

**‘You Can’t Sit With Us’:
Habitus, Capital and Socio-economic Background
in the Established Status of University Sport**

Oxford Brookes University

Harry Spinks

17063417

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Award of MA
by Research

Date of Submission: 29/09/2021

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Introduction	1
Literature Review	4
<i>An Introduction to Bourdieu</i>	4
<i>Social Class and Higher Education</i>	11
<i>Social Class and Sport</i>	18
<i>Bourdieu and Sport</i>	24
<i>Social class, Bourdieu and University Sport</i>	29
<i>Summary</i>	32
Methodology	36
<i>Project Approach</i>	36
<i>Data Collection</i>	38
<i>Sampling Techniques</i>	41
<i>Ethical Considerations</i>	43
<i>Data Analysis</i>	46
Results	48
<i>Demographics and University Sport Provision</i>	48
<i>The 'Russell Group' Effect</i>	55
<i>Capital - Quantitative Data</i>	58
<i>Why do Clubs have Capital?</i>	63
<i>Emergent Fields - Sport or Social?</i>	73
<i>Habitus</i>	80
<i>Capital Makes the World Go Round</i>	85
<i>Symbolic Violence</i>	89
<i>A Recap and a Look to the Future</i>	92
Conclusion	97
References	106
Appendices	135
<i>Appendix 1 - Questionnaire Template</i>	135
<i>Appendix 2 - Interview Script</i>	139
<i>Appendix 3 - Email Template</i>	141
<i>Appendix 4 - Participant Information Sheet</i>	142
<i>Appendix 5 - Consent Form</i>	146

<i>Appendix 6 - Quantitative Data Collection</i>	148
<i>Appendix 7 - Interview Transcript Example</i>	150
<i>Appendix 8 - Interview Analysis Example</i>	165
<i>Appendix 9 - Categorised Themes</i>	180

Word Count: 29,955 words

Acknowledgements

I'd like to acknowledge my supervisor, Stuart Whigham, for his constant support and excellent advice throughout the entire process, in a particularly difficult year to conduct research. Without his guidance, this thesis would not have been possible.

Thanks must also go to my parents, for their support and encouragement throughout my academic journey.

Abstract

Introduction: Equality, diversity, and inclusivity are factors in sport which are gaining importance and understanding. The university field is one of the least studied within sport, suggesting it is also one of the least understood. Socio-economic background and class status have a significant influence on university sport and culture, as well as student athletes' experiences of participating in sport. Using the theoretical concepts of Bourdieu, the impact of class and social structure was examined. **Method:** Given the interpretivist, constructivist approach, the study was conducted using a mixed methods approach. Sports Union Presidents were used as the sample for the study. This involved the use of an online questionnaire, and follow-up interviews with participants. Quantitative data was recorded in the questionnaire, whilst more in-depth, qualitative data was recorded in the interviews. Appropriate measures were taken to maintain the anonymity of participants. **Results:** The key findings of the research supported what was expected. The sports often perceived as having class associations were discussed by participants as being played by individuals from a certain socio-economic background, as well as specific behaviours (habitus) being displayed in specific sports (such as 'lad culture'). Data suggested that having more capital, whether economic, social, or cultural, was advantageous for accessing a wider range of sport. **Conclusion:** In conclusion, there are problems within university sport regarding accessibility to sport for individuals who come from a lower class status. At current, a status quo exists which is reinforced by the sporting programmes at UK universities. Further research could be conducted to understand the issue in particular sports, or at specific institutions.

Introduction

Socio-economic status and class remains a significant factor in the sociological analysis of sport and culture (Washington and Karen, 2001; Beamish, 2002; Warde, 2006). Sport, despite being heavily invested in, and watched by millions of people, is rarely given the appreciation it deserves when understanding the relationship between economy, society and culture.

Currently in sport, there are many reasons why this sort of study is so important. There are problems across all levels of both competitive and recreational sport, from elite all the way down to amateur. There is also a specific lack of research into university sport, which sits in the middle of this spectrum. From accessibility issues to financial imbalances, this research can make a meaningful impact in the field of sport. Research from Mackintosh (2011) shows that there are evidently some problems with the previous research into this area, due to bias and procedure. There are practical implications that may be possible using this study, ranging from changes to athlete pathways and programmes, to introductions of new practises in sporting institutions. National Governing Bodies and other organisations may also be able to make use of the findings, which is why this type of study matters so much in the current academic climate.

As a result, more in-depth study is required to assess how society impacts sport at the educational level, most notably at university. As described by Lynch and O'Riordan (1998), in order to fully understand this, issues surrounding class need to be incorporated into the study. In light of this, the context of this thesis assesses the extent to which those who are from a low socio-economic position are affected within the education system, both personally and educationally. Furthermore, Alon (2009) argues the competition for more competitive spots increases during more competitive times - therefore limiting the success

of less competitive athletes during highly competitive times. This is a classic example of the status quo in current society - the minority struggling for position against the majority.

The question of whether sport at university is more accessible to all students regardless of background, or whether socio-economic factors and class status still influence the ability to participate in sport, remains an important question that needs to be answered. Answers to this question potentially lie in the financial availability, perceptions and stereotypes of certain sports by students, staff, and researchers, and current societal structures within university sport. By addressing these preconceived ideas, most notably the validity of the stereotypes made about certain sports, this research question can begin to be addressed. Elements such as socio-economic associations, as well as social and financial assumptions about athletes of specific sports, will offer insight into the extent to which class and socio-economic background influences students to participate in sport.

The purpose of this study is to examine the extent to which Student Union (henceforth, SU) officers believe students at university are influenced by not only their own socio-economic background and class, but also how they perceive different sports when participating at university. It will explore SU officers' perspectives on the influences of socio-economic background and class status in university sport, as the overarching research question. The other research questions being examined include SU officers' perspectives on the following: a) how socio-economic background influences levels of success for student athletes; b) whether socio-economic background and class status are viewed as being important by athletes' fellow team mates; and, c) whether socio-economic background influences the 'habitus' of student athletes.

One additional question the study poses is the difference competitive sport has on stereotypes and backgrounds - does 'elite' sport offer a different story to recreational sport? Following on from this, the influence of background and status on individuals' judgements of teammates was considered, as well as their views of other teams and

sports. This was conducted through the opinions of SU officers, who were able to provide an overview of all the sports at their respective university. Any emerging patterns or associations between sports and classes were also considered.

The theory of Pierre Bourdieu allowed for a sociological analysis of university sport, using the concepts of capital, habitus, field, doxa, symbolic violence, and many more strands of the theorist's work. By using the work of sociologist Bourdieu, this thesis will utilise his theory surrounding social class and sport to provide rationale for the present study.

The forthcoming chapters of the thesis will, in turn, review the past literature on the subject, outline the methodological approach, consider the results of the study, and finally, offer concluding thoughts. The literature review will consider the previous research into the area, utilising work on both sport and education. This will outline the gap that this research project can fill, and provide a rationale for the study process. The methodology will outline the approach of the study, and the sampling techniques used, whilst considering any ethical issues the data collection process may involve. The results section will report the key findings of the research, using the central themes of Bourdieusian theory as a structural framework. Lastly, the strengths and limitations of the research will be discussed, along with practical implications for future research.

Literature Review

This literature review will analyse the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his theory regarding social class and sport. It aims to evaluate the previous discourses and research conducted, before providing a rationale for the present study. To follow a coherent structure, this literature review has been split into five sections. The first section will analyse the three main elements of Bourdieusian sociological theory - capital, field and habitus. The second section will focus on the general discussion surrounding social class and hierarchical structure in higher education, given the sample and the strand of sociology being explored. Section three will apply the research and theories of Bourdieu to higher education. Section four will apply social class to the field of sport, and directly to the present study. Finally, section five will apply Bourdieu to sport.

An Introduction to Bourdieu

Capital

Influenced by Marxist thought, one concept within Bourdieusian sociological theory surrounds the power that a certain group or 'class' holds when considering socio-economic background. Despite this, Bourdieu makes a conscious effort to move away from the economic determinism involved in the theory of Marx, by identifying alternative types of power, or 'capital'. Bourdieu removes the central focus on economic power, by suggesting that these different categories (such as social and cultural 'capital') can hold equal or more value, depending on the context. Power itself is exercised through both social structure and human actions combining, suggesting Bourdieu advocates both the structure and agency elements of that debate (Giulianotti, 2015). Jones and Armour (2000) suggest that central to any class analysis is the notion that inequality is inherently present. In contrast to the conventional Marxist theory that the higher classes have more

power, Bourdieu considers other factors such as the field and habitus of a person, which gives individuals authority and resources dependent on different contexts.

A more tangible way of discussing power is to explore the 'capital' a person holds. Bourdieu (1978) defines capital as not just one type of power, but as multiple elements that an individual may have more or less of. Whilst other theorists have focused on capital as one simple form of power, Bourdieu offers a more detailed analysis by separating it into different types of capital, including 'economic capital', 'social capital', 'cultural capital' and 'symbolic capital' (amongst others). Bourdieu argues we must consider how these types of capital interact - therefore, whilst they exist as separate entities, their relationships to one another are key (Giulianotti, 2004). To fully appreciate how the differing types of capital work and interact, it is essential to understand them individually.

'Economic capital' concerns the wealth and money an individual or group has (Bourdieu, 1978; Giulianotti, 2004). Different types of capital can be converted or incorporated into this form of capital. For example, social capital can be turned into sponsorships, earning the athlete or team financial rewards (Bourdieu, 1990a). Building on this, these types of capital need to be viewed in relation to the context. To understand the true value of economic capital, comparative figures are necessary - high economic capital in one field may be very low economic capital in another (Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo, 1995). Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo (1995) used block-modelling procedures to analyse German writers to assess whether a distinction exists between elite and marginal writers. Results showed that there was more of a difference in cultural capital levels than economic capital levels. This shows that different types of capital interlink and dictate the value of certain types of power dependent on the context in which an individual finds themselves (Gilleard, 2020).

'Social capital' is described by Nicholson and Hoye (2008) as a network of connections. This type of capital is dependent on the network size in any given field, as well as the

social capital already obtained by the individuals in this network. Bourdieu defines social capital as 'effective possession of a network of kinship (or other) relations capable of being mobilized or at least manifested' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 35). This definition highlights the importance of social capital, as it suggests it is not just having the connections that is relevant, but the services that these connections provide. Without social capital, networks of power would carry significantly less value.

Giulianotti (2004) describes 'cultural capital' as the possession of cultural goods and the portrayal of individual taste. This type of capital is very field-specific, as whilst economic and social capital can be seen as advantageous in many types of fields, cultural capital is broken down further to understand what is valued most highly in certain areas. Cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1986), is 'the specific profits that children from different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market' (p. 243), showing Bourdieu's initial concept of this type of capital focused on education.

Cultural capital as a concept is split into three types by Bourdieu (1986) and Warde (2006) - 'institutionalised', 'objectified', and 'embodied'. 'Institutionalised' cultural capital is discussed as expected norms that are made to be followed; for example, the rules present in school and university settings. Institutionalised cultural capital also refers to the literal qualifications and credentials obtained by a person. Reay (2004a) suggests this type of cultural capital is an investment, suggesting school and university is an 'academic market', from which qualifications are converted into rewards later in life. 'Objectified' cultural capital can be seen as the most literal form of culture, as it involves different types of cultural objects, including books, arts, and other things an individual has obtained (Goulding, 2008). The final type, 'embodied' cultural capital, involves the mannerisms and behaviour of a person. This shows a clear link to the habitus concept of Bourdieusian theory (Throsby, 1999), as will be discussed subsequently.

Bourdieu himself characterises cultural capital as the management and maintenance of personal image, through the things we accumulate and the way we display them (Bourdieu, 1986). This maintenance of personal image links to the distinction between 'high-brow' and 'popular' cultural capital, which the elite members of society use to maintain a distinction by pursuing a social division (Prieur, Rosenlund, and Skjott-Larsen, 2008). Gripsrud, Hovden, and Moe (2011) suggest that high-brow culture is becoming more and more distinctive, with more divisions in the social space of lifestyles emerging.

