

RUNNING HEAD: Sport Social Capital

Social Capital in Australian Sport

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Abstract

Socio-cultural studies of sport in society have employed various conceptual categories from a variety of theoretical perspectives with the latest to gain wide currency being “social capital”. While there is much general debate on the concept and its measurement in the study of society, the number of studies using social capital has grown remarkably. Of the research using social capital as a central concept, little of this work focuses on understanding sport’s position and role in society. This study adds to this new focus by linking recent empirical work and published papers on sport and social capital in Australian society. Social capital is seen to add many positive features to life in society, to provide positive development for individuals, and for building community capacity.

Introduction

Sport in Australian society is seen as one of the central defining characteristics of the population, along with the Sydney Harbour Bridge and Opera House, koalas and kangaroos, beer, sun, and surf.¹ While sport is an important cultural element of the country, its centrality and actual significance has, to date, not been thoroughly and empirically tested. However, several recent studies have begun to address this situation.²

While sport may define important cultural and identity characteristics for the nation's population,³ sport's role in wider community projects, such as contributing to social capital, and development has not been systematically studied. Yet, sport is credited with adding many positive developmental elements to individuals in society⁴. While this often overlooks the negative aspects that occur within and around sport, sport is, nonetheless, believed to add to the quality of communitarian life and socialisation of individuals⁵. While debate continues in the popular and academic media about the benefits of engagement with sport there is limited research on how engagement with sport contributes to the development of social capital. Moreover, to date, this has not been directly tested in Australia.

In this paper we briefly discuss the concept of social capital, its use in sport studies, and data from a number of recent studies on the connection between it and sport. The goal is to establish if there is evidence for sport's contribution to social capital in what is argued to be a "sport mad" nation. This demands some discussion on social capital, sport social capital, and empirical evidence for sport's contribution to the development (both positive and negative) of social capital in Australian society. While we do not take a position on policy initiatives that link sport with social capital generation, many current comments and studies seek to identify ways in which sport can contribute to a number of social panaceas through its use as a policy tool. To make some preliminary links material is provided from several sources. These sources include surveys used in a market research project for Basketball

Australia and the National Basketball League; a survey used in a study for the Australian Football League (AFL, also known as Australian rules football), which sought to determine one community's interest in and support for this sport code, as well as to understanding sport's role in generating community identity of a rapidly growing regional Australian city. Added to this, is material from the few existing studies on sport's relationship to social capital generation. This includes material from rural sport studies in Western Australia and from studies on volunteers, which give an integrated, fuller picture of how sport contributes to the generation of social capital in Australian communities.

All of this aims to provide a more precise definition and identification of composite elements of the concept of social capital within the Australian context⁶ and to provide a basis for further empirical studies of the role sport and sport clubs play in building social capital and community capacity.⁷ It is through a discussion of these studies that we hope to reduce a void identified by Coalter who suggested that to overcome this: "more research is required to explore the processes of social capital formation in sport clubs".⁸ Sport clubs are the key delivery point for sport in Australia and thus have the greatest potential for the generation of social capital and building of community capacity.

Social Capital in Current Thought: A Brief Overview of the Concept

Over the last ten years, the concept of social capital gained salience as a means of understanding how communities might operate to become safer and more productive places where positive identities and lifestyles might be forged. While the concept of social capital has a long history,⁹ in the last two decades it has gained greater cache with social researchers, government agencies, think-tanks, and other bodies. Much of this debate takes varying theoretical positions and empirical analysis of the concepts.

