. Yerel Yönetimler ve Spor Hizmetleri [Local Administrations and Sport Services]. In: Ökmen M, editor. Yerel Yönetimlerde Güncel Gelişmeler [Current Aff. Local Adm.], Bursa: Ekim Basım Yayın Dağıtım; 2015.

UNICEF. Analysis of the Situation of Children and Young People in Turkey. 2012.

Van Dijk T. Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach. In: Wodak R, Meyer M, editors. *Methods Crit. Discourse Anal.*, London: Sage; 2009, p. 62–86.

Van Dijk TA. Multidisciplinary CDA: A plea for diversity. *Methods Crit. discourse Anal.*, London: Sage; 2001, p. 95–120.

VanWynsberghe R, Khan S. Redefining case study. *Int J Qual Methods* 2007;6:80–94.

Wacquant L. Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism. *Cad CRH* 2012;25:505–18. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8676.2011.00189.x

Wacquant L. *Urban outcasts: A comparative sociology of advanced marginality.* Cambridge: Polity; 2008.

Walsh L, Black R, Prosser H. Young people's perceptions of power and influence as a basis for understanding contemporary citizenship. *J Youth Stud* 2018;21:218–34.

doi:10.1080/13676261.2017.1363388.

Waring A, Mason C. Opening doors : promoting social inclusion through increased sports opportunities. *Sport Soc* 2010;13:517–29. doi:10.1080/17430431003588192.

Weiss CH. Where Politics and Evaluation Meet. *Eval Pract* 1993;14:93–106.

Wellington J, Szczerbinski M. *Research methods for the social sciences*. London; New York: A&C Black; 2007.

Whigham S, Bairner A. Analysing sport policy and politics: the promises and challenges of synthesising methodological approaches. *Int J Sport Policy Polit* 2018; 1–20.

Whitley MA, Forneris T, Barker B. The Reality of Evaluating Community-Based Sport and Physical Activity Programs to Enhance the Development of Underserved Youth: Challenges and Potential Strategies Meredith. *Quest* 2014;66:218–32. doi:10.1080/00336297.2015.1084340.

Whitley MA, Massey W V, Camiré M, Blom LC, Chawansky M, Forde S, et al. A systematic review of sport for development interventions across six global cities. *Sport Manag Rev* 2018. doi: 10.1016/j.smr.2018.06.013.

Whitson D. Sport and Hegemony: On the Construction of the Dominant Culture. *Sociol Sport J* 1984;1:64–78. doi:10.1123/ssj.1.1.64.

WHO [World Health Organization]. *Promoting sport and enhancing health in European Union countries*: 2011.

Wieviorka M. Case studies: history or sociology? In: Ragin CC, Becker HS, editors. *What is a case? Explor. Found. Soc. Inq.*, New York: Cambridge University Press; 1992; 159–72. doi:10.2307/3322115.

Wodak R, Meyer M. Discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory, and methodology. *Methods Crit Discourse Anal* 2009;1:1–33.

Wolff J, De-Shalit A. *Disadvantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2007.

Woodman D, Wyn J. Class, gender and generation matter: using the concept of social generation to study inequality and social change. *J Youth Stud* 2015;18:1402–10. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2015.1048206.

Woodman D, Wyn J. *Youth and generation: Rethinking change and inequality in the lives of young people*. Los Angeles: Sage; 2014.

Wyn J, White R. Negotiating social change: The paradox of youth. *Youth Soc* 2000;32:165–83. doi: 10.1177/0044118X00032002002

Yates S, Payne M. Not so NEET? A Critique of the Use of ‘NEET’ in Setting Targets for Interventions with Young People. *J Youth Stud* 2006;9:329–44. doi:10.1080/13676260600805671.

Yazıcı B. The Return to the Family: Welfare, State, and Politics of the Family in Turkey. *Anthropol Q* 2012;85:103–40. doi:10.1353/anq.2012.0013.

Yıldız K. Yerel Yönetimler ve Kalkınma Planları Çerçevesinde Spor Hizmetleri. *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Spor Bilim Derg* 2018;3:64–80.