In a similar way that the aforementioned types of capital can develop into economic capital, it is also possible for 'physical' capital and 'educational' capital to provide the same possibilities (Shilling, 1991). Physical capital arises from the body itself being used as a form of power. This can involve earning money through an occupation that requires physical labour, or in a sporting context, being in the best physique possible for a specific sport (Shilling, 1991). Educational capital is focused on the same concept - having high educational capital is likely to earn a well-paid job.

After investigating cultural capital, it is easy to understand boundaries between classes (Jarness, 2016). The boundaries that are visible within society are a result of 'symbolic' capital, in which a trait of an individual is 'symbolic' of class or privilege. It is easy for these symbols of difference between classes to become symbols of violence, if they are manipulated in such a way by individuals. Jones and Armour (2000) argue that social class is one of the most determining factors in social interaction, and part of this can be a result of symbolic violence enacted by upper classes. Bourdieu used the concept of symbolic violence as a way of explaining the continued domination of the higher classes, or as Schubert (2012) describes it, 'an effective form of domination, as little energy is exerted to maintain their position' (p. 187).

'Field' and 'Habitus'

The term 'field' is used to describe a range of environments - this can be a very specific area of practice (Bourdieu, 1978), or a much more general area. It is not specific to a sporting setting, therefore could be anything from a university as a whole, to a specific football pitch within that university. The field is discussed by Skille (2007), who states that a field as a sociological concept is its own complete world, and at the same time is also a part of society. Giulianotti (2015) focuses more on the human agency of fields, stating that each field contains a hierarchical structure, in which capital and habitus play a key role. This suggests every field is unique, and in different fields, different rules and socially accepted norms are in place (Wacquant, 2004). Wacquant (2004) used the empirical methods of Bourdieu to support this, stating that his epistemic reflexivity is an example of different rules in different fields. Within each field there is 'field-specific' capital (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008), which holds much greater value and power within that field, when compared to another field.

Fields can also be seen as sites of tumultuous struggle - there is a constant fight for resources (Hill, Kerr, and Kobayashi, 2019). Skille (2007) develops on this, using the terms 'doxa', 'heterodoxy', and 'orthodoxy' to define changes within the field. The doxa of the field are the accepted norms, whilst the heterodoxy defines the changes that occur due to competition for what is available (Berlinerblau, 2001). Orthodoxy is discussed by Skille (2007) as the continuous, normal conditions of the field. Giulianotti (2015) suggests there are three elements to a field; a) the field as a structured space; b) the power of that field; and, c) the habitus of those involved in the field. This shows a clear combination of Bourdieu's three central concepts - the field as itself, the capital relevant to the field, and the habitus of individuals. This explains how society can be viewed as a field, yet also when broken down into smaller, more focused fields. Therefore, the concept of the field can be interpreted in many ways; it is its own existing domain and can be viewed as a separate entity, yet also exists within the context of society, as well as other fields.

The concept of 'habitus' in Bourdieu's theory is potentially the most complex to understand, due to the vague explanation of the term (Stuij, 2015). Habitus can be interpreted in many different ways; this is one criticism of Bourdieu's work, as the definition of this concept has consistently changed. In relation to cultural capital, the habitus of a person can be viewed as their subjective actions and experiences, their tendencies and dispositions, and a structure for human agency, including their mannerisms, behaviour, appearance and dress style (Jones & Armour, 2000). As a concept, habitus is based on norms and values - a person's habitus is predictive of the way they will engage with sporting practice (Wynne, 1998). In this way, habitus is not limited to individuals, and can be applied to a group of people. As a result, habitus plays a major role in social stratification, from students feeling like they do not fit in at university (Lehmann, 2007), to working classes feeling like they have to 'fake it' to fit in with higher classes (Granfield, 1991).

One of the most important aspects of habitus is the field in which the individual is located - habitus and field are mutually constructed (Giulianotti, 2015). The habitus of a person is heavily influenced by context, as well as the doxa of the field; if the person is in an unfamiliar field, the habitus they display is completely different to normal (Reay, Crozier, and Clayton, 2009). On the contrary, if a person is in a field they feel naturally confident in, for example the presence of friends, they are likely to display a much more open, confident habitus (Reay, 2004c). As a result of this, it is possible to understand the ever-changing, fluid interaction of the field and habitus - the objective nature of the field is influenced by the subjective habitus of the individuals in it (Scambler, 2005).

Summary

This exploration into the key concepts of Bourdieu has demonstrated how all three elements interact, and their use in the present study can be understood. Without the field providing context and meaning, the types of capital people obtain would not carry the same value (Skille, 2007), and the habitus displayed by individuals would not vary from

situation to situation. Without habitus, society would not be stratified as it currently is, and human agency would not structure and be structured by fields in the way it is (Bourdieu, 1978). Capital provides an important division of the types of power individuals and groups have, which allows for a more focused analysis of where power is distributed throughout the hierarchical class system in society (Reay, 2004a).

In terms of the structure and agency debate, Bourdieu can be seen as sitting in the middle - perhaps leaning towards the structure end of the spectrum (Akram, 2012). Williams (1995) argues the relationship between sport and class is also impacted by lifestyle and health-related behaviour, suggesting that people are just as accountable for their physical activity as the class structure of society is. King (2000) criticises Bourdieu on this combination of practical and objective theory, stating that the theory of habitus is an objective construct; given that Bourdieu's argument is formed by the structure of the field, and the doxa of that field. The distinction element of sociological theory can also be considered here (Ollivier, 2008), as individuals can create a class divide by making themselves 'distinct' from someone of a lower class. This research into the structure and agency elements of Bourdieu's theory provides a rationale for assessing things such as how class influences habitus, as this will allow exploration of whether habitus is constructed primarily by structure, or by the actions of the individual themselves.

However, it is important to bear in mind that there are strong criticisms of the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Ohl (2008) argues the framework used by Bourdieu for exploring the 'post-modern' society is a dated approach which does not fit contemporary work. This suggests that the findings of the present study must be carefully considered before any inferences or generalisations are made regarding the population of the study. Further criticism comes from Weininger (2002), who proposes that the methods used by Bourdieu are unusual, given the combination of statistical and qualitative data. Whilst Bourdieu is the most suitable theorist for this research project, it is important to acknowledge that some methodological processes in his research may be dated. Scrambler (2005) also

suggests that regardless of a person's objective social class, this is not always predictive of the sport they will play, or the habitus they will display. Although class provides a sound framework for analysis of sociological stratification, it is important to remember that there are exceptions to the general trend.

Social Class and Higher Education

To first understand the issues of socio-economic background and inequality as a whole, it is important to assess the world of sociology and class separately, without a consideration of specific sporting practice. Barone et al. (2017) discuss the concept of an inequality that exists within society, between the higher classes and those with a lower socio-economic status. The idea of a barrier between the two is also portrayed, suggesting there are limitations to those with a less advantaged socio-economic background, and privileges to those with a well established socio-economic background. Using this area of sociological theory, socio-economic background and class status will be at the forefront of the following section of the literature review. By using an analysis and critique of Bourdieusian theory, this research project will aim to explore the backgrounds of university athletes, specifically using socio-economic status. A fundamental part of this is clearly social class in higher education (HE), as this section will primarily discuss.

Social class and accessibility in Higher Education

Research from Nairz-Wirth, Feldmann, and Spiegl (2017) reveals the importance of discussing accessibility in education, as this study found that social inequality still plays a pivotal role in the access students have to universities. Using a focus on one case study, the researchers highlighted how habitus is formed through family and school background. The researchers discuss how most students who are from a working-class background do not even consider applying to HE (such as a university) - instead the natural path is to

progress straight into work. This lack of aspiration arises from the habitus of individuals who understand they are 'non-traditional', and potentially do not fit the expected habitus of institutions such as universities. Apling (1991) and Alheit (2014) discuss how some students feel a sense of being 'out of place' due to the atmosphere of the university. This outlines a major part of the inequality within education; the lower social classes do not have equal access, and feel they are excluded from HE pathways, which in turn results in domination of the higher social classes. Callender and Dougherty (2018) support this, concluding that the choices made by students are heavily influenced by society, and are a result of social stratification. This is not limited to the choice of which university to go to, but also decisions made whilst at university. This inequality is also explored as being reinforced by the higher classes, as Jarness and Friedman (2017) suggest that the difference is actually made more distinctive by the actions of those with greater class status. This shows that pre-existing barriers to equal access are extended by the way they are disregarded and downplayed by the higher classes.

Regardless of age, class issues in classroom environments remain prevalent. Whether it is at primary or secondary level as well as in HE, class divide and accessibility still provide problems, which needs to be discussed (Reay, 2006). This suggests that individuals from different backgrounds and upbringings may be treated differently by teachers and lecturers alike, revealing that not only is the inequality reinforced by those in a privileged position, yet also educators themselves. James et al. (2011) support this, observing that schools in higher socio-economic status areas often have higher governmental pressure, resulting in a higher quality of teaching and student experience. From a Bourdieusian point of view, this can be viewed as a socio-political problem, as class status is being reinforced. Arguably, these individuals have the most power in regards to challenging this status quo, which shows the severity of the issue.

Horne et al. (2011) investigated three independent schools in Scotland, and how they used capital for their benefit. The researchers surmised that all three schools used social,

cultural, and physical capital to form strong relationships, and develop the image of the school as a whole. Forbes and Weiner (2008) further support this by stating that certain types of capital are used by Scottish independent schools to advance the development of certain social groups. This shows a clear divide between independent and state schools, as one reinforces the inequalities present in society. However, Tozer (2013) is critical of this type of statistic and generalisation, stating that figures surrounding independent schools can often be exaggerated. This means further exploration is needed to understand the validity of this area of research.

Social class and the 'Russell Group'

Similarly, the exploration of 'Russell Group' universities is another interesting element of social class and education due to the statistics surrounding applications and place offers. A 'Russell Group' university is part of a prestigious group of public research universities, generally considered the top academic facilities in higher education (e.g. Oxford and Cambridge). Boliver (2013) highlights that despite the increase in university fees (Moore, McNeill, and Halliday, 2011; Dunnett et al., 2012), and institutions promising to increase accessibility and equality, this has not happened. Dunnett et al. (2012) also found that not only are students from lower socio-economic backgrounds and state schools less likely to apply to Russell Group universities, they are also much less likely to receive an offer. Hemsley-Brown (2014) conducted research using students with the same qualifications, showing this difference is not a result of students being less qualified than others. Hemsley-Brown (2014) backs up the perceived advantage by stating that private school students are one and a half times more likely to receive offers from Russell Group universities, than a student from a state funded school. Boliver (2015) also compares the status of Russell Group and polytechnic universities, analysing that a number of Russell Group institutions make up the 'elite tier', whilst roughly 25% of polytechnics make up a distinct 'lower tier'. The fact that polytechnics form a lower tier fits with the expected demographic, given the difficulty many students have in reaching a university in the elite

tier (Blackburn & Jarman, 1993). The result is that this trend becomes harder and harder to break - if students from a lower class, state school background have less access to elite quality education, the domination of a privileged group is emphasised. Therefore, the structure of society, as well as the agency of individuals, can be seen as responsible for the reinforcement of these inequalities (Ridgeway, 2013).

Students from higher socio-economic backgrounds and private schools have a clear advantage when it comes to university education, as shown by these studies (Halffman & Leydesdorff, 2010). Building on this, the courses studied by students in both schools and universities also provide interesting findings, as analysed by Van de Werfhorst, Sullivan, and Cheung (2003). This research found that regardless of their ability, students from a higher socio-economic background were more likely to choose scientific subjects, such as law and medicine. Background was also found to be predictive of success, with those from a higher class scoring better throughout school and university, particularly in humanities and sciences (Reay, 2004a). The arts are much more likely to be studied by someone from a lower socio-economic background, suggesting that the more physical courses are chosen by those from a lower class, and the more academic subjects are chosen by those from a higher class (Goyette and Mullen, 2006). Davies and Guppy (1997) reinforce this by stating that socio-economic status is predictive of successful application to elite universities, as well as access to courses that provide profitable pathways. This shows that not only are there interesting sociological factors involved in university application, yet also in course selection and access.