As a basic definition we use The World Health Organisation's statement that "social capital represents the degree of social cohesion which exists in communities."¹⁰ How this social cohesion is facilitated is a point of debate. In social capital terms it is suggested that bridging social capital is more likely to assist in this social cohesion process. Bridging social capital applies to broader overlapping networks that produce wider identities and reciprocity, such as associations between people from other social groups which can vary in religion and ethnicity, or socio economic status. By contrast, bonding social capital applies to trust and reciprocity contained in dense or closed networks and is apparent when individuals who know each other are brought closer together¹¹. Despite its fluidity as a concept, Australia has followed other countries in taking up the idea of the importance of social capital. The concept is now widely used in government policy and research, NGO (non-government organisation) research, and in various types of social research. For example, in the Productivity Commission Paper, "Social Capital: reviewing the concept and its policy implications," the authors state:

At present, there is limited understanding of the social capital and how different policies interact with it, and measurement is difficult. Further, research, coupled with small scale policy experimentation, may be warranted to provide better knowledge and tools for incorporating social capital considerations in policy analysis where appropriate.¹²

While this paper does not delve into the policy implications of social capital, it provides examples of small scale studies that sought to provide better knowledge and tools of the concept's salience in understanding sport in Australian society.

Essentially the concept of social capital embraces four important integrated elements: networks, trust, reciprocity, and social norms. Social capital is seen as a way of expanding empowerment, well-being, and community development: all of which are geared toward an improved civil society. As Spies-Butcher writes, following Portes, “social capital theory is little more than the long standing acknowledgement that civic involvement and social networks can have positive implications for individuals and society as a whole.”¹³ A number of studies from the Australian Family Studies Institute,¹⁴ centres such as the Centre for Australian Community Organisations and Management¹⁵ at the University of Technology Sydney, and government organisations such as the Productivity Commission make major contributions to the literature, definitions, and techniques to measure and make sense of the concept in the Australian context. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has also contributed major studies to both the conceptual development and the methodological analysis of social capital. These documents provide the basis for the work presented here.¹⁶

Despite a growing recognition of the social and economic benefits of social capital and increased number of studies using the concept, conceptual and methodological debates persist. Calls continue for more work on clearer definitions and for the identification of the composite elements and techniques used to measure the concept.¹⁷ The concept’s use widely varies in academic and policy applications.¹⁸ In local community studies and neighbourhood organisation contexts it adopts ideological perspectives ranging from communitarianism to neo-liberalism, and is present in materials published by global organisations such as the World Bank and the United Nations.

The Third Sector: Volunteers and Civic Engagement

A key area in the current discourse on social capital relates to the third, non-profit, or voluntary sector. Much of the social capital discourse in this domain relates to its potential for

increasing civic engagement or active citizenship. Here the sport delivery system is the focus. This raises the question, “How do people contribute to the sport and sport club communities and activities?” Moreover, at the more basic level of sport, it could be asked “What ways do people become engaged in civic responsibilities and how does citizenship move beyond the formal level of voting and tax-paying?” As sport has always been a part of this type of engagement and citizenship, is social capital only a new label to identify the relationships and networks?

A number of research papers on volunteers in sport¹⁹ indicate that we know the importance of volunteering to sport organisations and clubs. However, in these studies, it was found that it can no longer be assumed that volunteers are committed only by the desire to volunteer. There is a pressing need for sport managers in community-based sport to understand that the nature of the relationship between volunteers and their organisations is complex and it is undergoing dramatic change due to pressing economic and emerging social forces²⁰.

Australia has long been characterised by a strong tradition of volunteering. Australian Bureau of Statistics figures show that over five million (5.2 million) people volunteered during the year 2006.²¹ Sport and recreation organisations attract, after the community welfare sector, the largest numbers of volunteers.²² In 2006 one hundred eighty-seven (187) million volunteer hours were given to sport and recreation organisations, or twenty-six (26) percent of the total volunteer hours provided by all Australians that year.²³ The significance of volunteering in the sport sector is noteworthy.

This is highlighted by the fact that of all “highly committed volunteers” (those who contribute more than three hundred hours per year or an average of six hours per week) nearly fifty-three (53) percent volunteer in sport organisations.²⁴ Despite these seemingly impressive figures there is a marked decline in the number of volunteer hours given to sporting

organisations. This decline in the volunteer component, not only of sport, but across the national community, has been compared to the decline in civil society.²⁵ Although sport volunteering has not been proven to have a direct correlation to social capital, the third sector does play a key role in the development of sustainable social capital and community capacity.²⁶ Although community sport organisations and clubs are core components of this third sector activity, the importance of volunteers in this key role should not be over-estimated and requires ongoing analysis.