Yılmaz Z. The ontological conceptualisation of poverty: Poverty as a totality of material-symbolic processes and lifting the curtain of technique in poverty studies [Yoksulluğun Ontolojik Kavranışı: Maddi-Sembolik Süreçler Bütünü Olarak Yoksulluk ve Yoksulluk Çalış. *Toplum Bilim* 2011;123–61.

Yin R. *Case study research: Designs and methods*. vol. 5. Thousand Oaks, Calif: 2008.

Yılmaz V. Youth welfare policy in Turkey in comparative perspective: a case of 'Denied Youth Citizenship.' *Southeast Eur Black Sea Stud* 2017;17:41–55. doi: 10.1080/14683857.2016.1232894

Young K, Okada C. Engaging the field through retrospective methods: a Cambodian story. *Qual Res Sport Exerc Heal* 2016;8:456–71. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2016.1206611.

Yurttagüler L. The Impact of Youth Policies in Turkey. *POWER2YOUTH*. 2016.

Zipp S, Nauright J. Levelling the playing field: Human capability approach and lived realities for sport and gender in the West Indies. *J Sport Dev* 2018;6:38–50.

13. Appendices

13.1. Interview questions

A. Questions for participants

Inclusion and activity process

1. What was your reason to participate in this programme?
2. What do you think about the programme you have involved?
3. Do you have other places to do sports or spend your free time? Can you tell me something about these places? Are participants in those other places different from this programme?
4. Before joining this programme, where you involved in other programmes? Can you tell me something about that? Can you make a comparison between the current programme and other programmes?
5. Are there any other social or sport activities that you spend time with joy and happiness?
6. What are the reasons of people who did not participate?
7. What were the reasons of drop out? Can you give an example?

The impact of the programme

8. What do you think about the influence of this programme in your life?
9. People say that by doing sports, you can become more social.
 - a. Do you also believe this? If so or not, can you tell me how this works?
 - b. Can you give me a concrete example?
 - c. Do you think this would work for some young people?
10. Are there any activities that you were not able to do but you are doing it now by means of this programme?
11. What is the importance of participating this programme for you?
12. Has there been some changes about the programme from the day you started? Or is it still the same programme?
13. Would you consider participating similar sport activities after this programme/sport club?
14. Do you see this programme as successful? What made this programme become successful/ unsuccessful?
15. If somebody would tell you that you cannot participate this programme anymore, what would that mean for you?
16. If this programme would never have been offered, what would that mean for you?

17. What do you value the most in this programme?

B. Questions for Participant Parents/Relatives

Inclusion and programme process

1. Where did you get the information about this programme?
2. What do you think is the purpose of this programme?
3. What was your reaction towards the programme at first? And has it changed any since then?
4. What are the impacts of this programme on your child/relative?
 - Did you think this programme helped your child/relative to be more social?
5. How is your child's/relative social life other than the programme/sport club?
6. You can ask some similar questions as the ones that I added above.

C. Questions for club/programme coordinators

Inclusion and programme process

1. What was the reason of conducting this project/sport club?
2. How did you decide to conduct this programme and activities?
3. What is the type of challenges you faced during the course of this programme?
4. What did you do to secure and monitor the projects/club activities?
5. How did you select the participants for the activities? Did you have any information about the backgrounds/features of participants?
 - a. Where are the participants coming from? Do you have any information about their social problems? How do you think this programme helps them to overcome those problems?
6. Who were the target group of this programme? Who were not? What did you do to try to reach them and what strategies were effective or not effective?
7. What type of activities is conducted in the programme?
8. Did you change some things about the programme? Why?

Activity Outcomes

9. Generally, what do you think about the projects that are promoted by the Ministry of Youth and Sport?
10. How do you think these projects contribute to social life of young people?
11. What would you like to say about the role of sport in these activities? Are the sports activities different than other contexts (school, sport clubs)?
12. Generally, how would you interpret outcomes of your programme?

D. Questions for Wider Community

Programme Process

1. Could you tell us how did you get the information about the programme?
2. Where did you get the information about the programme?

Programme Outcomes

3. What do you think about the social impact of this programme/sport club to your community?
4. How would this programme influence people to become more active in their social life?
5. Would you like to have a similar programme for adults?



