

Universal Design in Sport: A Catalyst for Social Inclusion?

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Certificate of original authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor it has been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

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To my grandmas, Caterina and Giovanna

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Preamble

This thesis invites the passionate of life in any field to pursue their dreams, as society needs dreamers and visionaries who with their intuitions drive progress because 'People who are crazy enough to think they can change the world are the ones who do' (Steve Jobs)

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List of Abbreviations

ANT – Actor-Network Theory

BRT – Bus Rapid Transit

EVS – Event Services

FAQ – Frequently Asked Questions

FTC – Forte de Copacabana

Games – Olympic and Paralympic Games

IOC – International Olympic Committee

IPC – International Paralympic Committee

OCOG – Organising Committee of the Olympic Games

LOCOG – London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games

MSE – Mega Sport Event

PSA – Pedestrian Screening Access

Rio2016 – Rio Organising committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games

RC – Riocentro

UAC – Uniform and accreditation centre

UD – Universal Design

VANOC – Vancouver Organising Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games

VCC – Venue Communication Centre

VMC- Venue Media Centre

Key terms

Carioca: Brazilian from Rio de Janeiro

Journal: Researcher's Journal entry

Matter of concern: needs and exigencies of agents which become evident

Ontological dualism or dichotomy: between environment and humans is solved, because objects do not exist by themselves

Symmetry: the equal analysis of the context

Universal Design: emergent design of the interactions between actors in the practices.

Voices: interviews

'We are so many things that who we are does not suffice to say
that we know what social is...' (VLP, 2018)

Abstract

This study investigates social inclusion and universal design in the Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic volunteer programs through the lens of actor-network theory (ANT). An ‘ethnography of performances’ of volunteers’ journeys tracks the development and changing nature of interactions in the relationships between actors. Document analysis, media analysis, participant observation and semi-structured interviews with key volunteer program informants were used to document the voices and actions of Rio2016 managers, team leaders and volunteers. A thematic analysis and process coding of the actions undertaken by the volunteers, team leaders and managers during the Games was conducted. The analysis provided evidence of how the social unfolds through the practices that volunteers carried out interacting with non-humans. The study revealed the numerous ways in which non-humans acted to facilitate or/and inhibit social inclusion in the volunteer program. The social emerges from the practices enacted in the volunteers’ program by humans and non-humans. Some practices resulted in inclusivity, while others did not have this effect. A novel conceptualisation of social inclusion that is related to practices and of UD as emergent design of the interactions between actors in practices is presented. UD emerges also as method to investigate the social in practices in a sociomaterialistic perspective by studying the interactions, the components that participate in the interactions, and the way these interact to underlie practices. The findings of this research could inform practitioners, future organising committees for the planning and operationalising of inclusive practices, and researchers for future study.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores social inclusion in the volunteer program of the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games by investigating the universal design of the volunteers' practices for and at the Games. The humanistic perspective, which considers only humans as having agency and non-humans as passive entities, with which social inclusion, volunteering and universal design have been explored by researchers has influenced previous studies, as their understanding reflected the assumptions humanist researchers have made. Under such humanistic assumptions, researchers considered social inclusion as an abstract concept and its operationalisation was related to an exclusionary consideration of humans. Oftentimes, research on social inclusion within a humanistic perspective has referred to groups. As this perspective offers limited scope for progress in understanding social inclusion, this study takes a postmodernist perspective, problematising the volunteers' program at the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games. With the shift in perspective, the humanistic assumptions of human primacy make room for a redistribution of agency between humans and non-humans. In this research, the interactions become the centre of the investigation. Through an examination of the volunteer program through the whole volunteer journey, from the application to be a volunteer through to the conclusion of the Games, the research investigates the *rhetoric* of the social of the volunteer program as planned by the organising committee juxtaposed with the realities¹ –of the social – of the volunteers' program.

The interactions involve humans and non-humans, with the latter facilitating and/or inhibiting social inclusion into each practice. In the realities of the social, universal design is the emerging design of the interactions, of the components that participate and the way in which they do so. This study identifies the components that participate and uncovers the ways in which they interact. Contrary to the way in which universal design has been investigated, this study considers universal design as emerging from the interactions of multiple human and

¹ In this research, reality is considered as what is reported from the data collected as it was performed in practices, not a pre-existing reality

non-human agencies and aims at revealing how this interplay manifest. The adoption of a policy on diversity and inclusion initially motivated the research, which aims to establish whether the policy is translated into practices. With a focus on the practices, the 'mobilisation' (Latour, 1990) of the policy would be noticeable if it is moved in the practices. The way in which interactions take place in the practices produces different result for different components and for the ways in which these components interact, as they do not interact always in the same way. Thus, some practices are inclusive in certain circumstances but not in others.

This chapter presents a research background for the four areas of social inclusion, volunteering, universal design (UD) and actor-network theory (ANT). The context and rationale of the study is then presented. The research aims, objectives and the gap in the current research are outlined. The researcher's prior exposure to different areas of knowledge and her experiences explain the relation with the disciplines involved in the study. The reader's journey through the research concludes this chapter.

1.2 Background

Sport has the potential, in bringing people together, to foster relationships and encourage social inclusion. Social inclusion is a relatively recent area of investigation and has been the subject of a number of studies in relation to sport and sport events. The extant literature in social inclusion in sport events has focused mainly on participants and on the power that events have in supporting sport practice, empowering individuals and building social networks and community capacity (K. P. DePauw, 1986; Harada, Siperstein, Parker, & Lenox, 2011; Sherry, 2010; Smith & Thomas, 2005; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009). Studies have focused on the inclusion of groups of people that are often marginalised from mainstream society or experience constraints to full participation, such as people with disabilities, women, older adults, youth, and ethnic minority groups.

While the social benefits of sport are well documented (Schimmel, 2006) sport participation does not always lead to positive outcomes and its dark side is evidenced in a range of social, economic and cultural exclusions, gender inequity, racism, homophobia and breaches of integrity (Blinde & Taub, 1992; Cass, Shove, & Urry, 2005; Collins, Collins, & Tess, 2014; Griffin,

1992; Levitas et al., 2007; Taylor & Toohey, 1999, 2001). A growing body of research has focused on the effect of sport on local communities and on the social benefits that community-based programs may offer to the community (Kunz, 2009; Misener & Mason, 2006). Others studies have investigated aspects associated with recipients (the community), organisers of sport events and the vast array of stakeholders (Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; B. Green & Chalip, 2004; Misener & Mason, 2009, 2010; Parent & Séguin, 2007; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012; Taks, 2013). This body of literature has expanded rapidly due to the augmented interest in events such as the FIFA World Cup, the Olympic and Commonwealth Games, and the Tour de France. Studies on mega sport events have considered the community, as recipients, and the organisers, and benefits accruing from hosting these events (Balduck, Maes, & Buelens, 2011; Chappelet, 2012; Lee & Taylor, 2005; Pillay & Bass, 2008; Preuss, 2007; Scott, 2014; Smith, 2014).

Recently, host organisations of sport events and event owners, particularly of mega sport events, have shown their interest in 'social matters', namely issues such as social inclusion. This interest emerged in Vancouver 2010, where the Vancouver Organising Committee (VANOC) planned for social inclusion and described it as a 'central part of a well-functioning community. It improves understanding of diversity and supports the development of new solutions to new problems. There is cost to social conflict and marginalisation' (VANOC, 2007, 61, in Vanwysberghe et al., 2012, p. 2082). After Vancouver 2010, London 2012 and Rio2016 in their bid books or candidature files addressed the intention to host inclusive Games (LOCOG, 2004; Rio2016, 2009). The literature on the application of policy and 'promises' made in the bid books is scant. Although organisations often plan for social inclusion, there is no indication that this translates into practice, because of the lack of studies on practices and inter-organisational dynamics. In examining social matters such as social inclusion, much of the extant research uses predetermined categories, grouping people by attributed characteristics e.g. people with disabilities (K. DePauw, 1997; K. P. DePauw, 1986; Parnes, DSPA, & Hashemi, 2007). While research has investigated social inclusion in different contexts and with different groups (people with disabilities, ethnic minorities, women, youth etc.), the outcomes represent a limited perspective on the way in which social inclusion has been conceptualised and operationalised, limiting our understanding of the broader aspects of social inclusion.

1.3 Conceptualising social inclusion

To gain an understanding of social inclusion and how it is enacted into the volunteer program, this study offers a different understanding of the social as related to practices through which the social is enacted. Practices are performed in interactions. As this study adopts a postmodernist perspective, this requires a shift in focus from a stable conceptualisation and operationalisation of social inclusion to an unstable and dynamic conceptualisation and operationalisation of social inclusion. This allows the interactions to become the centre for the investigation of social inclusion. From a postmodern perspective, agency – hitherto ascribed only to humans and to groups of people, marginalised and mainstream – leaves room for a recognition of symmetrical agency between humans and non-humans; thus, this perspective not only frees humans from the condition that was attributed to them but also equally recognises humans and non-humans. Interactions are at the basis of practices and the social is the enactment of practices. Therefore, studying social inclusion is necessary to gain knowledge about the social and how it is enacted into practices. Practices are based on interactions between human and non-human actors, and the theoretical lens used in this study is Actor-Network Theory (ANT).

Actor-network theory (ANT) operates in the realm of post-qualitative inquiry, and participates in 'new materialist debates'(Fullagar, 2017, p. 249). Although operating in the 'post' traditions, ANT has peculiar characteristics that distinguish it from other post- qualitative methods of enquiry. ANT rejects the humanistic assumptions of agency being attributable only to humans, a categorisation that has created separation between the marginalised and the mainstream. Through the principle of symmetry, ANT equally considers humans and non-humans (Law, 1992) and focuses on their interactions. Due to its different foundations, the focus of ANT is on interactions in which humans and non-humans participate (Latour, 2005), offering the scope to examine contextual and ongoing practices (Lee & Hassard, 1999).

Actor-network theory also is useful to operationalise a different conceptualisation of Universal Design. Universal Design (UD) has been conceived with the intent of expanding the usability of the physical environment to everybody (Mace, 1985), with the aim of accommodating the widest possible spectrum of human beings. International organisations have highlighted the relevance of UD (Council of Europe, 2001) and promoted its adoption

(Council of Europe, 2009) as it supports independence and community integration (WHO, 2001). Given its goal of including everybody, UD can play an important role in social inclusion (UN, 2006). Scholars have tried to operationalise the concept of UD into principles (The Centre for Universal Design, 1997) that provide some direction to the universal design concept and how it can be applied in the physical environment. Researchers and practitioners have also tried to develop principles that could facilitate its adoption, but these efforts have not increased the uptake and application of universal design. Universal design has hitherto largely been conceived and operationalised through a humanist perspective, that is, by considering only humans as subjects – either makers (designers) or users (recipients) of design. In these different contexts, UD is portrayed in a normative way, with the intent of making spaces usable to everyone (Mace, 1985). The normative way of conceiving and articulating universal design principles has failed to diffuse the application of UD or to explain the relationship between social inclusion and universal design. This is because researchers, adopting a humanistic perspective, have recognised only humans as involved in society and relegated the non-human – such as materiality and technology – to a passive role. In contrast to the top-down way in which UD has previously been conceived, and that considers non-humans as passive elements, this research presents universal design as emergent from the interactions of the components participating in practices, thus shedding light on the ways in which the components identified interact and non-humans aspects participate.

The context in which this study is staged is volunteering at the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, particularly the journey that volunteers undertook in volunteering. Volunteering has increasingly become an important aspect of the delivery of sport events and of mega events such as the Olympic Games. The number of volunteers involved significantly increased between the 1980s and the 1990s, ranging from Lake Placid, 1980, in which 6700 volunteers took part (LPOOC, 1980) to the more than 33,000 volunteers enrolled at Los Angeles 1984 (LAOCC, 1985). Sydney marked a change in volunteering at the Games. A symposium titled 'Volunteers, Global Society and the Olympic Movement', held before Sydney 2000, celebrated volunteerism and was the occasion for discussing the increased and valuable aspect of volunteering in society. There were approximately 40,000 volunteers in Sydney 2000 (SOCOG, 2001; Walker & Gleeson, 2001) and, most recently, 70,000 at London 2012 (LOCOG, 2012) and 100,000 at Beijing 2008 (BOCOG, 2010). Volunteers not only provide

economic value (Chalip, 1999; Solberg, 2003) for the organisers but are a social resource for the community (Farrell, Johnston, & Twynam, 1998; C. B. Green, 2001). Such volunteer workforces are increasingly skilled, able and willing to provide high-quality services in exchange for reimbursement of expenses and benefits that go beyond economic value (Nichols & Ralston, 2011). Studies of sport event volunteers have considered the individual and collective dimensions of volunteering in sport events and mega sport events (Baum & Lockstone, 2007). However, despite the extensive research done on volunteering, it is still unclear what volunteers do at the Games, what practices that they undertake in their journey to volunteer. It is surprising that there is such a paucity of literature on these practices and how they are undertaken, given one of the first questions people ask volunteers is 'what do you do?'.

1.4 Research gap

The way in which social inclusion has been conceptualised in the extant literature is related to humans, particularly to groups of humans defined as marginalised. By doing so, social inclusion has been given a stable and abstract connotation that does not leave room for people to change their condition of being associated to one group rather than another. In this way of conceiving social inclusion, components other than humans do not find a place and as such are not considered as playing a role. The humanistic perspective from which researchers and international organisations (European Commission; UN, 2006; WHO, 2013) have conceived social inclusion as stable and related to humans has limited understanding of such inclusion. The humanistic perspective is dominant in universal design, conceiving it as a way to achieve social inclusion and as operationalised through principles. In both the abstract conceptualisation of UD and SI and in their operationalisation, the only component considered is humans. Non-humans, such as objects, have a passive connotation and are not ascribed any agency. Thus, the humanistic perspective limits our understanding of the relation between social inclusion and universal design. To gain a better understanding of the relation between social inclusion and universal design, a shift in perspective is needed. The humanistic perspective also dominates the extant literature on volunteering, which has considered humans the only components involved in volunteering. Understanding the volunteering practices associated with social inclusion through a shift in perspective provides

a different lens through which to gain an understanding of these practices and to improve social inclusion.

1.5 Research aims and objectives

This study aims to gain an understanding of social inclusion and universal design (UD) in the volunteer program at the Rio2016 Games by investigating the practices undertaken in the volunteer program. It does so by shifting perspective, problematising social inclusion and UD. Social inclusion from a general and stable concept becomes a local and unstable enactment of practices, some of which are inclusive. UD shifts from a general concept and a set of principles to being the emergent interactions of humans and non-humans in practices. Actor-network theory (ANT) provides the theoretical lens for this study and its shift in perspective from a human-centred to a sociomaterialistic perspective. To gain a deeper understanding of social inclusion, this study problematises the volunteers' journey, studying the rhetoric of the 'social', by exploring the way in which the social was planned by the organising committee; this includes the components that the organising committee identified as useful to host an inclusive Games and the interactions through which the organising committee tried to persuade them to share its goal. This study offers a narrative of the realities of the social as enacted in practices, as undertaken by volunteers and other components at the Games. This provides an assessment of the universal design of the volunteer program as an emergent design in which all components, human and non-human, participated in the practices.

1.6 Research questions

Considering the need to understand social inclusion, universal design, their relationship and the way in which social inclusion is conceptualised and operationalised by those participating in the volunteer journey, the research questions of this study are as follows.

1. How is social inclusion enacted in the volunteer program?
2. How can social inclusion be investigated?
3. What is the Universal Design of the volunteer program? What is the role of non-humans in the UD implementation?

Sub-question:

4. Are there components that may inhibit or facilitate social inclusion in the volunteer program?

1.7 Researcher motivation and position

As shown in Figure 1.1, this study draws on the researcher's varied experiences gained over the years from playing team sport, exposure to different nationalities, and academic and working experiences. The methodology coursework subjects undertaken early on during the project provided a strong base from which to develop ideas about sport, social inclusion and universal design. The international academic and working experience gained has provided an understanding of the pivotal role human relationships and inclusion should have in society. Further, an internship at the Institute of Human Centered Design (IHCD) complemented previous experience in diversity management and design perspectives. This led to further interest in social inclusion, sport and UD. The aims of this research project are to build on these experiences and make a contribution to the research by providing new insights into how society may be organised to enhance the contribution of all human beings together with their interaction with non-human actors.

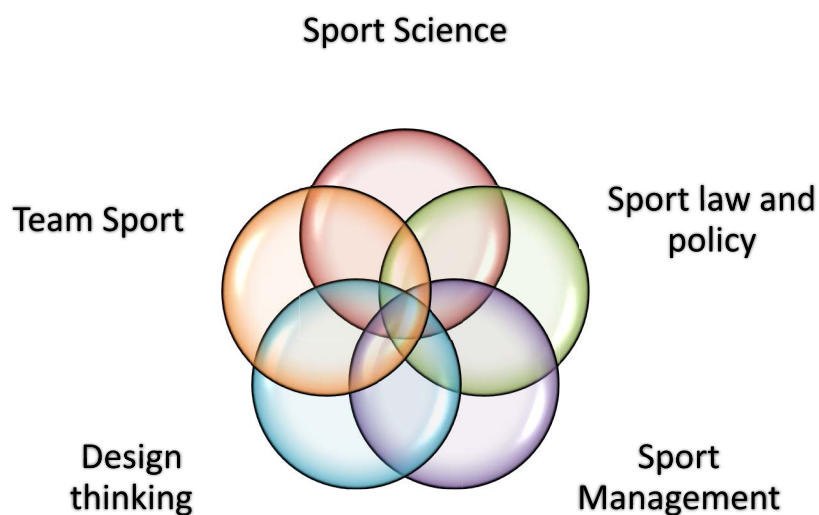


Figure 1.1: Representation of researcher's position and experiences

Actor-network theory provides the theoretical framework for taking UD into organisations and among people, overcoming the centrality of humans that is assumed in human rights and policy studies and also in design practices to enhance the human condition. Despite its goal of improving conditions for humans across the globe, in practice the human-centred philosophy in its hubris fails to consider that, in reality, organisations are composed of both human and non-human components. The ontological shift that is the basis of this research not only offers a different perspective but also allows investigation into the current gaps existing in the literature as well as in organisations' practices, specifically in sport organisations.

The researcher participated as volunteer at the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games. This allows her to take an emic perspective and to follow and participate in the interactions that take place through the volunteers' journey, from subscription to the volunteers' portal to the end of both Games. This position has granted the researcher access to documents and data that otherwise would not have been possible to collect and has allowed observation and interviews with volunteers, team leaders and managers that otherwise could not have been undertaken. As volunteer, the researcher has participated in the practices that were undertaken in the two settings and functional areas in which the research is staged.

1.8 The reader's journey through the thesis

Chapter 1 sets the background of the research and the context and rationale of the present study, before outlining the research aims and objectives of the current study and the gap in the current research it aims to address.

Chapter 2 presents the extant literature on social inclusion, universal design, volunteering and ANT and outlines the gap in the literature.

Chapter 3 presents the research design, plan, research site and access, data collection and data analysis, the researcher reflexivity and position, and ethics approval.

Chapter 4 presents the rhetoric of the 'social' of social inclusion in the volunteer program articulated in how the volunteer journey was planned to work. The first three phases of the

translation process is used to ascertain the way in which the organising committee had attempted to organise its actor-network by engaging other actors to espouse its plan of action.

Chapter 5 uses the mobilisation phase of the translation process to presents the realities of the 'social' in the practices as they are performed in the volunteer program at the Games. The components that participate in the practices are identified and the way in which these interact is presented. From this way of operating emerges, the practices undertaken, the actors participating and their role in the enactment of social inclusion.

The final chapter presents a discussion of the findings, a sociomaterial reconceptualisation of the social, of UD, and of inclusion referred to practices, the agency of non-humans, the role of the policy on diversity and inclusion in practices, the research contribution to ANT, the research limitations, implications for future research and practice.

Chapter 2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a literature review covering areas of scholarship relevant to the thesis research, respectively social inclusion, actor-network theory (ANT), universal design (UD) and volunteering. The review presents an overview of social inclusion in community-based programs, sport events and mega sport events and outlines the limits of the current conceptualisation of social inclusion. As this study offers an alternative perspective on social inclusion using ANT as theoretical lens, an analysis of the extant literature on ANT is presented. This shift in perspective influences the way in which social inclusion and universal design are conceptualised and operationalised in the context studied. The literature section continues with the introduction of the literature of UD, its origins in the built environment and its application in sport. From the review of the literature emerges a lack of theoretical studies on UD, an unclear relation with social inclusion and a lack of application. As the context of this study is volunteering, studies on volunteering and volunteering in sport events are discussed, noting the relevance and importance of volunteers for sport events and mega sport events and outlining the gap in the current literature, which has a paucity of studies on the journey in which volunteers engage in to volunteer at the Games and on the work they undertake as volunteers. The gap in the literature and the research problem are outlined, then the transition from a human-centred to a sociomaterialistic perspective is examined. The ways in which the different conceptualisations of universal design entail a different conceptualisation of social inclusion are discussed before the chapter concludes with an outline of the research operating context.

2.2 Social inclusion

Social inclusion is an ambiguous concept (Jansen, Otten, van der Zee, & Jans, 2014) with lack of consensus 'on the nature of this construct or its theoretical underpinnings' (Shore et al., 2011, p. 1263). The concept of social inclusion has changed in the way in which it was conceived. In the past, it has been as defined as goal (H. Collins, 2003; Long, Welch, Bramham,

Butterfield, & Lloyd, 2002) while more recently researchers have propended for a definition of process (Bailey, 2008). The relevance that social inclusion has gained in society has been highlighted by a number of governments' outputs in the form of recommendation, policies and programs (Council of Europe & European Union, 2017; European Commission, 2017; WHO, 2001; World Bank, 2013) in which 'the notion of social inclusion has played a role as an underlying justification for legal regulation in determining the types of disadvantage that need to be addressed' (H. Collins, 2003, p. 30). The World Bank (2013) defines social inclusion as 'the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society' and 'the process of improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity to take part in society' (pp.3–4). In this context, the European Commission has indicated sport is an 'instrument for social inclusion in the policies, actions and programmes' (Commission of the European Communities, 2007, para 2.5). Policies have gone far in identifying those who can benefit from sport, where 'sport can also be a vehicle to promote social inclusion of minorities and other vulnerable or disadvantaged groups' (European Commission, 2011, para. 2.5). However, these statements are quite general and, consequently, detached from 'real' practice. These regulations provide only general indications to society and state members of the EU, as they do not provide any specification as to how these benefits could or should be realised. This issue is then transferred to the individual countries, where, even if there are policies on social inclusion, there is no certainty about the ways in which these are applied, or even of their application. More recently, the CoE (2017) recognised that for inclusion to take place, 'institutions, structures and measures should be designed positively to accommodate diversity of circumstances, identities and ways of life' (p. 21), and presented some activities and strategies to involve young people in society. However, despite the effort to provide strategies and examples of activities that could be undertaken, the gap between policy goals and actual practices remains, with research and literature on this topic increasing.

Traditionally, social inclusion research has investigated how society has changed and the cultural context of why/how some people are marginalised. Among the people marginalised (or vulnerable groups) are included 'ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities, people living with HIV and AIDS, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex individuals' (UNDP, 2016, p. 119). The UNDP (2016) states that 'identity influences

agency and autonomy. People have the liberty of choosing their identities' where 'individuals deserve options in choosing between identities that they value' (p.8). With regard to identity, 'three identity issues' that marginalised people encounter were noted. Among these, one is related to the choice of identity, which the report considers 'more limited' (p.8) among marginalised groups, who 'may lack the freedom to choose the identity they value' (p.8). The report focuses on a normalised conceptualisation of identity, which is related to the individuals and recognises only the capacity, as inherent to the person, to choose the preferred identity, while identifying marginalised groups as having a reduced capacity in choosing their identity.

Research conducted on/with marginalised groups has focused mainly on how to achieve an ultimate goal of enabling them to take part in society on an equal basis with others. For example, a large body of research has looked at the assimilation, acculturation and integration process experienced by groups of marginalised people in settler nations (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Phillimore, 2011; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Defined by their ethnicity, the reality of exclusion is evident in their documented struggles to participate in society (Aasland & Flotten, 2001; Hooker, 2005; Taylor, 2001). This literature presents insights into the effects of significant migration and societal changes, shedding light on the personal experiences of different ethnic groups, and how to achieve social inclusion (Taylor, 2001). However, while this literature has contributed to understanding the experiences of immigrants, these studies have also associated certain characteristics with the people in the research. This has contributed to locking them into their position by attributing to them certain characteristics which cannot be changed; and this has the potential to prevent differences from emerging.

Research on social inclusion has greatly focused on those who are considered as marginalised (e.g. women, youth, people with disabilities, and ethnic minorities) (Bailey, 2008; Cortis, 2009; Darcy, Dickson, & Benson, 2014; Elling, De Knop, & Knoppers, 2001). Research conducted on/with marginalised groups has focused mainly on how to achieve an ultimate goal of enabling them to take part in society on an equal basis with others and on the effects that sport-based activities have on them. Despite the optimistic position of reports and researchers on the positive effects of sport on the social inclusion of marginalised, Bailey (2008), states that, while 'there is evidence... that youth sport can contribute to the social

inclusion of young people’ (p.93), caution is needed not avoid taking for granted the positive outcome of young people practising sports, due to limited evidence on ‘the processes’ by which children and young people might become socially included through sport’ (p.91). Bailey identified two elements – ‘access’ and ‘agency’ (p.91) – as fundamental for social inclusion to take place (be achieved). Access to activities or programs has been the focus of a number of studies that have identified it as one of the main issues marginalised people face (Cortis, 2009; Darcy et al., 2014; T. J. Dickson, Darcy, Johns, & Pentifallo, 2016). Much of the research on social inclusion has focused not only on marginalised individuals and groups, but on how to enabling them to take part in society on an equal basis. Studies on social inclusion in sport have been focused on community-based sport and recreation programs, sport events and, more recently, mega sport events (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Research on Social Inclusion: areas, object of investigation and authors

Category	Areas of investigation	Object of investigation	Authors	
Social Inclusion	Community-based programs	Marginalised Groups	Barnatt, 2013; Cortis, 2009; DePauw, 1997; Elling et al., 2001; Taylor, 2004; Elling, 2005; Bailey, 2005; Kelly 2010; Maxwell, 2013; Ponic and Frisby, 2011; Forde et al.,2015; Kellet et al, 2008.	
	Policy		Council of Europe & European Union, 2017; European Commission, 2017; World Bank, 2013.	
	Sport events	Social benefits (role of community, inter-organisational relation and strategies, community-corporations), leverage social benefits, social capital	Misener and Mason, 2006; Misener and Mason, 2009; Misener and Mason, 2010; Schulenkorf and Edwards, 2012; Chalip, 2001; Jarvie, 2003; Smith & Ingham, 2003; Perks, 2007; Taks, 2013	
	Mega Sport Events		Marginalised Groups	Heck, 2013; Sherry, 2010; Smith and Thomas,2005;
			Volunteering	Nichols and Ralston, 2011
		Policy	VANOC, 2009; LOCOG, 2004; Rio2016, 2009; Rio2016, 2014	

2.2.1 Social inclusion in community-based sport and recreation program

Research on social inclusion has comprised studies on social inclusion in community-based sport and recreation programs. Past studies of social inclusion in community-based sport and recreation programs have, similar to studies of social inclusion more generally (see above), mainly investigated one particular marginalised group (Elling & Knoppers, 2005; Ponc & Frisby, 2010; Taylor, 2004; Taylor & Toohey, 2001). This body of research has contributed to understanding how women, for example, participate in community-based programs and their reasons for not participating (Ponc & Frisby, 2010); how sport organisations' practices may discourage their engagement (Taylor & Toohey, 1999); and the shared tendency of community and organisation to aim for assimilation or integration (Cortis, 2009; Elling et al., 2001; Taylor, 2004). This line of investigation has produced an understanding of the needs of the specific groups examined but has not always tackled other aspects, such as the dynamics or practices that may interplay in the enactment of social inclusion and that would extend the discussion beyond specific groups of people.

Crabbe (2007) raised the concern for those research that stated the positive benefits of sport on crime prevention, as these lack of clarity on the relation between sport and crime and thus no clear evidence of the benefits (Crabbe, 2007); thus, further work exploring the activities is needed. However, these studies have often lacked clear evidence of a correlation between sport and crime (Crabbe, 2007) and further work needs to be undertaken. Similarly, Kelly (2011) argued that more research is needed to explore 'the process through which these "sport-based interventions" might promote "social inclusion"' (p.126).

Researchers have focused on exploring social inclusion through the analysis of dynamics or practices. Such studies have examined the activities offered by a sport program to engage young people with 'a positive influence on participants' substance misuse, physical activity and offending behavior' (Crabbe, 2007, p.28); how clubs 'engage with inclusion policies in practice' (Jeanes et al., 2018, p. 38); sport organisation practices (Maxwell, Foley, Taylor, & Burton, 2013); and managerial and staff practices and identification of successful practices (Forde, Lee, Mills, & Frisby, 2015). Research and policies have stated the benefits of sport in society, however the evidence of this is lacking (Coalter, 2007; Crabbe, 2007; Kelly, 2011). Some researchers raised concerns about the approach of practitioners for whom social

inclusion was a simple consequence of granting access to participants (Donnelly & Nakamura, 2006) and about research approaches where evidence of the results was lacking and further work was needed to ascertain the relationship between sport and the claimed benefits (Haudenhuyse, 2017). Among these benefits, it has been argued that sport can prevent crime and delinquency (Buhrmann, 1977; Purdy & Richard, 1983). Crabbe (2007) explored the activities of the Positive Futures programme to understand how its activities engage people, 'build relationships and achieve meaningful social development' (p.29). To understand how this took place, Crabbe examined the activities undertaken and the roles of front-line staff, policy and physical places (venues) and activities in the delivery of the project. Crabbe found that, despite the national dimension of the program, activities were locally managed and organised with different 'management approaches' that translated into 'diverse and distinct set of project management styles' (p.30). The personal approach of staff resulted in them being central to the engagement of youth for 'relationship building' (p.31), and in overcoming the 'barriers between the 'socially excluded' and the 'included' (p.36). From this emerged ways in which practices could be different. In the engagement of youth played a role the 'use of venues and activities' (p.32), such as 'access to stadium tours and the opportunity to watch matches for free' (p.33) and 'dance, climbing' (p.33). Besides the positive factors, issues between the goals of the project managers – those who drive the projects – and the front-line staff – who run them – emerged, with the former focused on goals while the latter were focused on adapting the activities to participants. The Positive Future program also attracted the attention Jeanes et al. (2018) who focused on the practices undertaken by volunteers in different clubs and how the policy was differently translated in practice based on different factors influencing it. The need for future research to focus on practices, and on the ways in which policies are applied, is clearly stated: 'whilst the advent of inclusion policies within sport is positive, for greater consideration needs to be given to what inclusion actually means and what type of inclusion is being promoted and enacted' (p.49).

Maxwell et al (2013), deployed the social inclusion framework developed by (Bailey, 2005, 2008), adapting it to analyse sport organisation practices that facilitate social inclusion and considering social inclusion as process. Nine key practices that facilitate social inclusion were identified and as emerged from the study, practices that foster social inclusion for one marginalised group can sometimes, in turn, act to exclude other groups; thus, 'how to ensure

the social inclusion of specific marginalized groups without excluding other social groups' (p.478) is yet to be explored/examined. In studying a community-based program for women in poverty, Ponc and Frisby (2010) changed the conceptualisation of social inclusion from a stable condition to a dynamic process of co-creation by active agents in which organisational structures affect the process. In contrast to the literature on social inclusion that considered the marginalised groups as passive actors, Ponc and Frisby (2010) recognised that the participants in the program, women, had an active role; they could choose whether to participate in the program or not and, thus, potentially contribute to the 'inclusion processes' (p. 1527). The conceptualisation moved social inclusion from stable to unstable, as members shifted from playing a passive role to playing an active role within the program. Moreover, it was found that organisational structures constitute one of the components that interplay in co-creating social inclusion process.

Research on social inclusion and organisation practices was conducted by Forde et al. (2015) who deployed the Ponc & Frisby's (2010) social inclusion framework to investigate the organisational dimension of social inclusion in a recreation program, by examining the practices of social inclusion and challenges faced by managers and staff in the context of a wellness program for immigrants. The authors advance the conceptualisation of social inclusion by finding that the different dimensions of the social inclusion framework, as in Ponc and Frisby (2010), are interrelated and relevant for forming organisational practices (p.137) and identify organisational roles, successful practices and challenges as components to be addressed. However, the authors focused on identifying the successful organisational practices and challenges leaving out other practices of which managers and staff could be not aware of undertake. It also disregarded the role of the material (such as artefacts) in the social inclusion process.

Kelly (2011) pointed out the relevance of processes, and is who invited to investigate them. Kelly investigated the concept of 'sport-based social inclusion' as method in the 'Positive Futures' program, shedding light on the complexity of evaluating the success of a sport-based social inclusion program. The program offered the opportunity for young people to participate, 'giving them a 'voice' (p.144); however, 'there was also evidence that young people could be marginalised' (p.144). In all, despite the high number of participants, assessment of the impact the program had on participants considered only a small number

of people. Kelly found that projects are not shaped solely by their strategies; the ambiguity of social inclusion and the 'diverse understanding at the level of implementation' (p.145) may 'conceal or obscure significant differences in practice' (p.145). This shows that a focus on process(es)/practices is pivotal for gaining an understanding of how social inclusion is enacted in practice, and that more work needs to be done.

2.2.2 Social inclusion in sport events and mega sport events (MSE)

Social inclusion is one of many benefits associated with hosting sport events. Studies of sport events have explored the community networks and social benefits of hosting a sport event (Misener & Mason, 2006); intercommunity sport events that develop strategies to leverage social benefits to the community (Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012); the role of stakeholders and their interactions (Misener & Mason, 2009); and the relationship between organisations and communities (Misener & Mason, 2010). The intent of this body of research is to gain an understanding of how it is possible to obtain social benefits for the community hosting the sport event, from the interactions between communities and stakeholders, and how to build social capital (Jarvie, 2003; Peks, 2007; J. M. Smith & Ingham, 2003; Taks, 2013). It can be seen that the only interactions considered were those falling under the categories of community and organisations, thus narrowing the analysis to these categories.

A limited amount of research on social inclusion has also been conducted on mega sport events, again with a focus mainly on marginalised groups (Heck, 2013; Sherry, 2010; A. Smith & Thomas, 2005). Heck (2013) presented an historical account of the obstacles women encountered in accessing the pentathlon at the Stockholm Olympic Games in 1912 and the issues experienced by riders who did not have horses. This research contributed by providing an account of the relations between people in society by exploring the two cases of gender and class, and in which the first one, gender, did not find space at the Stockholm Games. In fact, the request to participate was dismissed and the athlete did not receive any response to her admission. In the case of the equestrians, intense debates had a positive result as the riders who were not in possession of their own horses were allowed to rent horses to participate. The positive impact of sport in society was noted by Sherry (2010), who examined the participation in the Homeless World Cup, finding that participation in sport has provided homeless with benefits on a personal and social level; these included linking with the

community, a 'feeling of social connectedness' (p.66), and 'informal and formal access to services' (p. 66), which were lacking before. Smith and Thomas (2005) examined newspaper coverage of the athletes with disabilities who participated in the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games. Their findings indicated that the athletes' performances were examined from a medicalised perspective, but that the coverage of athletes with disability was positive for inclusion. They also noted that there were also 'unintended consequences' (p.65), including the exclusion from participation of those with severe impairment based on the sport and on the level of impairment.

Among those considered marginalised, research has focused on those 'with access needs', which includes those who experience issues in access. Darcy et al. (2014) examined the experiences of volunteers with access needs at the London 2012 Games. Besides the positive experiences, the negative ones were identified and classified based on the three categories of the Office of Disability Issues (ODI), organisational, environmental and attitudinal issues. From the study emerged that some of the practices that were linked to the negative experiences volunteers had and these regarded organisational, environmental, and structural dimensions. While from the analysis, some of the practices volunteers undertook or participated in emerged, the urge of associating practices to the issues (categories) limited the exploration of the practices and of components other than staff and volunteers that participated, especially since as the authors noted those with the negative experiences encountered 'a series of systemic failures' (p.442) which the categorisation of issues in relation to the dimensions indicated by the ODI did not help to explore.

Studies on social inclusion have also started to consider the role physical place and technology play in inclusion. Dickson and Darcy (2016) investigated the service provision for people with special access needs in the Fan zone of the FIFA Women 2015 World Cup. Using transformative service research with the intent to 'identify issues, processes and procedures that create barriers to inclusion as starting point' (p.537), the authors acknowledged that 'concepts of inclusion for disability are evolving' and include technology such as 'PC-based software' (p.539) as tools for facilitating the access to service for people with disabilities. In examining whether 'the service design needs of people with disabilities [are] met' (p.539), the authors use the service blueprint framework, which considers the activities undertaken and interactions between staff and the 'service delivery process' (p.540). In this, a number of

physical spaces and technological services were identified; however, these were considered as passive elements and, therefore, the influence these could have on the interactions with fans was not considered. Moreover, the concept of design is used in a traditional sense, where the authors stated that 'experience designers paid little attention to the diverse access needs' (p.548) and proposed 'co-creation between those with different access needs, experience designers and service providers' (p.549) to guarantee inclusion in society. While this may lead to the development of inclusive practices for people with special access needs, it may also result in being exclusive for others (Maxwell, 2013). So this approach, while identifying some of the issues faced by some people with access needs, may overlook from others who undertake the same journey. This humanist approach – in which there is focus on one group of people – leaves no room for other people and other components that may interplay with them, such as materiality and technology; the presence of these elements is acknowledged but they are regarded as passive and thus overlooked. The approach taken by Dickson and Darcy limited the researchers' 'exploration'.

The study is grounded on the human rights literature. The authors state that 'there are still no global standards for disability, access, inclusion or universal design' (p.536) as if having global standards would solve the issues of access. This instead requires a different approach that poses at the centre the interactions that standards would not be able to address if not partially. The authors indicate that to respond to people's access needs 'organisations and service providers are required to identify issues processes or procedures that create barriers to inclusion as starting point' (p.537) by investigating the experiences of people with access needs. This would imply the evaluation of one group of people, those recognised or considered as having access needs, with potential consequences of not only overlooking from the outset others who undertake the same journey, thus overlooking the different experiences, covering the need for equality with the effect of adopting a traditionalist approach to social inclusion which treats people differently (Collins,2014) the marginalised groups considered, reinforcing their condition rather than leveraging on equality.

The attention gained by governments and international institutions has put social inclusion in the spotlight and an increased interest by sport event organisers that resulted in being evident in their expression of commitment of the bidding books (LOCOG, 2004; Rio2016, 2009; VANOC, 2009-2010). Social inclusion is increasingly on the agenda of the mega event

owners such as the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC), as evidenced by the increased emphasis in social inclusion in the bidding books of the Olympic Games bidding cities (LOCOG, 2004; Rio2016, 2009; VANOC, 2009-2010). The Rio2016 organising committee had developed a policy on diversity and inclusion leading up to the Games (Rio 2016, 2014).

Much of the approach taken by research has been humanist. For humanist researchers, society is made of subjects and objects, considered as independent entities with a different status because they pertain to different worlds: the former to the social and the latter to the natural. Social inclusion, with few exceptions, has focused on humans while overlooking non-humans, which are considered as passive elements. The relations between subjects and objects are based on the assumption that subjects and objects have determined characteristics; types of relations are therefore limited by the way in which subjects and objects are conceptualised. This precludes alternatives from arising. With these underlying assumptions, the role of objects has been largely dismissed; they have been considered as passive and thus subject to human will. The ontological assumptions on which humanist researchers based their arguments have reproduced 'certain' types of stories, which accord with the assumptions attached to subjects and objects.

2.2.3 Summary

The conceptualisation of social inclusion has changed moving from goal to process. In this, issues of agency, barriers to access and structure(s) emerged as the common factors in the literature. Barriers were associated with individuals rather than the organisation/program structure (Cortis, 2009; Kelly, 2010; Forde et al. 2015). Issues of agency are common in the literature with marginalised people recognised with 'less' agency in their struggle to inclusion in the different contexts explored. Collins (2003) clearly outlined the difference between equality and inclusion; while equality refers to sameness or equivalence in outcome between people, social inclusion focuses on 'the absolute disadvantage of particular groups in society' (p.22). By mandating, not an equality of treatment, but a different treatment for marginalised groups, marginalised people are coerced into their condition. However, this is embedded into the researchers' approach to researching marginalised groups with a pre-determined mindset that catalogues marginalised groups as those struggling to be included in society and thus are

designed as having less agency than mainstream people. The focus on studying only a particular group, focusing on one or two attributes or, in some cases, a combination thereof, such as gender and disability – sometimes referred to as the ‘double whammy’ (Barnatt, 2013; DePauw, 1997), and gender and ethnicity (B. Carroll, 1993), result in a lack of consideration for those who are not part of the investigated group, as they may not be taken into account – since the investigation is on one group - if they are not explicitly excluded, considering also that practices facilitate inclusion for one group may be exclusive for others (Maxwell et al. 2013). In this, regulations such as the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006) disciplining the participation of people with disabilities in society, as Kuppis (2018) noted ‘does not per se favour approaches that take diversity and/or heterogeneity as a starting point but allows for segregated contexts’ (p.17).

Structures emerged as one of the components that, with humans as active actors, play a role in the enactment of social inclusion (Ponic & Frisby, 2010; Forde et al. 2015). The analysis of groups not only implies the exclusion of those considered – the marginalised – but also investigates the excluded, aiming at their inclusion. Despite the progress made in moving from the reconceptualisation of social inclusion as a process rather than a goal, social inclusion is still associated with groups. The pre-determined dimension of groups and the attribution of certain characteristics shape the way in which social inclusion is examined. However, the evolution of social inclusion from a stable to an unstable phenomenon, from a goal to a process, along with the recent direction that studies on social inclusion have taken in which practices became the focus of investigation (Crabbe, 2007; Maxwell et al. 2013; Ponic & Frisby, 2010; Forde et al. 2015), thus opens up other possibilities for further investigation.

If sport does not automatically produce benefits in society, as results of research show, the activities undertaken in activities/programs/events need to be explored. Some of the studies that explore the activities undertaken have found that the analysis of outcomes is complex (Kelly, 2010). Moreover, it has been found that practices that are inclusive for one group may be exclusive for other groups (Maxwell et al., 2013). In this, the predetermination of participants, and the characteristics they have been attributed, have limited not only the understanding of social inclusion but also progress in researching it. Researchers have imposed an order on the context studied and, by doing so, have prevented any novel outcome and understanding from emerging. Despite the attempts to shift the focus to practices, the

attention to groups has prevented the focus on interactions that take place in the practices. As McLean and Hassard (2004, p. 505) noted, 'when considering the ways in which accounts and classification schemes order the past, it is important to take stock of who may have been overlooked and excluded'. The actions are only understandable through an approach which is more flexible and that does not hide behind assumptions that limit the understanding and, thus, the access to practices. Studies have adopted a humanist approach, based on a reality that is objective and in which subjects and objects pre-exist and are ontologically different entities.

If process/practices are the focus of social inclusion, then those participating in activities/programs/ events need to be identified without any attribution of label among those participating to practices. Moreover, to address the structural component that with agency and barriers emerge from the literature (references), a different approach is needed. To gain a holistic understanding of social inclusion, freeing individuals from the imposed classification in groups, while not overlooking other components that may participate in activities, such as materiality and technology that so far have been considered as passive elements, this study takes a sociomaterial perspective in which Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is the theoretical lens and framework of this research.

Instead of imposing a pre-established grid of analysis upon these (actors), the observer follows the actors in order to identify the manners in which these define and associate the different elements by which they build and explain the world. (Callon, 1986b, p. 199).

2.3 Actor-network theory (ANT)

ANT was developed by Michel Callon in the 1980s (Law, 2008) from work in the 1970s by a group of French scholars including Callon and Bruno Latour, and sociologist John Law. Actor-network theory derives from the science of technology studies and is influenced by ethnomethodology (Jóhannesson, 2005; Latour, 1998, 2005) with which it shares some philosophical underpinnings (Latour, 1998). For ANT scholars, there is no objective reality to be described or truth to be found or disclosed. The nature of ANT is debated among scholars. ANT comprises different approaches that can express 'contrasting and divergent thoughts' (McLean & Hassard, 2004, p. 496). In ANT, the T is 'de trop' (Callon, 1999, p. 194); Callon posits that ANT is not a theory. As Latour put it 'ANT is merely one of the many anti-essentialist movements

that seems to characterise the end of the century' while 'it is also, like ethnomethodology, simply a way for the social scientists to access sites, a method and not a theory, a way to travel from one spot to the next, not an interpretation of what the actors do simply glossed in a different more palatable and more universalistic language' (Latour, 1998, pp. 20-21). In line with the sociological tradition inaugurated by Tarde (2012)- for who the dichotomy between natural and social does not facilitate the analysis of interactions - ANT does not aim to describe the social essences as postulated by traditional sociology, but to provide a method to capture the elusive and ever changing reality of associations, where 'learn from the actors without imposing on them a priori definition of the world' (Latour, 1999, p.20) that 'explore the relations between actors' (Law, 2006, p. 88). In the same line of thought, Law claims that ANT is not a theory because it does not provide explanation of phenomena but explains assemblages and their assembling and re-assembling of relations (Latour, 2005). For this reason, ANT is seen by Law as a 'toolkit for telling interesting stories about, and interfering in, those relations' (Law, 2007, p. 2). Studies on ANT regarded different lines of thought and different scholarships.