It is clear that Australian sport at any level cannot function without volunteers. Whether they are local club coaches, managers, or administrators or volunteers for major international sport events, if people do not engage in these civic activities many, if not most, sports would not be able occur. An ABS document provides further indication of the importance of voluntary work as it “meets needs, expands opportunities for democratic participation, personal development and recreation within a community and helps to develop and reinforce social networks and cohesion.”²⁷ Similarly, Talbot in her examination of the UK system suggests that sport provides an exemplar for governments in active citizenship and volunteering. Moreover, she notes that the European Commission has referred to sport as the largest citizenship movement in Europe.²⁸

Despite government enthusiasm for social capital to be developed through volunteering and sport²⁹ Seippel notes that there are several problems with the present social capital discourse if it is used to assess the contribution of the voluntary sector. The first problem is that the voluntary sector as a whole, in spite of its obvious internal differences, is often treated as one with respect to both its internal structures and external effects. Second, even when studies distinguish between the different kinds of voluntary community organisations, methodological approaches to understanding and measuring social capital do

not reflect the specific particularities of voluntary community sport organisations. Finally, there is a lack of studies investigating sport as a specific component of community life.³⁰

The above suggests there is a need for a more detailed understanding of the unique place of community sport organisations within the voluntary sector³¹ and the role of sport in the development of community capacity.³² Further research is needed that highlights the various aspects of voluntary community sport organisations that make them unique within their community and the roles they potentially play in building bridging social capital and enhancing community capacity.

Does Sport Contribute to the Social Capital “Glue” of Australian Society?

We noted in the introduction that much is made of centrality of sport in the lives of Australians; in fact, the popular mythology views Australia as sport mad or obsessed with its successful sport accomplishments³³. How wide spread and valid this claim is and how the interest in sport, both in active and vicarious participation, pertains to the overall Australian population is not well measured. While this study does not claim to fully provide a complete answer, results from the following studies indicate that sport is important to daily life and a regular focus of attention in Australia.

A study for the Australian Football League³⁴ (AFL) sought empirical data that could begin to answer the importance of sport in Australian society. Over 300 surveys were completed across five shopping centres in the Gold Coast City located in South east Queensland. One hundred thirty-seven (137) females (44%) and one hundred seventy-two (172) males (56%) completed a survey using a mall intercept convenience sampling strategy. The following age groups comprised the sample: 18-25 year olds, 25%; 26-35, 20%; 36-45, 21%; 45-65, 22%; over 65, 7%. Over 58% had lived on the Gold Coast for over 5 years, dispelling the notion of this city being highly transient, and 85% were born in Australia. Basic

descriptive statistical frequencies are provided here as they overwhelmingly paint a picture of the sample population's position on sport.

Responses to two statements are especially pertinent. The first was, "Sport is important to the Australian way of life." The second, "Sport is an important part of my daily life." In response to the first question, an overwhelming majority of respondents (97%) strongly agreed or agreed that sport is an important part of the Australian way of life, confirming that sport appears to be a significant part of Australian cultural identity and national self-concept.

Insert graph 1 here

In response to the second question of whether sport was important to the personal lives of Australians, sixty-nine (69) percent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that sport was an important way of life to them, while approximately twenty-five (25) percent disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Insert graph 2 here

What is interesting to note is that seventy-two (72) of the respondents who said that sport was *not* important to their personal way of life still strongly agreed or agreed that sport was important to the Australian way of life [χ^2 (16, N=299) = 90.283, $p = .000$]. In other words, a significant number of respondents felt sport was important to the Australian way of life if not to their own personal lives. This provides an interesting insight to the cultural identity of Australians.