13.2 Curriculum Vita / Özgeçmiş

Name	SELÇUK	Surname	AÇIKGÖZ
Birth Place	İZMİT-Türkiye	Birth Date	04.07.1989
E-mail	selcukacikgoz@trakya.edu.tr		

Research Outputs

Articles and Book Sections

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Lindsey Iain, Haudenhuyse Reinhard (August 2019) (in preparation).

The circles of power: A theoretical literature review on governmentality in sport studies. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*.

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Haudenhuyse Reinhard (under-review). “There is nothing else to do!”: The impact of football-based sport-for-development programmes in under-resourced areas. Submitted Manuscript.

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Haudenhuyse Reinhard, Tınaz Cem (2020) (Book Section). Opening the path towards social innovation in youth & sport policy: Understanding the mechanisms of sport-based interventions for young people in Turkey. In: *Alternative Futures of Sport: Social Innovation, Digitalization and New Sports*. Edited by: Tjønndal, Anne. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Haudenhuyse Reinhard, Aşçı Fevziye Hülya (2019). Social inclusion for whom and towards what end? A critical discourse analysis of youth and sport policies in Turkey. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 22(3), 330-345., Doi: 10.1080/13676261.2018.1506

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Elmas Safter, Aşçı Fevziye Hülya (2018). Akademisyenlerin Gözünden Sporda Sosyal Alanlardaki Yöntem Yaklaşımlarının İrdelenmesi [Questioning Research Method Approaches in Social Fields of Sport Sciences Through Eyes of Researchers]. *Turkish Clinics Journal of Sports Science*, 10(3), 139-149., Doi: doi: 10.5336/sportsci.2018-61727

Elmas Safter, Açıkgöz Selçuk, Aşçı Fevziye Hülya (2018). Sporda Sosyal Alanlarda Yapılan Lisansüstü Tezlerde Araştırma Paradigmalarının İncelenmesi [The Research Paradigms of Graduate Theses in Social Sub-Disciplines of Sport]. *Hacettepe Journal of Sport Sciences*, 29(2), 53-66., Doi: doi: 10.17644/sbd.309203

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Edin İbrahim (2018). Kaosun Örgütsel Değişim Üzerindeki Etkisi: Profesyonel Futbol Kulüpleri Üzerine Bir Çalışma [The Effect of Chaos on Organizational Change: A Study on Turkish Professional Football Clubs]. Spor ve Performans Araştırmaları Dergisi, 9(1), 1-17., Doi: 10.17155/omuspd.300912

Conference Presentations (National and International)

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Haudenhuyse Reinhard, Aşçı Fevziye Hülya (2018). What Happens After All is Said and Done? A Retrospective Analyses of Sport-Based Projects for Underserved Youth. 23rd Annual Congress of the European College of Sport Science, Dublin, Ireland.

Açıkgöz Selçuk (2017). A critical look on sport for development and sport co-operatives. International Seminar 'Football for Development', Brussel, Belgium.

Elmas Safer, Açıkgöz Selçuk, Aşçı Fevziye Hülya (2017). Akademisyenlerin Gözünden Sporda Sosyal Alanlardaki Araştırma Yöntemi Yaklaşımlarının İrdelenmesi. 15. Uluslararası Spor Bilimleri Kongresi, Antalya.

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Aşçı Fevziye Hülya, Haudenhuyse Reinhard (2017). Assessing different levels of social inclusion through community sport porgrammes in disadvantaged areas of Turkey. 2017 World Congress of Sociology of Sport, 23-25 June, Taiwan.

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Tınaz Cem (2016). Turkey's Sport Participation Policies From the Social State Perspective. The PSA Sport and Politics Annual Conference 3th March, Bournemouth, UK.

Açıkgöz Selçuk, Demirel Abdullah, Edin İbrahim (2015). Running a Professional Basketball Club as a Sustainable CSR Initiative. European Association for Sport Management. Dublin, Ireland.

Demirel Abdullah, Açıkgöz Selçuk (2015). Fans' CSR Perceptions in The Context of Professional Sport Sponsorship. European Association for Sport Management Conference. Dublin, Ireland.