ANT is inspired by the work of Serres and Tarde (Latour, 2001; Serres & Latour, 1995) on time and space and the dichotomy between nature and social. ANT research was first conducted in the field of science with the intent to understand how scientific facts are produced (Latour & Woolgar, 1986), and how certain systems fail (Callon, 1981), with attention to the relational aspect of the interactions which take the stage of the research (Callon, 1986). With the focus on the interactions in the making of the actor-networks, the networks stability was examined in different contexts (Callon, 1999; Latour, 1990; Latour, 2005). It is during this time that what has been called Post-ANT, or 'ANT and After' emerged (Gad & Jensen, 2010; Law & Hassard, 1999). Authors continue to investigate the themes ANT had brought to the fore, delving into concepts related to interactions, such as performance, multiplicity, complexity (Law, 1999; Mol, 1999, 2002). ANT has been applied in several contexts, mainly in the areas of political history (Law, 2004), governance networks (Montenegro & Bulgacov, 2014), design research and guidelines (Kirk & Prisacari, 2011; Kraal, 2007), co-design (Koivisto & Pohjola, 2015), project planning (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011), information systems (Underwood, 2001), policy innovation (Young, Borland, & Coghill, 2010), tourism (Jóhannesson, 2005) and management information systems (Geoff Walsham & Sahay, 1999). Scholars in organisation studies have only recently begun to explore the role of non-humans, while prior organisation studies have mainly ignored non-human components, which may play an important role in the organisation's dynamics

(Orlikowski, 2007). As observable in Table 2.1, scholars have only recently started to investigate the role of artefacts and the uncertainties of co-design processes (Huybrechts, Dreessen, & Schepers, 2015; Jaffari, 2014), co-creation processes in digital maker community (Wolf & Troxler, 2015), and practices in an Atlantic salmon culture organisation (Law & Lien, 2013). Moreover, ANT has been deployed in project management studies (Sage, Dainty, & Brookes, 2013), in the examination of performativity in organisations not as a single reality but as an enactment of multiple realities. Through the enrolment of ANT, the authors analysed performativity in organisations, depicting the actors involved, which are not always visible (Sage, Dainty, & Brookes, 2013). The literature of ANT in organisation studies is limited and it is relatively under-explored in the sport scholarship, particularly in the sport management field.

2.3.1 ANT vocabulary and principles

ANT is characterised by a number of principles, one of which is the symmetry principle, and a vocabulary apt to explain the workings undertaken by ANT researchers (Table 2.2). While previous social science studies adopted a perspective that prioritised humans over non-humans, ANT, with the symmetry principle, conceives humans and non-humans as having the same relevance in society. Indeed, society is sociotechnical² because of the heterogeneous components that constitute it, namely humans and non-humans (Law, 1992). The heterogeneity of society was examined by Callon (1986b) in his article about scallops; by Law (Law, 1987) in the case of Portuguese expansion; and by Latour (2005) in his writing on the re-assembling of the social. Callon (1986) examined the phenomenon of the decline of scallops in St. Brieuc Bay and 'the attempts by three marine biologists to develop a conservation strategy' (p.196) through the development of relationships between different entities. Based on the principle of general symmetry, 'the rule ... we must respect is not to change registers when we move from the technical to the social aspects of the problem studied' (p.199) and thus between entities. The author followed one of the actors, the researchers, in the translation process, considering a single register when referring to diverse actors, be they researchers, fishermen or scallops. The general symmetry principle allows different entities of nature and social to emerge from and in interactions (Callon & Latour, 1992) without any connotation attributed to them.

² Sociotechnical and sociomaterial are used indifferently in this study as it indicates non-humans in their material and technical meaning.

Table 2.2

ANT terms used in this research

Symmetry principle	Humans and non-humans have the same relevance in society
Actors	‘Something that acts or which activity is granted by others’ (Latour, 1996, p. 373); An entity that ‘more or less successfully defines and builds a world filled by other entities with histories, identities, and interrelationships of their own’ (Callon, 1990, p. 140)
Free association	No distinction between what is natural and social
Actor-Network	‘An actor-network is simultaneously an actor whose activity is network heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and transform what is made of’ (Callon, 1987, p.93)
Agency	Produced in the interactions with other actors, it is ‘the ability to make a difference’ (Sayes, 2014, p. 141)
The translation process	‘All the mechanism and strategies through which an actor – whoever he may be – identifies other actors or elements and places them in relation to one another’(Callon, Courtial, Turner, & Bauin, 1983, p. 193)
Obligatory Passage Point (OPP)	It is the product of negotiations in which an actor makes itself ‘indispensable’ (Callon, 1986)
Program of action	Plan with which an actor tends to reach its goal
Interest	Each actor has an interest and attempts to convince others to share the same interest, as a way to ‘impose order’ (Callon & Law, 1982, p. 622)
Prescription	‘What a device allows or forbids from the actors – human and non-humans – that it anticipates; it is the morality of setting both negative (what is prescribes) and positive (what it permits) (Akrich & Latour, 1992, p. 261)
Script	The end product of ‘inscribing’ a ‘vision of the world in the technical content of the new object’ (Akrich, 1992, p. 208)
Intermediary & mediator	Intermediaries are the actors that follow the script they are given. Mediator(s) are those actors that deviate from the script they are given.
Alliances	The relations that actors have with other actors that share the same interest
Spokesperson	A representative, an actor that represents other actors, acting in their place too
Betrayals	Actors that deviate from the script betray their allies, those with whom they shared a program of action Callon (1986)
Black box	Anything that ‘appears self-evident and obvious to the observer’ (Cressman, 2009, p. 6). Stabilised actor-networks. ‘A black box contains that which no longer needs to be reconsidered, those things whose contents have become a matter of indifference’ (Callon & Latour, 1981, p. 285)
Silencing actor	‘To speak for others is to first silence those in whose name we speak’ (Callon, 1986, p.210)
Immutable mobile	Actor-network that moves holding together different actors (Law & Singleton, 2005)

ANT uses the terms ‘actor’ and ‘actant’ to refer to humans and non-humans. Non-humans, as Sayes clarifies, ‘is an umbrella term that is used to encompass a wide but ultimately limited

range of entities' (2014, p. 136). Actors and actants are humans and non-humans that interact and whose existence is based on their connections with others (associations) (Law, 1992). Both can express agency if the relations are in place, and can change overtime. Actors are not 'fixed entities' (Latour, 1996, p. 374), but exist 'as flows, as circulating objects, undergoing trials' (Latour, 1996, p.374), that 'act(s) or which activity is granted by others' (Latour, 1996, p. 375) and whose stability is temporary result of their interactions with other actors. In ANT 'entities, things, people, are not fixed. Nothing that enters into relations has fixed significance or attributes' (Law, 2006, p.88).

This thesis uses the term actor for both humans and non-humans, to avoid ontological duality and perpetrating the differences as inherent to the components, which are instead considered in the same way, according to the principle of general symmetry (G. Walsham, 1997). An actor is 'any entity able that more or less successfully defines and builds a world filled by other entities with histories, identities, and interrelationships of their own' (Callon, 1990, p. 140). Free association is another principle on which ANT is based. Actors are not categorised based on any principle nor on any law of nature or of society, as these are not classified nor attributed a priori characteristics, as this is the only way, by following the actors, to identify actors (Callon, 1986). This is contrary to humanist literature, which draws a clear distinction between what was considered as part of the natural and what was considered as social. Actors in their interactions tend to build relationships with other entities and can create an actor-network, which 'starts from irreducible, incommensurable, unconnected localities, which then, at a great price, sometimes end into provisionally commensurable connections' (Latour, 1996, p.371). The actor-network is not 'inert matter' (Latour, 1996, p.673), it is 'an entity that does the tracing and the inscribing' (Latour, 1996, p. 673). As Callon (2012) puts it, 'an actor-network is simultaneously an actor whose activity is network heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and transform what is made of' (p.93).

In ANT, agency is not related to intentionality or motivation, as traditional sociological studies sustain, but is related to the relational dimension of the components that emerges from the capacity to interact of both humans and non-humans (Callon, 1999). Agency is described 'in terms of action' (Steen, Coopmans, & Whyte, 2006, p. 307). Agency is 'the ability to make a difference' in other actors and actor-networks (Sayes, 2014, p.141). Only through the precise and difficult work of tracing the connections is it possible to capture those engaged in the

context (network), the way in which they communicate and form associations (Steen et al., 2006), and how they establish connections and translate the message. In particular, understanding the way in which those involved into the network translate (pass on) the meaning is relevant because this may differ and might threaten the existence of the network itself. One of the critiques of ANT has been related to the concept of agency. These critiques regard the symmetry that ANT recognises to humans and non-humans based on which there is not difference in weight between the two. Some researchers are very critical of this choice (H. M. Collins & Yearley, 1992) because they consider that it is still human-centred, as things cannot speak for themselves and thus humans have to do for them. While materiality cannot speak the same language that humans do, they do act in interactions and do that not always in the same way. Collins and Yearley (1992) argue that humans are the only ones who can talk, but do not consider that in interactions verbal language is not (at least) the only one considered, as it is not what actors say that counts but what they do, indeed because things interact and do so in a different way than humans that is through actions. They also critique ANT scholars for not providing 'a method of analysis of their (things) potency' (1992, p.318). Thinking of a method to evaluate the agency of things would not only assume that there is an objective way through which the agency of things can be evaluated, but also that the agency of things is general in contrast to what ANT scholars stated which is contextual and emergent from interactions.

Another common critique on agency is ANT attention to the powerful actors, which would dismiss the powerless (Star, 1990). This is a humanist statement made by researchers who attribute characteristics to people and things from the outset for whom powerful and powerless are attributes of subjects, and this is an immanent condition cast upon them. With ANT, the power is created in the interactions with other actors in the negotiations and attempts of 'enrolling many actors' (Latour, 1986, p. 271) in the actor-network. Strum and Latour noted in their study on the baboon society and the link with the humans, that the 'ostensive definition of baboon society has been unable to accommodate the variety of data on baboon social life...(and that) recent studies demonstrate that baboons invest a great deal of time in negotiating, testing...' (p.789) while for a performative society (as opposed to in the ostensive society)³, baboons 'would be ordering their social world by their very activity'

³ The definition of ostensive and performative society is provided by Latour (1986) *The powers of associations*

(Strum & Latour, 1987, p. 789) rather than being seeing in groups and in hierarchies as starting point. From this it emerges that power is an effect of the interactions, not an initial condition. Hence, the critique moved to ANT for its attention to the powerful actors does not hold, as power is not attributed to actors, but is produced by the actors in negotiations with other actors. Latour clearly stated that 'there is no model of (human) actor in AT (another term for ANT) nor any basic list of competences that have to be set at the beginning because the human, the self and the social actor of traditional social theory is not on its agenda' (Latour, 1996, p.374). Therefore, as Callon pointed out 'Instead of imposing a pre-established grid of analysis upon these (actors), the observer follows the actors in order to identify the manners in which these define and associate the different elements by which they build and explain the world' (p.199). As actors do not have inherent characteristics, the power will result from their interactions and not be the cause of it. The response to the critique to ANT for which 'only some actors have been able to get away with enforcing their view of the world (Collins & Yearley, 1992, p.323), is, as explained by ANT scholars, that power emerges from the interactions (Latour, 1986). Power emerges from the negotiations and trial of strength where an actor enrolls or enlists many actors in its program of action (Latour, 1992), becoming if successful, their representative and thus a powerful actor.

2.3.2 The translation process

Actors participate in the actor-network through the translation process in which actors interact and make associations (Callon, 1990; Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 2005; Law, 2007) undergoing through negotiations, or trials of strength (Latour, 1987). Translation is another principle of ANT (Serres, 1974) which contributes to the formation of temporary 'allies', also defined as choreographies (Law & Lien, 2013) or associations/assemblages (Latour, 2005). ANT strives to follow the actors in the movement within the network; design is the process of tracing the connections among actors within the network. Translation is not a stable phenomenon, as indicated by Callon's study of scallops (1986b); it consists of the act of connecting, conveying messages, maintaining or altering relations. Translation 'builds an actor-world from entities. It attaches characteristics to them and establishes more or less stable relationships between them' (Callon, 1986a, pp. 25-26). In these relationships, the translation process by following the actors in their interactions allows to identify the ways in which relationships (alliances) are established, the roles the actors have in them, the

identification of who represent the interest of other actors, acting as spokesperson, while other actors are silenced (Callon, 1986b).

The translation process, as Callon (1986b) conceived it, is composed of different moments: problematisation, interessment, enrolment and mobilisation. Although different, these moments at times do not have always clear boundaries. In the problematisation moment, actors in their negotiations try to convince other actors of sharing the same interest and attribute to the actors certain characteristics. By doing this, certain actors try to make themselves 'indispensable' to others, posing an obligatory passage point (OPP) (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1994) to other actors. In the interessment, the actor tries to attribute/impose certain identities to the other actors while 'weakening' (Callon, 1986, p. 204) the links the actors have with others who might want to attribute them other identities. Actors then can enrol into the actor-network by espousing the program of action of the actor that attributed to it a role. The program of action (Latour, 2004) is a plan with which an actor plans to satisfy its interest/ reach its goal by recruiting actors with whom to achieve this goal. To enrol, the actor enrolling others adopts techniques/strategies that may facilitate actors' enrolment. These were identified in: physical, violence, seduction, transaction and consent without discussion (Callon, 1986b, p.68). By enrolling, the actors accept the role attributed to them and share the same interest of the actor that enrolled them and espouse its program of action. The acceptance of the role being given means that the actor is expected to perform following a script (Latour, 1994), which is part of the role the actor has been given and asked to perform. Then actors are mobilised, in the mobilisation phase, when they are displaced (Callon, 1986b). In the mobilisation phase, the links between the actors (alliances) are tested. During the translation process, actors participating in a network may act as intermediary or mediator. Intermediaries are those who convey the message without altering it, while mediators do alter the messages that they convey (Latour, 2005). The role of mediators and intermediaries is not determined; intermediaries may become mediators and vice versa. Because of the unpredictability of actors, they need to be closely followed by the researcher to understand the dynamics within the actor-network (associations, re-associations and translation in practices). Acting as intermediaries, the actors follow the script given to them, whereas acting as mediators, the actors divert from the role attributed not following the script they were given but making one up. The translation process brings to the fore 'how a

few (actors) obtain the right to express and represent the many silent actors...they have mobilised' (Callon, 1986b, p.19) acting as their spokesperson, that is on their behalf.

During the translation process, an actor 'identifies other actors....and places them in relation to one another. Each actor builds a universe around him which is a complex and changing network of varied elements that he tries to link together and make dependent upon himself' (Callon et al., 1983, p. 193) persuading others to espouse its goal and program of action and in doing so actors become allies and espousing the program of action of the author that has proposed it accepts the role it has given to it as it accepts to be represented by the actor. The actor who enrolls other actors becomes the representative or spokesperson for the actors that have espoused its goal and program of action. The actors represented by the spokesperson, accepting to be represented by the spokesperson, are silenced. While for ANT a spokesperson can be any actor, some of the ANT critique has contested the role of the spokesperson by asserting that only humans can be spokesperson not nonhumans (Pels in McLean and Hassard (2004). Spokesperson represents those actors that enrolled in the network. While spokesperson act as representative of all the actors that accepted it as their representative, the actors are expected to act in a certain way, which is following the roles they were attributed by the actor (prescription). However, this does not always take place. Some actors may divert from the script they were given to perform, performing differently. This is the case of betrayals (Callon, 1986b) that is when actors do not conform to the role that given to them and to the script entailed to perform.

In an actor-network some of the actor-networks (and practices within) performed become stable and thus are not always object of negotiations but become black boxed (Callon & Latour, 1981). While the black boxes are like Pandora's vase, while relatively stable are not immobile. A black box is anything which 'appears self-evident and obvious to the observer' (Cressman, 2009, p. 6). Inversely, an actor-network unstable is not black boxed and undergoes through negotiations 'movement' (Latour, 1999, p.17). Part of the critique to ANT, which comes from the ANT and after, indicates that the stabilisation of actor-networks is only temporary, and that different practices produce different realities, as many as the practices (Mol, 2002). As different are the practices, there are 'multiple versions of objects' as many as the practices in which these perform. In this, reality(ies), which is performed in practices, is 'historically, culturally and materially located, then it is also multiple (p.75). By studying anaemia, Mol observed that there

are three forms of anaemia, as there are three ways to diagnose it. Each means diagnose something different. Mol also found that the objects that took part to these diagnose techniques did not 'necessarily overlap with those of others' (p.78). There are different versions of anaemia, different performances, different realities that co-exist in the present' (p.79). Moreover, the objects that are performed 'do not come done: they carry modes and modulations of other objects with them' (p.81). This is an interesting aspect, which has some commonalities with the representativeness of spokesperson that represent also the actors that are not present. The conceptualisation of performative society as 'an active exercise in negotiations and control' (Strum & Latour, 1987, p. 797) where 'all social actors "perform" society to some degree, are active participants from the beginning, probing and investigating, negotiating and renegotiating' (Strum & Latour, 1987, p.797) is taken further by Mol who found that practices produce not a single reality but multiple realities and that the actors, or objects as she defines them, participating in the practices perform differently, thus performing different practices and different versions of them.

2.3.3 Ordering

Ordering is one of the notions deployed by ANT scholars (Law, 2001; Law, 1992; Latour, 1986) to refer to the shaping and reshaping process of the actors' interactions. Defined as 'mode of ordering' by Law (Law, 2001) ordering is defined 'like a Foucauldian mini-discourse which runs through, shaping and being carried in the materially heterogeneous processes that make up the organisation' (p. 1-2). Ordering relates to the interactions between actors. Although van der Duim et al. (2013, p. 6) claimed that 'ANT does not strive to uncover the "order of things", but rather to describe the diverse and multiple orderings through which our world emerges' (p.6), in a paper proposing an alternative to control, Law (1997), which is minimalism where he indicated ordering as the activity of organising 'that comes with a a series of built-in qualifications or restrictions that are built-in qualifications or restrictions that are built into and performed' (p.3). Ordering is thus the ongoing activity produced by and thought the interactions that reshape the actors.

2.3.4 The centrality of practices in ANT

'There is not thinkable social life without the participation ...of non-humans, and especially machines and artifacts (Callon & Latour, 1992, p.359). By focusing on interactions, ANT examines a 'social domain (where) there is no change of scale' (Latour, 1999, p.18) as it is flat and depend on the interactions. Society is not only heterogeneous but also unstable; it has been described as a changing choreography (Law & Lien, 2013). Due to its relevance, researchers interested in understanding dynamics within a network trace these relationships, analysing the ways in which the network of association is enacted, and how it is temporarily stabilised. Law and Lien (2013) explored the practices of salmon's enactment and found that different forms of salmon are produced in and through different practices which are the result of relations between different entities, humans and non-humans in choreography(ies). As result of that, multiple salmon are produced from the practices, among which the winners, and others which are 'losers' (Law and Lien, 2013, p.369) with the latter ones that are eliminated. This reasoning is possible with a shift from epistemology to ontology (Law & Urry, 2005), where reality is not related to points of view, but it is of the same matter of interactions, or the components that interact in the practices which produce reality(ies). Similarly, this thesis aims to explore the 'social' of the volunteer program, particularly the rhetoric of the social as planned and the realities of the social as enacted into practices. It does so by identifying the actors and that participate in the interactions and by investigating the way(s) in which these interact. Practices involve actors, artefacts, tasks and interactions. However, 'every activity is not a practice' since 'practices are always relational to the site where they are enacted' – that is, they are local (Koivisto & Pohjola, 2015, p. 3).

In this frame of reference, the role of the researcher is to understand the dynamics of the context that she decided to explore, tracing the connections between the actors, by doing so, gaining an understanding of how the social is enacted through practices. Through the analysis of the interactions, researchers get to know 'what they (actors) do...how and why they do it' (Latour, 1999, p. 19).

The lack of attention to the translation process has been highlighted by De Albuquerque et al. (2013) who, analysing the techno-scientific development in developing countries, noticed how 'processes of entities' developed elsewhere get to developing countries as complete

forms. It emerged that techno-scientific artefacts – practices that were otherwise invisible (such as the calculation of monthly income as invariable) – came to the fore through an ANT lens, which thus revealed novel options. For example, such analysis showed how ICT supports ‘social policy for the alleviation of poverty in Brazil’ (De Alburquerque, Cukierman, Da Costa Marques, & Fidelis Feitosa, 2013, p. 1). This raises another principle of ANT: the local versus the global. ANT analysis is contextual, as it is not possible to generalise and general categories do not exist per se but are co-created in the considered context (network).

ANT has been also criticised for being ‘constitutively incapable of providing a general account of how humans, nonhumans, and their associations may have changed over time and may vary across space’ (Sayes, 2014, p. 145), however this is not an aim of ANT to look for generality or general accounts. In fact, ANT can provide not only an understanding of a local account of associations between humans and nonhumans but it is also apt to explore how this can change overtime and vary across space. The absence of boundaries (blankness) and flexibility allow ANT to capture the changing processes and practices within organisations (Lee & Hassard, 1999). In this way ANT’s ‘purpose is not to tell research users what they should achieve, rather how they are achieving what they are achieving’ (Lee & Hassard, 1999, p. 400) by analysing their dynamics. ANT can contribute to the understanding of the network ‘by examining ...the heterogeneous associations that constitute networks...and by paying closer attention to how networks are performed’ (Cressman, 2009, p. 12). Furthermore, the absence of boundaries within ANT may support the identification of components that are connected with the network but not necessarily part of the network. This aspect of ANT will assist in this study by identifying the components that participate in the rhetoric of social and in its reality(ies) by observing the role that they play and the way they interact. The literature of ANT in organisation studies is limited and it is relatively under-explored in the sport scholarship, particularly in the sport management field.

Table 2.3**Relevant ANT literature**

Authors	Type of research	Methods/ Conceptual advance	Key Findings/Conclusion
Callon (1986)	Conceptual paper	Sociology of translation	The process of translation in the context of the scallops of St Brieuc Bay.
Law & Lien (2012)	Conceptual- Ethnography	Observation of practices	Choreography of salmon culture. The authors show how salmon and 'not-quite' salmon are enrolled and enact in the choreography.
Law (1986)	Conceptual paper of the components playing in the long-distance control	Documents analysis	Nature of long-distance control is heterogeneous and includes text, talk and devices.
Lee & Hassard (1999)	Conceptual	Explores ANT ontological relativism and ANT flexibility in organisational studies.	The ontological relativism of ANT allows the investigation of the 'active processing'(p. 399) rather than the passive data. Ontological relativism answers to the ways in which organisation flexibility is accomplished.
Albuquerque et al. (2013)	Empirical- Case study - program	Observation and interviews	Lack of standard criteria in informal activities; 'lack of clear guidelines... causes insecurity and confusion' (p. 17). Income is a circulating entity in which negotiations occur - local procedures. Techno-scientific artefacts through the ontological perspective of ANT change from being seen as fix entity to structuring citizenship.
Huybrechts et al. (2015)	Dual case study – empirical – relationship between uncertainties and the quality of participation in two co-design processes for healthcare	Participants' mapping, observations and interviews, co-design workshop (3 designers and 4 social scientists; 2 designers and 3 social scientists and more than 20 participants in each fieldwork)	Four uncertainties were addressed: 1. How co-design support actors in developing independent views. 2. The need for 'transparent information' which reflects on the ways in which 'documents address actors' uncertainties'. 3. '[I]nclusion of participants' as lack of experience resulted in exclusion of certain actors. 4. Actors participate in the 'infra-structuring process' reformulating 'methods, tools and techniques' (p. 59), highlighting the need to make clear the goals that the actors have. Uncertainties allowed for new relationships between humans and

Table 2.3 (Cont'd)

Relevant ANT literature

Authors	Type of research	Methods/ Conceptual advance	Key Findings/Conclusion
Wolf & Troxer, (2015)	Empirical - Case study	Semi-structured interviews	non-humans; designers and participants need to develop expertise in evaluating the ways in which 'uncertainties enhance or hinder the quality of participation' (p. 60). Identification of actors that contribute to knowledge creation and sharing in digital maker communities. The network of assemblies is outlined in the form of two networks, along with the ways in which these connections are made. Moreover, two translation processes are identified as taking place in assembling the networks.
Daniel et al. (2013)	Conceptual	Re-theorisation of performativity. Interactions of different performativities – research and practice on and around projects; political role in performativities	'Performative values cannot be reduced to the enactment of realities' (p. 289).
Darnell et al. (2018)	Empirical	Ethnographic data collection: observation, interviews and focus groups	ANT allows the relations between power and inequality within the SDP to emerge. How power is created in SDP; how differences in terms of power are sustained. In this, some actants play an active role.
Sage et al. (2011)	Historical–Case study	Theorisation of project complexity in light of ANT	ANT can play a role in project complexity, as going beyond stakeholders' analysis considers the role of non-humans in the project.
Kerr (2010)	Ethnography	Ethnographic method – observation of 10 training centres (2 days each), and interviews with participants (47).	How elite gymnastics is performed.
Kerr (2012)	Ethnography	Ethnographic method – mapping moments in which gymnastics appear (2 days observation in each venue (10 venues); interviews (47)	Enrolment of sport scientists into gymnastics.

Table 2.3 (Cont'd)**Relevant ANT literature**

Authors	Type of research	Methods/ Conceptual advance	Key Findings/Conclusion
Kerr (2014)	Ethnography	Mapping moments in which gymnastics is performed and places 'where gymnastics is discusses' (p.92); semi-structured interviews (47)snowball sampling	Enrolment of non-humans in gymnastics and their impact on the power relationships (gymnasts and self-coaching) or reinforcing the authority of coach. Non-humans can act as mediators (ribbon).
Kerr & Obel (2017)		ANT - Assemblage (Latour, 2005)	Alternative classification system of body through the assemblage
Jaffari (2014)	Theoretical paper Product adoption	Practice-theory and design in use	Artefacts are part of practices, thus it is necessary to study the ways in which these become part of everyday practices.
Koivisto & Pohiola (2015)	Translation of an innovation systemic model into practice in the public healthcare in Finland	Workshops (stimulating, incubating and enactment)	The role of the web-based development environment in the innovation model in practice.
Underwood (2001)	Case Study	Actor-network theory and Foucault's theory of discourse	Translation of meanings in an IT project. 'Mistranslation of scripts' preserves ambiguity and contributes to the project success.
Weedon (2015)	Essay	Actor-network Theory – reassembling the social of the Tough Mudder run	Camaraderie is 'more than human' (p. 437); the Tough Mudder run as assemblage of subjects and objects which influence each other.

2.3.5 ANT in sport

The extant literature of ANT in sport is scant. Only recently researchers have started to approach the alternative and radical sensibility that characterise ANT. Few researchers in sport have ventured into novel territories examining sport and its sociotechnical components (Kerr, 2014), the role of scientists in gymnastics and their enrolment (Kerr, 2012), and the practice of gymnastics and the role of technology in the selection of gymnasts in a national team (Kerr, 2010). Weedon (2015) has provided an analysis of the Tough Mudder run as 'co-constituted in and through the practice' (2015, p. 447). Recently, ANT has been applied to

research on overcoming the sex segregation policy in sport, producing alternative classifications (Kerr & Obel, 2017) and analysing the way SDP programs are 'organised, funded, implemented and received within networks and relationships' (Darnell, Giulianotti, Howe, & Collins, 2018, p. 90) by identifying a range of actors that influence the SPD.

Kerr (2014) explored the enrolment of sociotechnical components in gymnastics, to understand how gymnastics works and how non-human components play an important role in everyday practices. Through interviews and observations conducted in the field the role of the actants emerged, in particular of video cameras, and of bars, floors and ribbon. The video cameras acted as mediators in different ways depending on how they were used. In some contexts, where the gymnasts were checking the film, the cameras increased 'self-surveillance' and awareness to determine a reduced involvement of sport psychologists. Other non-humans, such as bars and floors, acted as mediators, and athletes were aware of the impact that these have on their performances. In fact, athletes enrol substances that turn out to act as mediators between the body and the equipment. Therefore, it is evident that the role non-humans play in the athletic competition is relevant and has the potential to affect the performance if not taken into account.

Kerr (2012) also examined the enrolment of scientists in the gymnastics network in New Zealand. The role that other agents play in the network emerged through translation; agents' interactions can facilitate or hamper the scientists' enrolment. Observations and interviews were conducted with informants about their experience of sport services and their processes. The data collected gave insights into the gymnastics network, and the different role that actors and actants played in the enrolment of scientists. Kerr (2010) applied Callon's process of translation, which identified the actors and actants of the gymnastics network, the relevance of actants in everyday training operations and how the training is translated into a numeric system of judgement. This was coupled with a shifting of power among actors and actants, which facilitates or hampers their enrolment in the network. The works of Kerr are critical in sport because they constitute the rare 'enrolment' of ANT into sport settings, although these are limited to the sport of gymnastics.

Weedon (2015) examined the sociality of the Tough Mudder run with a sociomaterial perspective. The way in which 'camaraderie' emerged to be composed was sociomaterial,

described as a 'more than human phenomena' (p.437) that is shared, contingent, and radically dependent on a world of colluding things' (p.437). The author attended the practices of doing of the different runners and though these he identified a number of actors among which the mud, and the Mount Everest that played a role in the run. The mud played a role as it 'materialize(d) the sense of camaraderie' (p.446) but also disrupted the event when incidents occurred. The soil, the body of the runners were identified as 'lively substances' (p.448) that participate actively to the event and constitute the embodiment of what 'camaraderie' is.

2.3.6 Summary

ANT encompasses different streams of research, and adopted its own diverse vocabulary. The vocabulary used in this research was introduced and explained. This allows the reader to follow the narrative that will be presented in the next chapters. Despite the scant application of ANT in sport, particularly in sport management, a few studies on ANT have undertaken in the recent years and have contributed to providing a different perspective and revealing aspects that would otherwise have been overlooked. ANT offers a sociomaterialistic perspective to this study, considering humans and non-humans in interactions. The symmetry with which actors are considered can lead to a different conceptualisation of social inclusion, shifting from the humanist perspective to the postmodern, renouncing the humanistic assumptions that have influenced the way in which social inclusion has been conceived and explored. In the same way, universal design, from the normative, unidirectional/top-down way in which it was conceived, becomes local, interactive and emergent. To explain how this will work, the literature of universal design, its shift from human-centred to sociomaterial, and the literature on volunteering that is the context of this research are presented next.

The research will explore the volunteer program of the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games through the adoption of ANT as theoretical lens and as framework of this research. The general symmetry of ANT provides the investigation with an equal treatment of the actors participating to the practices and facilitates their identification. This allows the identification of the actors involved, overcoming any issue so far encountered by researchers, of overlooking actors due to the characteristics they were attributed with a focus on the interactions, that is on the way in which the social is made and remade in the context examined through an analysis of practices. Besides the identification of the actors, ANT with

its focus on the relationality between actors, allows the interactions to become the centre of the investigation and uncover the ways in which actors interact. These can do so differently, acting as intermediary or mediator, performing the script assigned to them or deviating from it. Thus, following the actors is fundamental to understanding which actor participates in the practices and the ways they do so. This study investigates the actors involved in the volunteer program, how they become involved and the role they play in the practices. This would provide an understanding of how the social is enacted into practices and roles the actors perform in them.

2.4 Universal design

Universal design was for the first time defined by Mace (1985) with the underlying intent to be a design 'of anything' usable by everyone without any form of adaptation. Universal design was conceived and applied initially in the built environment with the intent of broadening the usability of spaces for everybody. This culminated with the introduction of the seven principles of UD (The Centre for Universal Design, 1997) that intended to render practical what had been so far a design approach (Ostroff, 2011). UD has also been used in education (Froyen, 2003), learning (Izzo, 2012) and products (Demirbilek & Demirkan, 2004). While its primary use has been associated with the built environment, UD has social roots and expanding the range of those involved – to the widest extent of human beings – leads to social inclusion (Bickenbach, 2014; UN, 2006).

2.4.1 The normalisation of universal design

As presented in Table 2.4, the application of UD has been encouraged by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 2001, 2009), and the United Nations in the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (UN, 2006). The recommendation of United Nations notes the flexibility of UD and states that it can be used for 'the design of products, environment, programs and services to be usable by all people, to the greatest extent possible without the need for adaptation on specialised design'; (art.2), and promote 'universal design in the development of standards and guidelines' (UN, 2006, art. 4, let. F, p. 6). The World Health Organization (WHO) (2001) suggests using UD as a framework to minimise disability and support independence and community integration; and the Council of Europe discusses

integration of UD ‘in all aspects of society’ because of its ‘paramount importance’ (Council of Europe, 2001; 2009, p. 3). In this regard, the Council of Europe has proposed ‘the introduction of the principles of UD into the curricula of all occupations working on the built environment’ (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 1) and recommended ‘the application of Universal Design principles is of paramount importance for improving the accessibility of the environment and the usability of products’ (Council of Europe, 2006, pp. 7-8; 2009, p. 1). The Council of Europe recommended that the governments of member states ‘promote full participation in community life... take into account and integrate as appropriate in the policy, legislation and practice the principle of UD’ (2007, p. 3) However, despite the governmental invitations to promote and adopt universal design, there is little evidence of widespread application of UD principles.

Table 2.4

Research on universal design: areas, object of investigation and authors

Category	Areas of investigation	Object of investigation	Authors
	In the global context: (built environment, learning, ICT, education and products)	Marginalised Groups	Hamraie, 2013; Lid, 2013; Bickenback, 2014
		Policy	WHO, 2001; Council of Europe, 2001; Council of Europe, 2006; Council of Europe, 2007; Council of Europe, 2009; UN, 2006
Universal Design	Universal design in sport	Inclusivity of the built environment	M'Rithaa, 2011; Cashman & Darcy, 2008; Lo Presti, 2014a;
		Inclusivity of the sport event	Lo Presti, 2014b
	UD as theoretical framework	Human needs and environment	D'Souza (2004)
		Assemblages	Gibson, 2014

Policies have normalised the concept of UD, framing its application just as designers did with its ‘use’, by attributing it to usability, which is only one aspect. Moreover, it appears that the universal design concept is enshrined in policies that suggest its application, but the

associated UD practices constitute separate entities and are different from the concept expressed in the policies. Most policies related to UD are conceived for the goal of usability (Demirbilek & Demirkan, 2004; Goldsmith & Architects, 2000; Watchorn, Larkin, Hitch, & Ang, 2014).

Bridge, Demirbilek, and Mintzes (2016) conducted a study which is part of a project to design 'liveable bathrooms for older people' (p.143) to evaluate 'the home bathrooms environments' (p.143) and how these 'met the needs of older Australians' (p.143). The authors introduced a novel approach: the co-design group. The participants of the co-design group were asked to 'advise the research team about the research method and to participate in collaborative design workshops where their input and ideas will assist to 'design' an ideal bathroom environment for older people' (p.144). In one of the workshops to which the co-design group was invited to attend, they were exposed to the materials, where they 'had the chance to 'play' with them' (p.147) and ask questions. A group discussion followed participants 'voiced which ones they liked and how they could see some of these being applied' (p.147). The authors state that 'co-designers took an active role in generating the outcomes of each session and the project as a whole' (p.151), however, the designers still led the process, by selecting the materials then presented to the co-design group, and showing to users 'the properties of each product' (p.147) before the co-design group encountered them. While the users' experience of materials and technology represents an innovative aspect of the design of spaces and an advancement whereby users actively engage with materials and technology, however, despite the participatory character of the design process, the designers still lead the process, as testified by the informative part in which they explained the materials and technologies to users and their properties. By this, emerges also that material and technology are considered as having embedded certain characteristics, in line with the humanist approach, and that humans have full control on what these can do. While the authors recognise that the advancement 'in technology and material sciences have allowed for new ways of doing and designing things' (p.145), these advancements have been limited by the approach that research on design and designers have taken regarding materiality and technology.

This study testifies the focus of researchers on humans when referring to UD. The pivotal consideration of humans at the heart of UD has progressed to involve humans, user/expert,

in the design process with the intent of providing designers with knowledge of their needs, that designers might otherwise overlook (Darses & Wolff, 2006). User/expert 'can be anyone who has developed natural experience in dealing with the challenges of our build environment' (Ostroff, 1997, p. 1). While this approach has led to an increase knowledge on the diversity of humans' needs, it has overlooked the non-humans participation in the interactions.

Just as social inclusion was initially conceived as a goal rather than a process, so the normalisation of UD, which has conceived universal design in certain ways, and the way in which universal design has been investigated by researchers may have narrowed its application. In the same way, its application in a normalised domain may have produced and reproduced and reinforced the distinction between marginalised and mainstream groups. This factor has limited the concept of UD, restraining its potential action. However, these are not limits inherent within UD but are attributed to it from the normalised domain.

2.4.2 Universal design and the ontological duality

The humanist perspective mainly taken by researchers who have explored social inclusion as universal design recognises only human agency to act, to reveal truths about the world/nature, and to understand how the world works, thus preventing other components from being considered. This humanist assumption has not only assumes the different nature of humans and non-humans by ascribing only to humans the capacity to act but has also created a separation between the two, which are conceived as fundamentally different and owning different characteristics, and thus as ontologically distinct. This has led to the creation of an irreconcilable ontological duality between humans and non-humans. In critiquing universal design, Lid (2014) noted that, since its inception, UD has been mainly applied to the built environment and, as such, has reflected not only the diversity of human beings but also the difficult relationship between human beings and environment. Although Lid maintains a human-centred perspective, he does identify the need to gain a better understanding of the relationship between humans and their environment (p. 1348). He recognises disability as an issue created by the interaction between a person and the environment and the need for interdisciplinary research. Moreover, Lid (2014) highlights the necessity of gaining knowledge about the person–environment interaction and identifies participation as a means to achieve

this. By pointing out the need 'to gain sufficient and valid knowledge' (p. 1348) about the interaction, the question of what is sufficient and valid knowledge arises. Moreover, the participation of 'user-representatives' (p. 1347) would increase the knowledge of planners and designers, furnishing them with a user's perception of their interactions with environment. However, not only do these perceptions not take into account the ways in which environment acts but there is also no certainty that the users' perceptions would then be translated into practice.

It is argued here that further research on the theoretical aspect of UD is needed (Hamraie, 2017; Preiser, 2008), as the application of UD as theory is scant (D'souza, 2004; Gibson, 2014), and on the practical operationalisation of UD is needed. D'souza (2004) investigated the theoretical aspects of UD and suggested that 'universals do change, are time bound and value laden' (p. 3). Universal design evaluation is based not only on facts but also on attitudes and on knowledge accumulation, which is based on human needs and environmental changes. D'souza noted that tests such as the Post Occupancy Evaluation (POE) would examine the changes in an 'ongoing process of eroding ignorance and enlarging insights through actions' (p. 8). So, for D'Souza (2004) exploring UD through critical theory could be a source of its 'conceptualisation and knowledge generation' (p. 8). Although the concept of knowledge generation is intriguing, the author considers diversity as embedded in humans. By focusing only on humans, other components which may play a role in interactions are excluded from consideration. This might affect not only the relations between humans and environment, but also inter-human interactions.

2.4.3 Universal design in sport

Studies of UD in sport are sparse. Cashman and Darcy (2008) suggested UD benefits the Olympic Games by potentially engaging more people, by leaving a legacy for the built environment, and by being able to include UD in the marketing mix. However, the authors did not indicate how universal design might be implemented. M'Rithaa (2011) analysed UD from an architectural point of view, looking at the universal design awareness of planners and designers in the context of FIFA 2010, noting that both planners and designers mainly assign UD 'to disability-specific applications' (p. 208). Lo Presti (2014a) explored the UD aspect related to diversity, attempting to gain an understanding of how inclusivity was implemented

into the design process of London 2012. She investigated how people with disabilities were involved in the design process. However, it was not possible to evaluate the inclusivity of London 2012 due to a lack of detail regarding those involved in the design process, and those excluded, and regarding knowledge transition from one Games to the next.

The issue of the physical environment was also investigated by Lo Presti (2014b) in exploring how Tokyo could, in hosting the Games in 2020, plan for an inclusive Games applying the UD concept within Japanese cultural values. She applied UD to the five environments suggested by the WHO (2001) – the physical, communication, information, policy, and attitudinal environments – and identified five sport environments. These five environments are extracted from the disabling barriers identified by the WHO (2001), whereby the physical environment ‘is the natural or built environment in which people live’ (Lo Presti, 2014b, p. 74); the communication environment ‘includes technology and products that enhance the communication’ (Lo Presti, 2014b, p. 74); the information environment ‘includes all the ways in which people can orientate themselves in environments, such as print material, signage, directions’ (Lo Presti, 2014b, p. 74); the policy environment is ‘the complex of policies that impact on the experience and its quality’ (Lo Presti, 2014b, p. 74); and the attitudinal environment is ‘the attitude of people, their ways of interacting with others, their degree of acceptance and inclusion of diverse people’ (Lo Presti, 2014, p. 74). In developing this UD framework, Lo Presti (2014b) points out the central role human beings have in the development of the sport environment, and that their engagement could foster social inclusion in sport.

Lo Presti’s (2014b) research analysed UD and social inclusion through active engagement of humans in the design process, using a human-centred approach (also called a user-centred approach). However, the ontological duality between humans and non-humans remains to be tackled. Lo Presti (2014b) deferred to human beings as the development of society perpetuates the human ‘*hubris*’ over non-humans. Nonetheless, Lo Presti (2014b), by seeing ‘human beings as designers of society’ (p. 80), considered all human beings, without any distinction, as active founders of their society, similar to Ponc and Frisby’s (2010) conceptualisation of social inclusion through co-creation of active agents.

2.4.4 Universal design – from ontological duality to interactions

Lid (2013) concentrates on disability, asserting the need for universal design to focus on humans. As disability is relational – that is, it involves humans and environment – he identified the relational model as the lens through which UD can take in the ‘individual experiences’ (p. 205). He also highlighted the need for UD to be informed by knowledge of different disciplines. Lid’s contribution lies in his attempt to adopt a relational model which considers both the environment and humans. However, this reinforces the differences, which make it difficult to eliminate the label of disability and focus on the interactions. In order to overcome the tendency to perpetrate human inequality through a potential universalised concept, Gibson (2014) explored the ‘assemblages’ in the context of rehabilitation, where human beings and non-humans interact, resisting normalisation⁴ which otherwise would reinforce the tendency to compare with the mainstream, so strengthening “‘the othering’ of difference’ (p. 1328). In postmodern concept of assemblages, characteristics originate in the ongoing interactions between humans and non-humans, and, in so doing, avoid the perpetuation of labels.

Gibson (2014) opens a new research avenue for exploring humans and their interactions with the environment. The interesting aspect of his research is the adoption of a postmodernist approach, whereby not only are humans considered as playing a role in society but non-humans also play an important role. This shift in perspective moves the centre from the body (human) to interactions with other humans and non-humans; in so, Gibson shows that dependence⁵ is part of lives, and constitutes an advantage for humans rather than a disadvantage. Gibson’s questions assumptions that disability is connected to dependency and that independence is positive, and suggests that changing this perspective could impact not only sport but society more broadly. More studies exploring UD with a postmodernist approach are needed, as these may provide a different understanding of UD, of its relation with social inclusion, as it would uplift the humanist assumptions considering all the components taking part to the interactions as equal.

⁴ While in the ‘normalised domain’ a wheelchair user is a wheelchair dependent because of its condition, within the postmodern conceptualisation, and particularly in the ‘assemblages domain’ dependency is temporary and mutable.