In terms of active participation, this survey did not differentiate between direct and indirect types of involvement. Respondents could reply that their involvement was as either direct participants or volunteers, or that they were involved indirectly as spectators. The following table indicates that seventy-five (75) percent of respondents had some involvement in sport.

Insert Table 1 here

Two further statements delved more deeply into this data. First, those surveyed were asked to respond to a statement on whether they were “actively” involved in sport. Sixty (60) percent responded that they strongly agreed or agreed to this statement, with five (5) percent strongly disagreeing and twenty-five (25) percent disagreeing. The second statement focussed on data on attendance at sport. Here respondents were asked to indicate their weekly attendance at sport. Over sixty (60) percent strongly agreed or agreed, nine (9) percent were neutral, and thirty-five (35) percent strongly disagreed or disagreed that they attended a sport match each week. From this there is strong indication that sport plays an important part of regular life amongst Australians either through direct participation or as spectators.

A final set of statements related to how respondents perceived sport’s contribution to life in their home city. The first line of inquiry, “sport is important for building community life”, resulted in a strong response in the positive (see Table 2).

Insert Table 2 here

The second statement probed whether “professional sport teams give cities a feeling of being a real city”. Only twenty-five and a half (25.5) percent of respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with this idea. Over fifty-six (56) percent felt that this is a defining characteristic of a “real” Australian city. From this we can surmise that sport franchises help to identify a city and its civic import.

The final statement, “having an AFL (Australian Football League) or NRL (National Rugby League) team on the Gold Coast will benefit the city”, focussed on having actual specific sport franchises in the Gold Coast City. Table 3 shows that most felt this would benefit the city.

Insert Table 3 here

From the above findings it is clear that sport has an important function in Australian lives, for both active and passive participants. It also provides some indication that sport plays an important role in defining Australian cultural identity and a sense of community belonging, and provides communities with a real sense of presence. In this light sport has the potential to assist in the development of positive social capital outcomes.

In other Australian specific research in this vein, conducted in rural areas, Tonts reported on a similar line of questioning in his study of sport social capital in rural Western Australia. Two survey statements, “sport is an important way of keeping in touch with friends and family” and “sport is important in promoting a sense of community in this area”, each received “agree” responses at the low ninety (90) percent level.³⁵ Atherley similarly found “that local sporting clubs are a main focus of community life and participation in, or exclusion from, [and] such groups affects residents’ daily life, social networks, community integration and flow of information”.³⁶ Both of these authors offer other references to support the contention that in Australia “sporting clubs in particular are often regarded as a central element of rural life.”³⁷ We argue that results from these studies further locate sport and sport clubs as key elements in community life and in the building of social capital in Australian communities.

In another Australian study, Pooley, Cohen, and Pike make the case for a psychometric concept of “sense of community”, adding further salience to the concept of social capital. They report on four other studies. Each of these adds an important element to the general literature on social capital.³⁸ These authors provide further evidence of the role sport plays in developing social capital and a sense of community. For example, in his study Tonts reported that nearly forty-five (44.7) percent of all responses and nearly eighty-two (81.8) percent of household survey responses saw “the most important aspect of local sport”

being social interaction. This survey response was corroborated by the one-on-one interviews he conducted.³⁹

Other Recent Empirical Findings. Finally, a second research project conducted for Basketball Australia, State basketball associations, and the National Basketball League also sought to gain empirical evidence regarding the relationship of sport and social capital in Australia⁴⁰. One aspect of data collection in this study was to complete a survey, again using a mall intercept convenience sampling strategy. In this study, shopping centres across metropolitan and regional cities of Australia (Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, Cairns, Coffs Harbour, Gold Coast, Melbourne, Perth, Sydney, Townsville, West Sydney and Wollongong) were sites for data collection. A total of 815 surveys were completed, with 326 females (40%) and 464 males (57%; 25 did not identify their gender) in the sample. In terms of age, 60% of the sample was between 15 and 24 years of age, 25% between 25 and 34 years of age, 10% between 35 and 44 years of age, and 5% between 45 and 54 years of age. Respondents were from urban, regional, and country locations in the following states and territories: 20% Victoria, 19% New South Wales, 3% Australian Capital Territory, 34% Queensland, 13% South Australia, 6% West Australia, 4% Tasmania, and 1% Northern Territory. Again, participation rates were high in the active and participant sport activity categories with sixty (60) percent of people indicating some involvement in sport.