Influences on social class and education

An alternative ideology for these differing class levels is provided in the work of Holm and Jæger (2008). The researchers outline a theory known as 'Relative Risk Aversion' (RRA), which suggests that differences in classes in education are a result of individuals making choices which prevent them moving down in terms of social class. Support for this comes

from van de Werfhorst and Hofstede (2007), who argue this risk aversion is often prioritised over cultural capital. This brings to light the fact that social differences may be partly a result of theories such as this, as opposed to social inequality. Overall, this shows that it is important to fully consider the reasoning behind researchers' claims of social inequality, especially within an educational environment.

Triventi (2011) discusses parental education as another important factor in the success of the student, finding that those with parents who had higher educational qualifications were likely to follow the same trend. Using data from the 2005 Reflex survey, the researcher performed binomial logistic regression, which indicated that students with highly educated parents are more likely to have a high status job (5). One current social stratification in education is the family ideal that seems to be ever more present, where those from an academically successful family are expected to follow suit. Reay (2018) reinforces this, suggesting there are lots of women reporting on and participating in the specific sport of horse riding, but few prioritising it as a key sport. It can be argued that in order for this to occur, distinctions and boundaries are created by families in these classes, which reduce the opportunities of lower socio-economic families. Triventi (2013) extends this by analysing the occupations of those with parents who have better qualifications. This research shows that not only do highly educated parents predict a better chance of success for a child in a university environment - it is also predictive of higher paying employment in the future. Kalleberg and Griffin (1980) support this, suggesting that regardless of education or employment level, class and socio-economic background are predictive of success.

Bourdieu and Higher Education

Wakeling and Savage (2015) highlight the work of Bourdieu, stating 'the goalposts were moved to ensure that it was only a selective group of universities that conveyed access to elite positions' (p. 169). This supports the theory that the higher classes do create a

distance between themselves and other classes, or as Bourdieu goes on to discuss, a 'distinction'. The researchers also comment on the fact that little research into this area of higher education and class has been conducted, providing support for the present study.

Wynne (1998) describes class as the attainment of status based on changing positions in social fields, showing that gaining one type of capital may increase social position in that domain, yet may have little effect in another. For example, it is possible to have a high social capital, whilst having low economic capital, and vice versa (Ihlen, 2009). Brosnan (2010) observes this from the view of the field, stating that medical school students are likely to have high economic and cultural capital, with lower social capital, whilst other higher education students will have a higher social capital, but a lower economic and cultural capital. Some research argues that certain fields assume the possession of types of capital; for example, Sullivan (2002) suggests the education sector is constructed in a way that those with lower cultural capital are instantly disadvantaged. This can be seen in the world of sport, as different fields offer differing types of capital. Dumais (2002) develops on this, concluding that cultural capital and habitus are also extremely important factors within an education system. The researcher argues that it is expected that schools with greater cultural capital will be successful. However, this does mean that schools with lower cultural capital (and usually lower economic capital) have limited access to success in competitions and academic successes.

Hunter (2004) takes this further by defining cultural capital as 'the product of education or the academic market as connected to individuals in the form of accent, disposition or learning, as connected to objects such as books, qualifications or possessions, and connected to institutions such as having a secondary school education in a state school as opposed to a private school or university' (p. 178). This shows that Bourdieu's original definition may be flawed, as other research has built upon the term, including more factors than simply education in the definition. The field is also given more consideration in Hunter's definition - for example, a grade B A-Level may carry high cultural capital at a

polytechnic university, but will carry little cultural capital at an Oxbridge university (Wynne, 1998). In the same way, educational achievements can also earn individuals higher cultural capital. From an educational standpoint, the trend implies that people from a working class background often work in manual, physical labour jobs, whereas those from higher classes often work in jobs where the body is simply a vehicle for the mind (Shilling, 1992). In terms of both educational and cultural capital, it could be argued that the higher classes are more conscious of prolonging the body, and rely upon their educational attainments for success. On the other hand, those from the working classes are more reliant upon the body (physical capital) for income (Shilling, 2007).

Habitus is also highly influential in the social processes that take place within certain groups, such as sports teams, friendship groups, and communities, where class division occurs based upon personalities and dispositions (Harker, 1984). Within a university setting, a whole range of actions, dress senses, and overall behaviours can be seen (Griffiths, Moore, and Brunton, 2020). These factors have a key bearing on individuals' social positions, as the habitus they display plays a role in their association with particular classes. In higher education, habitus is clearly a factor in individuals obtaining capital, in different fields.

Summary

This section has examined previous research into social class and stratification within higher education. This allows the current problem in education to be fully understood; a status quo exists which is reinforced by, and reinforces, the higher classes (Triventi, 2011; Triventi, 2013; Wakeling & Savage, 2015). As it is present from an early age (Reay, 2006), this issue does not only lie within the sample being used in this study, but throughout education as a whole. The comparison of Russell Group and polytechnic universities (Boliver, 2015) reveals key information regarding the present study population, and the discussion surrounding the courses students choose at university (Van de Werfhorst et al.,

2003) emphasises the class divide. In terms of class structure, the research discussed (Alon, 2009; Wijtzes et al., 2014) outlines the central problem within contemporary society - an imbalance in equal opportunities to all classes. The structure of society at present is set up to help those with more power and resources, yet the domination of the higher classes through the reinforcement of barriers to equal access is a result of agency.

Social Class and Sport

Due to the more extensive research being carried out within the field, the social, cultural, and economic power of sport at university level is becoming far better understood. It has become increasingly clear through this research that there are social inequalities within both education and sport (Johnston, Delva, and O'Malley, 2007; Seabra et al., 2008; Wijtzes et al., 2014). It is possible to identify that sports teams with more members often hold a greater economic power, whilst the most 'popular' team/individual sports hold the greatest social power, and have the greatest networking abilities (Coyle & Vaughn, 2008). This is comparable to the world of education, where greater economic and social power usually leads to greater influence and accessibility (Cullinan et al., 2013; Flannery and Cullinan, 2014). Bourdieu (1978) epitomises this by discussing the 'supply' of sport and the social power it holds, revealing the wide range of roles sport plays within a university setting.

The discussion of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts outlines a detailed and very applicable theory to the field of social class and sport. The following section will develop an understanding of the role social class plays in sport in general, physical education and sport in schools in particular, and the divide between state and private education. Some observations of previous research in other cultures will also be made, followed by a consideration of the implications and benefits the present study may have for future research in this area.

Social class and sports participation

Academic research has been conducted into socio-economic background and class status in general, as well as in youth sport (in mostly primary and secondary schools). However, there is a gap in the literature regarding how socio-economic background and class status influence participation in university sport, which this present study intends to fill. Currently, there is a clear status quo which needs to be broken (Brown, 2005). The current class divisions in sport have created an environment which is extremely difficult for athletes from lower classes and poorer socio-economic backgrounds to not only access (Karusisi et al., 2013), but to also reach elite levels within sport. Solvberg and Jarness (2018) provide a comparison of the classes in society, and convey that the higher classes are more active, have more representation in 'upper class sports' such as rowing, horse riding, and skiing, and have lower BMIs compared to lower classes. Therefore, even in a sporting context social class influences the accessibility individuals have to specific sports, resources, and facilities.

Research from Roberts (1996) found that social class disparities are still very prominent in sport provision and participation, and that class remains the biggest problem in school and university sport. Moreover, Green, Smith, and Roberts (2005) further this by pointing out that even in everyday, pastime activities surrounding sport and leisure, economic inequality creates the class differences that can be seen. As outlined by Frey and Eitzen (1991), sport has developed from a recreational activity to one which carries political and social power, revealing the important role sport has played in the development of contemporary society.

Social class in school sport

Within a UK school setting, multiple studies have been conducted regarding the stratification of class and wealth. Mills and Gale (2007) suggest success in education is

more often than not a result of background and cultural history, as opposed to actual academic achievements. Whigham et al. (2020) conducted a comparison of free school meal provision levels in English schools with the structure of PE curriculums, and found that sports with class associations (such as rugby union, rugby league, tennis, and hockey) were more likely to be offered at advantaged schools, where less free school meals were provided. On the other hand, many sports with no class associations (such as athletics, gymnastics, rounders, and dance) were offered in almost equal distribution across differing levels of free school meal provision.

In a similar study, Stuij (2015) observed two separate groups of children from differing social classes, and observed the way in which habitus developed. It was found that the habitus of the higher class children was largely influenced by the immediate family, whereas the habitus of the lower class children was impacted by multiple different figures, namely family members, friends, and teachers. Although these studies differ in their focus, both offer interesting projections of the experiences of different classes in their upbringing. The higher social class appear to have a more specific, structured development, with certain individuals and sports directing this; in contrast, the lower social class appear to participate in a greater range of sports, and have many more individuals and factors involved in their habitual development. This is supported by the work of Reid (2017), who observed the sporting success from the implementation of a system in which social class identification was removed. Understanding the needs of students on an individual basis lead to a suitable environment for the development of athletes.

This means that from an early age, children with lower socio-economic status are deprived of opportunities in a range of higher class sports, many of which are provided for at institutions such as universities. Given this, it is no surprise that the type of social stratification seen in the study from Whigham et al. (2020) continues in university level sport, and that these sports remain predominantly available to people from a higher socio-economic background. This also impacts student athletes' success when moving on

from university, and progressing to elite sport. Wiltshire, Lee, and Williams (2019) support this, suggesting that by the age of 13 or 14 sporting inequalities are already present within society. Kirk (2005) states that physical education in secondary schools has been unsuccessful, and has not increased participation, potentially due to the manner in which it is delivered. This outlines the problem currently prevalent in sport. Due to these social stratifications, by the time students reach university, they are unlikely to join a different sport, or have the affordances to do so (Widdop & Cutts, 2013). This reinforces the class-sport associations that are observed. As a result of this, it is clear to see that research into whether this trend does indeed continue in university sports is beneficial to the field of sport, and could have positive implications for making sport more accessible to all.

The social inequality present in physical education is described by Evans and Bairner (2013) as a 'visceral reality', emphasising the severity of the issue within the field. This statement shows strong links to the studies of Stuij (2015) and Wiltshire, Lee, and Williams (2019), who argue that established habitus' and social inequalities are present from a young age. The relationships and experiences of children and young adults in sport are heavily impacted by this reality, and often predict the sporting pathway which many young athletes follow. For example, some sports require expensive equipment and facilities, which in turn means they have a very exclusive participation demographic. In equestrian or polo, it is a requirement to own or maintain a horse, showing that at times, greater economic capital leads to more social capital, and more accessibility into certain sports (The Sutton Trust, 2020). Therefore, in sports where a specific level of capital and habitus (Stuij, 2015) is required, and there is limited accessibility, more socio-economic factors provide barriers to equal access in sport.

Not only are upbringing and social interaction fundamental factors in socio-economic inequality within sport, but the type of school attended has also been found to affect success and accessibility. Further research (The Sutton Trust, 2019) has shown that

despite almost 90% of schools competing in national competitions being state schools, 46% of the winners are independent schools. Therefore, almost half of the winners of these competitions come from around 10% of the schools entering, which shows the select group from which the winning teams and athletes originate. This demonstrates that the type of school that students attend clearly plays a very large role in this differential increase, showing the importance of educational capital in students' choices of sport. To combat this, in 2018, Sport England set up a fund aimed towards 'Tackling Inactivity and Economic Disadvantage' (Sport England, 2018). The use of the term 'economic disadvantage' reinforces the idea that there is an unequal distribution of socio-economic backgrounds in many sports, as a result of the norms or cultures present in the sports. Factors such as a 'posh' upbringing or 'lad' behaviour may reinforce these economic imbalances. This is noticeable in university sports such as hockey, rowing, rugby, and cricket - it is very common for these to be dominated by students who have attended private schools (The Sutton Trust, 2019). Overall, it is clear to see that not only are capital, habitus, and society influential in the inequality in sport, but also education.

Given that the literature identifies the clear gap between socio-economic background and access to all sports, it provides a reasonable rationale for the present study. Furthermore, the work involving how schools and students impact accessibility to sport (Whigham et al., 2020; Stuij, 2015) supports using the UK universities as the sample for the study. Due to the lack of research into university sport and students in particular, this thesis has been conducted to fill this gap. The findings regarding the development of social inequalities (Roberts, 1996; Ollivier, 2008) are extremely relevant, as they show the need for a study such as this one, given the young age at which research suggests social imbalances form (Wiltshire, Lee, and Williams, 2019).