⁵ Dependence has been associated to disadvantage

2.4.5 Summary

Drawing on the literature discussed above, the present study adopts a postmodernist perspective that allows consideration of all the components that interplay in the dynamics between humans and non-humans and that are translated into practices. As noted, social inclusion is an ambiguous term (Kelly, 2010) and there is no one shared conceptualisation of it. Similarly, universal design is a complex topic (Lid, 2014) that, in aiming to accommodate the widest spectrum of human beings, strives for their inclusion (Bickenback, 2014). To gain a different understanding of social inclusion and UD, this thesis explores the relationships between social inclusion and universal design. It does so by investigating the rhetoric of the 'social' of the volunteer program as planned by the Rio2016 organising committee and the realities of the 'social' as enacted into practices by those participating in it within the setting of the volunteer program of the Rio2016 Olympics and Paralympic Games. As the volunteer journey is problematised in this research, volunteering is the context in which this study is staged. Thus, to better position the research, the next section explores the body of literature on the volunteering scholarship highlighting the gap that this research will explore.

2.5 Volunteering in sport events

As shown in Table 2.5, the literature on volunteering in sport events has focused on the 'collective' account of volunteers, particularly on conceptualising volunteers' motivations and satisfactions. Previous research in sport has investigated volunteers' motivations in participating (Allen & Shaw, 2009; Grimm & Needham, 2011; Wicker & Hallmann, 2013), motivation and satisfaction (Farrell, Johnston, & Twynam, 1998), motivation, satisfaction and intentions (Hyejin Bang, Won, & Kim, 2009), on the effects of 'job characteristics, organizational features' (Neufeind, Güntert, & Wehner, 2013, p. 537) on satisfaction and intention to volunteer, and factors impacting on the decision to volunteer (Burgham & Downward, 2005; Hallmann & Harms, 2012).

Research has investigated volunteers' motivations to participate in mega sport events (Baum & Lockstone, 2007) at the Sydney World Master Games (Tracey J. Dickson, Darcy, Edwards, & Terwiel, 2015), at the Olympic Games (Giannoulakis, Wang, & Gray, 2008); and at the Athens 2004 Games (Fairley, Kellett, & Green, 2007; Karkatsoulis, Michalopoulos, & Moustakatou,

2005). Researchers have also focused on the experiences of volunteering at mega sports events (MSE) and the volunteers' intentions to engage in future volunteering initiatives (Hyejin Bang et al., 2009; Doherty, 2009; Downward & Ralston, 2006); on volunteers' satisfaction (H. Bang & Ross, 2009; Elstad, 1996); volunteers' training (Costa, Chalip, Green, & Simes, 2006; Fairley et al., 2007), and volunteers' training and learning of experiences (Shaw, 2009), and volunteers' expectations of and attitude towards functional management in the period preceding the Games (Ralston, Downward, & Lumsdon, 2004).

Studies in the volunteer management field have investigated event volunteering management (Nichols & Ralston, 2012), strategic factors in the case of Torino 2006 (Chanavat & Ferrand, 2010) and efficiency of management practices in volunteers' retention (Cuskelly, Taylor, Hoye, & Darcy, 2006). The literature has also explored the volunteer as an 'individual' and, in particular, the factors influencing future volunteering (Doherty, 2009), the volunteers' journey at mega-sports events (Tomazos & Luke, 2015), organisational commitment (Cuskelly, Harrington, & Stebbins, 2002), legacy from volunteering (Nichols & Ralston, 2011) and the determinants of volunteers' motivation to engage in other events in the future (Tracey J. Dickson et al., 2015; Hallmann & Harms, 2012). Wicker and Hallmann highlighted the tendency of the extant literature to focus on the micro and macro and proposed a 'multi-level framework' (2013, p. 111) which takes into account both levels in the volunteers' decision to volunteer in sport.

Benson et al.'s (2014) research into the design, implementation and operationalisation of training and transfer to the community of the volunteers' experiences in Vancouver 2010 was the first study of its kind. The research followed the process of learning through document analysis, interviews with volunteers, participant observation, workshop with host community volunteer organisations and a post-Games survey. They noticed a legacy gap between the 'rhetoric and the reality' (p. 224) in the transfer of learning from the Games to the community, which hampers the transfer of the knowledge to the community. They found that the disconnection between the event and the community jeopardises a potential legacy. Notably, the environment was composed of two separate realities: one for the Games, the other the community setting.

Table 2.5

Research on Volunteering: areas, object of investigation and authors

Category	Areas of investigation	Object of investigation	Authors
Volunteering	In sport, collective account	Volunteers' motivation	Allen & Shaw, 2009; Grimm & Needham, 2011; Wicker & Hallmann, 2013
		Motivation and satisfaction	Farrell et al., 1998
		Motivation, satisfaction and intentions	Bang et al., 2009a
		Impact of 'Job characteristics, organizational features and appreciation' (Neufeind, 2013,p. 537) on volunteers' satisfaction and intentions	Neufeind et al. 2013
	In MSE	Factors impacting on the decision to volunteer	Burgham & Downward, 2005
		Volunteers' motivation	Baum & Lockstone, 2007; Edwards et al. 2009; Giannoulakis et al. 2008; Karkatsoulis et al, 2005; Fairley et al. 2007; Khoo & Engelham, 2007
		Experiences of volunteering at MSE (intentions to engage in future volunteering initiatives, volunteers satisfaction, training, volunteers training and learning experiences)	Downward, et al. 2006; Doherty, 2009; Bang et al, 2009b; Elstad, 1996, Costa et al. 2006; Fairley, 2007; Cuskelly et al. 2004; Shaw, 2009; Green and Chalip, 2004
Individual account	Volunteer management (event volunteering management, strategic factors, efficiency of management practices in volunteers' retention)	Nichols & Ralston, 2012; Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010; Cuskelly et al. 2006	
	Volunteer's experience (autoethnography) of journey, 'motivational challenges' of the pre-Games stages (autoethnography)	Kodama et al. 2013; Sadd, 2018	
	Design, implementation and operationalisation of volunteers' training and knowledge transfer	Benson et al. 2014	

Table 2.5 (cont'd)

Research on Volunteering: areas, object of investigation and authors

Category	Areas of investigation	Object of investigation	Authors
	Multi-level	The volunteers' journey, motivation of those that actively engage in the event	Tomazos and Luke, 2015; Hallmann & Harms, 2012; Dickson et al. 2015
		Individual and institutional factors influencing the decision to volunteer	Wicker & Hallmann, 2013

Volunteer training can be conceived as an opportunity to build 'a sense of community' (Green & Chalip, 2004, p. 64). The formation of a community during volunteer training could constitute a social legacy of the Games, insofar as volunteers are people from different parts of the world and coming together to constitute a community. Recent literature has investigated the knowledge transfer from the Games to the community, which could also constitute a legacy (Doherty, 2009; Ritchie, 2000). However, as those participating in the program can create a community (network), it can be argued that knowledge learned from the Games should be considered from the perspective of the whole cycle of planning, organising and through to the staging of the Games.

Recent studies in volunteering have drawn on qualitative methods to delve into in the lived experiences of the volunteers (Kodama, Doherty, & Popovic, 2013; Sadd, 2018; Tomazos & Luke, 2015). Kodama et al. (2013) presented an auto ethnography of the volunteering experience of the principal author who volunteered at the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games. This research provides an alternative view of volunteering related to personal experience and included the activities of volunteering and the leisure activities volunteers undertake. Sadd (2018) investigated, through an autoethnography of her experience as a Games maker in London 2012, the motivational difficulties that volunteers encountered in the phases prior to the Games, contributing to the literature on the volunteer journey. Tomazos and Luke (2015) explored the volunteers' journeys of their experience at the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games through the multiple dimensions of temporality, reflexivity and rationality. This study looked at the Frontrunner volunteer pre-event program and analysed, through a reflexive lens, the individual experience of volunteers in the context

of Glasgow 2014. The account provided by the authors included the pre-event, which is the 'place' in which volunteers gather together before the event. The authors analysed the volunteer journey with a narrative approach and included the analysis of before, during and after the Games, and identified volunteers' activities other than 'shifts'. The authors considered this study as relevant for the volunteer legacy, which so far has been ignored, probably due to the short term of the event and the fact that those organisations responsible for the realisation of the Games are dismantled as soon as the Games are over (Nicholson & Ralston, 2012). However, Tomazos and Luke (2015) did not consider the sense of cohesion and 'community spirit' (p. 1354) and other potentially influential components, such as social media. This research builds on Tomazos and Luke's (2015) argument that previous quantitative studies have not provided a nuanced understanding of the meanings of volunteers' decisions, on Kodama et al. (2013) relevance of knowing the volunteering activities, including the leisure activities, the activities undertaken to volunteer at the Games (Sadd, 2018), and the need for sport volunteering to offer 'interdisciplinary insights' (A.M. Benson & Wise, 2017, p. 254) and to know the type of activities that volunteers perform (Neufeind et al., 2013). It aims to address a notable gap in the way volunteering has been studied, as qualitative studies can delve into the practices volunteers undertake to volunteer at the Games. This provides an understanding of the 'social' and how it is enacted into practices, and will ascertain whether the policy on diversity and inclusion is mobilised in practices. This study also provides the meaning volunteers attribute to social inclusion.

2.5.1 Summary

The literature to date has investigated the 'what' of volunteering, namely the motivation for volunteers to volunteer, their satisfaction with the volunteer experience, and the elements that promote volunteer retention. There is potential to extend the existing scholarship and understanding of how a volunteer program works, what practices are performed by volunteers to volunteer at the Games, the components participating in the practices and whether policy on diversity and inclusion is enrolled in practices. To explore this premise, the proposed research offers an understanding of the dynamics within the volunteer program, by identifying practices that volunteers undertake to volunteer at the Games, the components

that participate in the interactions (actors)⁶, and if and how inclusive practices are enacted/performed within the program.

In order to capture all the components involved in the interactions that take place in the context of the volunteering program, this study applies the theoretical lens of actor-network theory to universal design. This provides a sociomaterialist perspective on the dynamics in place in the volunteer program, considering both human and non-human components. This study offers a novel conceptualisation and operationalisation of UD by providing a sociomaterialistic perspective. The area of research focus is represented in Figure 2.1:

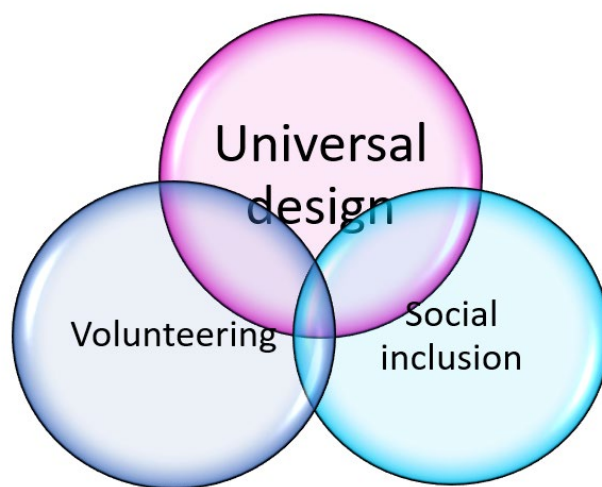


Figure 2.1: Area of research focus

Table 2.6

Gap in the literature

Gap	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Multiple definitions of Social Inclusion – Limited conceptualisation of social inclusion. The humanistic perspective taken in previous studies has provided a limited analysis of social inclusion. This study contributes in understanding social inclusion in the volunteer program and by offering a different conceptualisation and operationalisation of the ‘social’ in practices. 2. Lack of theoretical studies on UD, and no clear relation with social inclusion. With a shift in perspective, this study provides a novel conceptualisation of universal design and its operationalisation as emergent from the interactions taking place in the practices, which clarifies/explores the relation between universal design and social inclusion. 3. Studies on the practices of the volunteer programs are lacking. This study will provide an understanding of practices and of the ways in which social is enacted, into practices and identifies practices inclusive 4. Scant application of ANT in sport, particularly in the sport management scholarship.
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⁶ This is an ongoing process that starts from the analysis of literature and is informed by the data collection and analysis.

2.6 The research problem

As argued earlier in the literature review section, social inclusion does not have a shared definition but it is subject to multiple interpretations. Hence, it cannot be associated with general social constructs such as groups who do not represent homogeneity but heterogeneity. As the interpretations of social inclusion are multiple, analyses of how social inclusion is interpreted and how this is expressed within organisations can add to our current knowledge base. If social inclusion has multiple interpretations, it can no longer be considered as a static concept, and our attention needs to turn from how social inclusion was framed into groups, depicting partial interpretations as embedded to groups, to how social inclusion is performed through actions. To study the way in which social inclusion is articulated in actions requires exploring the dynamics between the components that take part in the organisation. Moreover, the literature has largely ignored the participation dynamics of non-human aspects, instead assuming that humans are the only components that act and participate in interactions. Thus, in order to analyse social inclusion in actions, it is necessary to change the approach to social inclusion. The expression 'social inclusion' is of humanist heritage and has assumptions connected to it. Therefore, to gain an understanding of it in practice, this study investigates the way in which the social is planned by the organising committee and how it is enacted through practices. In doing this, tracing (designing) the ways in which interactions take place and the components interact, universal design is the emergent design of the interactions taking place in practices. Universal design and ANT can facilitate the shift from an agency concentrated on humans to agency dispersed among humans and non-humans.

Universal design has gone through a twofold investigation by researchers and practitioners. Research has approached universal design from a human-centred perspective – namely, agency was recognised as only applying to humans and universal design was intended as the 'design for everybody' in an attempt to include the widest extent of people. The object of UD in aiming to include the widest extent of population was oriented towards the result of design usable by people. Both production and evaluation of the design product were undertaken by humans based on human needs. Despite the academic research and the practitioners' endeavour, researchers of UD have faced an ontological dichotomy between humans and non-humans that resulted in an irreconcilable duality which has not facilitated the application

of Universal Design nor the way in which Universal Design could be concretely beneficial to society. This suggests the need for a shift to a different approach.

Studies on volunteering have focused on both collective and individual components. However, there are few studies on the dynamics within volunteer programs and on an understanding of interactions. These would provide insights into how volunteer programs work and would respond to the need to better understand how 'social' is performed in the organisational workings. So far, studies conducted on social inclusion in volunteer program have focused on the concept of social inclusion as based on the inclusion of marginalised groups. *De facto* this has missed the opportunity to investigate if and how all the components participate in the volunteer program. This study's shifting of perspective investigates the 'social' of the volunteer program, its rhetoric and reality, by investigating the practices and, thus, the interactions that take place and that influence volunteers' enrolment into each practice, identifying if and how practices are inclusive.

2.6.1 Universal design with human-centred perspective

Universal design aims to include everybody. From a human-centred perspective, UD is conceived of as the design of an architect or a group of architects (so by a niche of experts) who, by exerting their profession, produce a product, 'design' – as noun – which is used by others. The recipients are humans, as the human-centred perspective recognises only the agency of humans. Hence, from the human-centred perspective, design is an activity done by some humans to produce a final entity – product or service – to be used by other humans. This approach is typical of studies conducted on UD to date. Designers are the only ones entitled to design. They are considered the experts, either as *dei ex machina* or, as in participatory design (Manzini, 2015), *primi inter pares*.

Participatory design has so far not realised the potential of gaining a deeper understanding by considering the material world not as accessory but as actively taking part in everyday associations. In fact, participatory design still has a human-centred perspective that contemplates designers as a different category from what they produce and from the recipients of their design. Although no longer considered as *dei ex machina*, in participatory design designers come closer to the recipients of their design. However, their recognised

expertise is a factor that maintains the differences between them and everybody else. So designers become *primi inter pares*. However, this does not change the relevance that material has for designers and recipients. Material is still conceived as objects that have to be moulded by designers and aligned with the recipients' desires and need, and as a result the agency of material, its activity and the effects of it is neglected.

The expertise attributed to designers places them on a different (higher) level compared to design recipients. The human-centred perspective assumes that the experts are external to the product they produce and to the recipients. The use of products or services created by designers is central and materials are seen as objects to be used by other humans. This implies a predominant position of humans over the non-human, a view that evaluates the use of products and services by humans and overlooks the role that materiality has in everyday activities. The activities contemplated are the production by designers – specialists – and the use of the products by recipients – humans. This perspective considers the relationship between humans and non-humans as unidirectional.

In this context, 'design' assumes the character of noun, as the attention is focused on the product, considered as a static element and outcome, while universal is the adjective applying design. Thus, design for the universe of people, as identified by researchers, does not explain how to overcome the ontological dichotomy between the human and the non-human. Thus, the human-centred perspective can hamper UD from arising/performing in society, and this is reflected in the scant application of universal design.

2.6.2 ANT takes universal design to the sociomaterial perspective

ANT provides a sociomaterialist approach to universal design. The human-centred approach's aim of including everybody is translated into a focus on the product of design, in the form of its usability. This takes universal design from a human-centred perspective to a sociomaterialist perspective; in designing, the attention moves from the product to the process of designing, and so to the action. The sociomaterialistic perspective informs universal design, which is focused on the action, interactions between entities, from designing *for* somebody to the action *of* designing. ANT provides UD with the collective dimension, recognising that individuals do not act as solo or act as a group, but rather interact. From

design as made by some experts, design for *somebody*, with a focus on the final product, we move to design as co-creation of humans and non-humans in interaction, design for *everybody*. Contingency gives the local dimension to universal design, as the co-creation is local and contingent, not generalisable to other dimensions. Based on this, 'universal' refers to the universality of components participating in designing (interactions). Universal design is informed by the ANT principles, including the principle of general symmetry's recognition of both human and non-human agency (McLean & Hassard, 2004), unlike the human-centred approach which recognises agency only to humans. Thus, attention moves from the use of the outcome of designing to the design process, which is constituted by the interactions between humans and non-humans. Translation is the actual transmission of information that takes place in interactions. From being the activity of only humans, particularly experts, design becomes a process of co-creation (choreography) in which humans and non-humans interact.

Interactions or associations are the pivotal elements of ANT and of universal design informed by ANT. The sociomaterialistic perspective helps in understanding the interactions between humans and non-humans by going beyond the unidirectional relationship outlined earlier. The sociomaterialistic approach captures also the contribution of material to the interactions, which was silenced by the human-centred approach. Universal design, therefore, within the sociomaterialistic perspective gains a new light. Design *for* everybody becomes design *to* everybody. This implies a shift in the way in which it is understood. Designers move from being a body of experts to being considered as encompassing all the components that take part in the associations and so in the constitution of the network of associations. In the same way, agency, rather than being held exclusively by humans, becomes spread to or dispersed across all the components of the network, human and non-human. Design ceases to be a noun and becomes a verb. The attention to the results of the production as results of design turns to designing as collective enactment of practices.

Within a sociomaterialistic perspective, the universality of universal design reflects all of the components participating in designing (choreography) and how these relate to social inclusion. In the same way, the interest becomes more concrete; from a drive to create something abstract, 'valid' or usable for everybody, the shift in perspective allows the investigation of the dynamics, which are explicated by the interactions in a considered

context. The heterogeneity of the network components gives instability to the network of associations, as shown by the ANT principle of recursivity. Gaining an understanding of the components in action within a context is pivotal to comprehend how *things are done*, that is, the way in which humans and non-humans interact, temporarily stabilising the network through their interactions. This is contrary to what some researchers may think happens, in assuming characteristics or patterns and 'expecting these structural properties or patterns to predetermine practical action' (Chapman, Chua, & Mahama, 2015, p. 269); instead, this approach individuates the emerging patterns from the interactions (Orlikowski, 2007).

2.6.3 Social inclusion and how it changes with a change in perspective

Social inclusion based on a human-centred perspective has had different definitions and is considered as a general and abstract concept. As is highlighted in the literature, it is either considered as goal or as process, with groups of people as the target of social inclusion. The general aspect of social inclusion and the fact that is targeted at groups of people has tended to reproduce exclusion. This study, through the adoption of ANT as a theoretical lens, overcomes the general inclusion/exclusion problem through the principle of symmetry. General concepts do not exist; these only come to exist when they are mobilised or displaced. To investigate social inclusion means to look at how it is mobilised in the context considered.

This study examines the 'social' as planned by the organising committee by identifying the components as these were presented to volunteers, and how these were mobilised in practice. The analysis of practices informs the research into what the components that take part in the interactions do, and the way in which they interact; by identifying the components that participate and the way in which they do so, inclusive practices are identifiable.

Universal design is the emergent design of interactions in which humans and non-humans participate. The ways in which this choreography (universal design) is produced are contextual. Practices include different actors: tasks, actors, artefacts and interactions. Through the study of practices, the actors mobilised in the dynamics and the ways in which these act also emerge. Previous studies have not investigated practices within an event volunteer program; this study explores not only the interactions that occur in the working routines, including those not necessarily related to tasks, but also the activities undertaken

to volunteer at the Games, capturing the roles of the material—in the practices of the volunteer program.

2.7 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presented the literature on social inclusion and the approach within which social inclusion has been studied. The (humanist) approach within which social inclusion has been investigated has, due to its philosophical underpinnings, created and/or reinforced an irreducible difference between people by structuring a rhetoric of inclusion based on the fitting of people into pre-conceived categories. As this approach has influenced and prevented any alternative understanding of social inclusion, an alternative approach, the 'sociomaterialistic', is proposed for the study of 'social matters', one of which is social inclusion. ANT provides the sociomaterialistic perspective for universal design, which shifts from a human-centred perspective to a sociomaterialistic perspective. The extant literature on UD has seen the emergence of an ontological dichotomy between humans and non-humans, which both researchers and practitioners face. To address the ontological dichotomy, this chapter has examined how ANT informs UD of its sociomateriality and how this changes also the conceptualisation of 'social' inclusion. The universal design shift in perspective entails the broadening of those to whom agency is ascribed, including non-humans.

Universal design in this context is the emergent design of the components that interact in practices. In this context, social inclusion moves from being a goal and process targeted at generic groups of people, to being specific and enacted through practices within the volunteer context. In this way, analysing social inclusion means analysing the rhetoric of the 'social' and its components as it was planned by the organising committee – and comprising humans and non-humans – and the reality(ies) of the 'social' enacted in the practices of the volunteer journey(s) that volunteers undertake in order to volunteer at the Games. Literature on volunteering, which has highlighted the importance of volunteers for organisers of sport events and mega events, has evidenced a paucity of research tracing the practices undertaken within the program. This reflects a need for better knowledge on how the job gets done – how volunteers do what they do and the ways in which they interact. In this context, as the 'social' of social inclusion is conceptualised as sociomaterial and enacted in practices, the

investigation of social inclusion in the volunteer journey captures the universal design of the social as it emerges from the practices and interactions identified.

This research, therefore, aims to provide an understanding of the 'social', its rhetoric and the reality(ies) of the volunteer program at Rio2016. In order to gain this understanding, it is necessary to consider all those involved within the social of the context investigated: the actors, that participate in the the associations/interactions in which the social is enacted.. The working assumption is that all these components play a part in enacting and translating inclusion in the program.

Actor-network theory provides the theoretical framework that will allow the application of UD to the social context of Rio2016. ANT considers the network as the social place where associations occur and where actors interact (Latour, 2005). Previous studies have taken a homogeneous approach, taking into account only human beings. However, to understand the ongoing dynamics within a context it is fundamental to consider the 'heterogeneous components' (Law, 1987) that interact in the examined context. For instance, technology is part of our everyday lives and, as Warshauer (2003) affirms, 'technology and social realms are highly intertwined and continuously constitute each other' (p. 205). As there is 'no a priori distinction between social... and technological' (Michael, 1996, p. 53), both have to be taken into account. Labels and categories obstruct the analysis of the object of investigation; therefore, removing labels will render the interactions visible to the researcher (Michael, 1996).

By adopting ANT as a theoretical lens, the research investigates the 'social' of the interactions that occur in the practices of the volunteer journey. In these, the voices of managers, team leaders and volunteers indicate whether and how inclusive practices emerge in these interactions. ANT frames the organisation composition and nature, enlightening the diversity that this offers (Latour, 2004). In this, the universal design emerged as traced by the actors in their interactions. This study encompasses the volunteer journey from registration on the portal to the Games-time activities in order to identify the components that participate in the practices and the ways in which these interact. Moreover, this study proposes to analyse whether and how practices are inclusive

The literature presents an evident ontological dichotomy between human and non-human (environmental) components. Quite often, the egotistic vision of humans does not take into consideration the presence of the non-human in everyday life. For example, the inclusion of some people is limited by constraints related to their ability; however, technology may assist them, for example through mobility aids such as walking sticks, wheelchairs, and prosthetic limbs, without which life would be constrained for these people (Cass, Shove, & Urry, 2005). These tools enable them to participate in society to a greater extent than they would be able to do otherwise.

Universal design was conceived as embedded in the physical environment in an attempt to accommodate the widest range of population. However, its application is limited by the difficulty of accommodating different needs in the physical environment. As UD has the intent of making society more inclusive, the capacity to embracing both human and non-human components means it can be more profitably applied in the social context (J. M. Carroll, 1997; Murdoch, 1997; Geoff Walsham & Sahay, 1999). Practitioners have started to talk about extending UD to the social context (Bickenbach, 2014; Gibson, 2014), and this research takes up this challenge.

The research will follow the 'traces'(Latour, 2005) left by actors in their interactions in order to understand the dynamics within the network and its UD. In particular, the practices that volunteers undertake during the volunteers' journey are explored by looking at the interactions between managers, team leaders and volunteers as well as between volunteers and the non-human component that participate in interactions. ANT also adopts the concept of 'flat society', ascribing to society a horizontal dimension (Latour, 2005). This horizontal dimension is given by the sociomaterialistic perspective, which considers humans and non-humans as having the same status. This approach enables the research to avoid the attribution of any label that would perpetrate inequality.

ANT provides a sociotechnical approach to the present study and supports universal design in moving from a human-centred perspective to a sociotechnical perspective. The ontological assumptions about what society comprises changes from a human-centred approach, in which society is thought to be made only of humans, to a society which is an integrated combination of the human and the non-human. In changing the way in which society is

constituted, ANT's ontological relativism allows a change in perspective and provides the opportunity to address the ontological dichotomy between humans and their environment (Fujimura, 1991) that 'no one is prepared to abandon...if it is not replaced by categories that have at least the same discriminating power as the one jettisoned' (Latour, 1994, p.54). Hence, ANT contributes a theoretical base to the present study. The study examines the social inclusion of the volunteer program by investigating the 'social' of social inclusion. It does so by problematising the volunteer journey, namely by focusing on the practices undertaken by volunteers to volunteer at the Games. By doing so, this research not only provides an account of the actors involved, and of the way in which they interact, but also an understanding of how these contribute into the practices of the volunteer journey. The way in which actors interact in designing practices produces an account of sport management practices, and contributes not only to academic research but also to the provision of feedback for future mega event organisers.

Chapter 3. Research Design

3.1 Introduction

This research is based on the argument that the humanist paradigm adopted by many social inclusion, universal design and volunteering researchers has limited their understanding due to paradigm assumptions. As social matters such as social inclusion are a ‘matter of concern’⁷ which involve and affect everybody, a better understanding of social inclusion is crucial for society. This study takes a postmodernist approach to social inclusion, in the context of the volunteer program of Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The research is devised to explore the practices as designed by the components that participate in the volunteer program.

This study brings the design of the volunteer program to the fore, through analysis of the components participating in it and of their interactions. However, the researcher does not study the network ‘by assuming its structural properties or patterns and expecting these structural properties to predetermine social action’ (Chapman et al., 2015, p. 269) but by getting into the field without any humanist presupposition which otherwise would affect the research by preventing the identification of components (as further explained under data collection, below).

This chapter presents the research plan and design, introducing the research questions of this research and exploring the rationale for choosing the research design and the research reflexivity. The philosophical underpinnings of ANT are connected to the methodology of this ethnography of performances. ANT provides the focus in identifying actors involved in the practices as these are undertaken, and through ethnography an understanding of ‘what’s going on?’ is focalised. As previously noted, an ethnography of performances is the research method, one that allows the research to capture and follow the dynamics in the practices of the volunteer program. The particularity of the ethnography in temporary organisations is discussed. This work extends previous studies conducted on volunteering, through an

⁷ More information on matter of concern in the glossary

exploratory setting in which the voices of the actors and actants, and their actions, are fundamental to first identify them and, second, to comprehend the ways in which they interact. Performances in this study are not intended as a moment of explanation, but as spontaneous enactment within a context – in this case, the volunteer program in which the components interact, making associations that facilitate and/or inhibit social inclusion. This constitutes naturally occurring data that the researcher can capture. In adopting a postmodernist ethnography, and particularly an ethnography of performances, this research gathers different forms of data to provide an account of the dynamics within the program.

To do this, the research paradigm used in this study is introduced, along with its relevance (see Figure 3.1). The research is positioned within the postmodernist paradigm, and a conceptualisation of the knowledge, its production and its meaning in this study is presented. The research approach chosen for this study is presented in connection with the study's research questions. This leads into the identification of the research methodology (ethnography) and justification for the utilisation of this method. The research methods – how data are collected, the sites, the timing, the selection of participants and the way in which data are analysed – is then presented. Lastly, limitations of the study and ethical approval are addressed.

3.2 Research plan

The study addressed four research questions.

- How is social inclusion enacted in the volunteer program?
- How can social inclusion be investigated?
- What is the UD of the volunteer program? What is the role of non-humans in the UD implementation?

Sub-question:

- Are there components that may inhibit or facilitate social inclusion in the volunteer program?

This research focuses on a specific issue – social inclusion in the volunteer program of the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games in Rio de Janeiro – and illustrates the complexity of the issue. The study provides an insider perspective of the Rio2016 volunteering program: ‘Like sociologists of science who go to laboratories to see how facts are manufactured (Knorr-Cetina, 1981; Latour & Woolgar, 1986) organisation scholars go to the field to see how organisations are produced’ (Czarniawska, 1998, p. 20). In this case, the researcher went to the field to see how social inclusion is produced in the volunteer program by problematising social inclusion and UD and investigating the practices undertaken by volunteers to volunteer at the Games. This consisted of following the interactions that took place, identifying the components that participated in them and the way in which they interacted.

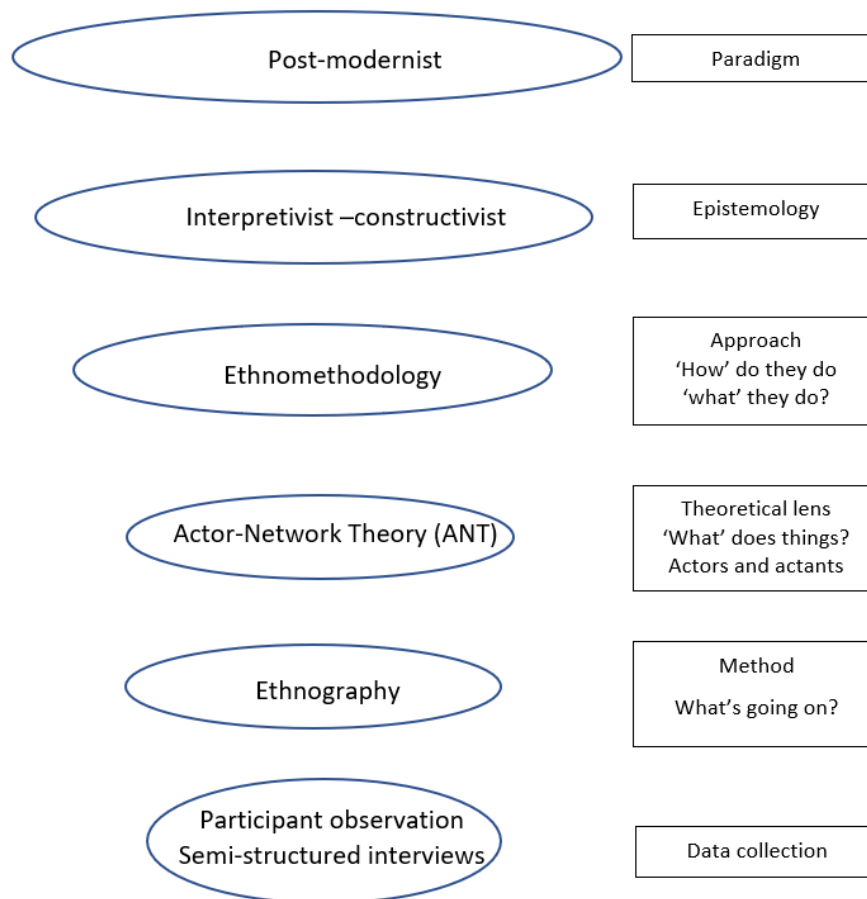


Figure 3.1: Research design

3.3 Qualitative research

This study is qualitative in nature as it occurs in a natural setting in which actions take place and the problem investigated arises (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative studies investigate a phenomenon or a problem to gain a deep understanding of it (Creswell, 2013), and this research explores the social inclusion problem to gain an understanding of it. As qualitative researchers aim to know the interrelations within a certain context, in this research the researcher attempts to understand the dynamics of practices within a volunteer program. The understanding of the context emerges from the practices and the analysis of these interrelations by participants and researchers' interpretation of them. In keeping with the adopted postmodernist perspective, there is not a single reality but multiple and subjective 'mutable' realities. As such, realities need to be interpreted. Different sources of data and different methods are collected to satisfy the requirement of plurality.

3.4 Research paradigm or ontology: Postmodernism

The postmodernist paradigm's underpinning concept is movement; things are not predetermined but come to be in their relationships. In the postmodernist paradigm, there is no truth that needs to be revealed, which can be associated to a stable classification; rather, realities are multiple and findings are co-created (Rosenau, 1992). The heterogeneous components, by participating in the network through their associations, constitute the making and re-making of the network. Things are not out there waiting for somebody to change them, but, on the contrary, come to be through their interactions. In 'the ontology of becoming', reality is seen as a 'processual, heterogeneous and emergent configuration of relations' (Chia, 1995, p. 594). In the postmodernist paradigm, the focus is on 'micro-practices and micro-logics of organizing' (Chia, 1995, p. 596). A postmodernist approach facilitates the investigation of the voices not heard, such as those of volunteers (Skinner & Edwards, 2005), but also the voices of other actors (such as policy) that cannot speak for themselves, but whose enrolment is testified by the narrative of the actors and *in situ* observations.

This research aims to escape from the humanist bracketing of people into groups, as this approach has provided limited insights into social inclusion. Hence, this study proposes an alternative approach, one based on the postmodernist tenets of deconstruction and

reconstruction. Eschewing structures and humanist assumptions, and including interactions outside the 'boxes', the research investigates the dynamics in context. This work 'deconstructs' the social categories and investigates dynamics within the volunteer program, tracing the ongoing connections/interactions in the volunteer program and, in so doing, reconstructs the network by tracing the connections between the components. This process allows the exploration of interactions pivotal in understanding the relationships taking place within the network and that would not otherwise be considered.

The different conceptualisation of the postmodernist paradigm focuses on the network within which the ongoing interactions make and change the network itself. The interactions can reveal meanings that emerge from the interactions. As the paradigm is 'a set of beliefs that guide action' (Guba, cited in Creswell, 2007, p. 19), postmodernism, with its deconstruction and reconstruction, aptly describes this study's action. Moreover, 'knowledge can only be produced in 'small stories' or 'modest narratives', mindful of their locality in space and time and capable of adapting or disappearing as needed' (Calás & Smircich, 1999, p. 651). Postmodernism 'decenter(s) 'the subject'' (Calás & Smircich, 1999, p. 656) and, in so doing, allows the actions, practices and interactions to emerge. The activity of 'decentering', or dislocating, is analogous to the displacement of ANT. The focus moves from the subject/s to the actions that are performed and to the components that participate in the actions.

This approach provides the basis to study non-human actors and the ways in which these can alter human agency, and the ways in which the social is performed in networks and how these change in interactions. These relationships are fundamental not only for understanding the dynamics within the volunteer program studied and how meanings are produced, but for the life of the network itself, as the network – the volunteer program - would not exist without interactions.

3.5 Epistemology: Interpretative–constructivist

This study adopts an interpretative epistemology, as there is no truth to be revealed or disclosed, no '*logos*'; instead, the way in which knowledge can be captured is through interpretation. Knowledge is not single but 'multiple' and, therefore, its subjectivity needs to be interpreted. In examining the dynamics within the volunteer program, the practices of the

components involved in the program are analysed. Specifically, the rhetoric of 'the social' as planned by the organising committee, and the reality of the social as enacted in the practices of actors (humans and non-humans) that participate in the volunteer program, are examined. Individuating these practices and analysing how these components design the 'social' emerges from the practices. By opening up different meanings and interpretations, the interpretative epistemology reveals the different components and the ways in which enact practices by which the social is designed. Through the analysis of the multiple sources, the universal design of 'the social', emerges.

In a postmodernist approach, practices are enacted by components (actants and actors) and are part of the ongoing dynamics in place. Practices are not objective enactments but are subjective and so can be interpreted differently. Interpretation is not a time-bound activity and interpretations can change overtime. Practices underline a subjective understanding which is translated into the production or enactment of practices in which interpretations emerge and interact with other interpretations. The subjective meaning ascribed to the practices will be captured along with the researcher's interpretation of the meaning expressed by the actors and actants. Moreover, the researcher, immersed into the network of the volunteer program as volunteer, also participates in the enactment of practices, adopting an (emic) insider perspective through participation in the production of interpretations. The postmodern enactment eschews the meta-narrative in favour of context-specific meanings.

While the interpretative approach allows ongoing interpretation of the interactions between the components within the network, used by itself it creates risks in terms of generating meaning given the indeterminacy of the actions explored. Although interpretation plays an important role in the analysis of the dynamics within the volunteer program. Constructivist approaches, on the other hand, focus on production and particularly on the actions of production, examining the ways in which processes are produced and highlighting the actions of the components that take part in this way at this stage of investigation. The constructivist approach allows the researcher to understand how the meaning is associated with the language and actions (Schwandt, 1994). The combination of interpretative and constructivist approaches allows exploration of the processes and of the subjective meanings of the components participating in the network.

3.6 Research approach: Ethnomethodology

This study takes an ethnomethodological approach, as it examines the ongoing dynamics within the network by tracing and understanding the interactions. As ‘human action and interaction does not tumble from the sky ready formed... even the most mundane of actions have to be produced somehow, somewhere, somewhen’ (Rouncefield & Tolmie, 2013, p. 2). Ethnomethodology is interested in understanding interactions and capturing them with ‘thick’ descriptions (Geertz, 1973). This is crucial in the present study, which analyses the interactions between the network components and explains how ‘any particular ‘world’ is produced and perceived’ (Have, 2004, p. 139). Ethnomethodology focuses on the production of facts, which are considered as ‘being produced in and through members’ practical activities’ (Have, 2004, p. 139).

Ethnomethodology allows the analysis of practices as it conceives dynamics as produced through activities; it provides the approach in this research to understanding the practices of the volunteer program through the interaction of the components participating in them. By studying the interactions and how the actors and actants tend to create a sense of order, it is possible to identify the components that ‘temporarily’ stabilise the practice observed and enrol volunteers in each practice. The interest of ethnomethodology in the ways in which actors ‘do things what they are doing’ (Have, 2004, p. 140) is analogous to the interest of this study, which intends to gain an understanding of the dynamics through the analysis of practices, that is, ‘what the components do and how they do it’. This brings to the fore the interactions involved in the practices and how these take place. Further, as described by Lynch (1993), ethnomethodology investigates social practices and their accounts. In the same way, this research investigates the production of practices and their accounts through naturally occurring data (observation) and the accounts provided by the components of the network. ‘Observing what is going on... is something that anyone can do’ (Francis & Hester, 2004, p. 22). Becoming a member is central to the ethnomethodological approach (Francis & Hester, 2004). Only by being immersed in the context the researcher is examining is it possible to capture the dynamics, answering *what* the participants are doing in that context and *how* they do it. In the context of this research, only by participating is the researcher able to capture dynamics, as they pass through the volunteer journey as volunteer. ANT as a

theoretical lens provides a sociomaterial perspective, which regards the *fabric* of the social, namely the diversity of the components that participate in and emerge from it.

3.7 The researcher and interpretation: Researcher reflexivity

The researcher immersed herself into the context of the volunteer program and took part in its dynamics through her journey as a Rio volunteer, from the initial application phase through to volunteering at the Games. Acting as participant allowed the researcher to gain insights into dynamics, practices and interpretations that otherwise would have been difficult to explore. In doing this, the researcher participated in the production of meanings and interpretations. The researcher took note of practices, of the ways of doing things, and on the participating components. The researcher participated in the network activities and provided an insider perspective and interpretation of the dynamics and practices. Researcher journal entries were kept to allow reflection on daily occurrences and emotional reactions and personal interpretations of these. This reflection process has informed the research approach and methodology. The notes complemented the observations and interviews, and contained details of what the researcher did during the working days and her journeys to the venues in which she performed as volunteer.

The researcher reflected on the data only after the data collection, as while onsite she was focused on data collection and on being attentive and open to potential opportunities that might provide relevant and unexpected data. The role of researcher and volunteer has been joined since the first day in Rio and continues today. This component was challenging at the beginning, after returning to Sydney, as it was hard to reflect on how the researcher could make sense of the data collected, which was more than expected. While the role of volunteer contributed to the research by providing access to information and first-hand experiences that were invaluable for the research, the challenge for the researcher was how to not get stuck on the operations – on the ‘what’ – in endless description, but to instead gain a critical perspective. The interviews conducted elicited reflexivity among the informants, some of whom at the conclusion of the interviews thanked the researcher because they had become aware of aspects on which they had not previously reflected. This awakening of awareness brought some volunteers to add details to the conversations in the days following the interviews.

3.8 Theoretical framework: Actor-network theory (ANT)

Actor-network theory allows the examination of social inclusion and UD in the social context of the focus of research, the Rio2016 volunteer program, in respect of the social dynamics. This adheres to the interpretative 'ways of knowing' based on which the researcher participates in the context, being actively involved in it. This involves participation in interpreting participants' meaning and engages in this dialectic, with many meanings and many interpretations of these meanings.

The relevance of ANT as a theoretical lens arose from the compelling exigency of dealing with unsolved societal issues, as emerged from the analysis of the extant literature on social inclusion and universal design. ANT, by offering a sociomaterialistic perspective, moves the consideration of society from human-centred to sociomaterial. To understand the ongoing dynamics, it is fundamental to consider the 'heterogeneous components' (Law, 1987) that interact within the context examined. The adoption of ANT allows for a holistic analysis of the network (volunteering program) by looking at and problematising the social and UD of the volunteer program. ANT contributes by assisting in the identification of the components that interact and the appreciation of their diversity, by exploring the organisation's composition and nature, and by illuminating the diversity that this offers (Latour, 2004).

The shift in perspective allows the research to embrace diversity, by assigning agency not only to humans but also to non-humans. In this study, ANT provides a consideration of the actors and actants that interplay in the network of the volunteer program, allowing the identification and the emergence of practices hitherto overlooked. 'All practices are always and everywhere sociomaterial' (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1444). Materiality should be conceived as coming from practices rather than as inherent characteristic of pre-existing objects (Woolgar & Lezaun, 2013). Actors and actants become such because, in acting, these players express agency. By understanding the agencies expressed, it is possible to outline the role of actors in the practices of the volunteer journey. Through this shift in perspective, the study explores social inclusion and UD in the volunteer program by investigating the universal design of the volunteers' practices undertaken.

3.9 Research methodology: Ethnography of performances

Ethnography as methodology addresses the question ‘what’s going on?’ (Atkinson et al., 2007). This question allows the analysis of the situation and of the ongoing dynamics in place, of the components participating in the ‘what’s going on’ – namely, the interactions within the context analysed. Thus, it helps in gaining an understanding of the context analysed, in this case understanding the volunteer program, and allows the analysis of the ongoing dynamics and the ways in which the components indicated by ANT interact. Ethnography focuses its attention on interpretations of meanings and functions, as well as on the practical activities (Ybema, Yanow, Wels, & Kamsteeg, 2009), just as this research aims to gain an understanding of social inclusion through the practices undertaken in the volunteer program heading to and at the Games and to identify how inclusive practices are produced. ‘By examining taken-for-granted practices...we can discover new and often unanticipated processes and relationships and offer theoretical insights into the situations under study’ (Cunliffe, 2015). The exploratory character of this research and the nature of investigation have led the researcher to choose ethnography as a methodology.

In particular, the research analyses what practices are undertaken in the volunteer program through the voices of managers, team leaders and volunteers. It does so by examining the interactions between actors by focusing on what volunteers, team leaders and managers as part of their daily activities and how they do it. In this way, the components that take part in these interactions within practices emerge.