Insert Table 4 here

People were also asked whether they would have or had their children (or future children) involved in organised sport. As shown in Table 5 over ninety-five (95) percent indicated they would encourage their children to participate in organised sport. From this finding it is very clear that sport is seen as an important element of Australian family life. The respondents were not questioned about their specific reasons for wanting their children to be active in sport. As sport however, creates opportunities for social interactions that can

facilitate outcomes such as mutuality and trust between participants it could be suggested that parents encourage their children to play sport as they consider the social aspects of sport important. Moreover, as mutuality and trust are key elements of social capital, it adds salience to the argument for the role sport can play in its generation of social capital.

Insert Table 5 here

The surveys also sought to ascertain whether people identified themselves as sport fans. The following table (Table 6) indicates that many Australians consider themselves to be sport enthusiasts. This data asked respondents to self-identify how strongly they consider themselves to be a fan. By looking at the results in quintiles, thirty-two (32) percent are in the top end of the scale (9-10 range), thirty-eight and a half (38.5) percent were in the next quintile (7-8 range), and nineteen (19) percent were in the upper middle quintile (5-6 range). In other words; over eighty-nine and a half (89.5) percent of respondents claimed to be strong sport fans. Overall, it is clear that many Australians hold sport as an important focus of their lives.

Insert Table 6 here

Results from this study again provided support for social capital being seen as the “social fabric or glue” that ties community members together and that sport has a role in this process.

People must have some level of trust with team-mates, opponents, coaches, referees, and administrators for sport to occur. It is widely accepted that sport is a normative institution in society. That is, we are taught how to behave and interact within sport and societal bounds (notwithstanding the negative behaviour of athletes or the downside of sport—sexism, drugs, racism, etc.). The notion that sport builds networks is fairly self-evident. Sport teams are networks, competitions are networks, and leagues are networks. It is often claimed that one builds lifelong important networks through sport⁴¹. Finally, the need for working together to achieve goals, of expecting in return what one puts into the sporting effort builds reciprocal

relationships. Sport inherently holds and can develop the key common elements of social capital.

Conclusion

From the above findings, it can be argued that sport is a key element in the Australian social, national, and cultural landscape. Sport, sport clubs, and other organisations comprising the sport delivery system play an important role in building local and national social capital thereby enhancing life in Australia. As Elkington noted, “sport in small country towns is an important ingredient in providing people with a sense of community”⁴² and can play a key role in the formation of positive social capital.

The perception held by Australians is that sport has some role in their daily lives and is something in which they regularly and directly or indirectly participate. It is also something they see as important for their children, and as something that helps define community and nation. Therefore it could be argued that well managed sport can play a role in generating social capital as it can facilitate the building of networks of trust, safety, and mutuality within a community. Sport also provides an outlet for civic engagement and active citizenship as evidenced from recent ABS statistics and research into volunteer roles and target of participation.

The role sport plays in the generation of social capital requires greater investigation, in particular two key areas require much more research. The first of these surrounds the need to understand how “sport is often a site of social exclusion and marginalisation”.⁴³ Exclusion takes on many social, economic, and cultural elements, but exclusion often is also based on racial, ethnic, gender, ability, and place (community) lines. In this light, some researchers have argued that in Australia sport and recreation spaces are sites of conflict and contestation between different ethnic groups. For example, Macdonald and Skinner note the latent ethnic tensions between rival soccer clubs in Australia.⁴⁴ The traditional organisation

of these soccer clubs along ethnic lines has also served to marginalise the game from the mainstream Australian sporting consciousness.⁴⁵