Furthermore, previous research from other countries and cultures also provides support for the present study; in particular, work carried out by researchers in Scandinavian countries. Hjelm (2017) from Sweden explores how major sport has unveiled some interesting findings - for example, how university teachers and researchers show a unanimous dislike for serious competition, described as 'win at all costs'. This type of competition is discussed as causing more inequality within institutions such as universities. This offers a rationale for analysing the differences between competitive and casual athletes, to understand if competition does create any serious problems within university sport. It also demonstrates the importance of looking at athletes' success levels, to understand the level at which they compete, and if this makes an impact. Furthermore, Skille (2007) found that within a Norwegian sporting field, despite the number of people who are physically active increasing, those with a higher household income and those who spent longer in education were more likely to be active. This shows some clear trends in relation to sport and class; whilst the number of people exercising is increasing, the percentage of active people who are from a higher class or high socio-economic status is increasing at a faster rate. This can be seen as representative of sport as a whole in contemporary society, as it is becoming dominated by those with higher economic, social, and educational capital, which, more often than not, is those from higher classes.

These trends of social inequality in sport have not only been identified in sports participation, but also in sports spectatorship. White and Wilson (1999) analysed class differences in both professional and amateur sports spectatorship in Canada, and concluded that there were clear imbalances in socio-economic background. Their multivariate analysis of the 1992 General Social Survey of Canada examined the impact of income and education on spectatorship, in amateur and professional sport. The results revealed that higher socioeconomic status was associated with higher attendance at both amateur and professional events. This was similar to the findings of Skille (2007), where a

more established socio-economic background was predictive of higher spectator attendance, in both types of sport (amateur and professional). This shows that in both participation and spectatorship, higher socio-economic status plays a fundamental role in the type of people playing and watching sport. Adding to this, the researchers found it was more likely for Western Canadians to watch amateur sports, and Eastern Canadians to watch professional sports, suggesting class differences based on region, as well as capital. Gemar (2020) supports this by investigating the network of capital of individuals attending sporting events. The size of the network and the range of the network were found to be the biggest predictors of sports attendance; but most poignantly, the prestige of an individual's network appeared to relate to some high-brow sporting events. Kahma (2010) suggests that whilst class divisions are very prevalent in sports participation, the results are less clear in relation to sports spectatorship. This shows that the present study is not only valuable to the participation side of sport, yet also the spectatorship element.

Bourdieu and Sport

Given the research discussed in the previous sections, Bourdieu viewed sport itself as a site of great social and cultural struggle (Giulanotti, 2004). This is outlined by Safai (2016), who maintains that the sporting context provides an environment in which barriers such as inclusivity and diversity are challenged, and competition for opportunities occurs. Hartmann (2003) delves further into this observation from Bourdieu, stating that sport is also used as a tool for achieving successful intervention, in relation to political and social issues. In this way, sport has many potential uses in developing issues in other fields.

In a simple formula, capital, habitus, and field are combined to create sporting practice (Bourdieu, 1990b). In this way, sport itself cannot be viewed as a separate entity - it has many links to other influences and practices, such as social, cultural, and even political connections (Giulianotti, 2004). Bourdieu also suggests the human body is an important

factor in understanding sport and social class, which indicates further the need for a holistic approach, utilising all components of the theory that has been discussed (Jones and Armour, 2000). Given the fact that the focus of the present study concerns socio-economic background and class status, the role these play in sport can be analysed in detail using the theory of Pierre Bourdieu.

In a sporting context, the presence and investment of more money into many sports shows it is becoming an increasingly commercial market; sports such as football are obvious examples of this (Bourdieu, Dauncey, and Hare, 1998). In the modern day look that football has, elite clubs at the top are becoming capitalist businesses, whilst the fragile, community-centred, non-league clubs rely on the voluntary work of many people simply to survive. This gap between the top and the bottom is only increasing, with the elite and the amateur becoming more distant from each other, as the clubs at the top get richer, and the clubs at the bottom get poorer (Feddersen & Maennig, 2005). This has a major impact on the participation levels of amateur and university sport. Giulianotti (2015) explores the way that organised sport for the middle and upper classes has become more costly and structured, which in turn almost leaves the working class behind.

Even in everyday sport the gap is increasing, with inequality broadening the disadvantages and lack of access that lower classes have to an already limited sporting field (Kesenne, 2000). It is essential to understand why economic capital becomes distributed in this fashion, and to understand the impacts it has on sport, thus making the research in this study a necessary addition to the established literature (Spaaij, 2009). At a university level, it is important to prevent similar events happening, where there is an uneven distribution to the allocation of funding to the already widening gap between the wealthier and poorer teams. From a sporting point of view, athletes such as dancers use their physical capital (strength, dexterity, dancing talent) to earn economic capital (money for performances, for example) (Holroyd, 2002). This shows that both types of capital can lead to financial gain, in very different ways.

In a similar manner to economic capital, social capital is fast becoming an advantageous trait for athletes and sports teams. More social capital appears to lead to many promising opportunities, such as increased advertising time/air time, sponsorships, and general power within the sport. The social element that many sports have already boasts a wide range of social opportunities, for example a golf course, which can be the site of many business meetings (Taminiau and Wiersma, 2016), or a shooting club, which is arguably more about the social aspect than the sporting aspect. From this viewpoint, it is possible to see how social capital is closely linked to economic development of a sports club or athlete - the opportunities afforded from social capital are often converted into financial success (Glaeser, Laibson, and Sacerdote, 2002). However, social capital is not simply a vehicle for conversion to financial gain and economic wealth. Sport as a whole can provide support for people, whether that be through a connection with a team, with a certain stadium or venue, or an athlete themselves. It can improve relationships, provide opportunities, and reduce feelings of loneliness or isolation (Nicholson & Hoyer, 2008). Capital therefore gives teams and athletes power in different areas of sport, or as they are more commonly called by Bourdieu (1978), fields. It is simple to see how the field provides a context for the value of the capital an athlete has - what is valued highly in one field may be valued much less in another (Hill, Kerr, and Kobayashi, 2019).

The distinction created by this difference in types of capital aims to keep some sports 'exclusive' from the lower social classes, similar to other forms of culture, such as music, arts, and literature (Le Roux et al., 2008). The higher classes are found to attend theatre and dance events more frequently than the lower classes (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). This trend is also found in sport - some of the most prominent examples of this are equestrian and rowing which are becoming more exclusive to those who can afford and access them (Stempel, 2005). This trend is also identified in other sports with a much wider range of socio-economic backgrounds. For example, if a footballer turns up to training in an expensive car, it is a symbol of wealth which signifies they are clearly in a

high class within the field of football (Ismer et al., 2015). This is significantly distinct from the car a non-league footballer is likely to drive, therefore symbolising the gap in capital and class between the two levels (Tucker, 2019). This concept is described by Wynne (1998) as 'differential deviation', suggesting that particular objects and mannerisms are used to differentiate between classes in modern day society, which can be translated to sport.

Stempel (2005) builds on this idea, suggesting that physical violence is rarely used to reinforce a distinction, and states that particular sports are used to increase the separation of the higher classes from the lower classes. Collective identities of classes are stated as moving from negotiation to domination, as a result of this trend (Samuel, 2013). Sporting examples of this include symbolic violence at the university of Sao Paulo (Michetti & Mettenheim, 2019), as well as at the 2010 and 2012 Olympic Games, in which Kennelly (2016) reports many young people felt they did not match the image of what the host cities should look like. This can also be seen in the types of clothing worn and technology used, as well as the accents, language, and behaviour displayed by people (Husu, 2013). Bourdieu himself discusses symbolic violence in relation to distinction, in which class stratification occurs due to the higher classes making themselves 'distinct' from the rest of society.

Based on this, it is understandable that habitus varies between both sports and clubs (Claringbould, Knoppers, and Jacobs, 2014). For example, a classic football team attire may be considered to be tracksuits, whereas seeing someone in a blazer, shirt, and tie indicates they may be from a rugby team (Richardson, 2004). The divisions of social classes are often very visible in this way, as the habitus of the members of an equestrian club is likely to display a more upper class culture than the habitus of a cheerleading club. This can also be observed when comparing a small club to a large club, regardless of the setting in which they operate. For example, a small scale, amateur club will present a very different habitus compared to a large scale, professional club (Hill, Kerr, and Kobayashi,

2019). In the southern hemisphere, namely New Zealand, research from Hill, Kerr, and Kobayashi (2019) has looked at the differing habitus between elite and amateur clubs. A close look at four small scale sports clubs, utilising Bourdieusian theory, revealed poignant findings regarding the general opinion of many clubs of the same stature - social and symbolic capital are more important to them than economic and cultural capital.

However, Nichols, Tacon, and Muir (2012) suggest the reliance on volunteers can often hinder the development of some clubs' capital, due to the will to limit the people running the club to those who are already members. Research from Japan shows that the specific location of community clubs plays a pivotal role in the level of social capital they are able to obtain (Okayasu, Kawahara, and Nogawa, 2010). As a result, many clubs do not have the incentives to grow, meaning amateur clubs have no will to become professional clubs. Fitzpatrick (2020) reinforces the importance of the field when discussing capital, especially cultural, as is shown by the comparison of elite and amateur clubs. In the field of most amateur clubs, social and symbolic capital carry more power than economic and cultural. This leads to the domination of the clubs with money and cultural capital. Therefore, the entire habitus of small sports clubs has now become one of accepting the inequalities that are rife within the sporting world, due to not having the resources to compete with the bigger clubs, and challenge this status quo (Donnelly, 1996). On a university level, it is vital to explore whether the same is beginning to happen between clubs.

On the other hand, Warde (2006) is critical of the way Bourdieu discusses symbolic capital in relation to class. This suggests that despite smaller clubs being associated with symbolic capital, and larger clubs with economic or cultural capital, the links are not as set in stone as presumed. Warde (2006) argues that bigger sports clubs still have the potential to create a symbolic capital, meaning it may not be as strongly related to class as Bourdieu originally suggested. Therefore, whilst the research of Hill, Kerr, and Kobayashi (2019) is useful in assessing the increasing gap between elite and amateur clubs, it must be considered that elite clubs may still provide healthy symbolic capital, which has no

impact upon class differences, or inequalities present in sport. For this reason, the central issue is why these inequalities between clubs (and athletes) exist, as opposed to the differing types of capital the clubs obtain and create.

Social class, Bourdieu and University Sport

As has been discussed, the majority of previous research into the area has explored issues of socio-economic inequality in younger people, such as primary or secondary school students. Rationale has been provided for assessing students of a university age and status, but it is also important to consider the pathways student athletes take after university.

Reay, David, and Ball (2005) discuss the influence that social class has on students when deciding which university to attend, showing the role this plays before students even set foot in university. Furthermore, during their time at university, the habitus of the institution is a vital factor in the decision making process of students, regarding their future direction (Reay, David, and Ball, 2001). This is reinforced by the habitus of the institution which is maintained through the repetition of the practices that occur - this happens within the entire range of social fields present at any university. Brown, Morgan, and Aldous (2016) suggest that multiple elements of habitus are reinforced through the conditions (or doxa) of the field; dispositions become fixed to that field, and physical and emotional traits also develop, to match the expected norms. These traits are argued to be extremely difficult traits to change, once they have developed. As a result of this, already established class differences in sporting fields can be seen, which is often predictive of the routes student athletes will take after university. Reay (2015) comments on the influence of emotion in the development of habitus, suggesting that many students develop a suitable habitus for specific fields, showing the association between interior mental processes and the structure of society.

This often means that many students from lower social classes develop a habitus which is not reflective of themselves, or in contrast, feel the habitus of certain university sports is so different to themselves they make a conscious decision to not play it. Lee and Kramer (2012) state that a change in habitus can occur during time with friends and teammates, which can result in a fake profile developing to fit in with the expectations of the field. The ways many sports guide individuals to act often represent exclusive membership to those with wealth and power, which offers an explanation for the lack of representation from lower socio-economic status students, in sports such as rowing, hockey, and rugby (The Sutton Trust, 2019). This means that, when progressing from university sport to elite level, a significant proportion of these athletes are privately educated, or have a high household income, due to their socio-economic status (Post et al., 2018). This is shown in the sample of athletes who make up an elite sporting team, for example, Team GB. The members of the Olympic squad are four times more likely to have had a private education than a public education (The Sutton Trust, 2020). Smith, Haycock, and Hulme (2013) argue that the perceptions and norms of wider society are also responsible for this, as opposed to simply the education system - societal pressures and expectations clearly also impact the development of athletes at university.