Ethnography also responds to the researcher’s exigency of being close to the action (Guba & Lincoln, 1988) and participating in the actions as a member of the organisation, specifically as a volunteer. What distinguishes ethnography from other methods is the physical presence of the researcher in the field, and the interest in the ways in which people interact. Ethnography facilitates the capture of participants’ interactions and perspectives (Leigh, Lamont, & Cairncross, 2014). Burawoy et al. (as cited in Vidich & Lyman, 1994b, p.42) suggest immersion in the context to be analysed in order to gain a deep understanding of it and ‘produce a contextualised reproduction and interpretation of the stories told by the subjects’. In this regard, ethnography ‘is no longer seen as an isolated narrative, it is now considered to be inextricably bound to the cooperative interaction of researchers and subjects’ (Fontana & McGinnis, 2003, p. 230). As emerged from the literature on volunteering in sport events, apart

from a novel and exiguous narrative (Kodama, Doherty, & Popovic, 2013; Sadd, 2018), the activities of volunteers in mega sport events have not been fully explored, as confirmed by the relatively paucity of ethnographic studies in sport events and volunteering (Holloway, Brown, & Shipway, 2010; Leigh et al., 2014; Mackellar, 2013).

This research adopts a postmodern ethnography, in line with the research paradigm, that focuses on the local dimension and aims to gain an understanding of the social inclusion and UD through the practices undertaken in the volunteer program and in which volunteers are only some of the actors. Moreover, in postmodernist ethnography, unlike classic ethnography, the researcher does not have to have a toolkit before the fieldwork. For postmodernist ethnography, dynamics emerge from the interactions within the volunteer program and the researcher does not know what will emerge, nor in which way(s). Indeed, prior assumptions would affect the researcher's sensitivity, which might prevent aspects from emerging and from being captured. In this study, as generally in qualitative research, data emerge from data collection (Creswell, 2007). The researcher does not identify patterns or categories *a priori*, as this would preclude the detection of 'what's going on' and result in emerging information being wrongly interpreted based on pre-existing patterns, or even prevent the researcher capturing data emerging from the field and thus understanding the dynamics.

There are many postmodernist types of ethnography, but considering the research aim and purpose of this study, the focus is on the interactions that could capture actions, practices and their components. Unlike an ethnography of 'performance', which implies the enactment of a single performance, this research does not make any assumptions; in line with the aim of understanding the interactions taking place within the volunteer program, it is open to the possibility of many performances as opposed to one performance. Thus, the method needs to be open to the possibility of different interactions that may create different performances. For this reason, this study adopts the method of ethnography of 'performances'.

While some authors of performance studies have recognised that things have effects on humans (Bennet, 2001) and consider things as participating in the performance (Bahti & Joe, 2000), none of these studies considers non-humans as active participants of performance. While most of the extant literature on the ethnography of performance evaluates only the

human component, this study also examines the non-human component on equal basis, in keeping with the ANT principle of symmetry.

3.9.1 Ethnography in temporary organisations

Ethnography is a methodology that implies a study prolonged in time, in which the researcher is immersed in the context in which the study will take place to explore dynamics, practices, meanings and how these 'emerge' (Cunliffe, 2015). For this study, the researcher spent 80 days in Rio de Janeiro. Although this could be seen as a short time compared with other ethnography studies, which can range from three months to many years, this study differs from ordinary organisational settings. While usually an organisation exists over a significant period of time, and thus the researcher can stay for a variable period, in this case the organisation (Rio2016) in which the study took place was a temporary organisation. It existed only for the preparation and staging of the Games. Hence, there was a limited time in which research could take place. The major section of the volunteer program was only active at the time period close to the Rio2016 Games. Therefore, the researcher conducted the research before and during the Games and during the transition period.⁸ For the majority of volunteers, training was scheduled just before the start of the Games. The researcher herself volunteered during the Rio2016 Games, arriving in Rio de Janeiro a month before the beginning of the Olympic Games and leaving after the Paralympics.

3.10 Research site and access

The research took place in Rio de Janeiro, at the Olympic and Paralympic sites of Riocentro and Forte de Copacabana, where the researcher had access as volunteer. These are two of the clusters in which volunteers were active during the Games. The choice of Rio de Janeiro was opportunistic, as the organising committee had released a policy on diversity and inclusion and the researcher was interested in investigating whether this translated into practices. Another reason for choosing the Rio2016 Games was the fact that it was the only mega sport event to be staged within the researcher's PhD timeframe; the researcher is also passionate about Olympic and Paralympic Games, and Brazil, and did not want to miss the opportunity of participating in the first Brazilian Games. However, given that gaining access

⁸ The transition period is the period of time between the Olympics and Paralympics.

to the site is not simple, and that given the pace of Olympic planning it can be difficult to obtain the information needed to plan research, it was a risky choice. Nonetheless, with the extraordinary support of her supervisors and the collaboration of the organising committee, this research became possible.

For ethnographic research, the researcher needs to be close to the actions; this can be a challenging aspect if the research is conducted in closed settings, due to the required access (Silverman, 2013). The process of negotiating access to Rio2016 was challenging. Contact with the organising committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG) was made in September 2015 and went through various channels and sources. To gain final approval, the OCOG requested details of the research (e.g. method and research questions). The approval process took a few months due to the OCOG's internal procedures. To be accepted as a volunteer, the researcher applied in June/July 2015 through the Rio2016 online website. Part of the application procedure comprised the registration for the volunteer portal, which was required for volunteers to be able to fill and submit their application. In registering for the portal, volunteers provided information that was recorded in a volunteer profile. As result of this, volunteers could access the volunteer portal, go to a personal profile page and check the status of volunteer in his/her journey. The researcher completed the interview and online training, including language tests (English and Spanish) in 2016. The participant experience gained from the volunteer journey is combined with a monthly volunteer newsletter and a subscription to the official Facebook page of volunteers.

After official approval was granted, the researcher undertook the online training courses and then attended the onsite training at the venues. The steps that volunteers had to undertake to volunteer at the Games were indicated in the volunteer portal.

Ethnographic studies have noted the importance of the researcher being close to the setting they are exploring, and the tension between maintaining some distance from the setting and being involved through participation. In this study, the researcher gained experiences in the setting explored, particularly through the volunteer journey in which she participated. Participating in the program provided the researcher with an understanding of the process volunteers go through and the practices that they must undertake to volunteer at the Games. This awareness informs the research and helped the researcher in understanding the dynamics and interpreting interactions. Along with this experience as insider, the researcher

collected data, taking the perspectives of the components that participate in the enactment of the volunteer program; this further contributed to the identification of the actors that participated in the volunteer program and on the way these interacted in outlining practices. The next section provides details on the data collection process, on the types of documents and on the participants recruited.

3.11 Data collection

Data were collected in the form of physical documents (bid books, archival data, policies journal articles and official press release) and online sources (through the volunteer portal, newsletters, volunteers' official Facebook page and WhatsApp groups) that informed the researcher on the dynamics surrounding the Games. In order to answer to the research questions – and so to gain an understanding of the practices undertaken by the volunteers to volunteer at the Games, of the components taking part and the ways in which these interacted – the researcher collected numerous documents (the social inclusion policy, Rio2016 bid book, volunteers' journey timeline, maps of the venues in which the volunteer program took place, official volunteers' newsletters). While some of these documents were publicly accessible on the internet, others were accessed through the researcher's position as a potential volunteer, providing 'privileged' access to documentation regarding the volunteer program. Data collection mainly involved two functional areas: press operations and facility management. However, data regarding other areas were collected through the official Facebook page, which all volunteers could access.

The researcher contacted the manager of the functional area to which she was allocated (the manager had contacted the future volunteers a few months before the Games). Further contact details were obtained face to face once the researcher arrived at the site. The researcher explained her dual role to the manager via email and then *in loco* to the other informants. Before conducting interviews and/or observations, the researcher sought the consent of the informants by asking them to read an information sheet and the consent form for the research project, asking them to respond if they were interested in taking part as informants and, if so, to sign the consent form. Team leaders were informed of the research when they were met at the last-minute training. Informants were given information and consent forms before interviews or observation took place, and they had the opportunity to choose whether to participate as informants to the research project.

Table 3.1

Matrix of Data Collection Method

RQs	Data Collected– Where and in which documents I would look at practices	Collection Method	Participants	Timeline
1. How is social inclusion enacted in the volunteer program?	No predetermined variables were identified as any assumption may have affected the research, letting in this way interactions and the way in which these were undertaken emerging without pre-assumptions	Participant observation Semi-structured Interviews Interviews with managers, team leaders and volunteers	Managers Team Leaders Volunteers	Fieldwork: July- September 2016
2. How can social inclusion be investigated?	- Choreography of the volunteer network: Practices of volunteers, managers and team leaders.	- Audio-recorded - Notes were taken	Observation: 6 managers and team leaders	
3. What is the UD of the volunteer program? What is the role of non-humans in the UD implementation?	- Voices of those participating in the volunteer program - If social inclusion is mobilised and temporarily stabilised into practices	- Researcher journals - Policy on diversity and inclusion - Bid document - Archival data - Journal articles - Official Press Releases - Newsletters - Social media - WhatsApp conversations	10 volunteers Non-humans participating to the volunteer network were individuated through observation and interviews and through the researcher engagement within the program, Journal entries, and WhatsApp conversations	
Sub-questions: - Are there components that may inhibit or facilitate social inclusion in the volunteer program?	<u>Documents:</u> - Policy on diversity and inclusion - On-line application to volunteer - Emails - Training (on-line and onsite) - Credentials - WhatsApp conversations - Games <u>Spaces: On-site:</u> - Barra - Riocentro - Forte de Copacabana Venue Communication Centre (VCC) <u>Spaces: On-line:</u> - On-line application to volunteer - Volunteer portal - Emails - Newsletters	Observation were conducted where the volunteers' activities took place. The sites in which observation was undertaken were Pavilion 6 in Riocentro and the Venue Communication in Forte de Copacabana. The site was chosen based on the access that the researcher had at the Olympic and Paralympic sites.	Interviews: 8 managers and team leaders 17 volunteers	

The researcher took a praxeological approach (Nicolini, 2003) – that is, she explored the associations between human actions (praxis) and the meanings of those actions. The researcher therefore participated in the volunteer recruitment, training and the actual Games. In qualitative research, design is emergent (Creswell, 2007), and only after the researcher accessed the site and the program and ‘nosing around’ (Gobo, 2011) was she able, through a process of increased awareness and reflection, to understand how to go about collecting data (for instance, when to conduct interviews). Primary data were collected in the form of in situ observation, notes taken, researcher journal entries, and semi-structured interviews of people representing the local organising committee involved in the process of volunteers’ training, volunteers and paid staff. Research was also conducted on virtual spaces (see Table 3.1), such as the web, volunteer portal, social media (official Facebook page), online training and WhatsApp groups. This data contributed to the understanding of the practices undertaken in the volunteer journey to volunteer at the Games. Each data collection method is overviewed below.

3.11.1 Participant observation and informant interviews

Participant observation provided useful information about practices within the volunteer program, especially between managers, team leaders and volunteers (Van Maanen, 1995). Participant observation allows documentation within a natural setting. It is a method that has been used by managers to prioritise changes to events and for the creation of audience meaning during the event (Mackellar, 2013). Participant observation has been used to understand social phenomena (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002), in ethnography (Gobo, 2011; Hällgren & Wilson, 2008), in sport to examine the phenomenon of hooliganism and in tourism to analyse volunteers’ motivations (Grimm & Needham, 2011). As noted by Leigh (2014), emic observation is unobtrusive compared to methods such as surveys, which cause an interruption in the natural course of behaviour and which, although providing generalisable results, lack description and detail. *In situ* observation took place during the volunteers’ training⁹ to obtain an understanding of the training content, way of working, interactions and of the volunteers. Participant observation of volunteering was also conducted during the Games.

Open-ended interviews were conducted with key informants of the volunteer program, identified through secondary data, and key contacts obtained through the organisation and

⁹ As participant observation

direct contact onsite. Interviews provided insights from inside the program about the dynamics in place, the practices undertaken by volunteers, team leaders and managers at the Games, and the components participating in the practices (and, through their associations and re-associations, about the social). Interviews were deemed the most appropriate approach to investigate the complexity of the network and the relationships between the different actors. In participating in interviews, humans gave voice also to the non-humans that took part in the interactions – providing information on what they do and the ways in which they do it. The interviews with managers, team leaders and volunteers were all audio-recorded and transcribed. Observation complemented the information provided by actors. Participant observation and interviews are considered to ‘mutually interact with each other, either simultaneously or sequentially’ (Agar, 1996, p. 158).

Close to the Games, the researcher gained an opportunity to collect data from the official volunteers Facebook page and, while onsite, collected data from the WhatsApp groups of which she was part. On Facebook, volunteers asked for information or presented the problems they were facing during their journey and asked for help. Data was collected on the volunteers’ journeys of those volunteers allocated to different areas from the researcher and provided information on the issues they encountered (such as emails not received). The WhatsApp groups in which the researcher was a participant provided data on the operations, on eating and on other social activities that volunteers undertook, such as nights out, and exchange of tickets. This data complemented the information collected through interviews and observations.

The data captured through the different methods provided different information regarding the same frame, as a puzzle is made up of different pieces. These methods allowed the researcher to follow the dynamics within the volunteering program closely, which was important to gaining an understanding of practices (Silverman, 2006). The interviews were conducted in Portuguese and English (the researcher speaks both languages). The location of the interviews varied, but the majority were conducted on site, with a small number conducted in agreement with the interviewees in another location of convenience for both researcher and interviewee. The diversity, and to some extent the complementarity, of the type of data collected provided the researcher with different sources of evidence. This translated into the evaluation by the researcher of the participants’ meanings and practices

as spoken and performed in interviews, and observation, which, along with the researcher reflections, recreated the choreography of the practices within the volunteer program.

3.11.2 Sample and justification

The researcher provided the organisers of the volunteer program with a short version of the research proposal indicating the object of the research and the data required. Those who initially participated in the research recommended other research participants. This was complemented by the selection of informants the researcher made via her participation as insider to the volunteer journey and in onsite activities. The first contact with volunteers was made *in situ*, at the last-minute training in Riocentro, where the researcher explained to the managers and team leaders the dual role that she would undertake at the Games. The researcher's dual role was communicated to the other volunteers through an email making all volunteers performing in the same functional area and venue as the researcher aware of the research. Initial contact with other research participants operating in the other site was made through social media, messages and Facebook. Data were also collected through the volunteers' official Facebook page, where volunteers of different functional areas shared ideas, opinions, issues encountered and frustrations.

The researcher recruited eight managers and team leaders and 17 volunteers for the face-to-face interviews, although an average of 5–10 interviews for management and supervisors as well as volunteers would be sufficient for the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In this research, the sample is not intended to be representative; therefore, the sample was not selected based on categories such as gender, demographics or disability, particularly as such sampling can prevent diversity from emerging.

Interviews and observations covered information related to how the volunteer program worked, if the informants were aware of a policy on diversity and inclusion, how technology was involved in daily activities of key informants and what volunteers, team leaders and managers had to do at the Games, with additional impromptu questions elicited by what the interviewee had referred to the researcher. The interviews lasted between 25 minutes and 1 hour and 20 minutes, and were audio-recorded and transcribed. The difference in length was determined by the level of detail the interviewees shared. The interviews were manually transcribed by the researcher, allowing her to delve immerse herself into the data, an

advantage that resorting to an external transcribing service would not have provided. Six observations were conducted of managers and team leaders, and ten of volunteers onsite during the Games, one per day. The choice of the person to observe was facilitated by the rotation of volunteers. Field notes and researcher journal entries were also kept. Arriving in Rio de Janeiro a month before the Games allowed the researcher, who had previously visited in Brazil, to acclimatise to the surroundings.

3.12 Data analysis

Data analysis began during the interview process as, during transcription, themes began to emerge both from the transcription of the interviews and from the observations (Silverman, 2006). Data were analysed following the ethnographic approach, moving from general to specific (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2014). The emergence of the themes from the interviews and observations was compared and combined with those emerging from the literature. The process of analysis was iterative; this allowed the researcher to gain an understanding of the dynamics in place within the network of the volunteering program through the text of those interviewed and the observation notes taken. In analysing the interactions, the focus was on the actions that volunteers undertook to volunteer at the Games. Process coding assisted with the thematic analysis of the actions (Saldaña, 2009) and with capturing the processes and sub-processes undertaken by volunteers, team leaders and managers at the Games. Among the processes identified, the process of 'performing' contained sub-processes which were related to the practices volunteers undertook as part of performing. One of the processes, performing also had sub-processes. The coding process was iterative and applied to all data gathered for this research. It became evident in the early stages that volunteers did not have a single volunteer journey, but rather many different ones. The data were interrogated for commonalities and practices in volunteering at the Games.

Table 3.2***Process and sub-processes emerging from the analysis***

Processes	Sub-processes
Accessing	n/a
Waiting	n/a
Getting the passport to the Games	n/a
Accessing the online and onsite training	n/a
Getting to the venues	n/a
Performing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Checking in ➤ Waiting to start ➤ Taking the role ➤ Assisting photographers and journalists ➤ Providing information and assistance to journalists and photographers ➤ Following conversations
Eating	n/a
Mingling on 'Zap' WhatsApp	n/a

3.13 Researcher position

The insider or emic perspective of the researcher, although providing unique insights in the ongoing dynamics, also poses a risk of affecting the researcher's analysis (bias). This aspect has been often analysed in the literature, with researchers considering being a participant fundamental, while also recognising that the risk of 'going native' is detrimental to the research (Delamont, 2004, p. 206). The insider perspective provided first-hand experience and access to data which would not have been otherwise possible. Fieldwork in new contexts is both 'harder and easier than fieldwork in one's own familiar society' (Delamont, 2011, p. 212) – harder because a familiar context risks important elements remaining unobserved, whereas a strange context may facilitate capturing the 'unusual'. Although access to the field was granted, this was limited to two sites and venues, with the possibility of accessing to the public domain of the Olympic Park. In addition to the two domains of Forte de Copacabana and Riocentro, as a volunteer the researcher had the advantage of having access to the official volunteers Facebook page, which allowed virtual access to other contexts.

3.14 Ethics

The research was granted ethics approval on 15 October 2015 with the approval number **UTS HREC 20150002625** and amended with the approval number UTS HREC REF NO. ETH17-1927. Participation in the research was voluntary. This was assured through an information sheet which explicitly disclosed the right of the informant to withdraw at any point. The contact details of the principal supervisor as chief researcher were provided, in case participants had any concerns or complaints about the research. A consent form was given to each of the informants to provide full disclosure of the aims of the research and to seek their consent to the research. Participants were free to choose whether to participate, and if so, whether in the interview or observation or both. Interviews provide information on what researcher cannot see (Stake, 2005) and helped the researcher to gain a better understanding of the practices volunteers undertook.

3.15 Discussion

The researcher gained an understanding of how the program worked and of the components that played out in novel ways. In the analysis stage, she realised of the need to problematise social inclusion and UD to ascertain whether and how the rhetoric of the 'social' differed from the reality of the social, by examining the practices undertaken by volunteers and identifying emerging inclusive practices. As social inclusion informed by ANT would only be demonstrated if embedded into actions, the researcher captured and traced the relevant interactions; these provided indications not only of the components that participated in the practices of the volunteer program, and thus to the reality of the 'social', but also of the way in which those involved participated in the practices, through the voices of managers, team leaders and volunteers. In this context, the components taking part in the practices identified perform in their interactions designing one or more network.

3.16 Summary

This chapter has framed the research, providing a context and rationale for the chosen methodology. The postmodernist research paradigm on which this research is grounded is relevant because it decentres the subject and allows identification of emergent phenomena

that fall outside pre-existing categories. The research epistemology is framed as an interpretivist and constructivist way of knowing, with the position of the researcher and her reflexivity noted. The ethnomethodological approach acknowledges the centrality of participation to the research's *matter of concern*. Aligned to this, the theoretical framework of ANT completes the ethnomethodological investigation of the ways in which a particular world was produced by focusing on the components participating in the network dynamics, considering not only actors but also actants. An ethnography of performances analyses the ways in which dynamics and interactions occur by examining the practices, relationships and the meanings produced. The research is situated within the volunteer journey of the volunteers at the Rio2016 Games, in which the researcher participated as volunteer. The research methods include semi-structured interviews and participant observation, through which the researcher was able to collect data onsite. The data collected onsite was coupled with data collected online to which the researcher had access as volunteer. A thematic analysis, using process coding, of the practices undertaken to volunteer at the Games is presented. Research limitations, ethics approvals and discussions conclude the chapter. With the design of this research set out, the next chapter presents the rhetoric of the 'social' of the volunteer journey as it was planned by the Rio2016 organising committee.

Chapter 4. The rhetoric of the 'social'

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the rhetoric of the 'social' of the volunteer program. The way in which the volunteer program was designed to operate, the various components designated by the organising committee and the associated relationships between these actors are considered. Previous studies have 'black boxed' (Latour, 1999; 1981) social inclusion, resulting in a loss of connection with the context in which social inclusion is produced and with its components, and thus reducing processes to facts (Harris, 2005). Gaining an understanding of the 'social' of the volunteer program provides an alternative view of social inclusion and volunteer program, building the understanding thereof by unpacking or opening the black box of the volunteer program, which contains components and their 'programs of action' (Latour, 1994) that are contextually planned and enacted. By 'social' is intended the temporary and contingent association of heterogeneous entities. That is to say, the social is not a stable, immutable association but is continuously negotiated and reconfigured. Components of an actor-network (Latour, 1996), once black boxed, can become invisible; as Law (1992, p.385) explains, 'if a network acts as a single block, then it disappears, to be replaced by the action itself and the seemingly simple author of that action'. Opening the black box of the volunteer program enables an appreciation of how its social is made – the components and their assigned roles, and how these are set to operate.

The translation process (Callon, 1986) framework provides the basis for exploring the way in which the social of the volunteer program was organised. This allows the components that are identified by an actor (i.e. the organising committee) to emerge as well as uncovering the strategies put in place to enrol other actors in forming an actor-network (to achieve the committee's goal of staging a diverse and inclusive volunteer program and Games). In the translation process the identified actors are attributed roles, interests and problems, and a series of strategies are adopted to enrol these actors into a program of action (Latour, 1994). This chapter presents the first three (problematization, interestment and enrolment) of the four phases of the translation process. The fourth phase, the mobilisation, in which the actors

are mobilised and the durability (Law, 1992) of their relationships are tested, is presented in Chapter 5, with the realities of the social enactment in practices.

Latour claimed that, '[o]ur entry into science and technology will be through the back door of the science in the making, not through the more grandiose entrance of ready made science' (1987, p.4). In the same way, the entry into the social of the volunteer program will be in its making, which is in the way in which the social of the volunteer program was planned to be inclusive.

4.2 The translation process in the volunteer program

In the translation process, the actors in the Games volunteer program are introduced together with their assigned role. Choosing the organising committee as starting point could be interpreted negatively by the critique of ANT that claims that ANT privileges the powerful actors (McLean & Hassard, 2004). However, the choice made was opportunistic. To gain an understanding of the 'social' the researcher had to start from somewhere to identify the other actors and it was deemed appropriate to start from the organising committee to identify other actors in the volunteer program. This identification analysis is pivotal in gaining an understanding of the role assigned to the actors in the volunteer program. The Rio2016 organising committee identified actors, defined their roles through functional areas and jobs, and identities and interests. In doing so, the volunteer program was designed and planned with obligatory passage points (OPP) one of which was the volunteer journey.

In analysing the activity of the Rio2016 organising committee and the translation process (Law 1992), the study explores 'how it is that the small becomes big (or vice versa)' and 'why it is that actors enrol one another, and why it is that some succeed whereas others do not' (Callon & Law, 1982, p.621). ANT is drawn on to uncover the actors the organising committee identified, the roles it tried to attribute to them, the identities it tried to give them, and what was considered in the actors' best interests. This reflects the ANT underpinning of free association, whereby the actors are not attributed certain a priori characteristics (Callon, 1986b) and thus have the freedom of association, and the principle of general symmetry (Callon, 1986b; McLean & Hassard, 2004), under which humans and non-humans are treated in the same way – that is, considered as equals.

The translation process (Callon, 1986b) comprises four moments: problematisation, interestment, enrolment, and mobilisation. The actors that the organising committee has identified are candidates, managers and team leaders, the communication program, the policy on diversity and inclusion, and the physical places. Having identified these elements, the organising committee tries to form an actor-network to organise an inclusive volunteer program/ inclusive games. Each of the four moments is explained in context in the following sections.

4.2.1 Problematisation

In the problematization, an actor tries to persuade the other actors that they have a common interest, presenting problem(s) that the other actors should accept as their own (Callon, 1986b). The actor proposes to solve their problems by going through an obligatory passage point.

To create the actor-network necessary for the volunteer program to work and deliver an inclusive games, the organising committee needed to persuade the other actors that they shared an interest with the organising committee, namely delivering inclusive games/volunteer program. As part of the problematisation, the organising committee identified each actor's goal and problem. A problem is 'an obstacle barring movement along a path that one must follow' (Callon, Courtial, Turner, & Bauin, 1983, p. 204). By showing the actors what their goals were, and what problems they had to overcome to reach the goals, the organising committee acted to convince the other actors to accept their goal and problem(s). As Callon et al. (1983) state, 'to define a problem is to map out an itinerary, to block others and to define the structure of the field of forces in which the solution to the problem could be seen as having importance' (p.204).

As part of the problematisation, candidates were initially presented with the problem/ obstacle of being selected to become volunteers and the goal of volunteering at the Games. To volunteer at the Games, the candidates had to be selected and there was intense competition as the number of applicants was much higher than the number of volunteers required. To get the chance to become volunteers, and thus to achieve the goal of volunteering at the Games, the organising committee required candidates to pass through an 'obligatory passage point' (Latour, 1987; Callon, 1986), to commence the volunteer journey.

The volunteer journey comprised a series of steps, in which candidates were expected to complete a number of tasks essential to the continuation in their volunteer journey.

Managers and team leaders

Managers and team leaders were one of the actors that the organising committee identified to play a role in the volunteer program and at the Games. The problem/obstacle of managers and team leaders was having to do everything on their own if there were insufficient trained volunteers, while their goal was working at the Games and deploying volunteers. The recruitment process for managers and team leaders was separate from the recruitment of volunteers, with the recruitment of volunteers starting earlier. The selection of volunteers through the volunteer journey started two years before the Games were hosted, with the finalisation taking place nearer to the staging of the Games. Managers and team leaders, in contrast, were hired just before the Games started and were assigned to roles and functional areas before the volunteers arrived and/or were allocated to functional areas.

Managers and team leaders, if volunteers were not recruited, risked working on their own. Therefore, they had a vested interest in the recruitment of volunteers. The Organising Committee presented managers and team leaders with input into the OPPs of the volunteer journey. Through the volunteer journey, candidates were selected to be volunteers, and then assigned to functional areas and roles working with managers and team leaders. The latter are thus part of the volunteer journey, participating in the volunteers' training.

The communication program

The communication program was the system used to transfer information. It was presented by the organising committee with the obstacle of a lack of synchronicity; a failure to overcome this problem would result in a lack of flow and undermine the goal of conveying timely information to the diverse actors to ensure an inclusive Games/volunteer program. To achieve the goal – that is, to succeed in conveying information to diverse actors involved – communication had to be timely and coordinated for the actors, including volunteers. Therefore, the communication program, was seen as not only having an interest in the goal of the organising committee (to host an inclusive Games/volunteer program), but also playing a key role in the recruitment of volunteers and the volunteer journey (through OPPs).

Policy on diversity and inclusion

The policy on diversity and inclusion was another non-human actor, with its obstacle/problem being involvement. The goal of the policy on diversity and inclusion as identified by the organising committee was to deliver a diverse and inclusive volunteer program/Games. The policy goal was to inform the actors of the volunteer program, including an anticipated 60,000 volunteers. To deliver the policy outcomes, the policy had to be able to be involved in the dynamics so as to be exposed to other actors, including volunteers. In this, only volunteers who overcame the obstacle of selection could contribute to the goal of the organising committee, and of the policy and its OPP of the volunteer journey.

The physical places

The physical places comprised the spaces in which the Games were hosted, and that were frequented by the actors identified by the organising committee. The organising committee identified involvement as the problem of the physical places, as without the Games the physical places would not be considered as one of the actors participating to the Games. The goal of the physical places in hosting an inclusive volunteer program and Games required volunteers' selection and progress through the volunteer journey. The organising committee proposed to the physical places the volunteer journey as an OPP to overcome the problem of being not involved in the Games and to achieve their goal of hosting an inclusive volunteer program and Games.

4.2.2 Interestment

Interestment is the '[g]roup of actions by which an entity [in this case, the Rio3016 organising committee] attempts to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization' (Callon, 1986, p. 8), locking them into the roles and relations as designed. The Rio2016 organising committee tried to 'impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors' (Callon, 1986, p.8), that were defined in the problematisation and with which they shared the goal of staging an inclusive Games and volunteer program. In this, the organising committee defined the identity and goal of the actors, and their problem, and offered to the actors a single path forward (through the OPPs) to reach their goal espousing their 'program of action' (Latour, 1992), the volunteer journey.

The Rio2016 organising committee needed the support of other actors to ensure that candidates became volunteers and stayed in the volunteer journey. Candidates were one of the actors. In the application form submitted to the committee, candidates were required to indicate up to three preferences among the nine roles indicated in the application form. The roles were in the areas in which candidates could volunteer at the Games. In individuating the nine roles, the committee forced candidates to choose only among the roles that it identified for them constituting another OPP through which volunteers had to go through. Besides the expression of preference of the role, the application form also required candidates to provide personal information, previous work experience (among the alternative offered), work preferences (among those offered), languages spoken and clothing size for the volunteer uniform. Candidates had to be available for a minimum of 10 days at each Games (Olympic and Paralympic) to be selected as a volunteer.

The submission of the application form with the information required, coerced candidates to follow the path as designed, as it was the only one available to them. Completing and submitting the application form was a necessity for candidates who wanted to participate in the volunteer selection process. By stating the conditions for volunteering and indicating what roles were available for the candidates to choose, the organising committee tried to attribute the identity to candidates and to stabilise them, as it outlined who volunteers could be (Callon, 1986b).

To submit the application form, candidates had to register on the volunteer portal. Registration on the volunteer portal constituted the agreement between the organising committee and the candidates, as it was the only way for candidates not only to access information on the volunteer journey, but also to complete and submit the application form. As there was one path to follow, the volunteer journey, there was a 'single technological way forward in theory' (Heeks & Stanforth, 2015, p. 39)– that is, through the volunteer portal. As part of the volunteer journey, candidates were expected to undertake a series of actions, as indicated by the organising committee, in order to receive communication, via email, from the organising committee on when each subsequent step of the volunteer journey on the volunteer portal was available for them.

Managers and team leaders

Managers and team leaders were expected to contribute to the volunteer journey by training and managing volunteers after they were selected and allocated to the different functional areas and roles. The organising committee used talks as device of interestment (Callon, 1986), in which it persuaded managers and team leaders to become 'interested' by stating that they can provide their expertise in training, managing and supervising volunteers, while working at the Games. The prestige of working at the Games in an important role such as manager and team leader, as conveyed by the Rio2016 organising committee, placed managers and team leaders at a distance from the other actors (activities and or jobs) which may have taken them away from their role. Managers and team leaders were expected to execute their job as prepared by the organising committee, and indicated in the volunteer portal where the job descriptions and roles were posted.

The communication program

The communication program played an instrumental role for the organising committee in the transmission of information, as it was the only way through which candidates could receive communication necessary to volunteer at the Games. It is thus persuaded that it is important to convey the message to candidates and volunteers for candidates to become volunteers and for the communication program to have a role, in the volunteer program. As part of its enrolment into the organising committee program of action, the communication program had to align with the timeframes identified by the organising committee, to avoid delays and problems of communication flow. Issues in transmitting information could have potentially affected candidates and volunteers, undermining the organising committee's goal. By putting forward these conditions, the organising committee tried to define the actor 'communication program', its role and to stabilise its identity, defining its relationship with the other actors. For the interestment to be successful, the communication program needed to enrol in the organising committee's 'program of action' (Latour, 1992), while distancing from other actors.

Policy on diversity and inclusion

The involvement of the policy is seen as important to host inclusive games. To deliver an inclusive volunteer program, the organising committee developed a formal policy on diversity

and inclusion. The policy on diversity and inclusion is linked to the volunteer program through a series of actions that involve actors of the volunteer program, such as managers, sport (goalball), training course, volunteers, language and images. The policy on diversity and inclusion, has an interest in being involved in such a prestigious event and contribute in delivering a diverse and inclusive volunteer program making itself heard. However, the involvement of the policy takes place under the conditions made by the organising committee. If the interestment of the policy is successful, the policy would enrol, espousing the organising committee program of action and contributing to staging a diverse and inclusive volunteer program, at least standing to what is written in the paper. Then, it will have to be seen how this would play out in practice.

The physical places

The interestment of the physical places takes place with the agreements that have granted the use of the physical places to the organising committee for the Games. The attractiveness of the place and its fame for hosting fairs, as it is the case of Riocentro, the relevance of conveying the historic image of Rio, the one of the Carnival against the degrade of the centre of the city, which was the case of the uniform accreditation centre (UAC), where the workforce collected their uniforms and credentials for both Games, and the breathtaking view of Copacabana bay, that is one of the Rio de Janeiro's spots worldwide known and staging the Games in such appealing physical places was one of the strategies deployed by the organising committee to successfully 'interest' the physical places in delivering a diverse and inclusive volunteer program/Games. If successful, the interestment culminates with the enrolment of the physical places.

4.2.3 Enrolment

Enrolment comprises the strategies the organising committee put in place to enrol the actors identified. To enrol is '[to try] to impose order on a part of the social world' (Callon & Law, 1982, p.622). The organising committee tried to impose an order on the volunteer program, which is implicit when deciding who are the participants or actors and their roles and interests. Enrolment takes place only if the interestment is successful (Callon, 1986, p. 10). While the organising committee gave roles to the actors it identified, this does not mean that the actors had to accept these. If the actors refused the roles allocated, they might not enrol into the plan of the organising committee. To enrol, candidates needed to be willing to undertake the volunteer journey, and sign the agreement with the organising committee by registering on

the volunteer portal and submitting the application form. However, the agreement was just the beginning of a journey, which in full lasted for two years, with multiple interactions that might have at any stage altered the relationship with the organising committee.

Managers and team leaders

To be enrolled, managers and team leaders needed to trust the work done by the organising committee in setting up the volunteer journey and needed to accept the role allocated by the organising committee. By signing their contracts with the organising committee and Manpower (the recruitment firm), they accepted the role indicated in their job description. However, as different components may have come into play before and during the Games, the relationship that the committee has established and tried to stabilise may be destabilised and alliances could have changed or altered over time.

The communication program

The organising committee 'interested' a communication program in that, if it enrolled, it had to work as planned by the organising committee. This technology was central to the volunteer journey as candidates had to log in into the portal to complete required tasks. Email invitations were issued to complete the task assigned, and were followed with an email confirming the completion of the task. Volunteers' engagement with the volunteer portal and responding to the emails were proxies for acceptance of the role assigned to them by the organising committee. These intermediary (Latour, 2005) interactions between the organising committee and other actors provided the basis to enrol to the organising committee program of action (Latour, 2004).

Policy on diversity and inclusion

Through the interestment of the policy on diversity and inclusion the organising committee tried to 'tame' the policy to make its effects predictable and controlled by the organising committee. The relations that are presented in the policy involve other actors. If the interestment is successful, it enrolls into the organising committee program. As part of this, the policy would be involved in interactions with other actors in ways that are shaped and controlled by the organising committee. These interactions with other actors had the role of

locking in the policy by determining its role and the relations that this would have had once enrolled in the program of action of the organising committee.

The physical places

The physical places were enrolled in the organising committee program of action through agreements signed between parties. These consisted of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the GL events (the company that manages Riocentro), and the Rio2016 organising committee for the physical places of Riocentro. While the organising committee would ordinarily be responsible once the agreement was reached to undertake the necessary operations to prepare the physical places to host the Games, in this case, as Riocentro was leased to GL events, GL events conducted the modifications needed to accommodate the Games operations in Riocentro. As part of the agreement that extended the concession to GL to another venue, the Olympic Arena, GL events undertook the operations in the physical places of Riocentro that were prepared to host the Olympic sports of table tennis (Pavilion 3), weightlifting (Pavilion 2), badminton (Pavilion 4), and boxing (Pavilion 6), and the subsequent Paralympic sports of table tennis, powerlifting and sitting volleyball. The venue was also prepared to host the onsite training of volunteers and to accommodate spectators in temporary seating areas (stands), temporary toilets, eating and drinking areas for the workforce (refectory), a check-in tent for the workforce arriving at the venue and tents at the pedestrian screening areas (PSA) in which the credentials of athletes, workforce and tickets of spectators were checked. As part of the agreement, GL events was responsible for building Pavilion 6, which hosted boxing and sitting volleyball.

In Forte de Copacabana, the agreement between the Brazilian Army and the Olympic Committee enrolled the physical place of Forte de Copacabana. Forte de Copacabana is a military site on the headland of Copacabana. The committee needed to seek the permission of the army to host some sport competitions there, and approval of temporary modifications necessary to host the Olympic and Paralympic sports of road cycling, triathlon and para-triathlon, open-water marathon and paracycling. The modifications involved adjacent spaces, such as road closure to motor vehicles and the temporary installation of tents. These included the check-in tent, the accreditation office (in which issues with credentials were solved, daily passes issued and meal voucher distributed), and the food and beverage kiosk, where the workforce collected food and drinks.

The uniform and accreditation centre (UAC) was located in a neighbourhood of Gamboa, the Cidade do Samba, in a warehouse complex, which also hosted the artisans who made the carnival masks for the well-known Carnival of Rio de Janeiro. The location chosen by the committee for the workforce to collect the uniforms and credentials was an historical area of Rio de Janeiro, one of those for which the city is famous for. The agreement between the organising committee and the Prefeitura da Rio determined the enrolment of the warehouses that hosted the UAC and the volunteer program office to the organising committee program.

4.3 Summary

In setting the volunteer program, the organising committee attempted to create an actor-network, choosing actors and attributing roles and interests. The organising committee attributed 'relatively stable interests to other actors' (Callon & Law, 1982, p.617) without considering that those actors' interests might differ or might change at later time. Despite the stable way in which the organising committee portrayed actors' interests, these portrayals are 'working maps and not... [the] full representation of reality' (Callon & Law, 1982, p.618), as they could change or shift over time.

The relations were planned by the organising committee, and positioned the committee as central to the interactions between candidates and the actor(s) for each step of the volunteer journey. In fact, candidates needed to go through the volunteer journey – specifically, the selection process – to become volunteers. Managers and team leaders wanting to work at the Games needed volunteers to work with. These had to be selected by the organising committee. Thus, managers and team leaders relied on the organising committee to select and assign volunteers to them, so they had an interest in these processes taking place. The communication program had the goal of conveying the necessary information. In line with this goal, the communication program, once enrolled into the organising committee's program, it played the role of informing other actors as determined by the organising committee. It was asked to act as intermediary, as passive point of contact between different actors, particularly candidates and organising committee. By doing so, similarly to the case described by Heeks and Stanforth (2015), the organising committee 'acted to isolate actors from other influences' (p.39) that could endanger its central position in the relations with the actors. It did so by putting itself in the middle of the relations, so to be indispensable (Callon, 1986b), and

determining the design of the volunteer program, which was structured in a way that other actors were either instrumental or were dependent on the organising committee.

The three moments of the translation process presented are important to identify the actors and actants performing in the volunteer program. The elements presented outline the rhetoric of the 'social' of the volunteer journey as it was planned by the organisation. In presenting the social through the translation process (Callon, 1986), the actions that facilitated the introduction to the actors that the organising committee identified to achieve its goal are located within the diversity and inclusion agenda of the volunteer program. Through the different stages of the translation process the organising committee involved the actors (presenting their goals and the problematisation), stabilised the identity attributed to them through devices of interestment (Callon, 1986), and enrolled them into the organising committee's program of action when the interestment was successful. Three (of four) components of the translation process were involved in shaping the social. In the identification of the actors and the attempt to form an actor-network by engaging the actors to its program of action, the organising committee placed itself at the centre, and indispensable to the actor-network. While having one actor that represents the entire actor-network is indeed characteristic of the actor-network – in which most of the time the only visible part is a single actor – by opening the black box of the volunteer program a series of actors come to the fore and their relations with other actors are uncovered.

Opening the black box of the volunteer program allows the diverse actors the organising committee brought together, or attempted to bring together, to be visible. The strategies that the committee put in place to convince the actors to enrol in its program of actions emerge. The actor-network that revolves around the organising committee is tested – in particular, the durability of its relations are tested in the mobilisation of the translation process that occurs when through the actions of the actors, more actor become 'enlisted'. This takes place in dynamics and is when the social is enacted into practices. It is in these moments that durability (the 'ordering through time'; Law, 1992, p. 387) and mobility ('ordering through space'; Law, 1992, p.387) are tested and, based on this, alliances may change. Chapter 5 discusses the social as enacted into the practices of the actors who participated to the interactions in the volunteer program.

Chapter 5. The realities of the ‘social’ as enacted in practices

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this research—that is, the realities of the ‘social’ enacted in practices, as they emerged from the data analysis. In Callon’s words ‘to mobilize, as the word indicates, is to render entities mobile which were not so beforehand’ (1986, p. 210). Following the negotiations, all the actors enrolled in the organising committee program of action (Latour, 1994), by sharing the same interest, accepted the volunteer journey, which had obligatory passage point(s) (OPP) that required them to undertake/participate in a number of practices. In these practices, more actors are ‘enlisted’ into the actors’ program of action, so that some actors become spokespersons – that is, they represent the enlisted actors to other actors and the established relations are tested.

The analysis was conducted using process coding (Saldana, 2009), a method that highlights actions using the gerund (-ing words). Hence, practices (Saldana, 2009) undertaken in the volunteer program such as accessing the volunteer program, waiting for the invitation letter and roster, getting the passport to the Games, accessing the online and onsite training, getting to the venues, eating, performing, and mingling on Zap were identified. The practices and the actors that participated are presented in Table 5.1 below. This chapter presents the mobilisation of the actors in the practices identified. For each of the practices identified, the analysis considers what actors did, how they were ‘mobilised’, and how they related to others. This is part of forging alliances and changing them (Latour, 2004), which is part of the process through which the social is made and remade.

Evidence gathered from interviews, field notes, journals, and observations, WhatsApp conversations and Facebook page entries are part of the fieldwork, without which it would not have been possible to trace back how the social was assembled and re-assembled (Latour, 2005). The variety and type of the data collected was only possible because the researcher had access to the site and was directly involved in the research, being one of the volunteer candidates and undergoing the volunteer journey to the Games. The data gathered remotely

was collected by the researcher as volunteer candidate and, later, as volunteer; this afforded access to the documents available on the volunteer portal and those received during the volunteer journey. As a volunteer, she had access to communication with the manager of the functional areas she was assigned to, and in her role as a volunteer in press operations she received the specifications of what the job entailed.

Table 5.1

Processes, sub-processes, actors emerging from the analysis, and data types used

Processes	Sub processes	Actors	Type of data
Accessing the volunteer program	n/a	Recruitment/selection team Call centre Candidates Emails Policy on diversity and inclusion	Journal, interviews, LinkedIn page, policy on diversity and inclusion, emails
Waiting for the invitation letter and roster	n/a	Candidates Emails The system Roster Time Volunteer's status Managers and team leaders Physical places Official Facebook page	Interviews, invitation letter, Facebook extracts
Getting the passport to the Games	n/a	Volunteers, emails, volunteer portal, volunteers' Facebook page, uniform and credential, managers and team leaders, roster	Email, Facebook extracts, photos, interviews
Accessing the online and onsite training	n/a	Candidates, emails, policy on diversity and inclusion, language, timing, transport card, managers and team leaders	Interviews, Facebook extracts, email, photos, researcher's journal
Getting to the venues	n/a	Volunteers, transport card, travelling time, signage, credential	Information sheet on transport, Facebook extracts, FAQ, interviews, researcher's diary, photos

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

Processes, sub-processes, actors emerging from the analysis, and data types used

Processes	Sub processes	Actors	Type of data
Performing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Check in ✓ Waiting to start ✓ Taking the role ✓ Assisting journalists and photographers ✓ Following conversations 	Volunteers, the barcode scanner, the credential, the workforce check in manager, the system, the workforce manager, time, the whiteboard, crowd control barriers, TVs, lockers, competition schedules, Wi-Fi, air conditioner, radios, physical places, weather, WhatsApp	Interviews, researcher's diary, WhatsApp conversations
Eating		Meal voucher, type of sport and physical places, competition schedules, the refectory, the type of food, the tables, WhatsApp	Photos, interviews, WhatsApp conversations, emails
Mingling on Zap		Managers and team leaders, WhatsApp, physical places, air con, rosters, language, tickets	WhatsApp conversations, interviews

5.2 Mobilisation

To mobilise is to involve other actors; it is about testing durability ('ordering through time') and the mobility ('ordering through space') of alliances (Law, 1992, p.387). The way(s) in which the actors perform themselves, or are performed by spokespersons who represent them in relations with other actors, will be presented below. The durability of the relations between allies is tested to ascertain whether these are stable. The way in which each actor perform within the identified practices, which are part of the OPP that the actors accepted to go through, forging alliances or otherwise is presented. Practices are interactions and, as Nicolini (2009) puts it, 'Focusing on practices is thus taking the social and the material doing of something as the main focus of inquiry' (2009, p. 122). In this study, the social is socio-material, as noted in Chapter 3. The social is enacted in practices; thus to gain an understanding of the social this study focused on the practices – and the components that participated in those practices – and their role in these which emerge in the interactions, in the ways in which alliances are formed.