By contrast and as previously suggested, Seippel notes that social networks developed through sport strengthen communities, further various individual and social competencies, and generate social integration.⁴⁶ These claims, however, require more study and analysis as the evidence to support these claims to date is limited. This evidence is even more essential if sport is to be a policy instrument of government. Potentially, sport has many positive attributes for governments as it lends itself to realising civic outcomes including: participating as volunteers; the development of organisational skills (running activities; setting up clubs; seeking sponsorship; developing expertise in governance; strategic planning; budgeting); and gaining confidence to play an active role in local communities.

Sport is therefore a two-edged sword. It has been a tool “of both imperial consolidation and disintegration simultaneously”.⁴⁷ This is because sport is a cultural vehicle for thinking nationally and supra-nationally via its languages, symbols, and rules. Sport shapes and cements national, gendered, and cultural identities.⁴⁸ The cultural centrality of sport in Australia means it carries a heavy political and symbolic significance.⁴⁹ As such, it is clear that further research into the social capital implications of sport in Australia is necessary.

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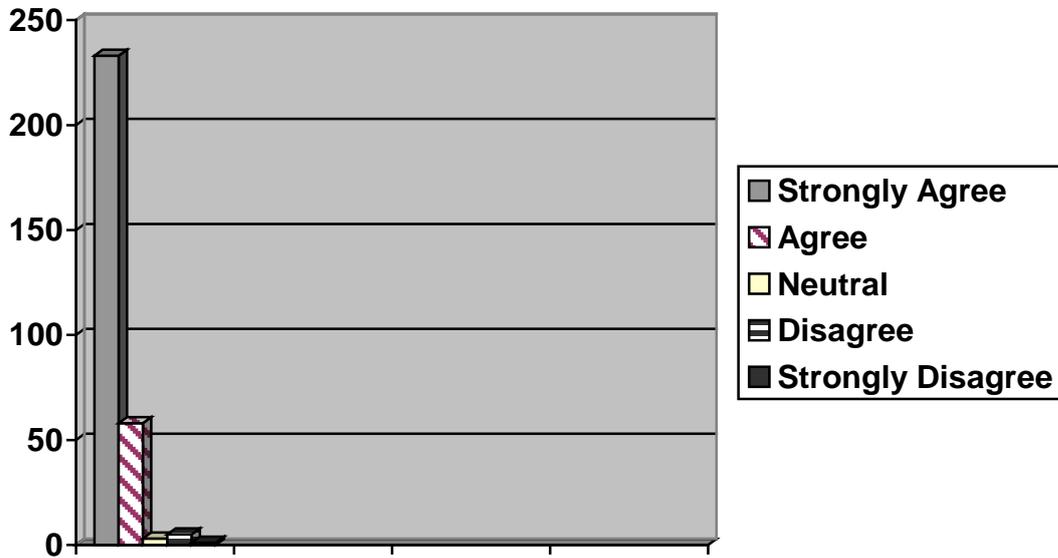
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Graph 1: Frequencies of responses for statement “Sport is important to the Australian way of life.”



Graph 2: Frequencies for responses to statement “Sport is an important part of my daily life.”