Furthermore, within the sports which are renowned for having social inequalities (Collins, 2016), the statistics offer even more support for an imbalance (The Sutton Trust, 2020). Since 1992, in either rowing or equestrian, an ex-Eton student has won an Olympic medal. During the 2016 olympics in Rio de Janeiro, in both rowing and hockey, at least 50% of the GB medal winning athletes were from a private education background. This shows the inequalities that begin in school institutions in sports such as these are continued throughout university, and extend to the most elite sporting level. When comparing the Rio 2016 Olympics (28%) with the same competition in London in 2012 (20%), the percentage of athletes who attended a private school rose by 8%, as shown by the numbers in brackets. These statistics are staggering, considering only 7% of the UK population are

privately educated. Based on this, it is clear to see that universities are an essential part of this process (Reay, David, and Ball, 2005), and could play an important role in altering the current imbalances that are seen (Karusisi et al., 2013). Green (2007) conducted an analysis of sporting priorities in Australia, New Zealand and the UK between 1960-2006, and found that during this time very little attention had been paid to grassroots sport; almost all the funding was directed at elite sporting development. Further research of a similar nature outlines the sociological development of equestrian as an upper class sport, as a result of the military involvement in the early stages of formation (de Haan and Dumbell, 2016). These studies demonstrate that in a wide range of sports, socio-economic status plays a fundamental role in accessibility.

When looking at specific professional sports, and their link to education, The Sutton Trust (2019) reveals figures that support the conceptualisations of class and sport. Only 5% of professional male footballers in the sample attended an independent school, in comparison to the 37% of male rugby players and 43% of male cricket players. Strikingly, no male footballers in the sample attended university, whereas 38% of male rugby players went onto higher education. In women's sport, similar statistics were found with only 2% of footballers attending independent schools, whilst cricket and rugby showed higher independent school attendance, matching the trend of male sport. These statistics provide evidence for the disparity in class between sports - football clearly shows a working class background, with very low attendance at an independent school or a university. In contrast, sports such as rugby and cricket reveal a higher class background, with much higher attendance at independent schools and universities. This supports historical associations of class and specific sports (Hoekman, Breedveld, and Kraaykamp, 2017); things such as culture and facilities are governing factors in the success a student may have in certain sports.

However, some arguments are made against the way social class and private education are currently viewed, in relation to university and elite sport. Reay, Crozier, and Clayton

(2009) postulate that working class students who attend 'elite' universities actually benefit from switching fields, and with that are more likely to succeed. Tozer (2013) rejects the repeated statistic that almost a third of Team GB is privately educated, and suggests that over the 4 Olympic Games between 2000 and 2012, the actual figure is 20.3%. It is also stated that the proportion of Team GB medallists who were educated at comprehensive schools has increased, suggesting that the increase in privately-educated medallists may be a result of Team GB simply winning more medals overall. Aquilina (2009) observes that in many cases, it is not the class difference that is the issue, but the requirement for athletes to sufficiently support themselves financially through an elite sporting programme whilst attending university. This suggests it is an issue of funding specifically, and should not be generalised to socio-economic status as a whole.

Summary

A review of the studies discussed reveals the positive contributions the present research could make to the field. From assessing similarities to the current research into the topic area, the present study will provide a sound methodological way of exploring the influence of socio-economic background in the sports students participate in at university. This is shown from the use of a class-based measure in the Whigham et al. (2020) study, which provides a rationale for the use of a similar design. The work of Stuij (2015) and Wiltshire, Lee, and Williams (2019) shows how similar research has been performed involving students of a younger age, providing scope for success with an older sample. The analysis of research from other cultures (Hill, Kerr & Kobayashi, 2019; Hjelm, 2017; Skille, 2007; White & Wilson, 1999) suggests that multiple areas of the world are interested in this type of project, and therefore, the present study could have implications not only in the United Kingdom, but in other countries and cultures as well.

Utilising the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu was chosen as the best theoretical approach when compared to other social theorists. Whilst Marxist-influenced analysis of social class and sport may be able to provide some rationale for financial imbalances, and can account for the structure of society from an economic perspective, there is too much importance placed on economic determinism for a study of this nature. Marxist analyses would account for some of the findings based purely on a class basis; Bourdieu articulates these differences in more detail, outlining social, physical, and even educational reasons for why sport is more accessible to some groups than others. Similarly, had Neo-Marxist theories - such as those aligned with the work of Gramsci - been used for the study, it would focus more on the power of the individuals who come from more advantaged backgrounds, as opposed to why the difference exists between socioeconomic classes. Therefore, it was decided that Bourdieu's social theory was the most appropriate for the present study.

One of the main future benefits the research could have is primarily for universities themselves. The findings of this study could be used by universities to assess the current situation within their sporting department, which could lead to changes being made, to improve, and ideally remove, the present inequalities (Spaaij, Farquharson, and Marjoribanks, 2015). As a plethora of research suggests, the current status quo in many institutions is one that reinforces the class divide, and does not challenge it (Brown, 2005). Archer, Hutchings, and Ross (2003) highlight the fact that it is not only social class stratification that creates inequalities, but the institution itself as well. Furthermore, differences in class are reported as being more noticeable to prospective students than ethnic minorities (Ball, Reay, and David, 2002). As a result of this research, universities may reflect upon the stereotypical ideologies which are clear to see (Connor, 2001), and introduce new measures to combat the existing problem. Implications may include things such as programmes being set up to offer greater accessibility to students from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Fraser-Thomas, Côté, and Deakin, 2005), or making university sport as a whole more appealing to a generalised population.

This research may be utilised in education and sport prior to university, such as secondary schools, and amateur sports clubs. Jones and Armour (2000) suggest that secondary schools are failing to adapt to new sporting contexts, with PE curriculums remaining the same over a long period of time. Implications may include things such as programmes and interventions being set up, which aim to provide more opportunities for those from a lower socio-economic background, not dissimilar to the fund set up by Sport England (Sport England, 2018). By targeting this issue in younger age groups, it could prevent the social stratification which is seen in sports teams at UK universities. As Bairner (2007) says, there are circumstances, from both the past and present, which shape the current class divisions in sport - implications such as programmes and interventions could change this, giving the individual more control over their own path.

In conclusion, past research into the topic area offers overwhelming support for the importance of the present study. Overall, it is clear to see there are fundamental sociological issues within sport, which this study aims to address. The use of a university sample is supported by the lack of research into this stigmatised field, with the focus on unveiling the true experiences of athletes from a range of social classes and sports. Progression from university level sport to elite level sport also largely favours individuals with higher levels of economic and social capital (Green, 2007), and a habitus which fits the desired norms of the field (Reay, 2015; Lee & Kramer, 2012). This is shown from the research involving school students (Whigham et al., 2020; Stuij, 2015), the research involving university students (Ball, Reay, and David, 2002), and the statistics regarding the olympic games and elite sport (The Sutton Trust, 2019; The Sutton Trust, 2020). Through the use of Pierre Bourdieu's social theory, and the concepts of capital, habitus, and field, it is possible to understand the basis for research which aims to address these social class inequalities. The reinforcement of an unequal status quo is seen throughout sport, which supports the role of a study such as the present one - to assess the extent to which

socio-economic background and class status are influential in the sports university students play.

Methodology

Project Approach

The theoretical framework used for this research project was an interpretivist epistemological approach. Hastie and Hay (2012) define qualitative research as 'a process of enquiry that seeks to understand phenomena in real-world settings, where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest' (p. 80). Using this theory, this research project used participants' subjective, personal experiences to explore the influence of socio-economic background on sports at university. By taking an interpretivist epistemological approach the study has followed the understanding of knowledge, and ontological phenomena, as something that can be studied and used as a subjective construct (Jones, 2015). Personal experiences and opinions reveal a 'constructed' and relevant reality within the desired field, developed upon the perspective of the individual (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). As discussed by Putnam and Banghart (2017), this type of approach uses participants' actions and thought processes to understand social interactions, offering important insights into how constructed realities on socio-economic background impact choices that are made. In this way, the perspectives of the participants in this study were used to gather information regarding the influence of socio-economic background and class status on university sport. This enabled the participants' view to be analysed and observed, allowing for an 'insider's perspective' (Alvermann & Mallozzi, 2010). As discussed by Seale et al. (2004), each research project varies from others, suggesting the tailored nature of this study was suitable for the participants involved.

This type of approach is interpretivist as the outlook of the participant was the main focus of the research. The benefit of this approach was the removal of the desire to find one single answer, allowing for multiple perspectives to be considered (Jones, 2015). Given

the method and structure of the present study, this was a very suitable approach, due to the interviews and questionnaires involving participants reporting personal viewpoints on sport at their universities. The use of this research design was also advantageous due to the situation in which this research was conducted - the Covid-19 pandemic. The use of this mixed, predominantly qualitative research method allowed for a rapport to be established between the participants and researcher, removing the feeling that they were 'just a number' (Lincoln, 2010). Sparkes (1994) supports this, suggesting that interpretivist methods of research are useful in developing good relationships with participants, by using their point of view to attach meaning to behaviour. During an awkward time to be performing research, this enabled participants to feel properly included in the study.

However, whilst the use of interpretivist, qualitative research methods offers many positives, the limitations must be acknowledged. Using participants in this way relies upon reciprocation - for the research to be successful, there are demands and requirements placed upon both the researcher and the participant (Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton, 2001). During the online climate at the time of this study, negotiating personal issues and social situations was more important than ever in the research design and practice (Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton, 2001; Lincoln, 2010). A further limitation of this type of research is that given the rejection of a single 'true' reality: the findings from the research are unlikely to come to one whole, conclusive argument (Sparkes, 1994). Instead, there are likely to be multiple outcomes, which may all answer the research question in their own right, concerning their own context. This may be criticised by some researchers as not precisely answering the questions outlined; however, the direction of this research suggests one true, correct answer does not exist in relation to this style of research (Sparkes, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

As a result of this, the present research can be seen as using an inductive, constructivist approach. The study is inductive due to the understanding that socio-economic background and class status influence university sport, but there is no formation of a direct

hypothesis, as the direction of the influence of these factors is unknown. This can be seen as a bottom-up approach to the study, by conducting data collection before theorising a hypothesis (Hastie & Hay, 2012). If the study was deductive, a clear hypothesis for the research project would have been stated, and a top-down approach would have been used (Hastie & Hay, 2012). Instead, the hypothesis is simply that class status and socio-economic background influence university sport in some way. In terms of constructivism, the design of the project shows that a search for one correct answer was not the aim - the relative context of all the responses given by participants was respected by the paradigms of the study (Willig, 2008). The responses participants gave to both the questionnaire and the interviews were constructed based on what they experience at their university - therefore, their answers were contextualised by their experiences, and were constructivist, rather than positivist or realist (Hastie and Hay, 2012).

Overall, the present study used an interpretivist paradigm as the framework of the project. This included a constructivist, relativist ontology, as well as a constructivist, subjective epistemology (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). The emphasis was on understanding participants' answers to questions from their own perspective and context, as opposed to finding one single, conclusive answer. The overarching design of the study was a mixed-methods approach, utilising a questionnaire and interviews to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data (Flick, 2002). This shows that triangulation was used in the research, to increase the confidence and understanding of the findings (Bryman, 2012) - the inclusion of qualitative data meant all quantitative data collected was followed up with more detailed analysis.