Mobilisation entails 'enlisting' (Callon & Law, 1982) other actors in the program of action and this is done only through actions. In the context of the volunteer program, as the actors were enrolled by the organising committee into its program of action, now these are mobilised in the enactment of the social. While chapter 4 has presented through the three moments of the translation process, the way in which the social of the volunteer program was planned to take place, in which the organising committee tried to involve other actors in its program of action by attempting to create an actor-network aimed to a diverse and inclusive volunteer program and Games, chapter 5 presents the way in which the social was enacted into practices through the mobilisation of the actors participating to these. By enrolling into the program of action of the organising committee, the actors espoused it and accepted to pass through the obligatory passage point that the organising committee identified in the volunteer journey. In this, the practices that were performed by the actors were identified and consist in accessing the volunteer program, waiting for the invitation letter, getting the passport to the Games, accessing the online and onsite training, getting to the venues, eating, performing and mingling on Zap.

In each practice, the ways in which the actors performed is presented. This analysis provides an understanding of the realities of the social as enacted into practices through the interactions between actors, which determines the solidity of alliances, and the betrayals (Law, 1992), which takes place when actors do not longer align with the program of action of the ally(ies) but divert from it. This is done to understand not only what the social is made of (as of its fabric or material) but also the way in which this emerge to be designed, by the activity of the actors which interactions take place, allies are formed, changed and of how the actor-network(s) of the volunteer program sustain itself.

5.2.1 Accessing the volunteer program

Accessing the volunteer program was one of the practices actors undertook as part of the volunteer journey that was an obligatory passage point (OPP). That culminated with the selection of volunteers and the staging of the Games. The actors that participated to this practice comprised candidates, the organising committee, emails and the policy on on diversity and inclusion. In the paragraph below it is examined how each actor participated to each practice by presenting through the actions these undertake, the way in which these

interact and the influences that are exerted on other actors, allowing to trace a network. The interactions between actors become visible (Latour,2005) as the type of relations that these have attempted to make, made or broken.

The organising committee (The call centre, the recruitment and selection team)

Despite the common way of referring to the organising committee as single entity, it is composed by different 'bits and pieces' (Law, 1992, p. 386) which make it. A number of actors acted under the umbrella of the organising committee. In the case of the volunteer program, a recruitment and selection team worked to select the 70.000 volunteers among the over 240.000 applications submitted (IOC news, 2014a). The call centre attended to the phone calls, emails and online chat with candidates and a team worked on the texts of the communication that were to be sent to candidates and volunteers in the form of emails, and newsletter on the volunteer portal. So what is thought to be one entity, it comprises different entities that undertake different tasks. This is important to consider when the actors are mobilised.

A cada artigo vou aproveitar pra mencionar alguns times fundamentais para que nosso trabalho fosse adiante. Hoje vamos com parte da equipe de Recrutamento e Seleção e Call Center que apoiavam a comunicação com voluntários' [Each article I will get the chance to mention some of the teams which were pivotal for our work to progress. Today is the turn of the recruitment and selection team and of the Call centre that supported the communication with volunteers]. (Bispo, 2018)

Mas, pude ter o privilégio de apoiá-la nessa tarefa, juntamente com outras pessoas da nossa equipe e com a In Press, agência que nos atendia à época' [But I had the privilege to support her in this task, with other people of our team with the In Press, agency that attended us]. (Bispo, 2019)

Candidates

With the registration on the volunteer portal and the submission of the application an individual became a candidate to volunteer at the Games. Candidates provided personal information and information regarding choices made pertaining the roles they would have preferred among those offered, uniform size and any necessity for accommodating any disability. By doing so, they complied with the organising committee requirement that it had set for individuals to become candidates, which included the interaction with non-humans to register to the volunteer portal, to fill the application form and submitting it. This was the only way for people to qualify as candidates. Accessing the volunteer program, gaining the

qualification of candidates, was only the beginning of their journey. The data inserted in the registration to the portal and then in the form submitted provided the system in which this information were inserted with a sketch of these. These files had the imprinting of potential volunteers and were kept in the system. These were constituted by the 'bits and pieces' (Law, 1992) of information that the candidates had provided. These were identities in becoming, as while these had personal information, it also had indications on preferences on what type of volunteer candidates were willing to become.

The first part consisted in filling a form. It took me one and half hour. It took me a lot of time. You have to put all your personal information, what are you doing in life, your professional experience, your studies, what you like to do in your free time. Lots of questions, your size. What sport do you like? What would be your preference if they select you as volunteer? (Volunteer's voice 12, p.6)

Candidates were presented with pre-inscriptions 'witnessing their consent to a certain kind of future' (Akrich, 1992, p. 215), which were certain allocations/ attribution of identities. Part of the information necessary for the identity to be formed was provided by the applicants, who in this way, which is by providing personal information and indicating the roles they were willing to cover, left room for changes that could have been made in their identities 'in the making'. Accessing to the volunteer program was a practice common to all those who aspired to become volunteers and candidate to become volunteer, by undertaking the tasks indicated by the organising committee and thus by complying with the indications provided.

Accessing to the volunteer program culminated for some candidates in becoming volunteers, but this did not occur for all candidates. While it was part of the organising committee plan to select 70.000 volunteers among the candidates (IOC News, 2014b), what interests this study is what the volunteer program was made of, and the dynamics that took place within it, the actors involved and the way these performed, forging more or less durable alliances, with the volunteer journey becoming the stage of actors performances, which formed physical and digital spaces.

As part of the process, candidates undertook face-to-face or online interviews depending on whether candidates resided in Brazil or abroad, upon receiving an email with the invitation to book the interview. To book the interview, candidates accessed the volunteer portal and booked one slot available. Besides undertaking the interview, candidates had to undertake

certain tasks such as online trainings (online dynamics, Olympic and Paralympic Games, Games leadership, my role at the Games and my workplace), languages tests and onsite training. These involved the communication program, in particular emails, the volunteer portal, and the EF training website.

I just wait for the next year and half (after submitting the application) and then I got an interview, so it was like 'Ehy, they actually remembered me (laughter). (Volunteer's voice n.30, p.3)

Then, I had an interview on skype. It was not really hard we were 12 approximately... We were from different countries. (Volunteer's voice n.13, p.2)

You have to choose your option, of course, the time indicated – when you choose the time because it was Brazilian time so you have to pay attention for example, when I booked my first interview, I did not calculate well the time so I missed it. (Volunteer's voice 18, p.5)

The communication program

The communication program comprised different actors: emails, the volunteer portal, the candidate status indicated in the volunteer portal. The way in which these worked in accessing the volunteer program is presented.

Email

The invitations to complete the trainings were received by candidates through email, which communicate that one of the trainings was available for the candidate to complete. The body of the email that contained text provided not only the information about the availability of the training, specifying which training was available, but also what the candidate had to do to undertake the training.

Hi (volunteer's name),

The second step of your Volunteer Journey, Online Dynamic, is already available for you. With situations that simulate the Olympic and Paralympic Games environment, this step will take you on a trip through this great sporting event.

See how easy it is to complete this step:

Click here, logon to your Volunteer Portal, click on "My invitations" and search for "Online Dynamics"
(Email online dynamics)

Everything was done by email. They sent you a lot of emails about these courses online. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 6)

Emails carried information that candidates needed to proceed, not only in undertaking the task at hand, indicated in the email, but also to proceed through the volunteer journey. For

each training, an email with the invitation to undertake it was sent to volunteers. However, despite the trainings were mandatory, there were cases in which emails with the invitation to complete the trainings were not received by candidates and thus candidates were not in the position of undertaking any training, as the information carried by the email was not transferred to the candidate and candidates did not know they had to undertake a training, and that that training was available for them to complete.

No. They never asked for online training. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 7)

Policy on diversity and inclusion

To become volunteers, candidates had to undertake the online trainings. Among these, there was the online training on diversity and inclusion. This was part of the trainings candidates had to complete.

Diversity and Inclusion: you will learn how to be inclusive and prepare to deal with different situations, and to focus on promoting good relations and people's well-being during the Games. (Rio2016, Get to know the online courses, p.2)

Through this training, candidates could have interacted/gained knowledge of what was diversity and inclusion for the policy while at the same time, the voice of the policy would have been 'heard'. For this to take place, that is for candidates to undertake the training on diversity and inclusion, primarily candidates had to be aware of this training and of the fact that this was made available to them. The availability of this training, as the others, was communicated through an invitation sent by email. By receiving the email, the email accepted the role given, as courier, of conveying messages as stated in the agreement with the organising committee, which represented the interest of the committee of informing candidates about the policy on diversity and inclusion which was needed to host diverse and inclusive volunteer program and Games. Through the email, the policy could be heard by other actors in this case by candidates. The risk that the policy was incurring into was not to be mobilised, being not heard from other actors—and thus risking not to be applied. The policy on diversity and inclusion needed other actors for its voice to be heard, in this case to be heard by the candidates, it needed the email.

Email communicating the availability of the training on diversity and inclusion constituted the only way through which candidates could get to know their training was available for them to complete. It gave the opportunity to candidate to engage with it and by doing so, the email put in contact two actors, the policy on diversity and inclusion in which the action of undertaking the online course on diversity and inclusion was indicated as one of the policy actions, as part of its way to participate in a diverse and inclusive volunteer program and Games, and the candidates. Candidates who completed the training on diversity and inclusion in which they dealt with virtual scenarios that volunteers may experience at the Games were in condition, whether successfully became volunteers, of translating the policy while undertaking their job at the Games. The email, in forwarding the information about the training, has accepted the role given to it, of intermediary (Latour, 2005) by communicating to candidates that the training on diversity and inclusion was available for them to complete.

As volunteer, I enquired many times about the trainings that I have not received. Nobody gave me a certain answer on the reasons for which I have not received the invitation to some trainings. Sometimes, I have been told to wait, others that when available I would have received the invitation. I enquired until few days before the Games. However, I received discordant answers from those working at the customer service. (Journal 6, p. 30)

However, the email with the invitation to undertake the training on diversity and inclusion was not always received by candidates. In fact, at times, candidates did not receive the invitation to undertake the online training on diversity and inclusion. The email diverted from acting based on the script by which it was attributed and, by doing so, it did not represent the interest of the policy and organising committee; emails that did not 'pass the message' *de facto* silenced the policy voice. For candidates, this meant that not only did they not undertake the training, they were also not provided with knowledge about diversity and inclusion.

Olha Veronica, eu confesso que eu também não sei [Look Veronica, I confess that I also do not know (about it)]. (Team leader's voice 29, p. 6)

I have no idea. (Volunteer's voice 18, p. 9)

This also had a propagative effect on other networks, in which candidates who did not have the chance of interacting with the policy through the online training on diversity and inclusion, did not have the chance to take it with them in performing at the Games. In this, candidates were unaware not only of this dynamic but also of the implications that this could have.

Que eu saiba não. Eu gostaria até de saber [That I know, no. I would like to know (whether there is one policy on inclusion)]. (Volunteer's voice 23, p. 7)

Additionally, the role of emails was crucial for the next step of invitation letters and online acceptance of a volunteer role. This is examined in the practice of waiting for the invitation letter and roster in the next section.

5.2.2 Waiting for the invitation letter and roster

Waiting for the invitation letter and roster was a common practice among candidates, with the timeframe of this process varying greatly between candidates. The actors who performed in this practice comprised candidates, invitation letter and roster emails, the system, time, the volunteer portal, managers and team leaders and the volunteers' Facebook page; each is discussed below.

Candidates

In waiting for the invitation letter and roster, candidates had little to do but to wait. While the wait could have a variable duration, the action of candidates was limited to the acceptance or refusal of the invitation letter and/or the roster when these were received. The invitation letter indicated 'This is the most important step to ensure your participation as volunteer' (Rio2016, invitation letter). When the invitation letter was received and accepted, technically candidates became volunteers; therefore the invitation letter had great relevance for candidates.

I received the letter only at the beginning of July this year [2016]... I really wanted to come here till the end I was losing hope but at the end the letter arrived. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 5)

The invitation letter indicated the event, the functional area, the job, and the venue. Thus, in receiving the email with the invitation letter candidates not only became a volunteer but were also attributed an identity, which was formed from these specificities (i.e., event, functional area, job and venue). The candidate could then accept/reject the identity that he/she was assigned.



Figure 5.1: Invitation letter

In accepting or refusing, the invitation, candidates also accepted or refused the identities they were given or attributed. In the former case – by accepting the identity assigned – the candidate became a volunteer; in the latter case, the candidate remained a candidate, one who might receive other invitation letters, and thus other identities. Once the invitation letter was received, candidates had six days to accept. While the time for the acceptance of the identity was limited, the time for receipt of the invitation was not indicated.

Candidates could receive more than one invitation letter, with different positions/jobs and, thus, different identities. In this case, candidates had to accept each of these invitations separately. Thus, by receiving several invitation letters, volunteers could accept different identities.

You may receive invitations for positions at both Games – Olympic and Paralympic – and you should accept them all on the portal (Olympic Games | Invitation letter confirmed! And Paralympic Games | Invitation letter confirmed!)

A times, the invitation letter did not prescribe the role volunteers were assigned:

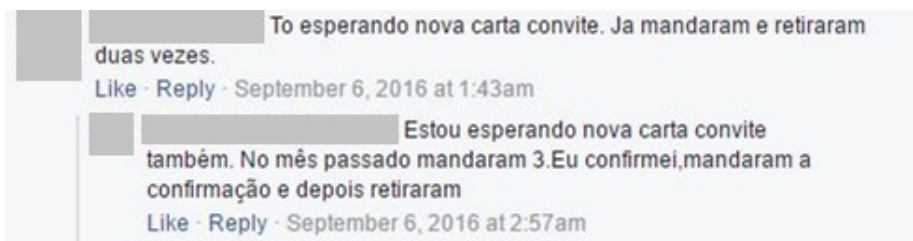
‘There were a little late because people have to plan their schedule to book the tickets. The way I was also upset is because they did not specify what we will do here until I came here and they told me ‘you do the ball kids’ which I did not expect’ (Volunteer’s voice 16-17, p.5)

In accepting the invitation letter and roster, candidates accepted the roles they were assigned as their identities. However, the candidate could also refuse the invitation letter remaining a candidate waiting for its identity.

Emails: the invitation letter and roster

In being received by the candidate, the email with the invitation letter performed its job of intermediary (Latour, 2005), facilitating the communication between actors in timely manner. Although the email may not have been necessarily timely – as candidates started to receive the invitation letters in Nov 2015 (and some candidates received them during the Games) – when the email reached the candidates it executed its function of translating the interests of the organising committee and its elements (the recruitment and selection team, the call centre, managers and team leaders etc.). The email with the invitation letter, usually, announced that the candidate receiving it was part of the team. The acceptance of the invitation took place through the volunteer portal. In the invitation letter, candidates had to click to accept the invitation (Fig. 5.1). This link redirected them to the volunteer portal, which the candidate had to access by logging in with his/her credentials. It was in the volunteer portal that the candidate accepted or refused the invitation letter. The invitation letter made candidates undertake the task of either accepting or refusing the invitation and interacting with the volunteer portal where the action was to be undertaken.

The communication might not have been timely for all candidates to whom the emails arrived at a different time. Some candidates did not receive the invitation letter; others who received it and accepted the allocation and identity attributed sometimes had their position/identity cancelled (despite having received an email confirming the acceptance of his/her allocation). In the latter case, while emails acted to translate the interest of the organising committee, the system acted by stripping volunteers of their identities.



I am waiting for a new invitation letter. They had already sent it and cancelled it two times.

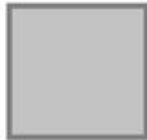
I am waiting for a new invitation letter too. Last month, I received three. I accepted them, I received the confirmation and then these got cancelled. (Translation – Facebook)

The resistance of the system and the volunteer status

Despite the candidates' acceptance, at times, the system did not accept the identity of the candidate, as this disappeared from the system.



I rang and I was told that the archery sport centre was accepted out of time, but it is there my invitation letter accepted. Yesterday I received another invitation letter to Barra de Tijuca, I accepted, and I was told that I was in, now I see my status under review. (Translation – Facebook)



Tá aqui a prova que eu já estava dentro, até o "sistema" me recusar.. 😞

Visualizza traduzione



Un'ora fa • Mi piace • 👍 3 • Rispondi

It is here the proof that I was in, until when the system refused/rejected me...

Hi...,

Congratulations! You are in! Now you are a volunteer of the first Olympic Games of the South America. You can celebrate the success, and share on the social media and let the world (everybody) know.

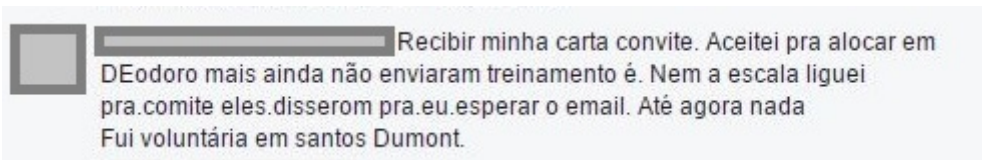
Find below some information related to your participation:

Installation: Common area of the Olympic Park in Barra

The voices of these candidates, waiting for the invitation letter and roster, were heard in the official volunteer Facebook page, where they posted queries, asking for news.

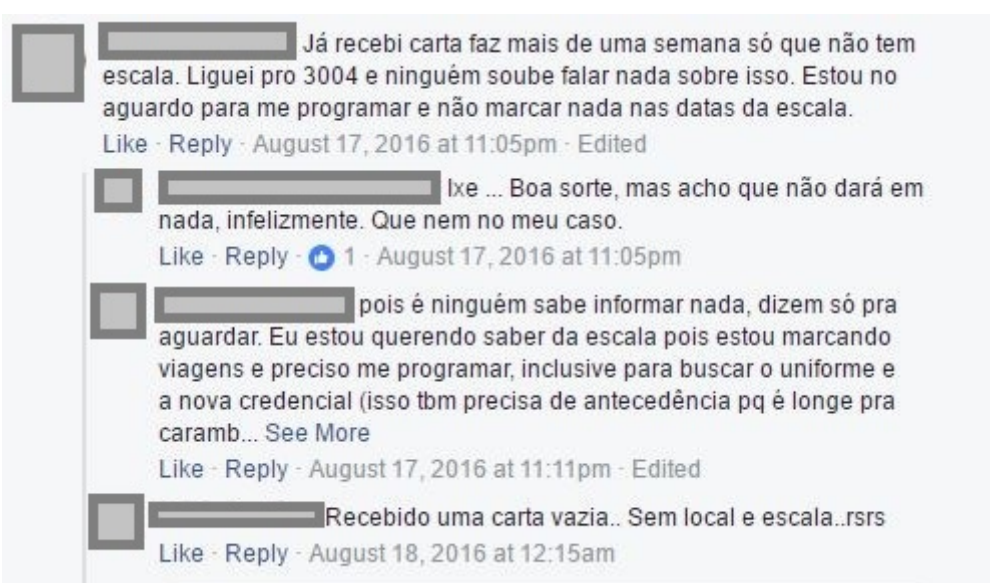
Roster

Receiving and accepting the invitation letter was not in itself sufficient to volunteer. Volunteers needed to also receive the roster, which consisted of a grid indicating days and the times, the job and the venue in which the volunteer was expected to perform.

A screenshot of a Facebook post. The text reads: "Recibir minha carta convite. Aceitei pra alocar em DEodoro mais ainda não enviaram treinamento é. Nem a escala liguei pra.comite eles disserom pra.eu.esperar o email. Até agora nada Fui voluntária em santos Dumont."

I received my invitation letter. I accepted to be allocated in Deodoro but they have not yet sent me my training nor the roster. I rang the committee and they said that I have to wait for the email. So far nothing. I was volunteer at Santos Dumont (airport) (Translation – Facebook)

An email communicated to volunteers when their rosters were available on the volunteer portal for them to accept them. While this was generally the way in which volunteers got to know that their roster was available, this was not always the case.

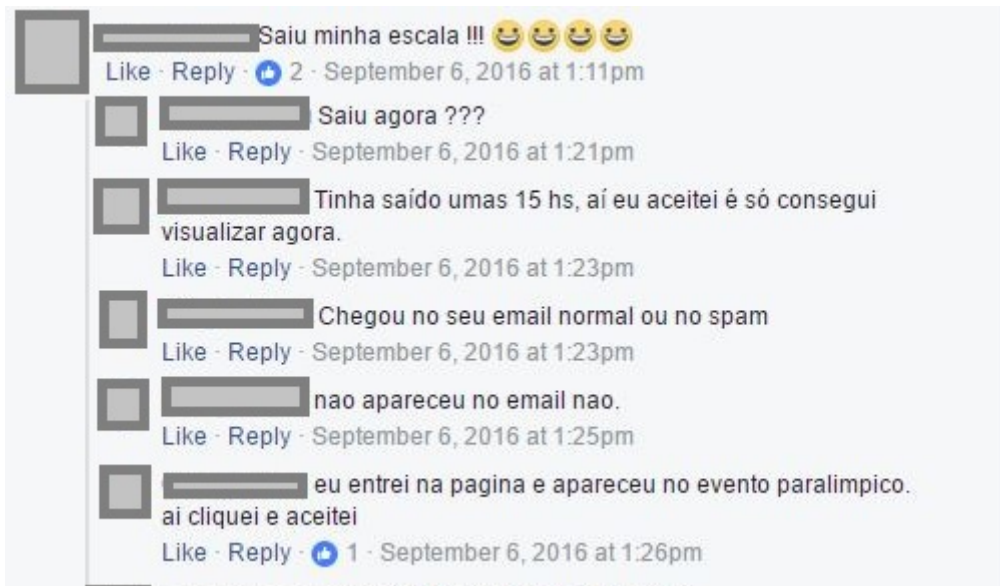
A screenshot of a Facebook post with three replies. The main post says: "Já recebi carta faz mais de uma semana só que não tem escala. Liguei pro 3004 e ninguém soube falar nada sobre isso. Estou no aguardo para me programar e não marcar nada nas datas da escala." The first reply says: "Ixe ... Boa sorte, mas acho que não dará em nada, infelizmente. Que nem no meu caso." The second reply says: "pois é ninguém sabe informar nada, dizem só pra aguardar. Eu estou querendo saber da escala pois estou marcando viagens e preciso me programar, inclusive para buscar o uniforme e a nova credencial (isso tbm precisa de antecedência pq é longe pra caramb... See More". The third reply says: "Recebido uma carta vazia.. Sem local e escala..rsrc".

I received my invitation letter more than a week ago but I do not have roster. I contacted the 3004 and nobody knows about it. I am waiting to program (my visit) and not being busy in the days (indicated) in the roster.

Good luck, but I think that there will not be anything, unfortunately....

It could be nobody is able to give information, they only say to wait. I am looking forward to receive my roster because I am booking my journey and I need to know, including for the collection of uniform and new credential (this too needs to be known early as it is far) (Translation – Facebook)

At times, emails indicating that the roster was available were not received by volunteers, and some volunteers found out by chance on the volunteer portal that their roster was available.



My roster arrived!!!

Now?

It had arrived 15hrs ago, I accepted but I was only able to see it now.

Did it arrive in your email or in the spam

It did not appear in the email.

I entered in the page (volunteer’s portal) and appeared in the Paralympic event. There I clicked and accepted (Translation – Facebook)

The role of the roster changed closer to the Games. While in the newsletter of May 2016 (Fig. 5.2a), collecting the credential and uniform is seen as important as accepting the roster and doing the training but there is not link between these; in the June 2016 newsletter (Fig. 5.2b), it is indicated that those who have received their roster would be emailed the invitation to collect uniform and credential from the UAC.

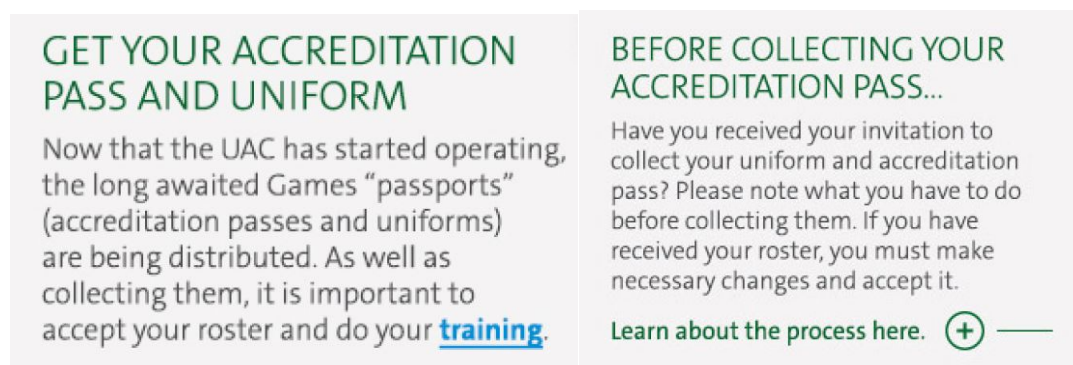
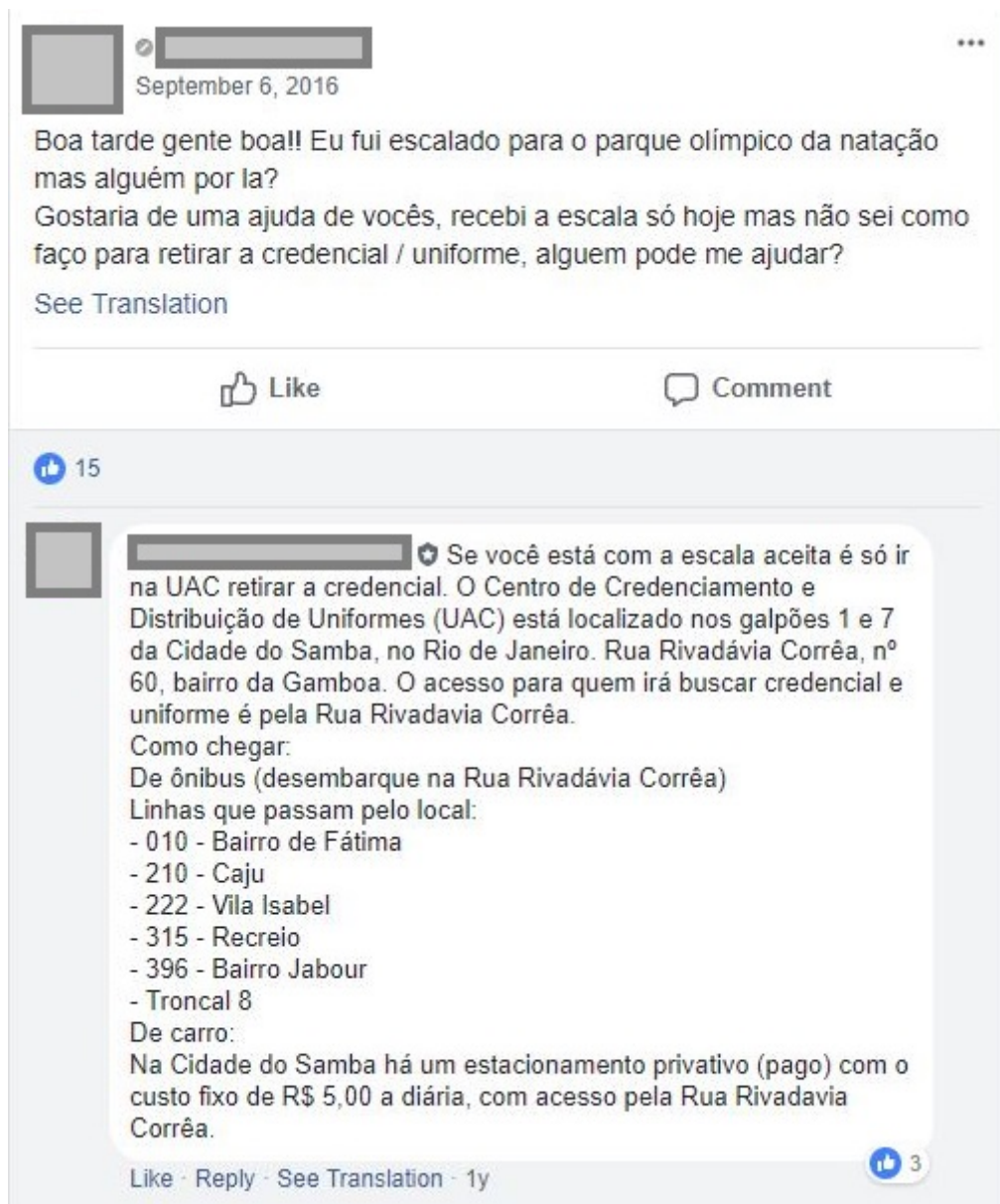


Figure 5.2a: Newsletter May 2016

Figure 5.2b: Newsletter June 2016

However, this was not always the case, as some volunteers did not receive the email with the invitation to book a visit to collect uniform and credential. In this case, through the Facebook page, volunteers got to know that having the roster was sufficient to collect the uniform and credential.

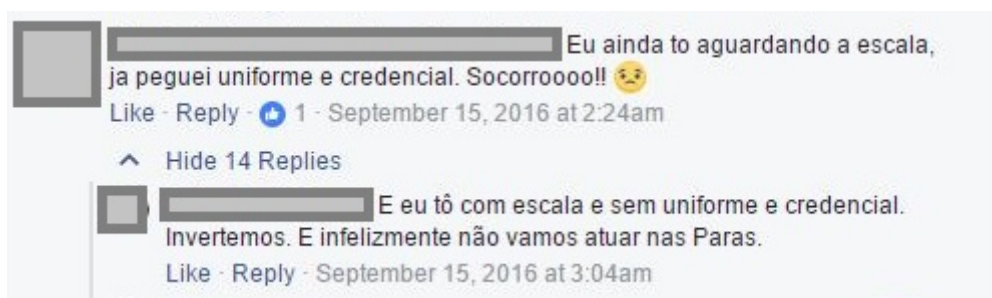


Good evening good people! I was rostered for the Olympic Park at the swimming (venue) anyone too?

I would appreciate your help, I received my roster only today but I do not know how I do to get the credential/uniform, anyone can help me?

If you are with the roster accepted, you just need to go at the UAC to collect the credential. The Centre for the accreditation and uniform (UAC) is located in the warehouses 1 and 7 at the Cidade do Samba, in Rio de Janeiro. Rua Rivadavia Correa n. 60, neighbourhood of Gamboa. The access to collect the credential and uniform is through Rua Rivadavia Correa. How to get there:... (Translation – Facebook)

However, there were exceptions to this



I am still waiting for the roster, I have already collected uniform and credential. Help!
I only have the roster and without uniform and credential...And unfortunately, we are not going to work at the Paralympics (Translation – Facebook)

While this seems to be a straightforward path, of receiving the email with the invitation letter and/or roster and accepting or refusing it/them, this was not straightforward.

A non-physical actor: time

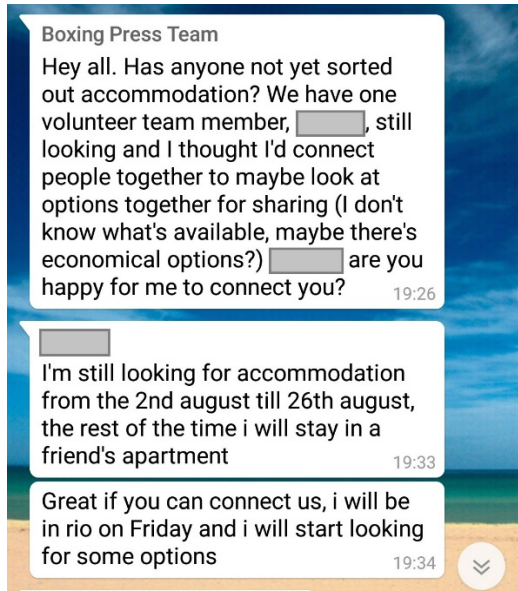
As noted above time played a crucial role on occasions. While some candidates waited for the invitation letter, the more time passed the more the candidates could be tempted or convinced by other actors, to take up other opportunities, such as other work opportunities. Time brought some candidates in contact with other actors/opportunities:

Io avevo anche lo shift e tutte le cose. La mia rinuncia e' arrivata una settimana fa, non ti dico lo stato d'animo...gli ho confermato che non mi avevano dato le ferie e quindi...[I also had my shift and everything. I had to renounce a week ago, I cannot tell you about my state... I confirmed him (manager) that my leave was not granted and so... (Missed Volunteer's voice 77, p.5-7)

Moreover, accommodation and travel prices increased closer to the Games, especially for those candidates that worked or lived abroad. Therefore, the progression of time affected some candidates, since when they finally received the invitation letter they could no longer afford to travel:

I know a girl who wrote in our Italian volunteer Facebook page... she received her invitation in July [the same as] as me. She wrote in the Facebook page 'Hi guys, I received my letter but I am truly sorry I am not going to participate to the Olympic Games, it is too late. Prices for the flights are going higher every day and I cannot find accommodation. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 9)

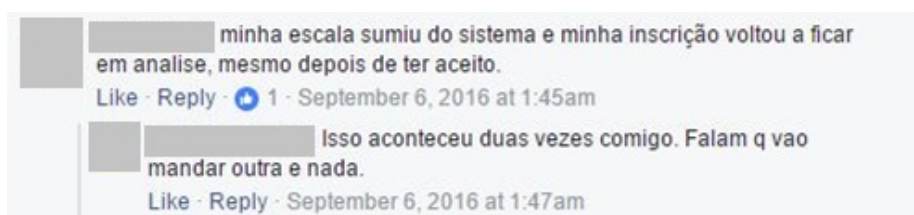
The high demand for accommodation, translated into a rise in prices and, thus, introduced another actor – money – into the network. In general, the more actors involved, the greater the possibility that actors might not translate the interest of candidates.



(WhatsApp, Rio2016 Boxing Press Team, 29 June 2016)

The volunteer portal: the volunteer status

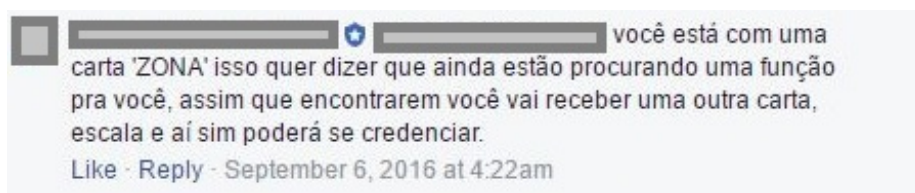
Emails were not necessarily synchronised with the volunteer status on the portal. In fact, once emails with the invitation letters were sent to volunteers, the accepted allocations and identities disappeared from the status on the volunteer portal. They found out by looking at the status on the volunteer portal that rather than indicating the role that the candidate had earlier accepted indicated ‘under review’.



My roster disappeared from the system and my status returned under review, even after I had accepted. This happened to me two times. They say that they will send another (invitation letter) but nothing. (Translation - Facebook).

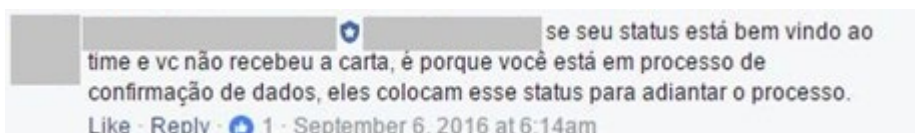
When besides receiving the invitation letter they also received the roster, the position accepted disappeared from the status that turned into 'under review' and the roster disappeared too.

Although a legend of the status of the volunteer portal was indicated in the volunteer portal, in reality the volunteer's status indicated in the volunteer portal did not always correspond to the status of the volunteer.



You have an invitation 'Area'. This means that they are looking for a functional area for you, when they identify it, you will receive another invitation letter, roster and then you will be able to get your credential. (Translation - Facebook)

Some candidates were at times assigned a status, which did not correspond to the legend indicated in the volunteer portal.



If your status is welcome to the team and you have not received the invitation letter is because you are in the process of confirmation of data, they allocated you in this status to speed up the process. (Translation - Facebook)

Managers and team leaders

Some of the managers participated to the practice of waiting for the roster, as they received the contact details of the volunteers assigned to their functional areas and prepared the rosters for them. Following this, they got in touch with volunteers through email and phone and introduced themselves and checked whether volunteers confirmed their participation at the Games.

So I changed some of the shifts times, I made sure I did that before I really started to communicate with people, change some of the shift times...because I had a poor report, finally get email addresses, finally

get contact numbers that were appropriate and then started to email and then asked people to respond to me' (Manager's voice 28, p.3)

A gente entrou e pediu para a xxx já abrir um grupo para facilitar a comunicação. Então no momento que eu tinha o contato das pessoas e eu ce montavo a escala, tinha o número de telefone, nome, e-mail, a gente criou este grupo e fazer a comunicação toda para ai' [We accessed (to the program) and asked xxx to create a group to facilitate the communication. So when I got the contact details of the people (volunteers) and I made the roster, had their phone number, name, email, we created a group to communicate to everyone there]. (Voice 35, p.12)

However, this was not the case for everybody, as some managers got in contact for the first time with the volunteers working in his/her functional area at the onsite training, when they collected the contact details of volunteers.

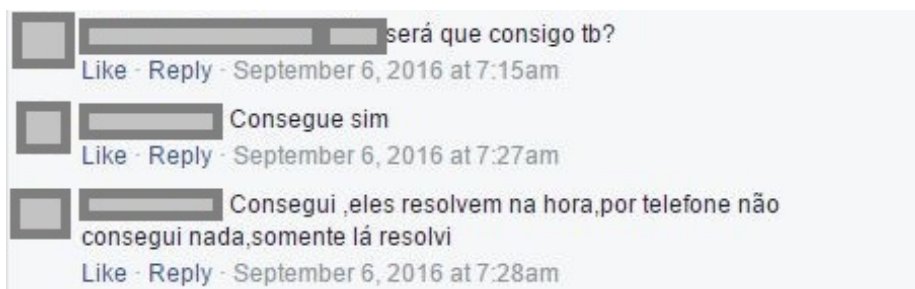
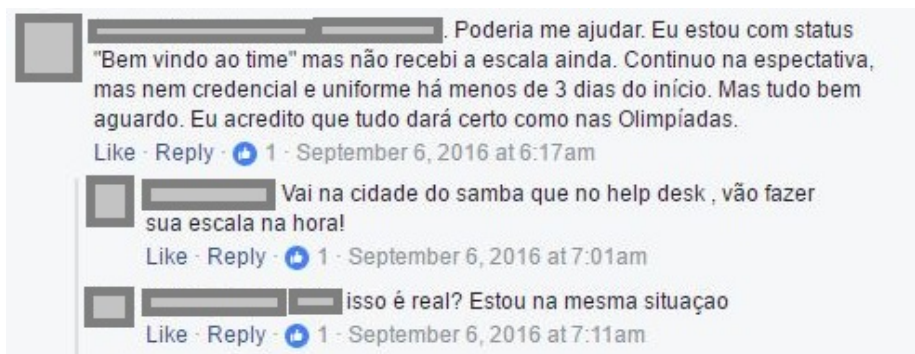
(Did you exchange any email with your manager?) 'No, I did not know him until I came here' (Volunteer's voice 16-17, p.7)

While other volunteers had never heard from their managers before their first day of operations when they met their manager

I just arrived on the first day and they had no idea of what they were doing. They told me to stay there by pointing it and then they said to stay there and give information. (volunteer's voice 18, p.7)

The physical places (the UAC, the volunteer headquarter office)

With the invitation letter accepted and issues with the roster, some volunteers visited the uniform and accreditation centre (UAC) to solve the issues with these. While by going to the UAC, candidates at times had chances of changing their invitation letter and roster, and in general of solving the issues they encountered with invitation letter and roster, with the emails and the volunteer portal, that generally worked together, candidates had no alternatives but to accept or refuse the position offered them (and indicated in the email), the roles they were attributed, generally indicated in the invitation letter, and the way in which this would have been supposed to work.



Could you help me. I am with my status 'Welcome to the team' but I have not received my roster yet. I am still waiting, but without credential and uniform at three days from the beginning of the Games. But all good, I wait. I think that all will be fine as at the Olympics. (Translation – Facebook)

Go to the 'Cidade do Samba' (UAC) at the help desk, they will prepare your roster immediately!

Is this real? I am in the same situation

Would I succeed (in doing so) too?

Yes, you will succeed.

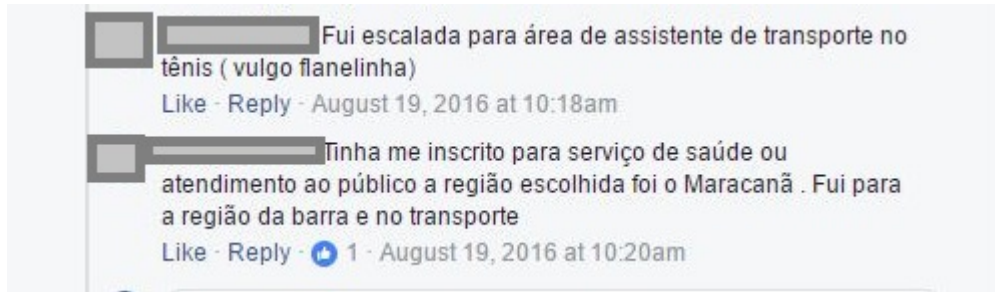
I got through, they sort this out immediately, through telephone I did not succeed, only there I solved it. (Translation – Facebook)

The official volunteer Facebook page

The official Facebook page participated to the practice of waiting for the invitation letter and roster. The Facebook page brought to light, that the wait for the invitation letter and the roster was a shared practice, and the relation between candidates and the organising committee, particularly those of the organising committee that were assigned to social media.

'It is just that all the volunteers can join the group and everybody is free to ask questions. People are answering, which is good. So if you have any doubt about how it works, your schedule, you can read other talks' (Volunteer's voice 13, p.3)

The identities attributed to volunteers only at times were aligned with the information that candidates had provided in filling the application form, while in other cases differed from preferences volunteers had indicated.



I was rostered in the (functional) area of assistant to the transport at the tennis

I indicated (the functional area) of medical service attending the public in the Maracana area. Instead I have been allocated in the cluster of Barra and in the (functional area) of transport. (Translation-Facebook)

Volunteers were not the only actors performing waiting for the invitation letter and roster, but also relied on other actors to move forward.

5.2.3 Getting the passport to the Games: credentials, uniforms, invitation letters (emails), roster, Facebook page

Volunteers , through the participation of other actors, could collect their ‘passport to the Games’ – the credential and uniform – by visiting the uniform and accreditation centre (UAC). Actors that participated to this practice were volunteers, emails, the volunteer portal, the volunteer Facebook page, uniform and credential, managers and team leaders and roster.

Volunteers

Once they received and accepted the invitation letter and roster, volunteers could collect credential and uniform. To do this, in general they waited for an email containing the invitation to schedule a visit to the uniform and accreditation centre to collect uniform and credential. Only after receiving this, volunteers were able to book an appointment to the uniform and accreditation centre (UAC) and go to the UAC to collect their uniforms and credentials. To be precise, volunteers were made to do this –that is, to enter the volunteer portal and book a visit to the UAC – by email.

Dear [REDACTED],

We have some great news for you: you can now book a time to collect your Rio 2016 Games uniform and accreditation pass! The pickup location is the Uniform and Accreditation Centre (UAC) and you have attend in person. Remember to bring your original ID (RG for Brazilians, Passport for foreigners).

How to book a slot:

- Access your portal [here](#);
- Click on “To Do List” and look for “My Session Options.” Now you only have to choose the best date and time to collect your uniform and pass;
- After you have booked a session, you will receive a confirmation email.

Figure 5.3: Email with the invitation to book a visit to collect uniform and accreditation

Emails for credentials and uniform collection

The invitation to schedule a visit to the UAC to collect credential and uniform was generally sent to volunteers through email. The email indicated that it was time for volunteers to schedule a visit to the UAC, through the volunteer portal, in which to collect the uniform and credential. To do this, the email indicated that volunteers had to access to the volunteer portal where they could book a day and time to visit the UAC and that once they had done this would have followed a confirmation email. The email instructed volunteers on what to do and how to do it. The email also indicated the address of the uniform and accreditation centre (UAC) and a link to show how to get there. While the address was an useful element to orientate volunteers, those who had never been to the neighbourhood had no idea on where the location was, and the link redirected to google that was not updated on the changes transport had undergone close to the Games. So volunteers resorted asking on the official volunteers Facebook page.