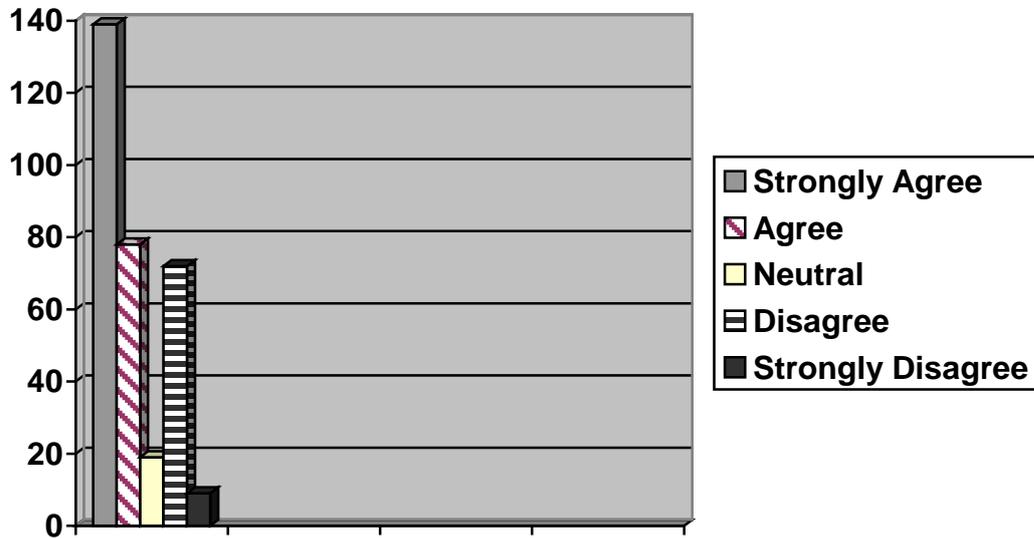


Table 1: Response frequency for statement “I am actively involved in sport as either a participant, volunteer, spectator (at community level and/or professional level sport)”

Response category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	141	44.3
Agree	91	28.6
Neutral	11	3.5
Disagree	65	20.4
Strongly Disagree	10	3.1
Total	318	100.0

Table 2: Response frequencies for survey statement “sport is important for building community life”

Response category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	188	59.1
Agree	87	27.4
Neutral	9	2.8
Disagree	14	4.4
Strongly Disagree	1	.3
Total	299	94.0
Missing	19	6.0
Total	318	100.0

Table 3: Response frequencies for survey statement “having an AFL or NRL team at the Gold Coast will benefit the city”

Response category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	180	56.6
Agree	86	27.0
Neutral	16	5.0
Disagree	15	4.7
Strongly Disagree	1	.3
Total	298	93.7
Missing	20	6.3
Total	318	100.0

Table 4: Respond frequencies for the statement “what best describes your participation/interest in sport?”

Response category	Frequency	Percent
Active participant (play sport formally on a regular basis)	295	36.2
Recreational participant (play sport as a recreation/leisure)	186	22.8
I have children regularly involved in sport	107	13.1
I am a coach/volunteer/official	44	5.4
I attend sport or watch it on TV regularly	94	11.5
I attend sport or watch it on TV occasionally	80	9.8
Total	806	98.9
Missing	9	1.1
Total	815	100.0

Table 5: Response frequencies for statement “If I had children/I have children, I would actively encourage them to participate in sport.”

Response category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	779	95.6
No	17	2.1
Total	796	97.7
Missing	19	2.3
Total	815	100.0

Table 6: Response frequencies for the statement “On a scale of 1-10, how strongly do you consider yourself to be a sports fan?”

Response category	Frequency	Percent
1	12	1.5
2	16	2.0
3	22	2.7
4	36	4.4
5	73	9.0
6	81	9.9
7	128	15.7
8	186	22.8
9	118	14.5
10	141	17.3
Total	813	99.8
Missing	2	.2
Total	815	100.0