Data Collection

The basic outline of the present study was to use publicly available contact details to obtain a wide sample of Sports and Athletic Unions of UK universities. The nature of the

present study means a mixed-methods approach was used, as both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. The combination of two types of data allowed for statistical analysis of the quantitative data, whilst also considering the subjective experience of participants involved in the study through interrogation of the rich, qualitative data. Using both types of data provided many advantages, as empirical, statistical data was further supported by interpretive, subjective experience (Jones, 2015). The triangulation between quantitative and qualitative data was also a strength of the data collection process (Bryman, 2012), as the confidence in the findings is increased as a result of this method. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through the use of a questionnaire, and further qualitative data was collected using follow up interviews. The research was conducted via online-only questionnaire and interview-based methods, due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This shows the study had methodological strength, as it was adaptable to the circumstances imposed on the project. Flick (2002) offers support for the combination of data types, suggesting it enhances the validity of the study. The use of interviews allowed for closer communication and rapport between the researcher and participant (Lincoln, 2010; Hastie & Hay, 2012). The quantitative data concerned an overview of the socioeconomic status of the students at the universities involved in the study. The qualitative data was produced by open-ended questions in the questionnaire. This then provided a more detailed analysis of the influence of social class on university sports, through semi-structured interviews, focusing upon participants' responses to the questionnaires.

To ensure the credibility of the research, multiple quality measures were used. This involved ensuring a semi-structured script was used for all interviews, which maintained the same process for all participants involved in the study (Hillebrand & Berg, 2000). All participants filled out the same questionnaire, meaning the quality measures for the study process were clearly met. To ensure the findings of the study were valid and reliable, identical quantitative calculations and thematic analysis were performed on all of the questionnaire responses and interview transcripts. The analysis processes were also

explored with the supervisory team, meaning emergent themes have been cross checked and refined. This means the findings of the study are high in validity and reliability.

In the questionnaire (Appendix 1), questions included some demographic information, such as the number and size of sports clubs, the number of clubs that compete, and the number of competition winning teams. Demographic questions involving geographical distribution of students and private school attendance were also incorporated, for the purpose of understanding the socio-economic status of the university. However, limited quantitative information was required, as the central focus was about a general overview of the sporting context at each university, which was achieved using qualitative questions. The qualitative questions were split into four sections: capital, field, habitus, and socio-economic associations. Some of the questions in these sections asked participants to rank sports clubs based on economic, social, and cultural capital, and to explain their reasoning for their decision. The sections involving field and habitus related to the types of fields and habitus present at the university. Questions focused on the sports clubs with the most power and influence in these fields, as well as whether habitus impacted how athletes view other sports, as well as their own. The qualitative questions in the socio-economic associations section involved longer, explanatory answers such as beliefs held by athletes regarding the sport they play, how they view other sports, and how they view fellow teammates. Furthermore, an additional primary question focused on whether sports presidents observe any socio-economic patterns within their sports clubs at university. The number of scholarships or funding packages amongst the athletes at universities was also a question included in the questionnaire.

In the interviews, participants' responses to the questionnaire were followed up and discussed in greater detail. A semi-structured interview script was used (Appendix 2), meaning all interviews followed a similar format. The use of a semi-structured script enabled the research questions to remain as the central focus, whilst also maintaining a strong structure and rapport with participants (Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton, 2001).

However, participants were purposefully selected for these based on their responses, meaning each interview differed slightly.

Sampling Techniques

The sampling technique used in the present study was opportunistic volunteer sampling. The questionnaire was sent out to athletics/sports union presidents at 143 UK universities. This was done using the existing contact email addresses publicly available from each university's website. Some of these were specific sports presidents' or sports coordinators' contact details, whereas at other universities it was only possible to obtain a more general contact email address for the sports department as a whole. As can be seen in the email template (Appendix 3), if the relevant person had not been contacted, it was requested that the email be forwarded to the relevant sports contact. It was completely the choice of the participant as to whether to opt in to the study by completing the questionnaire, or to ignore the email. This means participants were obtained by opportunistic sampling, and opted in voluntarily. Opportunistic was a strong sampling technique for this study as it enabled responses to be obtained from a large number of universities (Rierner, 1977; Skinner, Tagg, and Holloway, 2000). The only disadvantage was that this meant the study was sent to some universities who were not interested in the study, or who have no sports clubs (Rierner, 1977; Skinner, Tagg, and Holloway, 2000). In terms of the follow up interviews, participants also opted into these voluntarily, after completing the questionnaire. It should be noted that it was possible for participants to complete the questionnaire, and not participate in the interview stage.

The target number of participants was between 50-100 questionnaire responses; however the actual number was 19. The target number of follow up interviews was 10-15, as it was expected that many participants would have time to complete the questionnaire, but would not have time, or enough interest in the project, to volunteer for these follow up interviews. The actual number of follow up interviews was 10. These sample sizes were chosen as

they were consistent with research of similar methods (Hill, Kerr, and Kobayashi, 2019; Hjelm, 2017). The age range of participants involved in the study varied, as the set ups of university sporting departments differed. Depending on who performs the role of the athletics/sports union president, it was either a student, or an older staff member, who completed the study.

The presidents of Athletics/Sports Unions were chosen as the most suitable participants to be targeted, due to the fact that they could provide an overview of the sporting set up at their university. These individuals could provide a broad overview of the general patterns of sports and social class at their university, given their involvement across the sporting spectrum, which is why individual athletes from specific sports were not used. If a select group of athletes from sports such as rugby and football were used, this would not be representative of the demographic of the university as a whole. Furthermore, ensuring there was a fair and equal representation of these sports at each university would have been difficult, based on the different sports on offer at different universities up and down the UK.

Evidently, using this sample has some limitations. Despite the study being aimed at exploring the influence of socio-economic background on the sports students participate in at university, it is the opinions of Sports Union and Athletics Union officers that have been used. This can be criticised due to the possibility that their own beliefs and agendas may have shaped their answers to some questions, whilst the values of their institution may also have played a part in how they responded to some areas of the study. The sampling method can perhaps be criticised for not yielding as many participants as targeted, which means there is less evidence to support the findings of the study. However, it should be noted that the aim of the study was to obtain detail and depth from participants, meaning generalisable findings was not the only aim (Hyde, 2000). In addition, the use of questionnaires does restrict participants to answer the questions in front of them, meaning

at that stage of data collection, the qualitative information that can be obtained is more limited.

Despite these limitations of the methodology, the sample used for the study was still suitable to create a successful research project. As discussed, the use of Sports Union and Athletics Union officers prevents having to find an equal distribution of students from different sports, and therefore was more achievable, given the time constraints of the study. These officers are also in the best position to give a respective overview of the sport at their university; whilst it is impossible to eradicate bias, this is reduced in comparison to using students from specific sports (Mackieson, Shlonsky, and Connolly, 2018). Sports officers and coordinators work with sport and students on a daily basis, meaning they have a fundamental understanding of accessibility issues in sport and education. Given the context of the study, and the challenges that were faced (such as COVID-19), the sample obtained was strong (Mourad et al., 2020). Unfortunately the number of participants was not as high as hoped, but still accounted for over ten percent of UK universities. The use of in-depth follow-up interviews meant it was possible to obtain detailed, qualitative data from the participants, showing the validity of the study.

Ethical Considerations

As with any project, it was important to consider any ethical implications this study may have had on participants. As Jones (2015) discusses, the ethics of a research project are important for many reasons, such as consent, right to withdraw, and participant information. The participants must be fully informed of what the study involves, the data they are giving, their rights to keep that data confidential, and their right to withdraw this information at any point. Terre Blanche, Durrheim, and Painter (2006) support this, suggesting the main roles of research ethics are to protect participants, and to avoid any methodological issues, such as misconduct. There must also be consideration of the

potential harm any parts of the project could cause participants. Cannella and Lincoln (2007) discuss the way in which ethics can change the dimensions of a research project, emphasising the importance of proper ethical assessment.

Whilst the study itself did not contain any potentially harmful materials, the use of interviews meant participants were involved in discussions which could have had ethical implications. For example, participants may have spoken about subjects which were sensitive. Whilst this is very unlikely due to the nature of the study, it is still a possibility, so must be acknowledged and taken into consideration. As a result of this, interviews were used as opposed to group conversations. The research project aligned with good practice by offering all participants the right to withdraw at any stage (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, and Painter, 2006). Any participants who were distressed or upset by any of the issues were directed to appropriate support services.

As discussed previously, there was no obligation for the individuals contacted for information to reply to the email, or to fill out the questionnaire. It was made clear in the initial email there was no need to opt out of the study - if they wished to not be involved, they could ignore the email. This was done to maintain good ethical practice within the data collection process (Leavy, 2017). This removed any chance of the participants feeling as though they had to 'opt out' of the study. In relation to the follow up interviews, it was made clear that participants were not obliged to take part in the interview stage after completing the questionnaire if they did not wish to.

In terms of the questionnaire itself, aside from the questions concerning the participant information sheet (Appendix 4) and the consent form (Appendix 5), no question 'required' an answer from the participant (Leavy, 2017). This means any question the participant did not know the answer to, or did not want to answer, they did not have to. This removed any element of stress that could have been caused by the content of the questionnaire (Vogt, Gardner, and Haeffele, 2012). A similar method was used in the follow up interviews, as if

a participant hesitated, or seemed like they did not want to answer or discuss a question, they were informed they did not have to. It should also be noted that a copy of the interview script was sent to participants prior to the interviews, which allowed participants to view the questions in advance of the session. This also maintained good ethical practice within the study (Leavy, 2017).

Finally, all data collected was stored in Google Drive, which required password access. The data stored here was protected by the security agreement between Google and Oxford Brookes University. This data could only be accessed by the researcher, the project supervisor, and the director of studies. In terms of collecting data, Google Forms was used to create the questionnaire, and Google Drive was used to store the responses to these questionnaires. This platform was used due to the ongoing security agreement between Google and Oxford Brookes University. This removed any risk involved with any sensitive data. Based on this, Google Drive was agreed upon as being the most suitable place to store all data involved in the project.

The process of anonymising the data was achieved using pseudonyms, and by de-identifying both the participants and the institutions. This took the form of using codes or abbreviations for the institutions' names, when collating the data from the questionnaire for statistical analysis. These same codes and abbreviations were used when performing the thematic analysis, to keep responses anonymous. In relation to any individuals who were involved in the interviews, their names were only known by the researcher, as the interviews were conducted one on one. A list of the names who were involved in the interviews was kept in Google Drive, as this was required to keep track of which universities were involved in the follow up stage of the study. This list was kept in a password secure folder, and as discussed before, was only accessible by the researcher, supervisor, and Director of Studies.

Data Analysis

Two forms of data analysis allowed for a combination of data types to be used in the study, which enabled a more thorough exploration of the influence of socio-economic status and background on university sports. Furthermore, the use of a combination of data types achieved a more detailed and expansive exploration of the research questions, compared to if the project had been solely quantitative or qualitative. By doing this, the personal perspective of participants was used, which allowed for more in-depth understanding of the issues surrounding socio-economic stratification to occur. The interpretive approach used in this study ensured a wide exploration of participant perspective was obtained (Alvermann & Mallozzi, 2010; Putnam & Banghart, 2017). Using quantitative data meant that statistical comparisons could be made between universities, to assess whether existing assumptions surrounding class differences and stereotypes at certain institutions were correct. Using qualitative data meant the subjective experiences of the participants were obtained, not only from the questionnaire, but in a more detailed fashion, from the interviews.

Analysis of the data collected involved two methods, due to the mixed methods approach of the study. For the quantitative data, such as the demographic information surrounding socio-economic status and background, sports club numbers, and number of winning teams, descriptive statistics were used. Excel was used to conduct statistical data analysis, as no inferential statistics that required specialist software were performed. This allowed a numerical understanding of the student athlete socioeconomic background at each university, which enabled a somewhat statistical overview (Appendix 6), prior to the qualitative data being analysed. This also meant that universities could be compared based on statistics surrounding club numbers and success levels, which enabled statistical context to be applied to the qualitative data collected later in the study.