I am going to Rio on the 08/09, how do I get to the UAC to collect my uniform, which bus do I take?
Where you come from?
Rodoviaria or airport?
Airport, I forgot which one, LOL, and staying in Copacabana how do I do, it is far? I am kind of slow and with the walker, it seems even farther than normal! LoL
If for Santos Dumont I only need to get the VLT that you get to the front of the airport and get off at the door of Cidade do Samba. (Translation – Facebook)

However, while this was the way in which volunteers got to know when to go to collect their ‘passport to the Games’, however, at times the email with the invitation to collect credential and uniform was not received by volunteers.

The volunteer portal

The volunteer portal was one of the actors in the practice of ‘Getting the passport to the Games’. It was the place in which volunteers could book a session at the UAC to collect their uniform and credential. The email inviting volunteers to schedule a visit to the UAC to collect their passport to the Games involved the volunteer portal where the appointment had to be scheduled for volunteers to collect their uniform and credential. Thus, when the email with the invitation to get the passport to the games was received, the volunteer portal was pivotal, as it was the only way through which volunteers could schedule their visit to the uniform and accreditation centre (UAC) and get their passport to the Games.

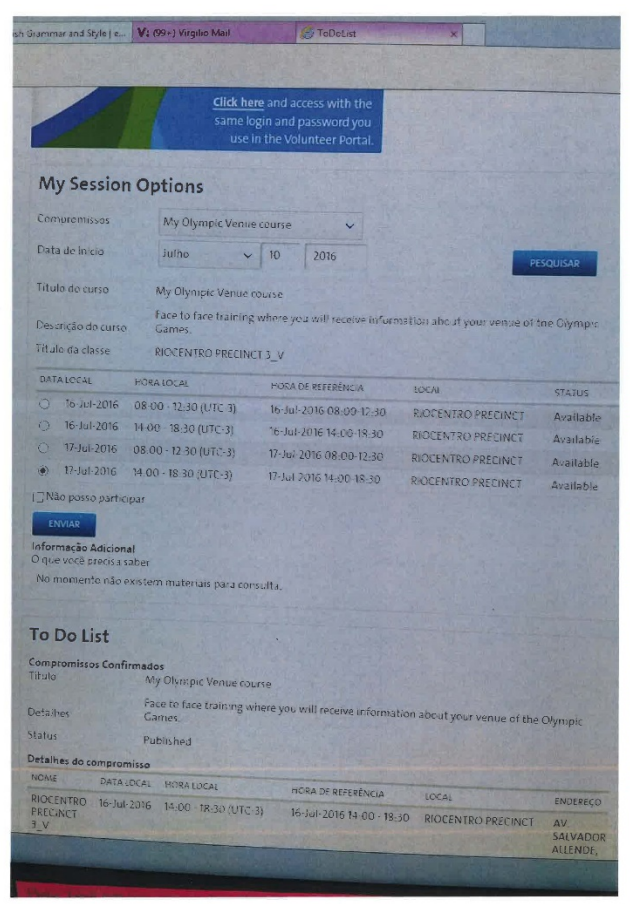
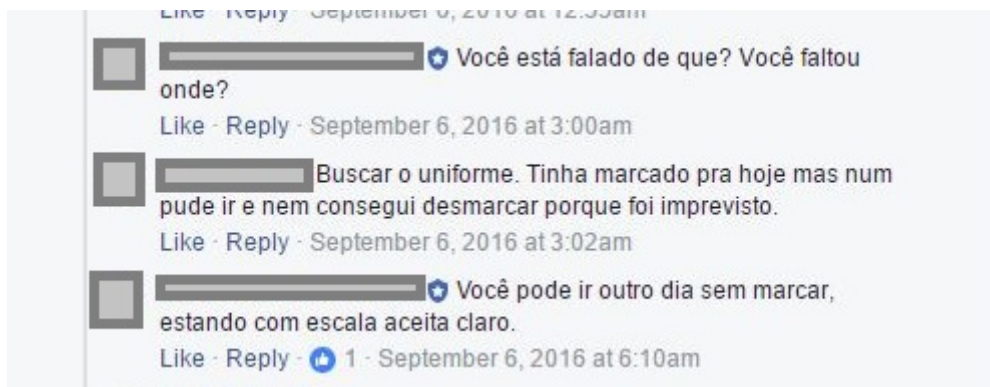


Fig. 5.4: Example of the volunteer portal page where to book an onsite training session

The volunteer's official Facebook page

The volunteer's official Facebook page was the place in which volunteers who had not received their invitation to get their passport to the Games used to write to enquire on when they would receive this. On the official Facebook page, volunteers got to know that the roster was sufficient for volunteers to visit the UAC and collect their uniform and credential. So, whether the email with the invitation was the ordinary way for volunteers to book a visit to the UAC and to collect uniform and credential, the other way in which volunteers were able to collect uniform and credential was by simply receiving the roster. In this, the volunteer's official Facebook page shifted the requirement from the email to the roster, enabling those who had received the roster to collect their uniform and credential, without the need for scheduling any visit to the UAC.



What are you talking about? What did you miss to do?

Get the uniform. I had booked for today but I cannot go and I did not manage to cancel because it was not foreseen.

You can go another day without booking, with your roster accepted of course (Translation –Facebook)

The passport of the Games: Uniform and credential

A newsletter sent in May 2016 to candidates and volunteers referred to the uniform and credential as the passport of the Games.

Now that the UAC has started operating, the long awaited Games ‘passports’ (accreditation passes and uniforms) are being distributed’ (Newsletter Rio2016, May 2016)

Indeed, the role that uniform and credential had was pivotal for volunteers and for other actors as well. Uniforms were of four different colours, based on the job function: green for event services, blue for technical official, yellow for the operational areas, and red for medical services. In being different based on the job function, the uniforms were part of the identity that volunteers were assigned when they became volunteers (Figure 5.5). The different colours made a clear mark on who had which one and volunteers had no choice to make. As part of the volunteers’ identity, uniforms were part of the social habitus of volunteers.



Figure 5.5a: Uniforms. ‘Uniforms kit are provided to the four groups of clients each of whom will receive a different colour. Green for event services, blue for technical official, red for medical services and yellow for operational areas’ (Translation – Slide on training)



Figure 5.5b: Uniform colours (Photo retrieved from www.paralympic.org © Rio2016)

The credential was an artefact that participated in the identity of volunteers, disciplining their access to the transport system, their access to the venues, their performance, and eating arrangements. The credential contained ‘inscriptions’ which consisted of a photo of the volunteer (or workforce), full name, job and functional area, and had a barcode with a serial number, the code of the cluster, and of the venue and some numbers that specified to which areas the volunteer had access to (fig.4.8). In carrying the inscriptions, the credential described the volunteer, and prescribed the way in which the volunteer had to be described.

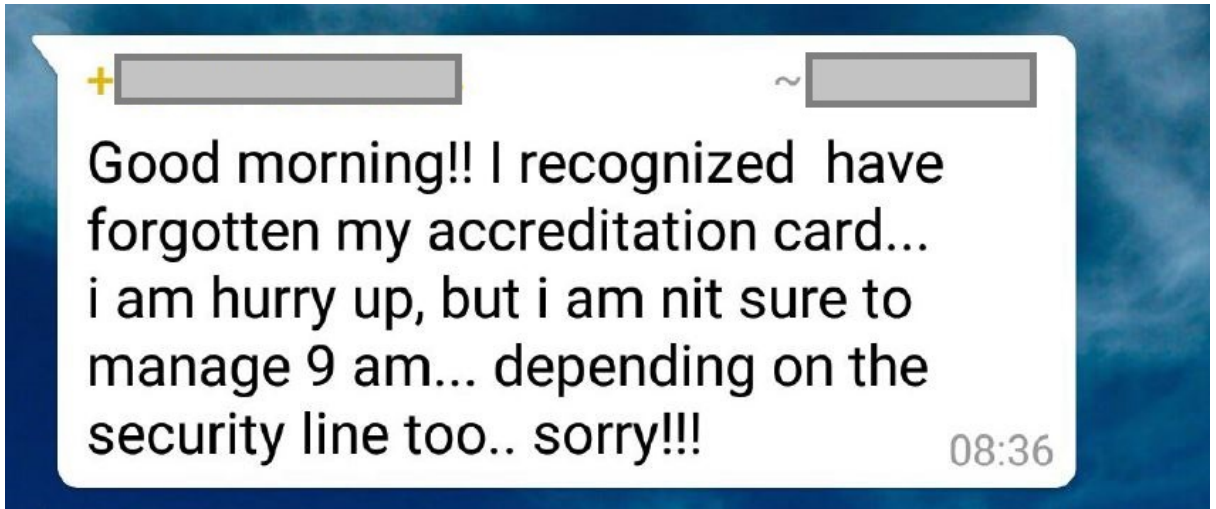


Figure 5.6: Example of a credential of the Olympic and the Paralympic Games

As part of the identity of volunteers there was the registration number that was sent by email to volunteers in the months leading up to the Games. The registration number was meant:

‘to facilitate your contact with our service centre and the Rio2016 Committee’s functional areas’
(Rio2016team, 2016)

The registration number was referred to as the identity number and was inscribed on the credential with each volunteer having a different identity number. Volunteers could not access in any other way to the venue, for instance there was no other ID that was recognised nor a verbal presentation. Volunteers were what was inscribed in the credential and that this presented through the barcode to the system. Only if the different factors/actors, among which the venue and the time of the shift were aligned, volunteer were allowed to access the venue and could perform. Part of being let in was also the recognition of a meal voucher to each volunteer who checked in. Without credential and transport card, volunteers could not access the transport system, as this was reserved to those with credentials and ticket holders.



WhatsApp, Rio2016 Boxing Press Team, 8 August

Managers and team leaders

Some of the managers and team leaders participated in the practice of getting the passport to the Games. Albeit indirectly, those managers who prepared the rosters for the volunteers working in their functional areas enabled them to getting their passport to the Games. In fact, despite the general need of volunteers to receive the email with the invitation to get the passport to the Games, as turned out to be through the official volunteers Facebook page, volunteers needed to receive their roster to be able to collect uniform and credential. As some managers prepared the rosters of their volunteers, they participated in getting the passport to the Games, as they acted as enablers.

So I changed some of the shift times, I made sure I did that before I really started to communicate with people, change some of the shift times. (Manager's voice n.28, p.3)

Roster

The roster played a role in the practice of getting the passport to the Games. Introduced in the official volunteer Facebook page, it was the element ultimately needed to volunteers to get their passport to the Games.



With roster accepted you can go to the UAC to get the uniform if you have not collected it. (Translation – Facebook)

5.2.4 Accessing the online and onsite training

In the practice of 'Accessing the online and onsite training', candidates and volunteers undertook a variable number of trainings before the Games. This depended on the number of invitations received by email and on the timespan in which these were received. A number of actors participated in this practice: candidates, emails with the invitations to undertake online and onsite trainings, policy on diversity and inclusion, the confirmation email of the onsite training, language, timing, the transport card, and managers and team leaders.

Candidates

To undertake the online and onsite trainings, candidates had to receive the invitations to complete them. Invitations to undertake the trainings (online and onsite) were sent through email. These contained the 'script' candidates had to follow to complete the training, which was accessing to the volunteer portal where the online trainings were made available for them. An exception to this was the language test, which was hosted in the Education First (EF) portal.

Emails: invitation to the online trainings

The invitations to undertake the online trainings were sent through email: one invitation per training. To access to the online training, emails with the invitations had to be received by candidates.

Everything was done by email. They sent you a lot of emails about these courses online. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 6)

This script was performable only when emails with the invitation to undertake the online trainings were sent to candidates (or received by them). However, not all candidates received all the invitations for the training.

No. They never asked for online training. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 7)

Candidates, who did not receive the invitation were not in the position to complete the training.

As volunteer, I enquired many times about the trainings that I have not received. Nobody gave me a certain answer on the reasons for which I have not received the invitation to some trainings. Sometimes, I have been told to wait, others that when available I would have received the invitation. I enquired until few days before the Games. However, I received discordant answers from those working at the customer service. (Journal 6, p. 30)

At times, the invitation to complete the training was received but left insufficient time for candidates/volunteers to undertake the training

Não deu tempo, porque precisavam de mim, me ligaram precisando de mim na quinta e na sexta feira já comecei [No, I had no time to do them, because they needed me, they rang me on Wednesday and on Friday I had already started]. (Volunteer's voice 26, p. 5)

The online chat was one of the ways available to candidates and volunteers to contact the organising committee, in particular the volunteers' office hot desks that responded to candidates and volunteers' queries. In one of these enquiries, a candidate enquired on when and whether at all she would have received the email with the invitation to undertake an online training. The answer was that waiting for the invitation to conduct the training was needed:

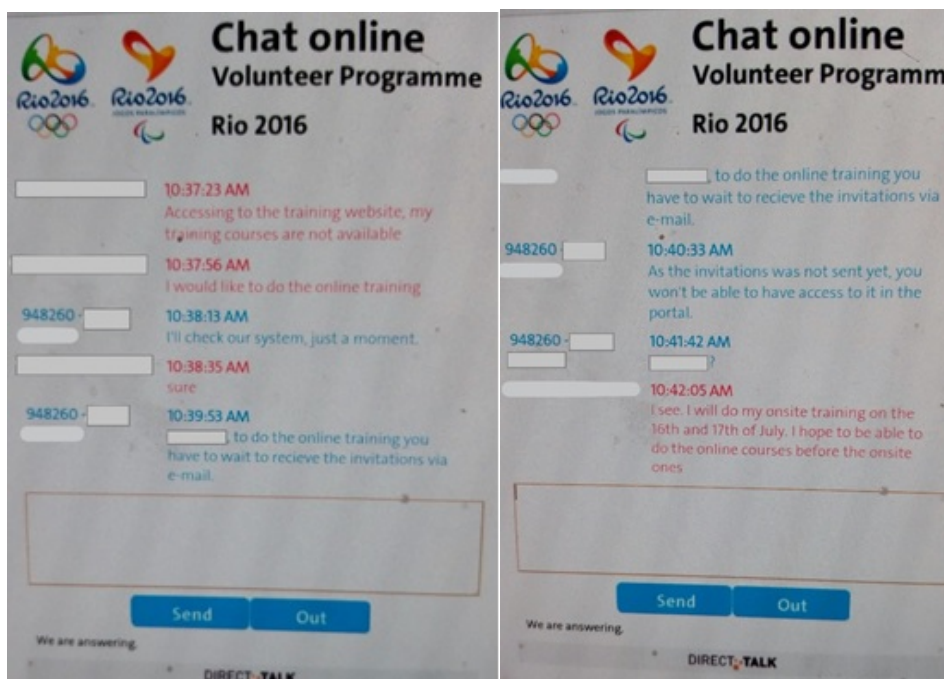


Figure 5.7: Conversation on the online chat

From this emerged how important was to receive the email with the invitation to complete the training and that those responding to the queries had little or no control over the emails.

However, not receiving the email with the invitation to undertake the trainings have not hampered the candidate's journey to volunteer. While the volunteer journeys could differ, not only it was not specified how these would have differed but also it was not clear whether there was any link between the training and the identity of volunteers in the 'making'. One of the online trainings was on diversity and inclusion.

Policy on diversity and inclusion

The policy on diversity and inclusion was one of the actors that participated to accessing the online training, as one of the online trainings was on diversity and inclusion. The online training on diversity and inclusion presented

Practical situations on how to solve some of the potential situations that could occur. The program is entirely interactive, therefore the workforce learn by doing how to promote diversity and inclusion. (Training manual, p.9)

However, the participation of the policy depended on other elements, one of which was the email with the invitation to complete the training.

The only way for which the policy could not be overlooked was to connect it with other actors. The online training on diversity and inclusion constituted a way through which the policy could get in contact with candidates, who undertook the online training. This constituted the only way through which the policy on diversity and inclusion could get in contact with potential volunteers and having the chance of being mobilised if these performed at the Games.

Email: invitation to the onsite trainings

The invitations to undertake the onsite trainings were sent through email to candidates/volunteers. Emails had an important role, which was representing the interest of all those actors that had an interest in having volunteers working at the Games. When the email acted as spokesperson for these actors attending to its role of messenger, conveying the invitation to undertake the onsite training to volunteers, volunteers were enabled to undertake the onsite training, by following the script indicated in the email and accessing to

the volunteer portal to book a training session. Once the training session was booked, an email confirmed the slot booked.

Confirmation email: address

An email confirmed to volunteers their participation to the onsite training. This email indicated the address of the venue in which the onsite training would be hosted and thus where volunteers were expected to go.

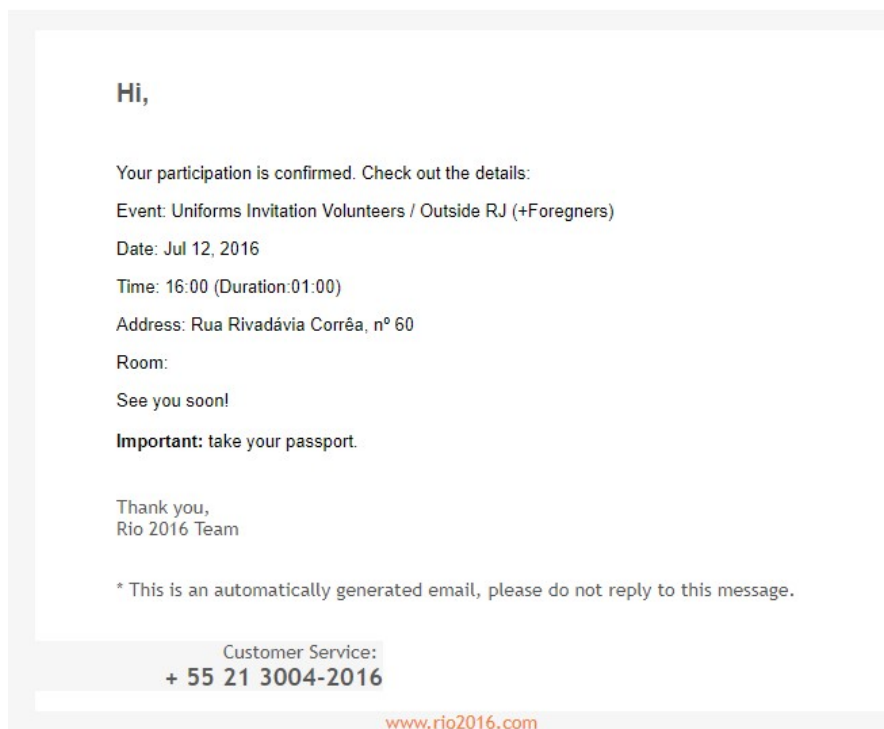


Figure 5.8: Confirmation email – accreditation and uniform collection

Onsite trainings were hosted at the university Estacio de Sa' in Barra and in the venues in which volunteers would have then performed at the Games. While the address indicated in the confirmation email provided a useful information to volunteers, however the link attached to it was not of help to volunteers, since the transportation system had undergone through modification and google was not updated with the ongoing changes in the transport system, not to say that it was misleading since it indicated to volunteers ways or means of transportation which were no longer active and thus potentially misleading volunteers who were not aware of the fact that the transport system was undergoing through changes and that these changes were not yet updated on google. Thus accessing the onsite training(s) was

not easy especially to those volunteers who were not from Rio de Janeiro and were not familiar with the places hosting them.

To me it resulted difficult to find the place in which the course was hosted. After a long walk I, and another volunteer who I had bumped into, found the place, which, as I understood afterwards was, written in event as 'Riocentro precinct 3_V'. (Journal 6, p. 19)

The onsite trainings

The onsite trainings were hosted close to the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Volunteers coming from abroad or from outside Rio de Janeiro were not in the condition of attending, because the online trainings were hosted between one month and fifteen days prior to the Games, when volunteers coming from outside Rio de Janeiro had not yet arrived. Moreover, the 'My Olympic' and 'My Paralympic' trainings were conducted only in Portuguese language. This prevented volunteers other than those speaking Portuguese from participating, as participating, they would not have understood anything of the training.

I started to receive emails. You have to book your face-to-face training, but it was very bad organised. I emailed them ok, but I see in the portal that my face to face training will be in July 2016, I am not going to be in Brazil, so what can I do? They said 'Don't worry, just wait another email' ok, I will but it was like 'seriously? I can start working without any training?' You know? But it worked good, so... (Volunteer's voice 18, p. 6)

Language

Language was one of the actors that played a role in accessing the onsite training. In fact, the only language in which the Olympic and Paralympic onsite trainings were held was in Portuguese. This, along with the time in which these were scheduled resulted in preventing volunteers who had no knowledge of Portuguese from participating.

Conducted in Portuguese, the training will last four hours on average, and it is an opportunity for you to get to know your venue in detail (Email, Team Rio 2016 | My Training face to face course)

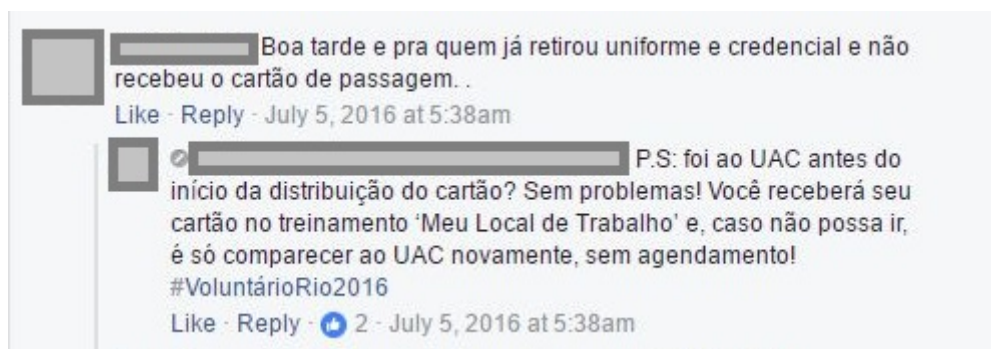
Timing

Time was one of the actors in accessing the online and online training. One of the factors that contributed in facilitating or inhibiting volunteers from undertaking the online courses depended on when the invitation to undertake the online trainings were received by the

volunteers, as the closer to the Games these were received the less was the probability that volunteers would have completed them. If the time in which the invitation letter for the online trainings were sent was one of the factors that participated into accessing the online training, the time in which the onsite trainings were scheduled was a pivotal element in the participation of volunteers from Rio de Janeiro as opposed to those coming from abroad.

Transport card

The transport card participated in accessing the onsite training. The transport card was distributed with uniforms and credential to some volunteers, when it was available at the UAC, while it was given to other volunteers at the onsite training, to those attending it.



Good evening, to those who have already collected uniform and credential but have not received the transport card...

P.S. Did you go to the UAC before the distribution of the transport card? No problem! You will receive your transport card at the training 'My (Olympic/Paralympic) venue' and, in case you could not go, you only have to go again to the UAC, without booking! #voluntarioRio2016 (Translation – Facebook)

The transport card had the role of allowing the movement of volunteers to and from the venue in which they were scheduled to work. While the role of the transport card was to allow volunteers to get to the venue at the Games, it was not specified whether volunteers could use the transport card to go to the onsite training.



A question, they gave me a transport card, when I was going to use it at the training, the card was not valid (it expired)

The Olympic transport card is expired. If you have both, try it. Otherwise, go return there and ask to have it changed.

As far as I know the card is to be used in the working days, not on trainings.

But I did use in the training and it worked.

The transport cards given to volunteers are to be used only when the roster starts.

Good afternoon and we do not take this risk because the top up of the transport card (with Vinicius and Tom) is automatic.

Guys I only used for the training in my venue, that is part of volunteering.

I used it too, and if it did not have money, we come back at home, easy!

That's it! (Translation – Facebook)

In accessing the onsite training, the transport card worked for some volunteers, acting as intermediary, and allowing them to walk through the gates placed at the entrance of the public transport and getting to the onsite training, whereas this did not work for others:

I was lucky to bump into a staff member in one of the boats that I took to get to the mainland from the island in which I lived. I asked him information and we travelled together. As my transport card was not working, in the first bus that we took to get to Riocentro, he used one of his transport cards for me. (Researcher's diary: Face to face training)

Managers and team leaders – last minute trainings

Some of the managers of the venue in which the onsite training was hosted were involved, as they had an interest in receiving and getting to know volunteers who would work with them at the Games. Managers of functional areas organised last-minute trainings at their discretion. These, as the name indicated, were staged just before the Games started and were for volunteers who did not have the chance to visit the venue in which they would perform, getting to know the place and the role in the venue.

We went through certain training but it was not normal training, it was just like a conversation-based. (voice 20, p. 3)

I came here on the 5th for the little training... They did not really know how everything will go. (Volunteer's voice 10, p. 4)

(Sobre o que foi o seu treinamento que você fez no primeiro dia?) Por quatro horas. Sobre a operação do rádio come a gente deveria proceder. Foi um treinamento intenso porque foram quatro horas para a gente poder vivenciar na pratica aquilo que a gente vai a fazer aqui, ne? [(What was the training that you did in your first day about?) For four hours. It was about the radio operations and how we should proceed with it. It was an intense training because there were four hours for us to experience in practice what we were going to do here, wasn't it?]. (Volunteer's voice 26, p. 2)

By holding the last-minute training, managers and team leaders also had the chance to meet the volunteers who would work with them at the Games and thus start to build a rapport with them.

Fui tudo muito rápido. Os voluntários chegaram no primeiro dia ou no dia anterior aos Jogos Olímpicos. Então não tivemos tempo para treina-los, o treinamento foi em loco, no local de trabalho e na hora do trabalho. Tudo fui muito rápido e sem planejamento, infelizmente [Everything was very fast. Volunteers

arrived on the first day or the day before the beginning of the Olympic Games. So we did not have time to train them, the training was onsite, in the workplace and at work time. Everything was very fast and without planning, unfortunately]. (Team leader's voice 19, p. 9)

Language was another actor that played a role, as some teams were mainly Portuguese-speaking and the last-minute training was not always in English or understandable by everyone attending.

Only in Portuguese because people who trained us did not speak English. (Volunteer's voice 16-17, p.9)

5.2.5 Getting to the venues

Volunteers had to get to the venues to work at the Games. However, volunteers were not the only actors who participated in the practice of getting to the venues. Transport card, travelling time, signage (or the lack thereof), and credential other actors in this social practice.

Volunteers

At Games time, volunteers had to get from their accommodation to the venues in which they were expected to perform. There were transport means to reach the venues hosted in the four clusters of Copacabana, Barra, Maracana, and Deodoro. Some of these underwent thorough upgrades close to the Games. As part of the temporary modifications made on the transport system for the Games, some buses and metro services were only available to those with credential and ticket holders. To get to the venues, volunteers needed their credential and transport card.

Transport card

The transport card could be collected at the uniform and accreditation centre (UAC) when it was available, or at the onsite training venue on their first day of work. For those volunteers who did not get the chance to collect it at the UAC or at the onsite training, the transport card could be collected on the first day of work. The transport card had the role of allowing volunteers to access transport to venues in which they were expected to perform without paying a fare.

Os cartões de transporte dos Jogos também podem ser utilizados nos serviços especiais de transportes da cidade, como a linha 4 do metrô, que terá uso exclusivo pelos clientes dos Jogos [The transport card (Riocard) of the Games can also be used on the special transport of the city, as the line 4 of the metro, that will be of exclusive use for clients of the Games]. (Rio 2016 - Orientações de uso do Cartão de Transporte dos Jogos)

However, this was not always the case; at times the transport card refused to work, resisting from translating the interest of the volunteers by not allowing them to pass through the gate and showing the message 'Falha na recarga' [Failure in recharging]



Figure 5.9: First shift and the Riocard is without money!

The transport card was set to cover only metropolitan areas. Thus, those volunteers coming from other urban areas had to pay the difference in fare.

It is valid for the following city transport services: trains (Supervia), underground/subway (Metrô), rapid buses (BRT) and municipal buses (Rio2016, FAQ Guidelines on Using Games Transport Card)



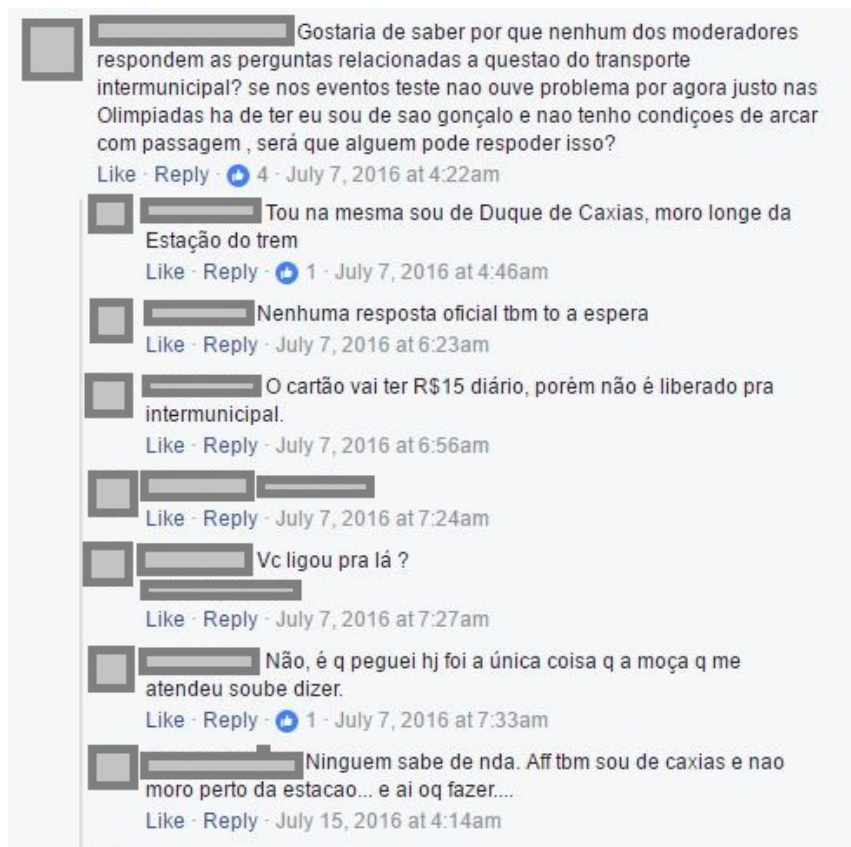
As information that I received at the training to Estacio, in the centre of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the volunteer enters directly in the public transport wearing the uniform.

This too counts, credential and uniform together do not give right to the transport, my training was there too

But you have to have the Rio Card too!

It is (works) only in the municipal transports, in the intermunicipal we do not get the right (to use it), we will have to pay from our pockets. (Translation Facebook)

Information on the use of the transport card was not clear and was not easily accessible to volunteers.



I would like to know why nobody of the moderators answer to the questions related to the intermunicipal transport? If at the test events we did not hear any problem why now at the Olympics I that come from Sao Goncalo and I am not in the position of bear the cost of the journey, could someone answer to this?

I am in the same position, I am from Duque de Caxias, I live far from the train station

No official answer I am waiting as well

The card has R15 per day, so it does not work on intermunicipal (journey)

Did you call them?

No, it is because today I received it (Rio Card) and it was the only thing the lady that attended me was able to say.

Nobody knows anything....Arg I am as well from De Caxias and I do not live close to the station...and so what do we do?... (Translation – Facebook)

For the various reasons outlined above the transport card influenced volunteers and their actions in getting to the venues.

Travelling time – space loose links

The location of the venue in which volunteers were scheduled to perform, depending on where volunteers lived, influenced the decision of volunteers, as evidenced in this quote:

A minha primeira carta de convite vem para o polo, que é aquilo que eu queria fazer. So que me jogaram para o Deodoro, impossível. Eu demoro a três horas do Deodoro, e não ia a funcionar isso... Aí me mandaram várias outras cartas para o mesmo lugar [My first invitation letter was for polo, which is what I wanted to do. But they sent me to Deodoro, impossible. I live three hours from Deodoro, and it could not work... Then, they sent me other invitation letters for the same place]. (Volunteer's voice 27, p. 4)

Eu avio recusado as duas [carta de convite].... Me chamaram para o Olímpico, pelo football a cinco também mais eu não fui, me chamaram para o atletismo no Engenhão, só que ia a sair muito tarde, terminava a meia noite e]. Olimpico (stadium), to the football five a side but I did not go, they called me for the athletics at the Engenhão, but I would have got out very late, at midnight and it was very far, I live in Copacabana'. (Volunteer's voice 7, p. 1)

Locations were far or distant because of the loose links between them; whereas locations were close because of the strong links they had. In this, the transport card played a role, since it worked only in the metropolitan area. As consequence, purchased tickets became the actors through which volunteers could get to the venue. However, the links between these different actors were loose, and this translated into more time spent travelling compared to those who lived in the metropolitan area.

Signage

Signage was another actor that played a role in getting to the venue for workforce and spectators. Signage for the Games was installed in proximity to the venues and on the transport hubs, such as metro stations. However, this was not sufficient to orient workforce and spectators in getting to the venues. The role attributed to signage was of intermediary – that is, conveying information to workforce and spectators. As signage was not sufficient to orient workforce and volunteers to get to the venues, some of them got lost in the first days of the Games.

The first time I went to Riocentro, I took the BRT at the Mouro de Outerio station and when I boarded I listened to the recorded voice listing the stops. As I was not sure on whether Riocentro was the first or the second stop, I looked outside for signs. As the BRT was approaching the stop, I saw for a moment the signage Riocentro, so I got off the BRT. (Researcher's diary, Getting to the venue).

For those who made it to the Riocentro BRT station, as only one of the two doors was open, volunteers had no alternative but to leave via the only exit available. Once outside the station there was no signage, and as the station was in the middle of a two-lane road, volunteers had

to wait to cross a road where there was a gate; however, at the gate there was no indication of the name of the venue (as shown in Figure 5.10).



Figure 5.10: Riocentro gate

The signage had the same effect on spectators. The lack of signage has influenced the spectators by creating the opportunity of interaction between spectators, who asked information, and volunteers. The lack of signage influenced also the travelling time between different venues.

Voce sabe onde esta o banheiro?

O banheiro?

Ai, esta estrutura branca e vermelha. Este deveria ser um banheiro.

Ok, obrigado.

De nada.

[Do you know where is the toilet?

The toilet?

There, there is a red and white structure. That one should be a toilet.

Ok, thanks.

You are welcome]. (Spectator's comment in Volunteer's voice 14-15, p .9)

Excuse me, where is badminton?

Pavilion 4. Pavilion 4 is not this one, this is the 5. Four should be the next one. The access is on the left and then on the right. (Spectator's comment in Volunteer's voice 13, p. 5)

That is one thing, because I thought they would have more signs. (Volunteer's voice 30, p. 8)

Figure 5.11 shows a photo of a totem placed on the way out of the green square and in which Pavilion 6 was not indicated.



Figure 5.11: Photo of the totem in Riocentro facing the exit. Pavilion 6 is not listed.

Credential – check in – schedule – difference between credential at the Olympic and Paralympic Games

In getting to the venues, the credential was an actor that played an important role, as without a credential volunteers could not access the venue. The inscriptions on the volunteer's credential (Figure 5.6) determined the allocation of volunteers, including the functional area, job, and physical spaces (venue in the Olympic credential, cluster in the Paralympic credential) and, in doing so, determined who the volunteers were. Volunteers were verified and labelled by the 'bits and pieces' (Law, 1992, 386) inscribed in the credential that as such was the spokesperson for the volunteer in front of the system.

However, at times the credential did not translate volunteers' interest and denied them the access to the venue.

5.2.6 Performing

Performing was a practice that took place at the Games and to which different actors participated with volunteers being only one of those. Among the other actors there are the barcode, the barcode scanner, the system, the workforce manager, the workroom, the whiteboard, the crowd control barrier, lockers, Wi-Fi, air con and radios. The activities presented are the ones volunteers undertook on the site of Riocentro and Forte de Copacabana, respectively in the functional areas of press operations and facility management in Pavilion 6 and at the venue communication centre (VCC).

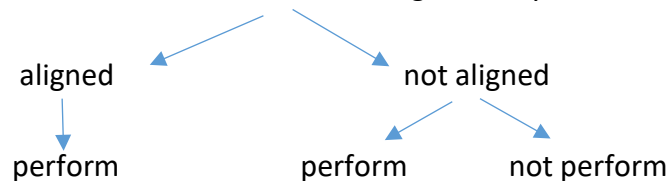
Volunteers

The Games was the time for volunteers to perform in the different roles, which they were assigned. The volunteers' performances comprise but are not limited to the job tasks that volunteers were required to undertake. These comprised the check in, waiting to start, taking the role, assisting photographers and journalists, preventing non-accredited people from accessing the mixed zone, providing information and assistance to the press, and following conversations. In each of these, the other actors and their role are presented.

Check-in

Check-in was a common practice of workforce and volunteers at the Games. Volunteers had to check in to perform. This took place in the workforce check in tent where those with credentials had to go after passing the pedestrian screening access control. Each venue had its own workforce check in tent. Volunteers waited their turn to have their credential scanned by a barcode reader held by a volunteer and waited few seconds before receiving the meal voucher. During this time the barcode reader transmitted the information contained into the barcode to the management system which verified whether the information regarding the identity of the volunteer and displayed in the credential and conveyed by the barcode was aligned to the information in the system. As result of this, if the information provided by the barcode was aligned with the information in the system, and that comprised not only the allowance to access the venue but also the alignment with the shift indicated in the system, the volunteer could start the shift, and a meal voucher and Rio2016 gadgets were given. If the information provided differed from the one in the system, the volunteer could be left out, as the components of the information that the credential indicated had to be aligned with the information in the system for volunteer to check in. In this practice participated the barcode scanner, the barcode credential, the workforce check in volunteer and manager, and the management system.

Credential - Barcode – barcode scanner – management system



‘A credential tambem tem um dispositivo tecnologico nela. Porque para você entrar no parque olímpico, você tem que apresentar ela na entrada, e tem um leitor de código de barras’ [the credential also has a technological tool in it. Because to access to the Olympic park, you need to present it, while there there is a barcode reader]. (Volunteer’s voice 31, p.3)

The barcode scanner

The barcode scanner generally acted as intermediary as it read the information inscribed in the barcode of the credential, that regarded the volunteer identity, and conveyed that to the system where the identity of the volunteer was compared to the one in the system.

The barcode on the credential

The credential contained the information that was required by volunteers to access the venue. The barcode on the credential conveyed the information inscribed in the credential to the barcode reader. In this, the barcode acted as spokesperson for the credential and the information inscribed in it, as it provided the information to the barcode reader, which was then compared with the one the management system had.

They scan my badge (credential) and then sometimes they give souvenir if there was a souvenir there, and I get a water... and they give me a meal voucher. (Volunteer's voice 30, p.5)

The workforce check in volunteer

The workforce check in volunteer used to scan the barcode of the volunteer's credential with a barcode reader, and by doing so the volunteer acted as an intermediary, performing the role that he/she was attributed thus and translating the interest of other actors, among which the interest of the system that wanted to make sure that only those with the right credential would access to the venue.

When we do the check in we see the system, for example you are coming at 3pm and we see in the system that you are supposed to be here at 6am. (Manager's voice n.32, p.6)

The system

The system participated in the decision of who was allowed to perform and who was not allowed to perform, as the information carried by the credential was compared with the one in the system. Based on the alignment of the former (credential) with the latter (system), volunteers were allowed or not to access the venue and to perform. The system was pivotal in determining not only those who could perform but also who would receive sunscreen protector, the Rio2016 gadgets and the meal voucher.

The alignment between the identities of the volunteers, as inscribed in the credential, with the identity in the system influenced the practice of eating, as only volunteers whose information on the credential was aligned with the one in the system received the meal vouchers that were needed for volunteers to eat.

Workforce manager

If the information in the credential aligned with the one in the system, the volunteer could perform, beginning his/her shift. If the information resulted in being not aligned with the one in the system, the manager could decide on whether let the volunteer in or not.

Pela necessidade de cada um de assistir ao Jogos, de sair o de trabalho o alguma coisa, a gente conseguiu mudar mais as vezes não muda na schedule, a gente muda entre eles mesmo, ou eles trocam ou a gente troca. (Manager's voice n.22, p. 2)

We have many problems with schedule here; it is one of the biggest issues that we have here. (Manager's voice, 32, pp.2–3)

Yes, it is because sometime the manager asks them to change the shift, or even the volunteer ask to change and the leaders sometime don't have time to change, to update, and then volunteers come after and it's wrong. (Manager's voice n.32, p.3)

By complying with the indication provided by the system, the manager espouses the interest of the system, acting as intermediary, simply executing the script indicated by the system. which was based on the alignment between the information on the credential and the information in the system. If the information provided by the credential was different from the one in the system, the manager could decide to not let the volunteer in.

What I learned from the Olympics is that I will never ask a volunteer to go home, to leave, but I think here we work as human resources, we need to educate, we need to show them that they are wrong. (Manager's voice n. 32, p.3)

The identity of volunteer comprised the inscriptions in the credential (the barcode, the codes of venues, the job, the full name, the functional area, and the registration number), and the information indicated in the system. It disciplined to which venue and cluster, volunteers had access to. Volunteers were those information written on their credential. Thus, what was not written in the credential did not exist, volunteers deeply relied/depended on the credential and on the system to perform at the Games.

In Riocentro

In the venue of Riocentro, the researcher followed the performances of the actors of the press operations in Pavilion 6, which hosted boxing and sitting volley at the Olympic and Paralympic

Games. This was possible because the researcher was directly involved into the press operations as volunteer in Pavilion 6. Performing took the form of waiting to start, taking the role, assisting photographers and journalists and checking their credentials (the tasks of photo and press team members), preventing non-accredited personnel from accessing the mixed zone (mixed-zone team members). In each of these practices several were the actors involved and that are presented.

Waiting to start

Waiting to start was a common practice among volunteers performing in press operations in Pavilion 6. Due to a mistake, the manager communicated to volunteers that they had to arrive at the venue early, and be physically present for at least 7–8 hours to qualify for a meal voucher. In waiting to start time played a role in the interactions between volunteers.

It's because we are asked to be really early at our pavilion but it lasts nearly two hours before something is to do. (Volunteer's voice 11, p.1)

Today it was 9 to 5 but I finished at around 3. So usually the hours are bigger than you actually needed it, because how the system is right now you have to have some hours to qualify for a meal voucher, which is fine. (Volunteer's voice 30, p.5)

Time

Participated to the practice of waiting to start and facilitated the interactions between volunteers and between volunteers, team leaders and managers at a time in which there was not task at hand to undertake. The spare time that volunteers happen to spend at the venue was initially spent at the workroom, particularly at the coffee hub and at the workroom table.

The workroom: the coffee hub and the air con

The workroom was the place in which volunteers arriving at the venue gathered. At the entrance of the workroom there was a table, where everybody entering to the workroom would stop by. It constituted a meeting point, for volunteers, but also a place in which volunteers met managers team leaders and in which journalists and photographers met volunteers. The coffee hub was the area in the workroom where at the beginning of the Games, volunteers hanged out mingling while having coffee or tea. The coffee hub facilitated

the initiation of conversation between volunteers and between volunteers and team leaders and managers and it was a good opportunity for volunteers to get to know each other.

[Between the arrival and the beginning of the operations] I stay with my team, we chat, we have fun together, we have coffee. (volunteer's voice 18, p.2)

However, an email sent after few days invited volunteers not to use the coffee hub in the workroom, as this was instead reserved for clients (the press) who were the intended recipients of the service.

- The tea and coffee 'refreshment station' is complimentary for our *clients*.
- After running out of coffee/hot water a few times in the last couple of days, and our clients having to wait 15-20 minutes for this to be replenished, I have asked all Functional Areas of Pavilion 6 not to enter the VMC unless they need to operationally, and they have a '4' Zone, and I have explicitly asked them not to help themselves to tea and coffee.

PLEASE NOTE: Having said all that, as we are now being firm on our colleagues from other areas, I think it is only fair that from tomorrow, Saturday 13th August (Day 8), that our entire team – staff and volunteers – no longer use the free tea and coffee facilities. I ask for your understanding. Coffee can be purchased in the concession stand in the VMC. You can grab water anytime.