Notes

- ¹ Toohey, *Politics of Australian Elite Sport*; Cashman, *Sport in the National Imagination*.
- ² These include Zakus, Bird, Briggs, Perkins and Meadows, *Basketball Market Research Report*; Zakus, Bird and Roobottom, *Report for the Australian Football League*; and Zakus, Skinner and Edwards, "Identifying and measuring social capital in Australian Sport."
- ³ Cashman, *Paradise of Sport*.
- ⁴ Coalter, 'Sports Clubs, Social Capital and Social Regeneration', 538
- ⁵ Chalip, "Toward a distinctive sport management discipline".
- ⁶ For additional information see Rowland, *Is the club really a better place?*
- ⁷ Zakus, Skinner & Edwards, "Identifying and measuring social capital in Australian sport."
- ⁸ Coalter, 'Sports Clubs, Social Capital and Social Regeneration', 537.
- ⁹ For additional information on the history of social capital, see Field, *Social Capital*; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*; and Spies-Butcher, 'Understanding the concept of social capital'.
- ¹⁰ Australia, Productivity Commission, *Social Capital*, 8
- ¹¹ See Tonts, "Competitive sport and social capital" and Atherley, "Sport, localism and social capital"
- ¹² *Ibid*, viii.
- ¹³ Spies-Butcher, 'Understanding the concept of social capital', 6.
- ¹⁴ See Stone & Hughes, *Social Capital*.
- ¹⁵ See Onyx & Bullen, *Measuring Social Capital*; Onyx & Leonard, *Social capital*.
- ¹⁶ ABS, *Aspects of Social Capital*; ABS, *Measuring Social Capital*.
- ¹⁷ Edwards, in *Measuring Social Capital*, and Coalter, in "Sports Clubs, Social Capital and Social Regeneration" have been strong advocates for more work in this area.
- ¹⁸ For additional discussions of these disciplines see Spies-Butcher, 'Understanding the concept of social capital'; Woolcook, "Social Capital and Economic Development"; Quibria, *The puzzle of social capital*.
- ¹⁹ See Engelberg, Zakus & Skinner, "Volunteer Commitment"; Engelberg, Skinner & Zakus, "The Commitment of Volunteers in Community-based Sport".
- ²⁰ Cuskelly, Hoyer & Auld, "Working with Volunteers in Sport"
- ²¹ ABS, *Voluntary Work Australia*.
- ²² Cuskelly, Harrington & Stebbins, "Changing levels of organizational commitment".
- ²³ ABS, "Voluntary Work, Australia, 2006."
- ²⁴ Lyons & Hocking, "Australia's highly committed volunteers".
- ²⁵ Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.
- ²⁶ Nichols, "Pressures on volunteers in the UK."
- ²⁷ ABS, "Voluntary Work, Australia, 2006", 1.
- ²⁸ Talbot, "Voluntary Sector Sport".
- ²⁹ Coalter, 'Sports Clubs, Social Capital and Social Regeneration'
- ³⁰ Seippel, "Sport and Social Capital."
- ³¹ Coalter, "Sports Clubs".
- ³² Tonts, "Competitive sport and social capital", 137.
- ³³ Stoddard, B. "Saturday afternoon fever: Sport in Australian culture".
- ³⁴ Zakus, Bird & Roobottom, *Report for the Australian Football League*.
- ³⁵ Tonts, "Competitive sport and social capital".
- ³⁶ Atherley, "Sport, localism and social capital", 349.
- ³⁷ See Tonts & Atherley, "Rural restructuring", 126-128.

³⁸ Pooley, Cohen & Pike, "Can sense of community inform social capital?" Their findings augment those found by Zakus, "The Saskatchewan Roughriders". In a similar vein Zakus and Chalip, "Fanship and Identity", using similar scales to Pooley et al., found that a professional sport franchise added to the psychological sense of community.

³⁹ Tonts, "Competitive sport and social capital".

⁴⁰ Zakus, Bird, Briggs, Perkins and Meadows, *Basketball Market Research Report*.

⁴¹ Skinner, Zakus & Edwards, "Football Communities"

⁴² Elkington, "Country communities", 75.

⁴³ Tonts & Atherley, "Rural restructuring", 127. Also see Collins & Kay, *Sport and Social Exclusion*.

⁴⁴ Macdonald & Skinner, "The Long and Winding Road."

⁴⁵ Skinner, Zakus & Edwards, "Football Communities".

⁴⁶ Seippel, "Sport and Social Capital."

⁴⁷ Timms, "Winning", 6.

⁴⁸ Giulianotti, *Football*.

⁴⁹ Giulianotti, *Football*, 1-24.