For the qualitative data collected in the questionnaire, thematic analysis was used, by applying codes to answers to questions. Thematic analysis involved multiple stages, such as data interpretation, data reduction, and data display (Alhojailan, 2012; Sparkes, & Smith, 2013). Vaismoradi et al. (2016) outline the key stages of developing themes - initialisation (reading of the transcripts), construction (classifying and labelling themes), rectification (relating themes to knowledge), and finalisation (developing results) (p. 103). The first stage of coding involved forming a list of open codes, thereby reducing the transcripts to a list of themes (Williams & Moser, 2019). The second stage involved axial coding, which required refinement of the open codes, to find which open codes related to each other (Williams & Moser, 2019). The final stage of coding is termed 'selective coding', which incorporates a further refinement of the axial coding process (Williams & Moser, 2019). For example, categories of open codes created by axial coding may be grouped together in the selective coding process. The qualitative data used for this process came from longer, more detailed questions in the questionnaire. Once the themes had been collected and understood, they were used to partly structure the follow up interviews. These themes were used to link any discussions in the interviews back to the research questions. An example of the interview transcripts can be seen in Appendix 7. Further thematic analysis of these interviews was then conducted (Appendix 8), using transcripts of the sessions. The same process was used as for the questionnaires - open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. This meant that answers given in different interviews were often grouped together (Appendix 9), if they were relevant and similar to each other. This strengthened the research, as despite the interviews being conducted one on one, the answers could be combined during the analysis process.

Results

The following results section contains seven sections in total, each detailing a separate part of the research findings, and how they relate to Bourdieu's sociological theory. Section one opens the results by considering the quantitative data, before sections two and three focus on quantitative and qualitative reviews of the concept of capital, respectively. Sections four and five then present the results of thematic analysis of Bourdieu's field and habitus. Penultimately, section six allows for a discussion surrounding any other interesting findings, that are not categorised as one of the central concepts of Bourdieusian theory. Lastly, section seven brings together concluding thoughts on the results of the study as a whole. All of these sections are presented using the perceptions of SU/AU officers.

Demographics and University Sport Provision

The initial stages of data analysis and interpretation involved conducting statistical analysis, utilising the small amount of quantitative data collected in the questionnaire. These questions involved the number of clubs at the university, the number of British University and College Sport (BUCS) teams, and the identification of the largest and smallest clubs. The success rates of the institutions were also examined, by asking how many clubs entered teams into BUCS, and how successful these institutions were in BUCS. Using this information, it was possible to calculate the percentage of teams entered into BUCS, as well as the success rate of institutions in BUCS competitions. The importance of this information has come to light in recent years, as sport has shifted from a recreational pastime, to a political, societal factor (Frey & Eitzen, 1991; Houlihan, 2016). It has also become a major factor for universities in terms of status, recruitment, and student satisfaction (Gammelsæter, 2017). Drawing on the most recent Higher Education Statistics Authority data (HESA, 2021), the percentage of attendance from private school

students was recorded. The quantitative data for all universities who responded can be seen in Appendix 6.

No. of Clubs and BUCS Teams from each University

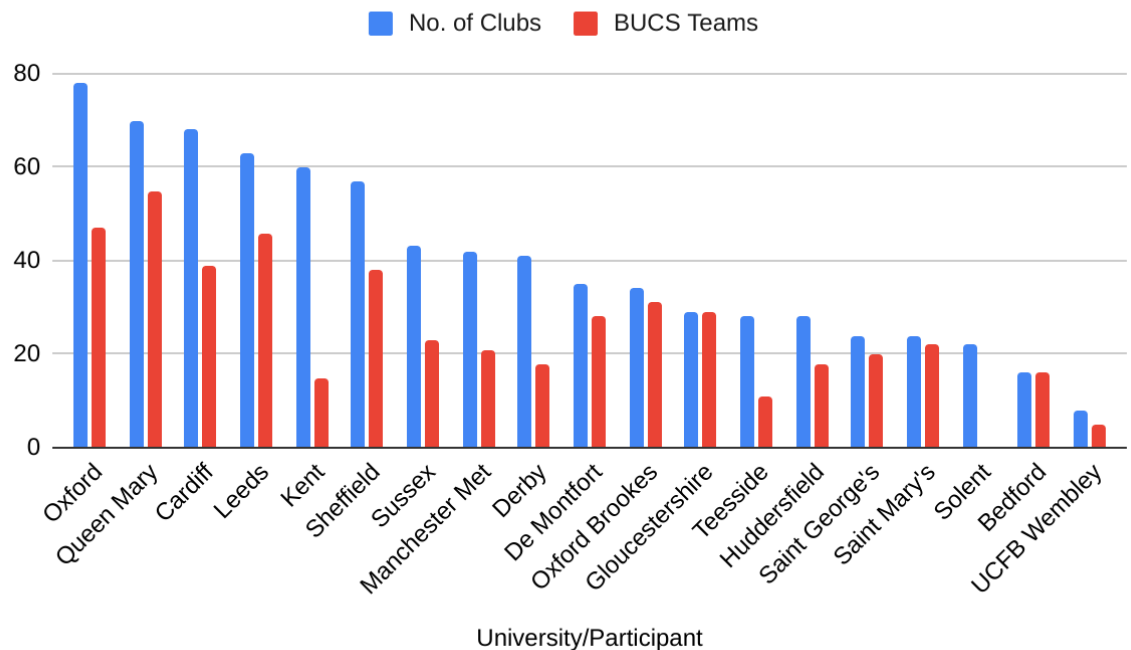


Figure 1 - *The number of clubs and BUCS teams from each university*

Figure 1 shows the difference in size of some institutions, with a range of 70 clubs between the top and bottom responses. The average number of sports clubs per university was 40.53, with Oxford reporting the highest (78), and UCFB Wembley reporting the lowest (8). Bourdieu (1978) discusses the 'supply' of sport, and how important a factor this can be in society - the difference in provision of sports clubs at each institution is likely to have a significant effect on the societal dynamics. The average number of BUCS teams per institution was 26.78, with UCFB Wembley again the lowest (5), and Queen Mary, University of London the highest (55). This shows that some universities are potentially willing to offer a wider range of sports clubs compared to others, increasing the chances of students competing at the highest level (Aquilina, 2013). The ability of a university to provide a high number of sports clubs is a factor that should be considered, as a university such as Oxford clearly has an advantage in providing a

higher variety of sports clubs in comparison to UCFB Wembley (Lower-Hoppe et al., 2020).

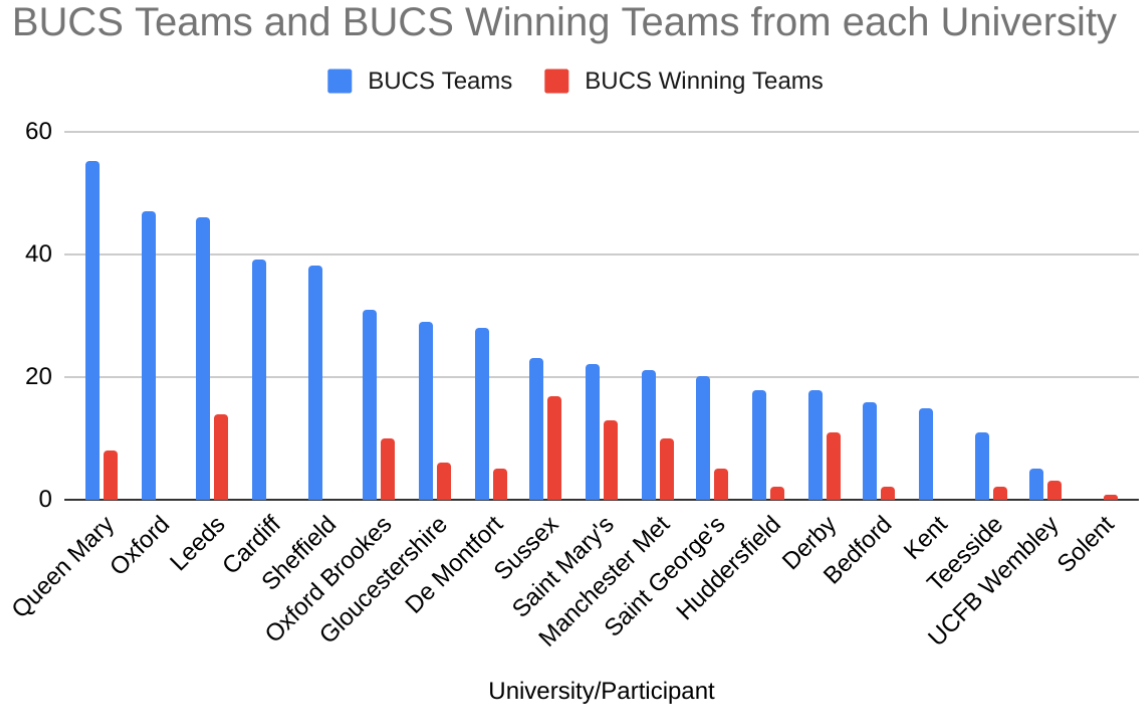


Figure 2 - *The number of BUCS teams and BUCS winning teams from each university*

To understand the success of universities at BUCS, the number of winning BUCS teams was requested in the questionnaire. The average number of BUCS winning teams per institution was 6.8 - Solent performed the worst in this category, with only one BUCS winning team, whereas Sussex appeared extremely successful, with 17 teams winning BUCS. By asking the number of teams entered into BUCS, and the number of teams who won BUCS, as shown by Figure 2, it was possible to obtain a 'BUCS win percentage average' - in layman's terms, the success rate of the teams who have the chance to win BUCS. The average success rate of BUCS teams was 32.29%, suggesting around a third of the teams entered into BUCS are successful in winning their league, cup, or competition. The lowest BUCS win percentage was seen at Huddersfield, with only 2 out of 18 teams becoming BUCS champions (11.11%). It comes as no surprise that the 17 BUCS winning teams from Sussex provided the highest BUCS win percentage, with a 73.91% success rate. This may be partly down to their ever-growing sporting focus, as

they appear to have adopted a similar sporting model to that of St Mary's and Loughborough.

UNIVERSITY/PARTICIPANT	TABLE POSITION
Oxford	12
Cardiff	14
Sheffield	17
Leeds	18
Oxford Brookes	35
Manchester Met	35
Saint Mary's	45
Derby	49
Kent	50
Gloucestershire	52
Queen Mary	56
Sussex	61
De Montfort	63
Teesside	95
UCFB Wembley	104
Saint George's	122
Huddersfield	N/A
Bedford	N/A
Solent	N/A

Table 1 - *The BUCS table positions of the Universities involved in the study*

To provide further validity to this data, the BUCS table position of the institutions was also requested - this is due to the fact that some competitions carry heavier weighting, so whilst some universities may win more BUCS competitions, others may gain more BUCS points by winning the more heavily weighted competitions. Table 1 shows the average BUCS table position from the sample was 52nd, with Oxford ranking the highest (12th), and St George's, University of London ranking the lowest (122nd). This shows a strong diversity and distinction to the sample, with a range of 110 places between the highest and lowest ranked universities (Bourdieu, 1990a). The data in Table 1 summarises the importance placed on BUCS sport and sporting success by universities, as the BUCS table position of an institution can completely change the outlook of its sporting provision. External factors have also affected university sport - tuition fees and the marketisation of higher education have perhaps increased the necessity for sports departments to recruit

well and succeed, as increased funding provides more pressure for results (Molesworth, Nixon, and Scullion, 2011). Table 1 also offers a simple view of the ethos of Russell Group universities (highlighted) - not only do they want to be the best in terms of academic achievement, yet sporting achievements as well (Evans, 2015).

This kind of variance, and how differently universities approach sport, can also be seen by the number of scholarships that are offered. The average number of scholarships provided by institutions who responded to the study was 21; again a large range was observed, with Manchester Metropolitan offering the most (80), and Huddersfield and St George's, University of London both offering no scholarships. As a result of this, scholarships can evidently be viewed as a tool for effective recruitment in a competitive market (Green, 2005), and a method by which universities can obtain talented, elite athletes. In the example above, Manchester Metropolitan clearly uses this method, as offering 80 scholarships per year will draw people to the institution for sporting reasons (Green, 2005).

The geographical distribution of students, as well as private school attendance, were two other factors involved in the questionnaire. Responses to the question regarding geographical distribution suggested that many students at multiple universities were actually commuter students, who wanted to stay local to avoid unnecessary expenditure. Universities such as De Montfort and Derby reported that the large majority of their student body was made up of individuals from the midlands, as well as surrounding areas, whilst similar trends were found for London and northern universities. It was also reported by around five respondents that students who had previously boarded were more comfortable moving further away from home, potentially due to being more accustomed to living away from family. There is also the possibility that increased financial support and capital makes this an easier situation to adjust to (Halffman & Leydesdorff, 2010).