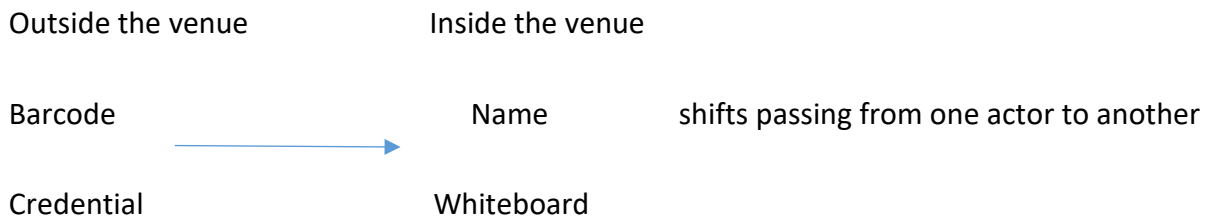
Figure 5.12: Email – (Almost) half-way update! (13 August 2016)

The email acted as intermediary of the clients' interest, as it conveyed the message obeying to the role attributed to it and altered the dynamics around the coffee hub.

Taking the role

This practice consisted in ticking the names of the volunteers off from a whiteboard at their arrival in the workroom (check the name of the room). The manager wrote the names of the volunteers expected to turn up in any given shift and either the manager or the volunteer ticked the name off as they came in. This practice had a twofold aspect. The first related to a slight shift into the identities of volunteers from the barcode to the name on the whiteboard. The identity of volunteers could be changed in this process; for example, the job they undertook could change through a collegial decision between managers and team leaders based on circumstances, and these varied on daily basis. The second aspect was the activity of inscribing the volunteers' names on the whiteboard, which resulted in a team-building type activity as it also facilitated the recognition of 'who was who'. Volunteers, managers and team leaders referred to each other by their names, not by their barcode.

Volunteers' identity



The relevance of the credential changed after the check-in to the venue, at the venue in which they performed. In the venue in which volunteers performed, nobody questioned volunteers on their position or role and whether this differed from the one the credential assigned to them. That credentials were not relevant inside the venue was demonstrated by volunteers performing in different roles in different parts of the venue, even in areas other than those to which their credential granted access. This was referred by some volunteers as doing a second check in:

I have just to do two check ins and arrive directly here. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 2)

I was supposed to be in the workroom when we started [name] said to us to work in other areas. (Team leader's voice 24, p. 2)

Photo team and press team members: Assisting photographers and journalists

Volunteers

Photo and press team member volunteers provided information to journalists and photographers (in the majority of cases, indicating where they could sit) and provided them with access to the press tribune. This practice comprised checking credentials to prevent those without appropriate credentials from accessing the press tribune. In ensuring that only those who had the 'right' credential could access the press tribune, volunteers acted as intermediary, translating the interest of the press and photographers whose 'spokesperson' (Latour, 1987) was the credential, as it was the element volunteers checked.

I have to look after the photographers, if they need some help, if they look for the position where they can take photos. I always look around, if they are satisfied, if they need something. (Volunteer's voice 11, p. 2)

I have to show them where they can stay. Most of the times I have to say, it is allowed to stay here, there. Professionals do not ask. They want to be on their own and to find their place. So we need to say 'you need to stay here, we have to go there'. It is more fighting on the rules of the game. While others fight with spectators who are always seated on the seats for the press operations [laughter]. (Volunteer's voice 11, p. 4)

Credential

The credential was determinant for journalists and photographers. Photographers and journalists had to have the 'right' credential – that is, the credential had to have certain inscriptions for press and photographers to be allowed in the press tribune. Volunteers looked at the press and photographers' credentials when they arrived at the press tribune and, based on the information the credential provided, allowed or refused entry.

Usually they (members of the press) ask me nothing because I have to show where they can stay. Most of the times I have to say, it is not allowed to stay here, there. So professionals do not ask...So we need to say 'you need to stay here. (Vol. 11, p.1)

Olha, eu geralmente tenho que checar a credencial deles (da imprensa) para saber se estão sentados na tribuna certa. Tem locais que as pessoas podem fotografar, tem locais que não podem fotografar, locais naquele podem filmar e outros que não, outros que é só para escrever. Entao tem que checar, ver o credencial de acordo com as normas e ver onde eles devem ficar, e' basicamente isso' [Look, generally I have to check their (press) credential to know if they are seated in the right tribune. There are places in which people (press) can take photos, other places in which they can't take photos, and places in which they can film and others in which they cannot, that are only to write. So I have to check, look the credential according to the rules and see where they have to stay, this is basically it]. (Volunteer's voice 31, p.3)

Check in to see if you are here in the ... zone if you are not here in the ... zone from the cameras, you look to see if they are recording and then check to see if they are making any violations because their (press) accreditation does not allow them to do so much. (Volunteer's voice 30, p.6)

Mixed zone team members

Volunteers performing as mixed zone team members conducted a screening activity preventing non-accredited personnel from accessing the mixed zone and preventing filming from taking place. Journalists had to have the right credential to access the press mixed zone.

Others needed to have an upgrade, an additional pass, to enter. These passes were distributed by the mixed zone manager following the registration of the person collecting the pass.

Additional pass

An additional pass was needed by some journalists, whose credential did not display the type of inscription required to access the mixed zone. In this scenario, volunteers acted as intermediary, as they made sure that the interest of journalists who had the right inscription on their credential was translated and they could access to the mixed zone.

[Name], every time a pass [credential] has not a yellow or orange tag around OCOG, he writes down something and gives a badge to the journalist to access to the mixed zone. (Researcher's diary)

Crowd control barriers

The credential was the basis for an ordering activity though only granting access to those with the right inscription in the credential. This was enforced by the crowd control barriers which joined volunteers in adjudicating credentials to ensure not that only those with the right inscriptions on their credential were admitted but also that, in the mixed zone, those who had entered from separate doors remained separate, allowing contact between these areas but not free movement. Journalists entering from the journalist door, for example, could not exit from any other door. In this attempt to order activity, in which volunteers acted in the interest of the credential, which in turn translated the interest of journalists, the crowd control barriers contributed to ensuring journalists and athletes and coaches would come into contact but would remain separate. The crowd control barriers made difficult for the mixed zone manager to give upgrades to journalists, as often he had to pass from one side to the other to register their names and give them upgrades.

As a journalist needed an upgrade, I ask to one of the mixed zone team members working at the agencies access point to call the manager to register the journalist and give him the upgrade. (Researcher's diary, mixed zone)

Lack of signage

At the mixed zone door, the lack of signage facilitated the interactions between people from the operations and mixed zone team members working at the door with whom they enquired

on whether other areas of press operations were located. The role of the missing signage shows that the actor does not have to be present to have a role. Signage is a powerful actor, as it acts despite its absence through the mixed zone team member, who acts as spokesperson, working at the doors.

Por for a, os acessos, sempre avia alguém...sempre e isso é um tasto muito importante para saber que...para dizer ao jornalista onde ele deve ir para trabalhar, e perguntavam 'onde é a zona mista? Onde ha a sala de imprensa? Onde é a tribuna. (Manager's voice 29, p.5)

Journalists still come at the entrance of the mixed zone, look around and leave. Others ask me where is the game and I reply straight ahead and on the left. (Researcher's diary)

TV

The televisions in the mixed zone at the Olympics and towards the end of the Paralympics were a point of contact between Pavilion 6 and the actions that were taking place there and the mixed zone. These kept the operations taking place in the different places of the same venue synchronised, with the televisions in the mixed zone and in the workroom transmitting images of the competitions staged in Pavilion 6, with the athletes' transit being quicker. The role of the TV also emerges indirectly in volunteers working in other roles, such as language services and doping, who enquired with mixed zone team members on whether a certain athlete had arrived or had already passed from the mixed zone.

Sim, tornou mais rapido a passage. Hoje dia ante o atleta passava pelo OBS, e empregava 15 minutos, agora o atleta em 4-5 minutos o atleta chega'[Yes, the transit (of the athlete) became faster. Before the athlete used to transit through the OBS, and spent 15 minutes, now the athlete in 4-5 minutes arrives (in the mixed zone)]. (Manager's voice 29, p.7)

I am checking on the TV when it is time to go in for the final match. The last match is a final, so more people will be needed. (Researcher's diary)

A person (volunteer) from the doping control asked me if I have seen the first two athletes who lost the first two fights. (Researcher's diary)

Workroom team members: Providing information and assistance to journalists and photographers

The workroom was the arrival point for press and volunteers, where journalists wrote their stories if not seated at the press tribune and the place where press conferences were held. In the workroom, the workroom team members provided information to the journalists and photographers about the competitions, on how to get around and access to the Wi-Fi service. They registered journalists and photographers who intended to rent a locker, by noting down their credential number and name in a paper.

I was supposed to see if the workroom was cleaned, check the schedules, see if everything (was) all right inside the room without people talking loudly...if the TVs were working, if coffees were prepared, and as they are working with cables, if it was working internet, Wi-Fi. (Team leader's voice 24, p.3)

Lockers

The lockers facilitated the interactions between journalists and photographers with workroom team members, as they needed to be registered to get a locker key (evidence below).

Competition schedule

Competition schedules constituted the list of the competitions to be staged on the day. Although competition schedules were available online, journalists and photographers frequently asked workroom team member for copies, which generally were kept on the workroom table. Competition schedules were available online and accessible through MyInfo+. However, the press had to first register to the Wi-Fi if they wanted to access from their laptops with a personal account to MyInfo+.

Operatively, we have to help photographers and journalists to do their job. If they ask us for some information, morning and evening shifts, the results of the games or information about transport, about Rio, if they need a locker we give them the key. (Volunteer's voice 12, p. 1)

Wi-Fi

The Wi-Fi was a service available for workforce and clients at the Games and it was free. However, to connect to the Wi-Fi a registration to the Wi-Fi service was needed. This was a long process, in which several were the fields to fill in to register in which it was sufficient to

make a mistake and as consequence of it not being able to register and thus to connect to the Wi-Fi. Clients were always 'on the go' moving between venues in different clusters to write their articles or taking the best photos, so they did not have much time available. So the long and not straightforward process of registering to the Wi-Fi resulted not ideal for the press.

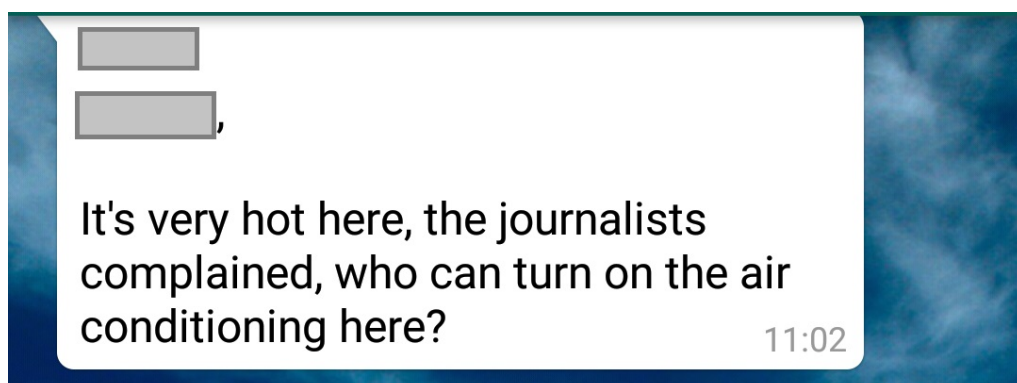
We are helping journalists with the Wi-Fi connection, we are doing the lockers. (Volunteer's voice 14-15, p. 1)

In this, workroom team members were involved, as those of the press who encountered problems with the Wi-Fi enquired with them.

Then, I was helping few people with the Wi-Fi connection because they had to go through the registration for the first time and it is kind of a long process, so they are usually not able to do it, so I help. (Volunteer's voice 14-15, p.2)

Air Conditioner

The workroom was hosted in a temporary tent and had air conditioner. While the air conditioner was supposed to maintain a pleasant temperature for those working inside the workroom, considered the high humidity of Rio de Janeiro in August (winter) and the high number of laptops and electronic devices that were working in the workroom, nonetheless temperature in the workroom was an issue through both Games. It was either too hot or cold in the workroom and the press asked to turn the air con on or off. The problem with the air con was not the air con per se, but the fact that there was one remote control for air con positioned in two different spaces, one was the warm up area and the other one the workroom.



Rio2016 SVS Press Team – 18 September 2016

Forte de Copacabana

In Forte de Copacabana, the researcher had the opportunity to perform in the functional area of facility management at the Venue Communication Centre (VCC), which coordinated and oversaw the communication between different areas before, during and after the competitions hosted in Forte de Copacabana. Forte de Copacabana hosted the competitions of triathlon, cycling, aquatic marathon and para triathlon, para cycling and ...at the Games.

Venue Communication team members: following the conversations

The venue communication team members were the volunteers operating in the Venue Communication Centre (VCC). Performing took the form of monitoring the conversations in the different radio channels, intervening in conversations when needed to connect different areas or solve problems, and making scheduled 'all call' to all functional areas. To the practice of following the conversations, volunteers were not the only actors taking part to it. Radios, the nature of the place in which the competitions were staged, the weather conditions, and WhatsApp were other actors that participated in following the conversations.

Eu fico monitorando as conversas/ comunicacoes de radio, identificando possíveis problemas e atuando nesses possíveis problemas para sanarlos mais rápido possível [I monitor the radio conversations, identifying potential problems and intervening to solve them as soon as possible]. (Volunteer's voice 6, p.1)

A gente monitora tudo aquilo que esta' acontecendo na competição. Além de monitorar, nos damos suporte quando as equipes estão na...precisam de ajuda [We control everything that happens during a competition. Besides monitoring, we support when the teams are in ... need help]. (Volunteer's voice 23, p2)

Radios

Communication between the different functional areas took place through radios, which generally allowed operations undertaken in different places to be coordinated. Radio translated the interest of clients, of sport, of spectators, of athletes allowing the communication between different functional areas and places.

O radio e' que ajuda muito mais são as distancias. (Volunteer's voice n.27, p.3)

However, the radio communication were influenced by the nature of the place and the weather conditions.

The nature of the place

There have been cases in which the route of the competition ran through mountains where the reception of radio was weak. The nature of the place, such as mountain, influenced the communication hampering it. In this case, radios did not assist with the communication between different functional areas. By hampering the communication, the nature of the place resisted from translating the interest of volunteers, athletes and of the functional areas that intended to make sure the operations ran smoothly.

Por exemplo no triátlon eles tiveram um circuito até a lagoa, aí em cima da montanha e voltar e tinha pontos aí que o rádio não funcionava... eles alugaram um outro rádio e distribuíram as pessoas ao longo da rua para que as informações chegassem [For instance, in triathlon they had a circuit going till the Lagoa, and there until the top of the mountain and returning and there were parts in which the radio did not work...they rented other radios and distributed to people along the circuit so that the information would arrive]. (Manager's voice 35, p. 4)

Weather conditions

Weather was one of the actors that participated in the practice of following the conversations. As competitions took place in an open venue, the weather conditions influenced the radio signal, as when it was windy the weather made radio communication difficult.

A dificuldade da rua, a complexidade do clima, se fosse ventão... então o clima é uma coisa na uma instalação aberta, o problema do sinal de rádio [The difficulty of the circuit, the complexity of the weather, if it was windy... so the weather is one element in open venues, the problem with the radio signal]. (Manager's voice 35, p. 3)

WhatsApp

WhatsApp participated in following the conversations, as it was the place in which the manager used to check in with volunteers on who was available for the next shift and if someone was available to take up the role if some of the volunteers could not turn up to the shift. So roster changes took place through WhatsApp, as it was the opportunity for everybody

to be informed and give availability. WhatsApp took the place of schedule, the program in which the workforce was rostered.

Manager → schedule – email – volunteer (acceptance) – email confirming the acceptance

Manager – WhatsApp group – Volunteers



Ai, inicialmente não foi isto que aconteceu mais depois pela necessidade de cada um de assistir aos Jogos, de sair o de trabalho o alguma coisa, a gente conseguiu mudar mais as vezes não muda na schedule, a gente muda entre eles mesmo, ou eles trocam ou a gente troca' [So, initially it was not this that happened but afterwards due to the necessity of everyone to participate to the Games, leave before or anything else, we succeeded changing (the way of doing) but sometimes we do not change in schedule, but between us, either they (volunteers) change between them or we (managers) change. (Manager's voice 22, p.2)

5.2.7 Eating

Eating was one of the practices undertaken in the volunteer program and consisted in the break volunteers had to eat. In this practice, volunteers were not the only ones involved. In fact, meal voucher, competition schedules, the physical places in which eating took place (the refectory) and in which volunteers performed, the type of food, WhatsApp and the tables in the refectory were all actors that participated to eating.

Volunteers working at the press operations in Pavilion 6 of Riocentro performed eating in two ways, depending on the competition schedules. Volunteers working at the venue communication centre in Forte de Copacabana performed eating in two ways, depending on the competition schedule, and on the type of sport. Volunteers needed meal vouchers to eat.

Meal voucher

At the check in, a meal voucher was distributed to each volunteer, whose barcode information was aligned with the information in the system. The meal voucher was to be given at the refectory where volunteers could get their meals, be this a hot meal or a lunch box. Without receiving the meal voucher, volunteers could not eat.

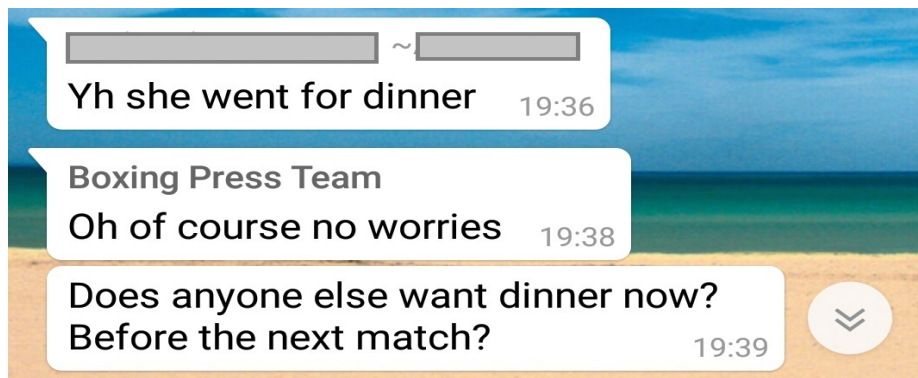
When I arrive at my pavilion in Riocentro, first I have to go through security checks, after we are asked to do the check in for working forces. Then, I got a ticket for my lunch. That's very important for every one (laughter) because we get a free meal. (Volunteer's voice 11, p.2)

Type of sport and physical places

The type of sport hosted in Riocentro, Pavilion 6 and Forte de Copacabana differed. Pavilion 6 hosted boxing and sitting volley, while Forte the Copacabana hosted road cycling, triathlon, and open-water marathon at the Olympics and Para triathlon, aquatic marathon and paracycling at the Paralympics. The type of sport influenced the nature of the competition, its length, duration and the places in which these could take place. Forte de Copacabana was an open venue, as it had both sea and road in which the competitions were staged. Whereas Pavilion 6 was an enclosed venue as the type of sports hosted needed a central place in which the sports were played surrounded by stands for spectators and clients. The type of sport influenced the physical place in which this was staged; as it is not thinkable nor applicable for road-cycling or open-water marathon to be staged in a pavilion. The type of sport also influenced the competition schedules.

Competition schedules

The competition schedules participated to the practice of eating, as the type of sport influenced the way in which the competition schedules were organised. In Riocentro, the two sessions, morning and evening, gave the possibility to volunteers to go to the refectory and eat in groups. The change from two sessions to one towards the final reduced the number of volunteers going to have break/eat together, since volunteers were needed in the venue to assist the operations. The competitions scheduled in Forte de Copacabana were different from the ones in Riocentro, as different was the type of sport. The competitions lasted from early morning to early afternoon with competitions not scheduled every day. The competition schedules influenced the way the activities, among which eating, were undertaken. Probably due to the type of sport, the competitions were scheduled differently and influenced the practice of eating for which volunteers had 30 minutes. Eating took place at the refectory (Riocentro) and in the venue (VCC) in which volunteers performed.



(WhatsApp, Rio2016 SVB Press Team, 11 September)

The refectory

The refectory was identified in the volunteer's guide as the place in which volunteers were expected to have their break and eat. The position of the refectory and the way in which its internal operations were undertaken changed from venue to venue. Some refectories offered hot meals, as in Riocentro, whereas others, such as Forte de Copacabana, offered lunch boxes. Both places had in common the time volunteers had to spend from the venue to get to the refectory to eat.

Walk a long way to get food during/after your shift – you are the furthest pavilion and there is only one place to go. (Rio2016 Boxing Press Volunteer Update – Number 8, p. 1)

The type of food

The type of sport and thus the nature of the competition and its schedule influenced the way in which not only eating took place but also the type of food that volunteers would eat. In Riocentro, where the competitions were shorter than in Forte de Copacabana, and the competition schedules allowed volunteers to go to the refectory where in exchange of a voucher, the food available was hot meal. In Forte de Copacabana, the competitions lasted longer and probably due to the type of sport and competition schedule the food that volunteers received in the exchange of a meal voucher was a lunch box. Time available for the break (eating) and competition schedules influenced the way eating was performed and with it the type of food volunteers had. In Forte de Copacabana, eating took place in the venue communication centre where volunteers had their lunch boxes. While in lunch boxes the food was not hot it could be consumed anytime. So eating was generally an individual practice in Forte de Copacabana, however the lunch box the manager placed in the middle of the table created a shared practice of eating (Figure 5.13).



Figure 5.13: Photo showing lunch box in middle of table

Tables

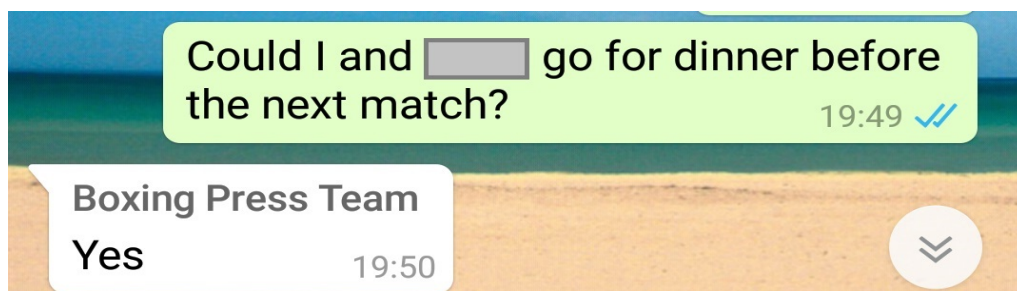
In the refectory, there were ‘assemblages’ of tables that allowed the workforce from the different pavilions to seat together to eat while sharing stories. The tables translated the interest of volunteers of eating with others and sharing some time. So tables acted as intermediaries.



Figure 5.14: Eating - Photo posted in the Rio2016 volunteers Facebook group

WhatsApp

When the competition schedules were reduced from two to one, in Pavilion 6, WhatsApp came into play, as it acted as an intermediary, facilitating the interactions between volunteers, team leaders and managers working in Pavilion 6. WhatsApp created that proximity between them, where distance became nil, as everyone was tuned into WhatsApp. WhatsApp translated the interest of the workforce without disrupting it.



(WhatsApp, Rio2016 SVB Press Team, 9 September)

Eating was an activity undertaken differently in different venues. This emerged to be dependent on the type of sport, type of venue and competition schedules. In eating, the meal voucher gave access to food around which the practice of eating was designed.

5.2.8 Mingling on 'Zap' (WhatsApp)

Mingling on 'Zap' was a practice that comprised tasks, operational activities, such as checking on whether what a journalist or photographer could do what he was doing, of activities at the edge of performing, such as eating and in other activities such as nights out, barbecue, and swapping tickets. Considering the diversity of the activities undertaken when mingling on zap, volunteers were only one of the actors with managers and team leaders, with WhatsApp, physical places, air con, rosters, food, tasks, barbecues, and nights out that participated in the practice of Mingling on zap. Differently from the other practices 'mingling on Zap' and performing comprised activities that regarded tasks as job not related activities.

Managers and team leaders

Managers created the WhatsApp groups in which the volunteers working in the venue were included and since then several were the activities undertaken in mingling on WhatsApp.

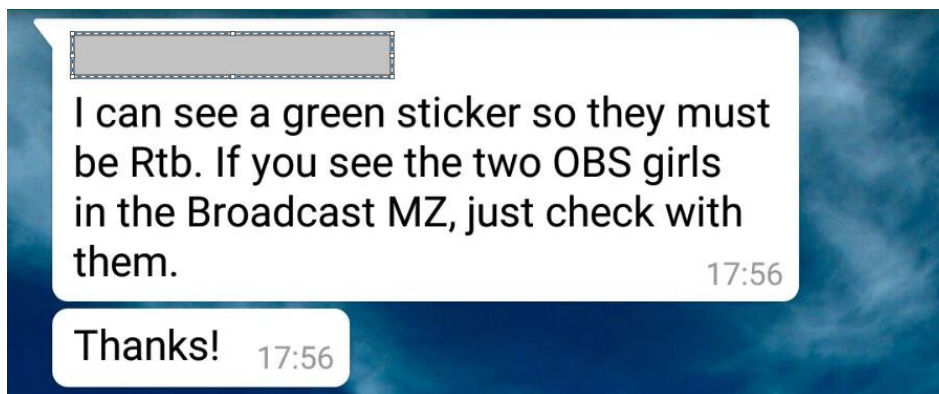
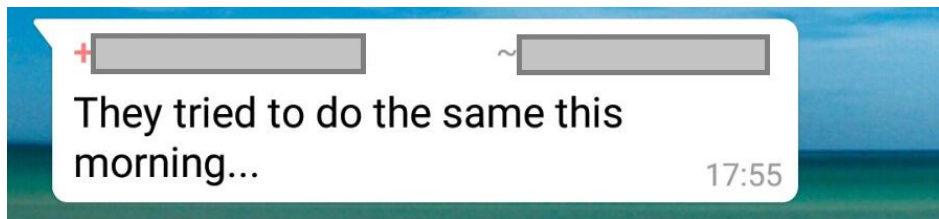
'A gente entrou e pediu para a xxx já abrir um grupo para facilitar a comunicação' [When I accessed (started to work) and asked to xxx to create a group to facilitate the communication] (Manager's voice 35, p.12)

WhatsApp

In Pavilion 6, WhatsApp participated in the 'ordering' activity of eating in which volunteers went into groups. In this the physical places, the location of Pavilion 6 and the refectory played a role.

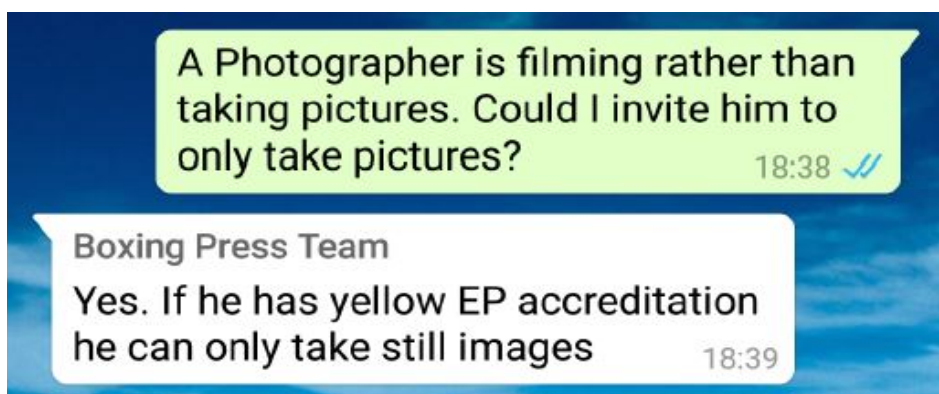
Physical places

The press operations in Pavilion 6 were undertaken in different physical places: the workroom, the mixed zone, and Pavilion 6. The physical places of Pavilion 6 played a role in the use of WhatsApp when volunteers were performing to check on whether some tasks were allowed.



Rio2016 Boxing Press Team – 15 August 2016

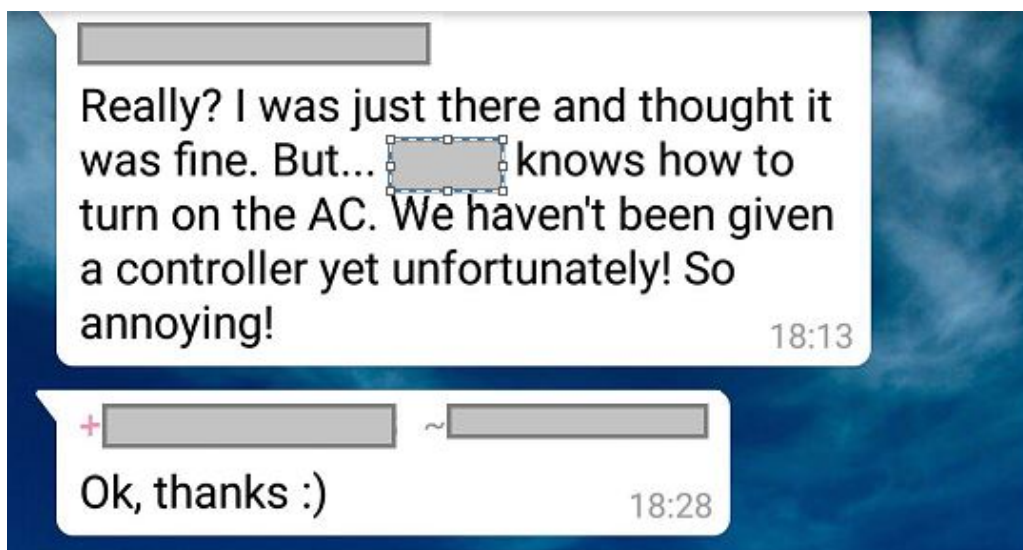
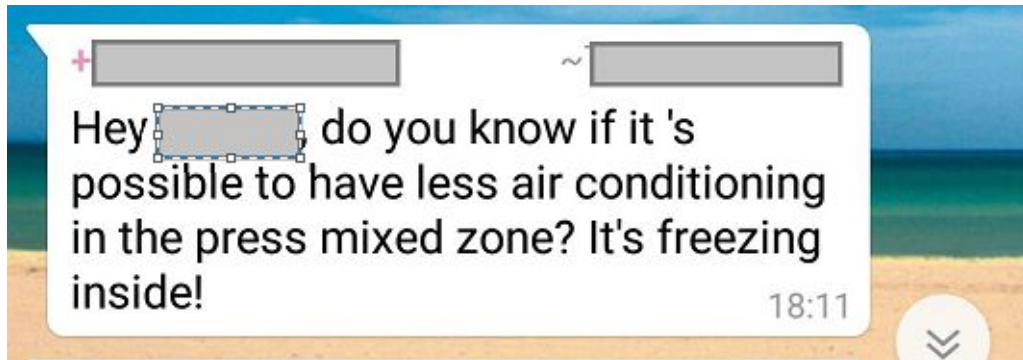
WhatsApp acted as intermediary in the ordering activity of air conditioner, photographers and press as it allowed the interactions between volunteers, managers and team leaders acting in different places. As the refectory was located close to the check in, the physical places also influenced the arrangements made between volunteers in meeting to eat before the beginning of the shift, when the competition scheduled moved from two sessions to one session per day.



Rio2016 SVB Press Team – 9 September 2016

Air con

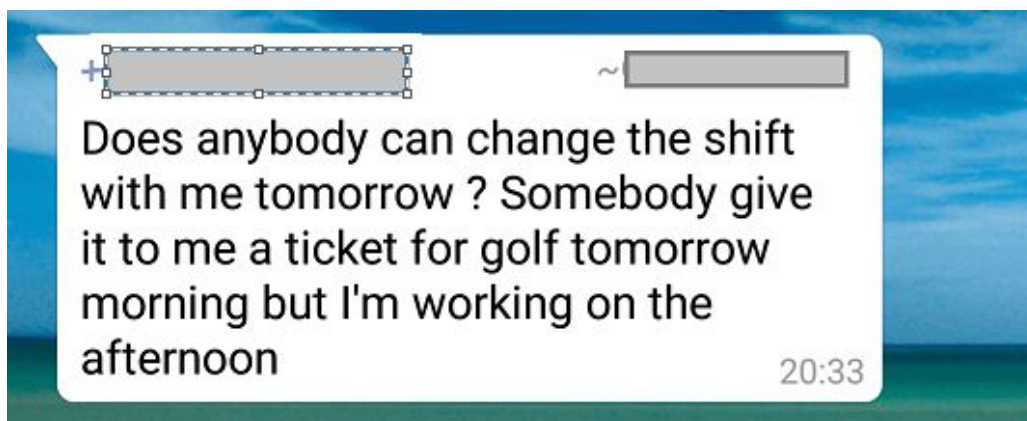
The air con influenced the activities undertaken in the workroom disrupting the activity of the press and made volunteers doing things to ordering it and avoid the disruption. The air con shifted from representing the interest of those in the warm up to those in the workroom. In this, WhatsApp acted as intermediate, conveying the message between volunteers, managers and team leaders.



Rio2016 Boxing Press Team – 6 August 2016

Rosters

In the venue communication centre, new arrangements on rosters were made through WhatsApp, as it constituted an easy way to know which volunteer was available to work while everyone was informed. In press operations of Pavilion 6, this was less a practice but it happened that volunteers asked to swap shift with someone else on the WhatsApp group:



Rio2016 Boxing Press Team – 11 August 2016

Language

Language played a role in the activities undertaken. While the language used was English, there were WhatsApp groups communicating in Portuguese. However, language played a role when English speakers with no knowledge of Portuguese had to communicate. In this, language translated the interest of those who were speaking Portuguese, resulting in the exclusion of English speakers from communicating. While WhatsApp acted as intermediary conveying the message to volunteers, managers and team leaders, language acted as mediator of the agency of those who were speaking Portuguese.

WhatsApp groups for my venues just drive me... because it is all in Portuguese, and they rather send, press enter, so four messages, and they do not understand that it is four times that I have to copy and paste on google translator on my phone, so I ignore. If it is important, somebody will tell me. You just don't have time. (Manager's voice 35, p. 17)

Nights out, swapping tickets and barbecue:

As part of 'Mingling on 'Zap' the activities undertaken were not only related to the tasks that had to be undertaken but also the organisation of nights out, barbecues, swapping tickets and pre-Games activities.

Hi guys!

For people who want to watch the Opening Cerimony in Barra, let's meet at Outback Steakhouse at Shopping Metropolitano.

When?
August 5th - 07:30 pm

Where?
Outback Steakhouse (Shopping Metropolitano Barra)

What do u think guys? 17:35

Hi [redacted]! I'm interested! So there is the possibility to watch the ceremony in this reataurant? 18:32

Rio2016 Boxing Press Team – 4 August 2016

+ [redacted] [redacted]

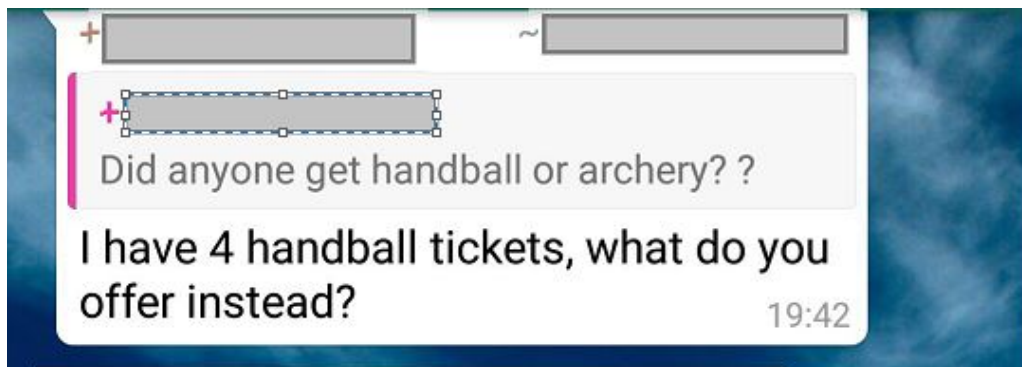
TEAAAMMMM!!!
When finishing the games, lets make our brazilian barbecue, have fun and relax!

The staff will prepare the food. So, if u, volunteers, can help us bringing one pack of beer or any other drink (alcohol), it would be great!

August 22nd , 1pm
We will confirm the place as soon as possible!

See u all! 17:20

Rio2016 Boxing Press Team – 12 August 2016



Rio2016 Boxing Press Team – 7 August 2016

A gente criou este grupo e fazer a comunicação toda para aí, para a material de engajamento, então para as pessoas se conhecer, então a... faz uma animação de grupo [We created this group to do the communication there, regarding the matter of engagement, so that people get to know each other, so... does the animation in the group]. (Manager's voice 35, p. 12)

Mobilisation has shown how, from the interactions that took place in the practices identified, some of the actors deviated from the role attributed to them and, thus, from the program of action (Latour, 2004) to which they originally had adhered. The deviations were of different types and consisted not only in a totally different performance of the actors but also of mild deviations – which, however, caused different 'ways of doing things'. The table below presents the deviating actors, the action they exerted, the influence they had and the unplanned actors that participated to the practices and the way in which these participated.

Deviating emails

When emails with the invitations to undertake online trainings arrived to candidates, these absolved to the role attributed to them of representing the interests of the recruitment and selection team, of the policy on diversity and inclusion, conveying to candidates that the online training was available for them and by doing this, they acted as intermediary. The email induced candidates to act, performing the script that it contained (in its inscription) accessing to the volunteer portal and undertaking the online training. When emails acted as mediators, resisting to translating the interest of the organising committee, of the policy on diversity and inclusion and of other actors, these did not mobilise candidates, who were not in the possibility to perform any script and thus did not complete the training.

Table 5.2

Deviating actors

Deviating actors	Type of action	Influence
Emails	Deviating emails	Did not attribute identities and did not instruct volunteers on what they had to do
System	The resistance of the system	Cancelled identities/ Did not allow the access to the venue to volunteers
Signage (Lack of)	The absence of signage linked volunteers with spectators and volunteers with other volunteers	Facilitated the interactions between spectators and volunteers and between volunteers
Type of sport competition	Acted on the connection between food and volunteers	Influenced how eating took place
Facebook	Linked those responsible for the social media of the organising committee with candidates and volunteers, (candidates with candidates and volunteers with volunteers)	Facilitated the exchange of information between actors, providing alternative ways to get around issues arisen due to the deviating actors
WhatsApp	Created a space of closeness 'in between' actors	Facilitated eating, mingling and changes of rosters and the performance of the actors
Roster	When it was not received	Candidates could not volunteer, unless they went to the UAC, where some of them successfully managed to solved issues connected with roster

Email → **Candidate** → **Access the volunteer portal**



Undertaking the training

Email ~~→~~ **Candidate** ~~→~~ **Access the portal**

Emails as mediators, resisted from translating the interest and thus resulted in missing the mobilisation of volunteer to undertake the training while betraying the emails that instead have absolved to the role these were given of translating the interest by transmitting the message to volunteers.

Some emails deviated from the role they were attributed. By diverging from the way in which emails were expected to act, the emails acted as mediators (Latour, 2005), so altering/deviating and not representing the interest of the organising committee. Emails did not follow the program of action of the organising committee that had enrolled in, and thus did not translate its interests. In acting differently the email acted as mediator (Latour, 2005), that is in this case, by withholding information. Mediators 'transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry' (Latour, 2005, p. 39). The email did not translate the interest of other emails, which instead transmitted the information to candidates and of the organising committee.

In Callon's terms, this could be configured as case of betrayal (Callon, 1986b). In this case, what was an ally of the committee that had enrolled in its project, accepting not only the committee goal but also the role this attributed to it, acted differently from what was agreed with the committee and that consisted in providing information in a timely fashion. The betrayal is towards those emails, the ones that complied with the task of delivering information with which these shared the endeavour of communicating information but is also a betrayal of candidates who undertook the task as opposed to those who did not have the chance to undertake it. The issue of representativeness arises, as those who were represented by the email (such as the organising committee, other emails and candidates) were betrayed. Thus, when the email with the invitation to complete the training did not reach the candidates, they did not know that a training was available to be completed and did not know the way in which this could have been accessed to. This differentiates candidates in those who undertook some trainings and others who did not.

Some candidates did not undertake the training, which means they did not participate in a practice at least in the same way as others. **While traditional researchers associate one practice to one reality, in this case candidates participated in different practices which produced different realities.** In contrast to what was assumed, these actors did not undergo the same trial of strength (negotiations), as they did not have the choice to undertake a practice in the same way of others (actors).

The emails that did not communicated to volunteers that they could collect their passport for the Games did not translate the interest of the volunteers, managers and team leaders,

recruitment and selection team, call centre and physical places who were sharing the interest of allowing those volunteers selected for the Games to participate in the Games. These emails deviated from the program of action of other emails that instead communicated to volunteers that they could collect their passport for the Games, betraying thus those emails who attended to the program of action and translated the interest of other actors by informing volunteers that they could collect their passport for the Games. By acting as mediators, the emails with the invitation to collect the passport to the Games, prevented volunteers from booking a visit to the UAC to collect the uniform and accreditation, and from interacting with the volunteer portal in which the visit had to be scheduled. Some emails acted as mediators, as did not translate the interest, nor communicate to volunteers that they could book a visit to the UAC in the volunteer portal to collect the passport to the Games.

Emails created multiple time and space, with time varying due to the different times in which these were received and created spaces, between candidates and their identities and also between candidates and other actors, such as accommodation, airplanes. These were manifold because they were independent from each other and able to co-exist. The closer to the Games the emails were received the more was the space between candidates and other actors because in the meantime other actors had enrolled them. So it became difficult for candidates to 'interest' them. These resulted difficult to 'interest' and enrol in the program of action of the volunteers, and workforce who were looking for a place where to stay during the Games. Moreover, emails created space/distance when these did not put in contact the different actors, contrarily to what they were assigned to do. This is a space which is not pre-existing, but it is created.

Even for those candidates who had received the emails, there were differences in space, as those who received them earlier had more time to interact with other actors (e.g. airplanes, accommodation) and interest them, as opposed to those who received the email later, who had less time to interact with other actors and also less availability, as these were already interest by other actors. Emails created space and time which had exclusionary effects on those actors involved.

The interest of those wanting the application of the policy to host inclusive games was not always translated by the email with the invitation that acted as its spokesperson when the

email was received by the candidates, while it did not represent its interest when the email was not received by the candidates. Whereas, when the email did not translate the interest of the organising committee, by resisting from informing the candidates/volunteers of the availability of the online training on diversity and inclusion, candidates/volunteers were not aware of the content of the policy on diversity and inclusion and thus could not be the spokesperson for the policy, applying it while performing their roles at the Games.

The resistance of the system

At times, the system did not accept the identity of volunteers. This resulted in the disappearance of the position after the volunteers' acceptance and the reversion of the volunteer's status in 'under review'. Candidates turned into volunteers and back into candidates, being vested and stripped of the roles and identities before attributed to them through the email. Interestingly, while candidates were informed when they were assigned a role by an email, they were not informed when they were stripped of the role. The volunteer portal is one of the 'stabilized technologies... black boxed' (Akrich, 1992, p. 211). It was provided by one of the partners of the IOC and had its own actors – its engineers, its software, its history and the place in which it was assembled. It thus arrived as already-assembled actor-network 'black boxed' (Latour, 2005), in which the only visible parts were the interfaces to the volunteers on one end, and to the members of the recruitment and selection team, the call centre and those operating in it.

The system's interest in allowing only certain volunteers to access to the venue was shared by its intermediaries that by acting the way they did (i.e. for the laptop screen to display the information of schedule, for the volunteer checking what schedule indicated on the screen, and holding the barcode scanner, and for the barcode scanner to scan the barcode on the credential) translated the interest of the system, which was to let in only those volunteers whose identities indicated on the credential were aligned with the information in the system. Thus, the system played an important role in the discerning activity of deciding who could perform. If the information provided by the credential differed from the ones in the system, the workforce manager could decide whether to comply with the indication of the system acting as intermediary as he/she translated the interest of the system, which allowed only volunteers whose information corresponded to the ones in the system. In the former case,

that is if the information on the credential conveyed through the barcode and barcode reader to the system was not aligned with the information in the system, the workforce manager, usually involved by the workforce volunteer, could decide on whether to let the volunteer in or not. Whereas, if the manager decided not to comply with the request of the system refuses to translate its interest, acting as mediator and espousing a different interest, the one of the manager and of the volunteer, if manager and volunteer had agreed on a different time arrangement. In this case, the workforce manager would act as a powerful actor, as mediator, as he/she does not passively transmit the message without altering it, but actively diverge from the script it was given by the system to perform, which was those with identities not respondent to my prescriptions are not allowed, performing instead a different one, the one of managers and volunteers.

Lack of signage

Volunteers acted as spokesperson for the signage. The absence of signage was noticed. However, its role was taken by volunteers who acted in the place of signage, that is by providing indications to those who were looking for them. By doing this, volunteers acted as spokesperson for the signage that despite its physical absence was present.

Facebook

It acted as place, a free zone in which not only candidates had the chance to connect with the organising committee in a public space but also a place where candidates could exchange information.

The volunteer's Facebook page espoused the interest of the teams working under the umbrella of the organising committee, of the volunteers who wanted to get all equipped to volunteer and needed to get the last bits of identities, of managers and team leaders who had the interest in not only knowing who would be the volunteers they would receive at the Games, but also they had the interest in having them with 'complete identities', as otherwise they would not configure as volunteers but as pieces of volunteers and thus having only bits of their identities could not access to the venue without having the bits and pieces of the identity, which also involved getting the passport to the Games, since collecting both credential and uniform were part of the volunteers' identity and without them volunteers

could not access to any venue. Facebook gave voice to quasi-volunteers , uncovering those with incomplete identities and giving them voice. Facebook showed not only that the identities of volunteers were not only made by bits and pieces but also that these identities were different, such as those with the same role that performed in different venues. In the making of the identities different actors participated. Among these there was: the roster, the emails, the credential.

Roster

The roster provided volunteers with the other 'bits' (Law, 1992) of their identity, adding to the volunteer characteristics and allocation the timing of their work, which was a pivotal piece of information for volunteers.

The roster became important for volunteers to receive the uniform and credential that is to complete their identities that then it resulted inscribed into uniform, which had colours of staff functions and the credential.

To get around the roster, and issues with it, the volunteer portal and the email, volunteers resorted to relations of proximity (Latour, 1996), that is by going to the volunteer headquarter at the UAC where they met people working in the volunteer program for the organising committee and attending their queries, solved their issues

Multiple and non-negotiable identities

As part of the identity of volunteers, uniforms acted as intermediary, since these aligned to the interest of other actors and added to the identity of volunteers.

The credential was made of inscriptions which defined the identity of volunteers through the codes and symbols on it. The credential carried the interest of all the inscriptions, of the codes and acted as their spokesperson outside the venues. To access to the venue it was the barcode that took up the role of spokesperson for the codes and symbols inscribed on the credential, as it was the one scanned to ascertain volunteers' identities and entitlement to access to the venue. The codes and symbols on the credential and then conveyed by the barcode were immutable mobiles (Law, 1992), as they exerted their action from afar on the credential and barcode. Despite being silent, codes and symbols on the credential were active elements that

exert their action through spokesperson, be these the credential as the barcode. The credential was an important artefact, as it had inscribed upon it the volunteers' identities and, as such, was fundamental for volunteers to access to the venues and to perform.

5.3 Summary

Chapter 5 presented the realities of social as performed into practices. Eight practices were identified as being undertaken as part of the volunteer program: accessing the volunteer program, waiting for the invitation letter and roster, getting the passport to the Games, accessing the online and onsite training, getting to the venues, eating, performing and mingling on zap. These practices were investigated through the fourth phase of the translation process (Callon, 1986), the mobilisation. The mobilisation of the actors that participated in the practices is presented; this comprises the identification of the actors, the actions these performed and the ways in which these were undertaken was examined. In the mobilisation, some of the actors that emerged as participating to the practices are different from those identified by the organising committee and only at times these played the role that were attributed, while other times deviated from the scripts they were given and expected to perform.

Following the actors in their interactions in the mobilisation phase allowed to capture the relations that these have established, to identify the interactions taking place and their shifting nature. Several are the cases of deviating behaviour of these actors, who rather than performing the script they were given when they accepted to share the organising committee's program of action, resist from translating the 'share' interest and acting as mediator translate other interests. In this, what made social durable (or not) emerges through the intricacies of the interactions between actors. The chapter presented also cases of betrayals. With the social unpacked into multiple realities of the social in which actors performed differently at different moments, and thus not creating plural but multiple realities, chapter 6 will present the discussion on the findings, answer to the research questions and a conclusion.

Chapter 6. Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This discussion and conclusion chapter presents the answers to the research questions, an overview of the contribution of this thesis to the extant literature on the three disciplines and to ANT, and implications for practice. The relevance of ANT as the theoretical lens of this research, particularly to the reconceptualisation of social inclusion and of universal design that it provides, is examined with a focus on the way in which this contributes to the research and to the research disciplines. The reconceptualisation of social inclusion and universal design with a sociomaterial perspective facilitates the study of both in practice and therefore has practical implications, which are presented below. The application of ANT to the research problem extends the scope of extant literature in social inclusion, universal design and volunteering as well as making a contribution to ANT. Limitations of ANT and of the research approach are also discussed. A summary concludes the chapter and thesis.

6.2 Research questions

In investigating the social inclusion and universal design of the volunteer program at the Rio2016 Games with the intent of gaining an alternative theoretical and practical understanding of both, the research addressed the following questions:

1. How is social inclusion enacted in the volunteer program?

The social of the volunteer program was problematised and analysed through the translation process, whereby the rhetoric of the social (as planned by the organising committee) and the realities of the social (as enacted in practices) are presented. The realities of the social, which emerged as they were performed by the actors, showed the practices that were undertaken in the volunteer program, and allowed the identification of actors and of the ways in which these interacted. In the case of volunteering at the Rio Olympics, social inclusion was enacted in the practices identified: accessing the volunteer program, waiting for the invitation and roster, getting the passport to the Games, accessing the online and onsite training, getting to

the venues, performing, eating and mingling on 'Zap'. Through the theoretical lens of ANT, the realities of the social emerged from the interactions of the actors that participated in the practices. Actors comprised humans and non-humans. Social inclusion emerges from the interactions between actors, which through their interaction express agency. Social inclusion results emerged from the interactions that take place in the context investigated.

2. *How can social inclusion be investigated?*

With a sociomaterial perspective, social inclusion can be investigated in practices, by examining the interactions that take place between actors, as it is only looking at the dynamics occurring that is possible to identify how actors interact, what interest they translate and what alliances they form with other actors. As actors can act differently, as intermediary, speaking on behalf of other actors, or as mediators, this research found that it is crucial to follow the actors in their interactions occurring in the practices in which they take part.

Universal design informed by the theoretical lens of ANT was shown to be a valid method for investigating social inclusion, by attending to the ways actors interact in practices designing the social. The research results demonstrated that designing is no longer an exclusive practice of humans, particularly of designers, but rather is a practice in which different actors participate, both humans and non-humans. In this research, designing took the place of the 'ordering' in ANT, since ordering has embedded (although not in the intentions of ANT scholars) a determined intention of certain actors to order others, attributing roles to other actors. While it is evident that actors try to convince/persuade others to espouse their interest, designing can also be considered a more adequate term to describe the emerging interactions occurring between actors while leaving to the actors and their interactions in the practices as the centre of focus. By examining the ways in which actors interact in the dynamic forging of alliances and betrayals, the emergent design informs practitioners and researchers on how social inclusion can be facilitated or inhibited.

3. *What is the Universal Design of the volunteer program? What is the role of non-humans in the UD implementation?*

Universal design was the emergent design of the interactions between actors within the identified practices that were undertaken at and for the Games. Non-humans were as active

as actors as humans were in the practices. Each is necessary for the other for the survival of the actor-network. This study contributes to our understanding of UD in volunteering by providing a different conceptualisation of UD, one that considers both humans and non-humans. It has been demonstrated that its operationalisation emerges from the interactions in the practices rather than as formally structured and hierarchically imposed. To study the UD of the volunteer program meant to attend to the practices that took place, the actions that were undertaken and the actors that participated in them, which in and through their interactions designed the social. In attending the interactions in which actors participate, UD not only attends to human action on a passive environment, with the outcome being what designers and users want. It is not confined to human actions, but attends to all actors that participate in the interactions; this because there are no 'active' or 'passive' actors – all actors are active.

4. (Sub-question) Are there components that may inhibit or facilitate social inclusion in the volunteer program?

Yes. This study identified the components (actors) that participate in the practices in the volunteer program. It has done so by adopting a sociomaterial perspective that treats humans and non-human actors equally. By investigating the interactions that took place in the volunteer program, it emerged that the actors perform in practices and that they can perform differently at different times. Therefore, the ways in which they perform in every practice are important, since their performance influences the way in which practices are undertaken and thus how the social is designed. It is indeed due to the different ways in which actors perform in practice that these produce different practices. These different practices are not plural but multiple, as they coexist and can intertwine and overlap. The ways in which actors perform can either inhibit or facilitate social inclusion. In this, inclusion is the temporary result of the actors' interactions and the ways in which these take place.

6.3 Contribution to the extant literature on social inclusion, UD and volunteering

This research brought together social inclusion, volunteering and UD to investigate social inclusion in major sport event volunteering.

6.3.3 Social inclusion

The concept of social inclusion is debated in the literature, and there is a lack of consensus among scholars (Shore et al. 2011), with some authors considering the concept uncertain and ambiguous (Jansen et al. 2014; Kelly, 2010). Studies on social inclusion have focused on exploring the reasons some people are marginalised from society and many of the social inclusion policies of international organisations (World Bank, 2013) and institutions (European Commission, 2011; European Union, 2017) have tried to address marginalisation by inviting state members and society to adopt measures to tackle this societal issue. Research conducted on social inclusion has focused on marginalised groups, with social inclusion conceived as goal (Collins, 2003; Long et al. 2002); recently, this conceptualisation has shifted to a process (Bailey et al. 2008). In sport, research on social inclusion has focused on areas of community-based programs, sport events and mega sport events. Studies on community-based program have mainly focused on marginalised groups (women, people with disabilities; ethnic minorities; youth; immigrants) (Bailey, 2008; Cortis, 2009; Darcy, Dickson & Benson, 2014; Elling, De Knop & Knoppers, 2001; Taylor, 2004). Studies on social inclusion in sport events focused on the benefits for the community, on social capital and inter-organisational relation (Misener & Mason, 2006, 2010; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012; Chalip, 2001; Jarvie, 2003). Marginalised groups have been the main focus of research on social inclusion at mega sport events (Heck, 2013; Sherry, 2010; Smith & Thomas, 2005), with limited output on volunteering (Nichols & Ralston, 2011). Recently, organisers of mega sport events have shown an increased interest in social inclusion, as evidenced by the bid books of the organising committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games (VANOC, 2009; LOCOG, 2004; Rio2016, 2009) and policy on diversity and inclusion (Rio2016, 2014). Research on social inclusion with marginalised groups has identified environmental factors and structures (European Union, 2017; Ponc & Frisby, 2010; Forde et al. 2015) among those contributing to the issue and mentions tools such as technology (Dickson & Darcy, year), yet research on social inclusion has not thoroughly investigated the dichotomy between the social and the technical, between humans and non-humans.

This research has moved beyond the humanist perspective that considers social inclusion as stable and oftentimes related to groups of people in community-based programs (Cortis, 2009; DePauw, 1997; Kelly, 2011), and in mega sport events (Heck, 2013; Sherry, 2010; Smith

& Thomas, 2005), by use of postmodern inquiry to challenge these assumptions in seeking to appreciate 'the phenomena of interest' (Hatch, 2018, p. 12). In studying social inclusion in practices, this research problematised the social, by unpacking it and investigating the interactions occurring in the practices in which it is enacted. Practices are intended as 'the commonsensical notion of practical activity' (Orlikowski, 2015, p. 34). This study addressed the problem of the limits reached by research on social inclusion (Coalter, 2017). It also considered the role of events as 'social occasions with potential social value' (Chalip, (2006, p. 123). It was thus important to gain an understanding of the social. The research did so by going beyond the assumptions of the extant research on social inclusion, and focusing on practices. Through its design, implementation and analysis, this research goes beyond the studies conducted on practices that frame social inclusion through the lens of a specified marginalised group (Maxwell, Foley, Taylor, & Burton, 2013) by detailing practices that are different to those located in community sport programs that promote inclusion (Forde, Lee, Mills, and Frisby (2015), as it focuses on interactions rather than on stable categories where only certain actors (humans), to whom agency (or a lack thereof) is attributed, matter.

Despite the shift in perspective from goal to process (Ponic & Frisby, 2010) and the consequent focus on practices (Maxwell et al.2013), the humanist approach of the extant literature on social inclusion effectively confines humans to the status it attributes to them (mainstream or marginalised), thereby creating and maintaining a stable and unequal distribution of agency that privileges humans of the mainstream society over other groups. In this, elements other than humans were also marginalised, ignoring the diversity, interactions and contribution of non-humans, such as technology. The present research addressed this gap by adopting a sociomaterial perspective whereby humans and non-humans were equally important and both participated through their interactions in the practices to the design of the realities of the social.

6.3.4 UD

Universal Design was conceived as an approach that facilitates the use of physical spaces to everyone (Mace, 1985). From an approach to design (Ostroff, 2011), UD has progressed to the development of the seven principles of UD (NC State University, 1997) to facilitate its application. With its intent to widen the usability of spaces, products (Demirbilek & Demirkan,

2004), learning and education (Froyen, 2003; Izzo, 2012) for people, UD can contribute to social inclusion (Bickenbach, 2014; UN, 2006). While the scope seems to be to facilitate social inclusion, the link between the two is unclear. The recommendation of international organisations (UN, 2006; WHO, 2001) and governments (Council of Europe, 2001; 2009) have recognised the importance of UD and encouraged the creation and adoption of measures that would facilitate its application, but with little effect. While offering general recognition of the relevance of its adoption, policies have failed to clarify what practical actions should be undertaken. This has limited its potentiality and application, creating a gap between policy and its application in practice. Human needs remain at the centre of the way in which UD has been investigated, and for which it is adopted: a human-centred (or user-centred) approach). Despite the recognition of the relations between humans and environment (Lid, 2014), and the recent invitation to explore humans in their interactions with the environment (Gibson, 2014), researchers have, with the exception of Gibson, considered non-human components, such as materiality and technology, as tools of humans, overlooking their interactions with humans. The sociomaterial approach applied in this study allowed the exploration of all the interactions that occurred in the volunteer program, where the UD of the volunteer program emerged from the interactions in the practices, providing an indication of how the social is formed/performed.

6.3.5 Volunteering

Literature on volunteering in sport has been mainly focused on collective – and, more recently, individual – dimensions. Collective accounts of volunteering have examined volunteers' motivation (Allen & Shaw, 2009; Grimm & Needham, 2011; Wicker and Hallmann, 2013); motivation and satisfaction (Farrell et al. 1998), motivation, satisfaction and intentions (to volunteer again) (Bang et al. 2009a); the impact of job characteristics on volunteers' satisfaction and intention to volunteer (Neufeind et al 2013); and factors that contribute to the decision to volunteer (Burgham & Downward, 2005). Research into individual accounts of volunteering has mainly focused on volunteers' motivation (Baum and Lockstone, 2007; Edwards et al. 2009; Giannoulakis et al. 2008; Karkatsoulis et al, 2005; Fairley et al. 2007; Khoo & Engelham, 2007); factors that influence the decision to volunteer (Wicker & Hallmann, 2013); and experiences related to potential future engagement and satisfaction (Downward, et al. 2006; Doherty, 2009; Bang et al, 2009b; Elstad, 1996, Costa et al. 2006; Fairley, 2007;

Cuskelly et al. 2004; Shaw, 2009; Green and Chalip, 2004), with a recent interest on the volunteers' journeys at mega sport events (Tomazos & Luke, 2015) and an emerging new stream of ethnographic research focused on volunteers' experiences (Kodama et al. 2013; Sadd, 2018). The current knowledge of the activities undertaken in the volunteer program at mega sport events, which runs for two years until the Games and of which the volunteer journey is an important aspect, is limited. In this, knowledge of the components that participate in the volunteer program, and the practices undertaken by volunteers before and at sport events, particularly at mega sport events, is scant. Volunteering literature has provided limited knowledge on the way volunteer programs work, on the volunteer journey and on the jobs that volunteers undertake, the tasks these entail and the dynamics thereof.

This study has engaged in 'critical discussion regarding "international sport volunteering" in order to contribute to building a knowledge which offers interdisciplinary insights' (Benson & Wise, 2017, p. 254), applying knowledge gained in other fields – namely, sociology – to gain an alternative understanding of volunteering. Volunteering emerges as involving not only volunteers but also other components that have not been considered previously in the literature and that, at times, have a pivotal role not only in enrolling and facilitating human participation in practices but also in inhibiting human participation in practices. To date, as non-humans have not been considered active participants to the interactions in volunteering studies; therefore, this study contributes by uncovering the role non-humans have in volunteering. Additionally, it expands our understanding of volunteering beyond the research which has focused on collective and individual motivations to volunteer at events (Allen & Shaw, 2009; Baum & Lockstone, 2007; Fairley, Kellett, & Green, 2007; Giannoulakis, Wang, & Gray, 2008; Grimm & Needham, 2011; Wicker & Hallmann, 2013), their satisfaction (Bang, Won, & Kim, 2009; Elstad, 1996), and motivation and satisfaction (Farrell, Johnston, & Twynam, 1998). It does so by detailing some tangible activities that participants undertake to volunteer and while volunteering, and by noting the role of the design and organisation of volunteers' jobs, which is 'still unclear' (Neufeind, Güntert & Wehner, 2013, p. 537). This study contributes to the literature of volunteering as it identifies the components that participated in the volunteer program of the Rio2016 Games, the practices undertaken before and during the Games, and the actors that participated. The sociomaterial perspective of this study

provides the basis for identifying the role of non-humans – such as email, credentials and volunteer portal, all of which were critical to the operations of the volunteer program.

6.3.6 Contribution to ANT

Principle of symmetry

The general principle of symmetry inspired by the La Tarde's works proposes a non-exclusive consideration of what is social, considering both elements of the social and elements of the technical. Society is sociotechnical¹⁰ because of the heterogeneous components that constitute it, namely humans and non-humans (Law, 1992). Based on the principle of general symmetry, 'the rule ... we must respect is not to change registers when we move from the technical to the social aspects of the problem studied' (Callon, 1986, p.199). The focus is on the interactions that occur and which components, human and non-human, participate. The role of active actors, both human and non-human, precludes a distinction that would segregate the elements and, in doing so, overlook some of the activities in which actors engage. Elements of the social and of the technical are not ontologically different; they do not differ in their characteristics since these are not qualities embedded in them, but relations arising from the roles they are given to perform. For this reason, this research focused on interactions taking place in practices and, since humans and non-humans are not inherently distinct categories, under the principle of symmetry they are treated equally. This research has involved non-human actors largely overlooked in previous studies on social inclusion, UD and volunteering .

Agency

The conceptualisation of agency in ANT is different from the humanist conceptualisation of it. For ANT scholars, agency is not owned by the actors, nor is it related to intentionality; rather, it is relational (Callon, 1999). Agency emerges from the interactions between actors, be these humans or non-humans; from their negotiations, through which some actors will successfully enlist more actors than others, convincing them to espouse their interests and program of action (Latour, 2004). Thus, agency is emergent from the interactions between actors; it is not

¹⁰ Sociotechnical and sociomaterial are used indifferently in this study as it indicates non-humans in their material and technical meaning.

owned by actors and exerted upon others. This means that agency is not owned by humans and non-humans as individual actors but emerges from their interactions. By uncovering and including actors absent from earlier studies, and by following their performances in interactions, this research has shown that non-humans, like humans, play an active role in designing the realities of the social, such that the ones could not exist without the other.

Power

As agency is co-created in interactions, power is emergent from the interactions and it not owned by the individual actors (Latour, 1984). Therefore, powerful actors become powerful in/from the interactions, by the actors' activity (Strum & Latour, 1987) of enrolling others (Latour, 1984). This conceptualisation of power precludes traditional ways of conceiving humans and non-humans as owning power, and thus opens the way to novel views in which power is no longer attached to status or capability of individual actors, or of some groups over others – such as the mainstream over marginalised groups, a classification based on a traditional conceptualisation of agency and power and an asymmetrical view of humans and non-humans. As in Latour (1986) in this study power is co-created and shifts as the dynamics and links between actors change; it can even be exerted at a distance by absent actors. In this research non-humans, such as computer generated emails, systems, and credentials, were central to interactions with and between humans. Non-human actors, such as the system and credential at the check-in, exerted power, which was supported by other actors who are not present (for example, the inscriptions in the form of codes, numbers and barcode on the credential). While some of the interactions were between humans and non-humans, in others humans acted as mere intermediaries (such as workforce check-in), with the decision-making based on, for example, the alignment of information between credential and system. Thus, this research demonstrated that non-humans can be powerful actors as much as humans.

Ordering

To the modern control, Law (1997) presents a counter argument, minimalism, in which ordering is the activity of organising. He defines minimalism as 'ordering... it is an effort at patterning that has some kind of shape, a shape that can, in a way or another, be discussed... that can... be performed (p.3). He specifies that it is 'an ordering that comes with a series of

built-in qualifications or restrictions that are built into and performed within minimalist music' (p.3). Based on Law's definition, ordering is the iterative re-shaping of/in interactions. This constitutes an important element of the interactions between actors – where they negotiate with other actors to keep or break alliances – because it reveals the dynamics occurring between actors. Latour provides an example explaining the lack of linkage between power and order, stating that '[then-President of Lebanon] Amin Gemayel in his palace officially has power over the Lebanon, but since very few people act when he orders things, he is powerless in practice' (Latour, 1986, p.265). Here, ordering is used as an action of an actor on others, and thus does not give justice to the reciprocity of the ordering activity. Going back to Latour's example, if Gemayel is powerless because other people do not act when he orders things, then it is the activities of the other actors that count (as power), as opposed to Gemayel's activity which, by itself, does not generate power because there is no interaction. If this is the case, and power is co-produced, since ordering has specific connotations, as it is an action of one individual to which are recognised certain intrinsic characteristics, owning power, who act upon others (ordering) things or people, ordering does not adequately refer to co-creation, but as imposition of a person that through the ordering activity, acts upon others. In contrast, the term 'designing' does address power as an activity co-created. This thesis explored the interactions that occurred in the practices and argues that designing is the appropriate term to describe the shaping and re-shaping of interactions between actors, as this is a reciprocal activity whereby actors influence each other.

The translation process

Considering agency and power as emerging from interactions, some ANT scholars have proposed the translation process as a framework to gain an understanding of the interactions between actors (Callon & Latour, 1981; Callon, 1986). Callon (1986) describes the translation process as formed by four moments/phases: problematisation, interessment, enrollement, and mobilisation. During the problematisation, actors try to convince others that they share the same problem and that they thus have a common interest. In this, actors try to attribute their problems/interests to others. In the interessment stage, actors try to impose roles on the other actors. If the interessment is successful, actors enrol in the actor's program of action (Latour, 2004), sharing its goal and accepting the role the actor enrolling has attributed to them. Once the actors have enrolled in the program of action of the actor, the actors are

mobilised. During the mobilisation, actors are displaced and their link with the actor is tested. The actor may perform the script it is given by another actor as consequence of its enrolment with which it has espoused its plan of action, acting as intermediary, but it may also deviate from it, acting as mediator (Latour, 2005). The translation process is thus a framework with which it is possible to follow the actors in their interactions through the different phases in which the alliances are formed and tested. Only by investigating the interactions between actors that take place in practices is it possible to uncover how alliances change and how deviating actors, that do not follow the script with the role they are given to perform, influence other actors in the actor-network.

Once recognised that actors not only form alliances in the translation process, but also break them – betraying allies and affecting other actors and the actor-network of which they are part – the centrality of the practices in which interactions between actors take place emerges. The translation process is thus a useful framework to prepare the narrative and present the results of this thesis in a hopefully comprehensive and comprehensible way to the reader. Through the moments of the translation process, the research was able to present the dynamics between actors, the ways in which these interacted, forming alliances – such as the organising committee, the actors it recruited to achieve its goal of hosting an inclusive Games and the negotiations undertaken before being successful – and how the alliances were modified and broken by actors that diverted from the script the organising committee had given them to perform.

Sociomateriality of social inclusion

This study has problematised social inclusion, which, despite being considered by scholars as ambiguous (Shore et al. 2011), has been by large taken for granted or ‘black boxed’. To provide an alternative understanding of social inclusion, this study, through the application of ANT as theoretical lens, has investigated the interactions between actors. The translation process is the framework applied to the analysis of social inclusion. In the first three moments of the translation process – problematisation, interestment and enrolment – the organising committee presented to the actors it identified as useful to host inclusive Games, the problem they were facing, proposed that they share its interest, tried to attribute roles to them and

persuaded them to enrol in its program of action. The enrolment of the actors into the Rio2016 organising committee plan of action set the stage for the volunteer program to operate.

The rhetoric of the social showed the negotiations that occurred between the actors and the organising committee and those actors that were successfully enrolled in the organising committee actor-network. What emerged was a series of OPPs (obligatory passage points) through which actors were required to pass. Examples of these include the fact that volunteers had to register via the volunteer portal to submit their application form. Another example was the limited range of roles volunteers could choose from, among those the organising committee made available to them. As result, volunteers could only have certain roles. The organising committee successfully enrolled the actors it needed to pursue its goal of hosting an inclusive Games.

In the fourth phase of the translation process, mobilisation, actors are mobilised and involved in practices in which interactions between actors occur. The practices identified comprised: accessing the volunteer program; waiting for the invitation letter and roster; getting the passport to the Games; accessing the online and onsite training; getting to the venues; eating; performing and mingling on 'Zap'. To each practice, many were the actors involved, humans and non-humans. From the practices a number of recurring components emerged to participate – such as credential, email, and the volunteer portal (also called system) - to the practices. These actors played at times a determinant role in facilitating or hampering social inclusion. While some actors performed the role attributed to them, certain actors deviated from the role they were attributed and thus from the plan of action they had originally agreed upon. Emails were among those actors that performed differently in different cases. While in some cases, the information that had to be sent to volunteers via emails reached them, at other times emails deviated from the script they were attributed and did not reach volunteers. This was the case for the invitation to undertake the online trainings, which not all volunteers received, resulting in volunteers completing different trainings or being unable to complete others. This not only precluded the participation of some volunteers in trainings, but also created different volunteer training outcomes. By performing differently, the actors produced different practices. In doing so, they did not perform a single version of the practice but multiple versions. While emails that performed their role sending the invitations for the trainings to volunteers represented the interest of those who wanted volunteers to undertake

the training, the emails that deviated from the script betrayed their allies. This resulted in volunteers who were not aware of the training on diversity and inclusion since they had not received the email with the invitation to complete it. This prevented these volunteers from interacting with the policy and its content, and thus being unable to mobilise the policy on diversity and inclusion in performing their jobs.

Actors that diverted from performing the script they were given also included emails communicating that rosters were available for volunteers to accept on the volunteer portal. Rosters provided important information to volunteers, as these indicated the shifts, days and time to work; without this information, volunteers could not know when to perform, and thus could not perform. By providing day and time, the roster added important information for volunteers to perform and to the identity of volunteers without which could not perform. Receiving the roster emerged to be important also because its reception emerged to be sufficient for volunteers to collect the passport to the Games. Emails with the invitation letters contributed in attributing identities to volunteers, since these, most of the times, conveyed role, venue and job to volunteers. While receiving the email with the invitation letter was seen as the result of selection criteria, it is not necessarily the same for those who did not receive the emails with the invitation letters. Considering the roles that emails played, two are the alternatives: that not receiving the email with the invitation letter was the result of not being selected as volunteer, or that not receiving the email was due to an email that deviated from the role it was assigned, in which case some of those who did not receive the email with the invitation letter may have been 'not selected' as volunteer due to the activity of the email rather than due to human activity of selecting candidates. This usually does not consider whether and in which cases, emails deviated from performing the script assigned – and therefore it is uncertain whether not receiving the email with the invitation letter was due to the volunteer selection or to emails that deviated from performing the role assigned. In the both cases, candidates never became volunteers.

Another actor that did not always perform the role assigned was the system (the volunteer portal). At times, when volunteers had accepted their position on the volunteer portal (also called the system), the system subsequently cancelled their position. By doing so, the system resisted recognising/accepting volunteers positions/identities, who, after becoming volunteers, were stripped of their identity and returned to being candidates. The system also

contributed to determining whether volunteers could access venues, and thus perform, since workforce managers generally aligned their decision to let the volunteer access the venue with what the system indicated, after the barcode of the volunteer's credential was scanned. The credential contained the identity of volunteers as inscriptions: codes, numbers and barcode. Thus, volunteers' identities were made of 'bits and pieces' (Law, 1992, p. 386). Volunteers needed their credential to access to the venue to which they were allocated, to receive their meal voucher and to perform. On the credential, the codes, numbers and barcode were active actors as the information these provided to the system was necessary for volunteers to volunteer at the Games.

UD with a sociomaterial perspective

This study has provided a sociomaterial conceptualisation of UD. UD is the emergent design of the interactions between actors that take place in the practices. To investigate the UD of the volunteer program meant to attend to the practices that took place, the actions that were undertaken, and the actors that participated in them, whose interactions designed the social. With this novel conceptualisation, design is an emerging process of actors' interactions. UD is specific, as it is related to the practices examined and, thus, is contextual and emergent. Universal here is not related to generality but to all those actors that contextually participate in the practices. In attending the interactions in which actors participate, UD does not only attend to humans actions on a passive environment with the idea that this can become what designers and users want and the only thing needed is the need of humans, but attends to all actors that participate in the interactions, this because there is not active and passive actor, all actors are active and can equally participate in designing the social through their interactions, and non-humans are no longer passive actors bent to the human's will, but actively interact at times facilitating the interactions while in others deviating from they were expected to do and thus influencing other actors participating in the interactions. With the sociomaterial perspective, universal design is not thinkable without non-humans; it would be similar to look only at one side of the coin which with its stability, of being a face of the coin would not provide any indication of the dynamics occurring and, considering that the designing activity is undertaken in the interactions, it would not say much about how the social is designed. By taking a sociomaterial perspective, UD emerged from the interactions between actors, both human and non-human. This is in contrast to the indications provided by the

literature, which instead conceives UD as matter of the human only, with non-humans as passive entities (Bridge et al. 2016; Hamraie, 2017; Demirbilek & Demirkan, 2004; Darses & Wolff, 2006; Goldsmith & Architects, 2000; Ostroff, 1997). As designing is a co-creation process emergent from the interactions taking place in practices, this study proposes UD as an important method to explore social inclusion in future studies.

ANT, social inclusion and universal design

In this research, ANT provided a sociomaterial conceptualisation and operationalisation of social inclusion that overcomes the ontological duality between the social and the technical, the humans and their environment, now equally considered as active actors. Non-humans were not considered as passive entities subject to the will of humans; they were not only tools of humans turned to be active actors in the enactment of the social. Hence, this research suggests that for major event volunteering, social inclusion requires considerations of non-humans. The social is contextual, local and emergent from the interactions taking place in the practices. Social inclusion shifted from being embedded and related to a priori characteristics attributed to humans to being emergent from the interactions and enacted in practices.

In light of the theoretical approach of ANT deployed in this research, UD moved from being human-centred to sociomaterial, opening up novel theoretical and practical considerations on design as emergent rather than produced solely by some people who were recognised with different status (designers/users). The sociomaterial conceptualisation of UD and social inclusion has enabled an understanding of the relation between UD and social inclusion and therefore how UD could be a method to investigate social inclusion in practices.

ANT has provided the basis to explore the volunteer program by investigating the practices that are undertaken in the volunteer program before and at the Games considering not only the actions humans undertake but the interactions taking place and in which technology and materiality play a pivotal role.

6.3.7 Contribution of the study to ANT

This research contributes to ANT by proposing 'designing' as a more adequate term than 'ordering' to evaluate the interactions that take place between actors and that are emergent from the interactions between actors that take place in practices. In fact, the term 'ordering'

implies an intention of an actor through the ordering activity to order others, imposing an order. This also implies a pre-determined position of power, which would be power owned by the actor, and this is very different from what ANT proposes – namely, that power is not owned by an actor but is produced in interactions and, as such, is emergent. While the organising committee tried to put all the actors together to organise inclusive Games, and wove relations that put it in the middle, as indispensable, this is not an action in which the organising committee has, or owns, power; rather, its power, or lack of it, emerges from not only the ways in which it involve the actors, by inviting them to see the problem it proposes, then to share its interest and espouse its plan of action, but also from the ways in which the actors that are mobilised interact, from the roles these interactions play in practices. In this, ‘ordering’ would not aptly highlight the emergent ways in which the social is enacted in practices by the actors, whereas ‘designing’, having a more neutral connotation as related to the tracing activity emergent from the interactions, aptly refers to its iterative activity emergent from interactions of different actors, which would coherently refer to the equality between actors, be these humans or non-humans.

6.3.8 Limits of ANT and research contribution

There is a paucity of research on identities within ANT. This is probably due to the fact that identities are in the mind of researchers connected with interiority. But this is not the only way in which identities can be conceived. Identities do not have to be understood as being owned by someone, but can be performed by actors in interactions. It would be interesting for future research to explore identities within ANT, as emerging from the designing interactivity of actors’ performances.

In this study, the researcher has dealt with the identification of what is relevant and what is not after data collection. ANT does not provide clear boundaries, and this constitutes a strength but also a weakness, as the entire process of selection and iterative understanding is upon the researcher, as making sense of the research. This leads to another limitation, which is retroactivity. The context examined is understood only ex-post facto, as the elements that did work and did not work. If authors have one shot to conduct research, as was the case in this study, the risks associated with this approach are high, as only afterwards is it possible to understand if something else (such as gathering data in certain circumstances) might have

been useful. Moreover, the results are retroactive and contingent. Therefore, the results are not directly applicable elsewhere. The last problem is ANT vocabulary, which is minimalist but seems complex for 'first timers'. However, due to its openness and minimalism neither ANT vocabulary nor its application are common among researchers, who tend to opt for the safer waters of more structured approaches.

6.4 Research limitations

The study focused on one event, the volunteer program of the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, and therefore it is limited to this event and not generalisable to other contexts and events. However, some aspects of this research are transferable, and could be used in other events. It provides useful insights into the volunteers' journeys, exposing not only data collected through fieldwork but also through social media and WhatsApp. This allowed a broad understanding of how the volunteers' journeys were different, of the challenges that volunteers experienced and of the operations and engagement that took place through the WhatsApp groups to which the researcher had access as volunteer.

As with any participant observation research, there are inherent limitations. The researcher observations and interpretations are biased by personal experience; the presence of a researcher may influence those being studied; and the observer may miss or not be present at key moments. However, the practices were identified from data collected from diverse sources, including documentary sources such as WhatsApp and Facebook. The diversity of the data sources and the ways with which the data was collected (online, onsite, and online while onsite) provided rich data, while the intersection of data from different sources and ways in which these were collected also reduced the moments that could be missed.

It should also be noted that access to human resources data on volunteers was requested but not granted. This could have complemented the data collected.

6.5 Implications for practice

As this thesis shows, the increased role of technology and materiality plays a pivotal role in everyday activities. Practitioners should continue to consider these elements, as being more than tools for humans when planning for volunteer management at future Olympic and

Paralympic Games, since they were shown to influence other actors directly (as in the case of emails and of the system) or indirectly (as in the case of the inscriptions in the credentials), and thus to have agency. This study unpacked and critically examined the social by investigating how it is enacted in practices. This disrupts traditional ways of conceiving the social as stable and human-centred, instead proposing a novel conceptualisation and operationalisation of the social – one that is emergent, unstable and enacted in practices, and in which humans are only some of the components that take part in the interactions in practices and, thus, in designing the social.

As emerged from this study, the reality of the social as enacted in practices can be very different from the rhetoric of the social as planned. The emergent nature of the social as entirely dependent on interactions between humans and non-humans reveals a more complex nature than conceived in the traditional literature. This does not imply a need for a more structured organisation; as a more structured organisation would not provide an adequate response to the complexity and dynamicity of social as enacted in practices that this study has brought to light. A flexible organisation should be capable of responding to sudden changes, as mobilisation of actors design new configurations of the social – which, as this research has shown, is required to ensure diversity of the social in interactions, as the existence of the social itself, which is based on interactions.. Thoughtful consideration of the way in which interactions take place in practices can improve social inclusion. In this context, policy on diversity and inclusion should be based on practices that focus on the interactions occurring in them, and on the role of the non-human in facilitating and inhibiting social inclusion. The knowledge produced through practices could further inform future Games and be built into the OGKS program, which transfers knowledge obtained from these Games by those people who worked there and who encountered challenges and interacted in practices. The knowledge gained of interactions with non-humans could be transferred by deploying people who experienced these and have knowledge of practices. While the IOC has a knowledge-transfer program, it could expand the aspects to take into account the ways in which non-humans participate in the interactions with humans. The central role of interactions should be leveraged to adopt practices which may be inclusive. Some of the key areas to be considered are listed below.

6.5.1 Accessing the volunteer program

As the role of emails was central to, and demarcated, volunteers' participation in the volunteer program, future organising committees should consider the role that such channels play in the volunteers' progression through their journey and ensure that information reaches volunteers for whom it is intended in a timely fashion. The introduction of a system providing confirmation of delivery could be a way for the organising committees to track their correspondence with volunteers.

Volunteers' portal: the volunteer portal was an actor-network that resisted changes attempted from candidates and members of the organising committee. A few opportunities are:

1. Train people that will be working with the system on what it can and cannot do, and what could go wrong. Only those individuals trained should interact with the system, as they have gained experience from the interactions. These people could then share their experience with those who will engage with it at the next Games, sharing particularly what the system can do, how it can divert from the task assigned and how to address such issues.
2. People (engineers) of the company that created the system should be engaged in the training, as they are part of the system actor-network.
3. The OCOG may consider developing its volunteer portal with local companies and in conjunction with IOC requirements. This would ease the interactions and improve the experiences of those interacting with it. Some issues may arise but fewer than those arising from moving an actor-network from a country to another one.

6.5.2 Accessing the online and onsite training

Staging the onsite training close to the Games would allow volunteers coming from abroad to attend the onsite training. This would provide these volunteers not only the opportunity to know the job they are expected to perform but also the opportunity to interact with others, familiarise themselves with the venue in which they will perform and experience the interactions that would take place at Games time. Considering the number of volunteers recruited at mega sport events, staging the onsite training in a lingua franca such as English (and

French, since the Olympic Games has two official languages), would facilitate the participation of volunteers who are not familiar with the local language and their familiarisation with the practices of 'getting to the venue', 'performing', 'eating' and mingling on social media. Languages might be considered as an OPP of the organising committee, which says you can participate only if you know English and French. However, making sure that the communication and trainings are in English (and French) would allow broader access to people than staging them in the local language of the country in which the Olympic Games is hosted, which would prevent people who do not have knowledge about the local language from participating and understanding what is expected from them. This could also result in a lack of knowledge transfer to volunteers, as it was the case of the trainings not completed and of the limited mobilisation of the policy on diversity and inclusion due to the limited exposure volunteers had to it, since many did not get the chance to complete the training on diversity and inclusion.

6.5.3 Eating

Organising committees of future Olympic and Paralympic Games may consider planning eating times with regard to the elements that may facilitate this activity, including coordinating with competition schedules; despite being planned as indicated in the volunteers' guide, eating was performed in different ways in different locations and not always in ways that facilitated inclusive practices. The intent is not to achieve uniformity of practices of eating, which would be rigid and would not fit with the competition schedules, but to consider the importance of eating. The functional areas to which the timetabling is delegated need to consider what eating entails (which emerged as more than consuming food), together with compatibility with the competition's schedules, to allocate appropriate time suitable for the workforce. This would also prevent a disparity of treatment within the workforce, potential complaints and dropout.

Organising committees may want also to consider the position of the refectory to facilitate inclusive practices. A refectory that is central to a community of venues may easily be reached by everyone, compared to a refectory located at one end of the precinct. Planning for a central refectory could only benefit the workforce who eat there, as it increases the opportunities for the workforce to meet, and the time available to eat. This could also constitute an opportunity for workforces working in different venues to get to know each other, and could also reduce the time spent by the workforce on reaching the refectory.

6.5.4 Mingling on 'Zap' WhatsApp

WhatsApp could be adopted as an official means of communication by the organising committee for the Games, as it can facilitate the practices of 'accessing the volunteer program', 'getting to the venues', 'performing', 'eating' and the exchange of useful information in real time, besides being a good team-building platform, via which people operating at distance – especially international volunteers – can communicate.

As practices are local enactments of the social in which knowledge is produced, future organising committee should consider the opportunity to leverage the knowledge gained at the Rio2016 and transfer it to future Games. This knowledge provides the ability to adapt to unforeseen circumstances, such as faulty interactions and could be included in the existing knowledge transfer programs.

The OCOG might want to consider whether communicating to candidates through WhatsApp may be more effective than through email. WhatsApp provides the double blue tick that could give an indication of whether volunteers have received information. Along those lines, engaging activities, such as draws, could be organised through WhatsApp in the period leading up to the Games to build the engagement of future volunteers.

6.6 Conclusion

This study investigated social inclusion in the volunteer program of the Rio2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games. It did so by problematising the volunteers' program, analysing the rhetoric of the 'social' as planned by the Rio2016 organising committee and in the reality that emerged from the practices of the 'social'. Universal design is the emergent design of the interactions that took place in the context investigated. While there were commonalities of practices, each volunteer had their own individualised journey. This emerged from the interactions between actors, some of which performed differently in different circumstances. This research viewed social inclusion through a different lens, actor-network theory, and moved away from the social as a static and abstract concept. This study comes at an historical moment in which organisations have started to recognise the relevance of social inclusion in society through relevant policies (CoE, 2017; UN, 2006; World Bank, 2013) and the increased interest of organising committees in social inclusion (LOCOG, 2004; Rio2016, 2009; VANOC, 2009-2010),

and the adoption of policy on diversity and inclusion of the Rio2016 organising committee of mega sport events (Rio 2016, 2014). The extant literature on social inclusion has reached a saturation point in considering social inclusion as static concept, oftentimes associated with specific groups. This research took up the challenge of problematising social inclusion and universal design within the context of volunteering at the Rio Olympic Games. The social has been conceptualised in both theorising and practice by considering the role of materiality and how this relates to the social, and to the activities/practices through which the social is enacted.

This study offers an alternative perspective on social inclusion with a focus on practices, and on unpacking the components that participate in interactions from which the social emerges. Uniquely, the research is on social inclusion in sport, with universal design involvement of non-humans as actors, or active participants in the interactions taking place. Universal design is the emergent design of the interactions that took place in the contexts investigated, but also a novel way of investigating social inclusion in volunteer practices and considered as local, dynamic and emergent. The ways in which non-humans participated in the interactions differed from what had been initially planned and communicated to volunteers, and produced different volunteers' journeys. This finding highlights the need to develop a good understanding of practices to address the gap between the planning and operations. This study has also contributed to providing an understanding of the volunteers' activities, valuable for planning any type of activity in the future, and an aspect the extant research on volunteering has largely overlooked.

In contemporary society there would be no Games without technology and materiality. The way in which these elements participate in making the Games is intertwined with human activities and the interactions that occur in different places and at different times. It is not only reductive but misleading to consider the volunteer program as a product solely of human activity, as the activities involve human and non-human agency in equal measure. As non-humans act in different ways at different times, investigating the practices by focusing on the interactions, and looking in particular at the way in which humans and non-humans interact, can help to reveal how practices are designed and how the social is enacted.

Social is more than who we are, as it is related to practices which are designed by humans and non-humans and are related to what we do and how we do it. (VLP, 2018)

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Appendix A. Ethics approval



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15 October 2015

Prof Jenny Edwards
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CB08.12.13
University of Technology Sydney

Dear Applicant

RE: UTS HREC 20150002625 – Universal design in sport: a catalyst for social inclusion? ~~J. Edwards, V. LoPresti, T. Taylor,~~

Thank you for your response to the Committee's comments for your project titled, "Universal design in sport: a catalyst for social inclusion?". Your response satisfactorily addresses the concerns and questions raised by the Committee who agreed that the application now meets the requirements of the NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). I am pleased to inform you that ethics approval is now granted.

Your approval number is UTS HREC REF NO. 2015000625. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years from the date of this correspondence subject to the provision of annual reports.

Please note that the ethical conduct of research is an on-going process. The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans requires us to obtain a report about the progress of the research, and in particular about any changes to the research which may have ethical implications. This report form must be completed at least annually from the date of approval, and at the end of the project (if it takes more than a year). The Ethics Secretariat will contact you when it is time to complete your first report.

I also refer you to the AVCC guidelines relating to the storage of data, which require that data be kept for a minimum of 5 years after publication of research. However, in NSW, longer retention requirements are required for research on human subjects with potential long-term effects, research with long-term environmental effects, or research considered of national or international significance, importance, or controversy. If the data from this research project falls into one of these categories, contact University Records for advice on long-term retention.

If you have any queries about your ethics approval, or require any amendments to your research in the future, please do not hesitate to contact Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au.

Yours sincerely

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

Professor Marion Haas
Chairperson
UTS Human Research Ethics Committee
C/- Research & Innovation Office
University of Technology Sydney

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Appendix B. List of the topics covered in interviews

- Day of work
- Technology
- Policy on diversity and inclusion
- Journey to become volunteer