UNIVERSITY/PARTICIPANT	PRIVATE SCHOOL PERCENTAGE ATTENDANCE
Oxford	38.00%
Oxford Brookes	29.00%
Leeds	18.30%
Cardiff	14.20%
UCFB Wembley	14.00%
Saint George's	12.00%
Sheffield	12.00%
Sussex	11.00%
Gloucestershire	10.00%
Queen Mary	7.50%
Saint Mary's	5.80%
Manchester Met	5.00%
Kent	5.00%
Solent	3.40%
Derby	2.10%
Bedford	1.30%
Huddersfield	1.20%
De Montfort	1.00%
Teesside	0.80%

Table 2 - *The percentage private school attendance of students at the universities involved in the study*

Table 2 shows that private school attendance revealed some potentially expected statistics, with most universities sitting around or below the average (10%). One or two universities exceeded the average private school attendance, revealing that a larger than average number of students attended a private school before going to university. Oxford University showed the highest private school attendance, with 38% of students arriving at the university from a private school background. Oxford Brookes University was also well above average in this statistic, with 29%. All of the other institutions in the study reported under 20% for student private school attendance, with 10 universities actually showing a lower than average statistic. Interestingly, Queen Mary, University of London was the only Russell Group university (5 out of 19 responses were from Russell Group universities) to report a below average private school attendance (7.50%). Hemsley-Brown (2014) suggests there is a definite advantage for private school students attending Russell Group universities, with private school students having a much higher success rate when applying to this type of university. Blackburn and Jarman (1993) support this, stating that

not only is there an advantage for private school students, but other students in general have difficulties getting into the 'elite' universities. The importance of this is shown by Davies and Guppy (1997), who state that higher socio-economic status is a strong predictor of successful application to profitable pathways.

The 'Russell Group' Effect

In order to examine Bourdieu's theory of distinction, in which he postulates that some 'elite' members of society position and distance themselves above others (Boliver, 2015), it is a helpful aid to consider the differences that emerge when observing Russell Group universities and other universities (White & Wilson, 1999).

UNIVERSITY	NUMBER OF SPORTS CLUBS	NUMBER OF BUCS TEAMS
Queen Mary (UoL)	70	55
Oxford	78	47
Leeds	63	46
Sheffield	57	38
Cardiff	68	39

Table 3 - *Number of sports clubs and BUCS teams for Russell Group universities*

Table 3 shows all 5 responses indicated the number of sports clubs offered were well above the average from the entire sample (40.53). These are the 5 highest numbers of sports clubs in the sample. The same applies for the number of BUCS teams, with Table 3 showing that again the statistics are well above average (26.78), and are again the 5 highest numbers of BUCS teams in the sample.

Unfortunately Oxford, Sheffield and Cardiff did not provide statistics for BUCS winning teams, meaning it is not possible to analyse their success at BUCS. This data has been omitted, to respect the institutions' decisions to not disclose this information. However, Leeds (14) and Queen Mary (8) both provided the number of teams who won BUCS, which shows an above average (6.8) performance for both institutions, in terms of winning teams. Interestingly, Queen Mary actually has one of the worst BUCS win percentages (the conversion of BUCS teams entered into BUCS wins), with only 14.55% (8/55 teams) winning their respective competitions. This is bettered by 11 other universities who responded to this question. Leeds also show a below average (32.29%) BUCS win

percentage, with 30.43% (14/46 teams) of teams entered being successful in winning BUCS. However, this is the second highest number of BUCS winning teams (14), with only Sussex having a higher number of successful entries (17), as seen in Figure 2. Despite this variance in performance, aside from Queen Mary (56th), the other four Russell Group institutions have the highest BUCS table positions (Table 1) in the sample (Leeds 18th, Sheffield 17th, Cardiff 14th, Oxford 12th).

Overall, Russell Group universities are clearly very successful, as they occupy the highest BUCS table spots from the universities in the sample of the study. However, from the percentage analysis, it is evident there is scope for improvement, with the conversion rate of teams entered into BUCS winning the competitions actually relatively low. Sussex (73.91%), Derby (61.11%) and St Mary's (59.09%) show a significantly higher success rate, when compared to Leeds and Queen Mary. This is shown by statistics such as the fact that St Mary's had only one less BUCS winning team than Leeds, but entered 24 less teams. Jarness and Friedman (2017) offer support for the idea of Russell Group universities aiming to create this difference between themselves and other universities, by categorising themselves as the 'elite'. When observing the percentage of teams entered into BUCS by the universities, it is even clearer to see that Leeds (73.02%) and Queen Mary (78.57%) may be expected to perform better, as they enter around three quarters of their overall sports clubs into BUCS competitions. When comparing this with Sussex (53.49%) and Derby (43.90%), who only enter around half their overall sports clubs into BUCS, the more successful institutions would be the latter two.

These statistics open up the question: why are the Russell Group universities as high as they are in the BUCS table, and why are institutions such as Sussex and Derby not higher up? One possibility is that Russell Group universities are more successful in competitions with more BUCS points weighting, meaning they can win less competitions, yet gain more BUCS points. It is also important to consider examples of universities which hold a sporting focus such as St Mary's, which may explain why their figures appear more

successful than those of the Russell Group institutions. Regardless of this, despite being dominant in a BUCS points sense, there is room for improvement for the so called 'elite' universities. Barone et al. (2017) concludes that a barrier is clearly created between this type of institution, and those from less advantaged socio-economic backgrounds, which demonstrates the status quo needs to be broken down for university sport to move forward in a progressive manner (Brown, 2005). Ridgeway (2013) discusses the agency of individuals and structure of society in maintaining this barrier - examples include certain universities' Sports Union Officers wanting to keep their reputation as one of the elite, as well as individuals using their background and status to their own advantage. From a Bourdieusian viewpoint, this supports the preconceived ideas that more privileged institutions and individuals take actions to maintain the distinction they have from the rest of society (Bourdieu, 1984).

Capital - Quantitative Data

The initial stages of gathering data regarding the concept of capital in the questionnaire involved asking participants to list the five sports clubs they believe have the most economic, social, and cultural capital. This required listing the club with the most capital first, followed by the next, for the clubs they believe are the top five at their institution. Tables 4, 5, and 6 below show the name of the sports clubs, and the number of times they appeared in the top five clubs for each type of capital.

SPORTS CLUB	NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED IN TOP 5
Rugby Union	11
Football	8
Netball	7
Rowing/Boating	6
Hockey	5
Equestrian, Swimming	4
Lacrosse, Cheerleading, Cricket, American Football, Tennis, Basketball	3
Climbing, Archery, Dance, Pole, Athletics	2
Muay Thai, Darts, H-Karts, Polo	1

Table 4 - *Number of times sports clubs were mentioned in the top 5 for **economic capital***

Table 4 shows that aside from the anomaly of football, the sports mentioned most regarding economic capital are sports that have a class association, such as rugby union, netball, rowing, and hockey (Bourdieu, 1978; Hasbrook, 1986; Giulianotti, 2004). In contrast, the sports at the bottom of the table are sports which have little to no class association, such as climbing, archery, athletics, and darts. The sports listed here, which are based on Sports Officers' opinions, suggest that economic capital is strongly linked to sports with an upper class association - the presence of equestrian, lacrosse, cricket, and tennis, despite being lower down the list, show support for this. Jones and Armour (2000) suggest that inequality is evidently present in sport, especially when discussing the

concept of economic capital. Aside from football, many of the sports listed here are sports that require a high financial investment (Kesenne, 2000), which shows a socio-economic advantage for some individuals.

The fact that Bourdieu discusses the elements of capital as transferable also offers an explanation as to why these sports are at the top of the list, as rugby, football and netball are also the top three clubs in terms of social capital (Feddersen and Maennig, 2005):

SPORTS CLUB	NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED IN TOP 5
Rugby Union	18
Football	17
Netball	15
Hockey, Cheerleading	5
American Football, Lacrosse	4
Cricket	3
Dance, Basketball, Snowsports	2
Darts, Tennis, Athletics, Kickboxing/Krav Maga, Swimming and Waterpolo, Rugby League, Rowing	1

Table 5 - *Number of times sports clubs were mentioned in the top 5 for **social capital***

Table 5 outlines a clear distinction between the top three and the rest, with netball being mentioned ten times more than the next sports in the table. The same three sports listed at the top of the economic capital table appear in the same order in this table, suggesting economic capital helps to gain social capital, and vice versa, in the opinion of Sports Union Officers (Feddersen & Maennig, 2005). This also supports the narrative that bigger clubs such as rugby, football, and netball are more outgoing and loud, as they earn social capital and a wide network of connections through this (Nicholson & Hoyer, 2008). Coyle and Vaughn (2008) support this theory by suggesting the clubs with the most popular members have the greatest networking abilities. Interestingly, the two disciplines of rugby can be seen at either end of the table - rugby union being mentioned 18 times, compared to just once for rugby league. This suggests that despite both sports traditionally being

confident, loud, and outgoing, the class association of each club plays an important part in the level of social capital Sports Officers believe they have (Glaeser, Laibson, and Sacerdote, 2002). Interestingly, rowing, equestrian and swimming appear to be ‘outlier’ sports, as they sit in the middle of the economic capital table, yet essentially disappear in the social capital table. This suggests that in the eyes of AU or SU officers they are often clubs with good financial stability, but do not have the social impact that some others do. Cheerleading appears to show the opposite trend, placing higher up the social capital table in comparison to the economic capital table.

SPORTS CLUB	NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED IN THE TOP 5
Rugby Union	13
Netball	10
Football	8
Hockey	5
Basketball, Snowsports, Tennis, Lacrosse, Rowing/Boating	4
Cricket, Swimming and Waterpolo, Cheerleading, Equestrian	3
American Football, Squash	2
Fencing, Darts, Badminton, Golf, Archery, Gymnastics, Taekwondo, Dance, Clay Pigeon Shooting, Surfing	1

Table 6 - *Number of times sports clubs were mentioned in the top 5 for **cultural** capital*

Table 6 reveals the same three sports occupying the three top spots with regards to Sports Officers’ perceptions of cultural capital - but with the difference that netball is above football. This could be suggestive that the sport with more of a class association (netball) is more associated with cultural capital, due to its perceived class status (Booth & Loy, 1999). This is supported by Dumais (2002), who suggests that sports and individuals with lower cultural capital have less access to opportunities of success. Gripsrud, Hovden, and Moe (2011) develop this, arguing the distinction between ‘high-brow’ culture and ‘popular’ culture is an ever-expanding gap. However, it is important to note the variety of clubs mentioned by AU/SU Officers in the lower areas of the tables, which shows how

responses from institutions will differ from one another. Football receiving eight mentions shows that, despite not being a sport with an upper class association; the culture within the sport is so established the sport as a whole is still perceived by AU/SU Officers (10) as having a lot of cultural capital. Furthermore, the position of 'outlier' sports such as snowsports, lacrosse, and basketball shows that whilst these sports may not have a high social output or a history of high economic capital, they are in some way tied to higher cultural capital (Stempel, 2005). This may occur due to the slight association of snowsports and lacrosse as sports which are more easily accessible at private schools.

Overall, from a statistical point of view, rugby union appears to dominate the different types of capital. Rugby, football and netball are the sports that are perceived as leading the way in terms of economic, social, and cultural capital, which is perhaps expected at university level. There is, however, some dispute surrounding certain sports which have assumptions made about them - cricket, tennis, snowsports, and lacrosse, to name a few. These sports can be seen as 'outlier' sports, as a result of the interpretation that they have high forms of one type of capital, yet drop off in the tables concerning the other types of capital. At a glance, these sports may appear to have a link to a certain class status (Andersen & Bakken, 2018); yet when examined, it would seem this perceived association is not as strong as previously thought, and these sports may be more accessible than is often considered the case. The theory of 'relative risk aversion' (Holm and Jæger, 2008) is one that can be considered here, in which students may make choices that prevent them from moving down the social hierarchy - these sports may be perfect examples of ways in which students can do this. Jæger and Holm (2012) develop this further, suggesting that individuals will attempt to maintain or enhance their own social position to match their parents' social position. This supports the preconception that individuals from a higher socio-economic background are likely to act in a way which preserves their social status. The following sections will explore these socio-economic associations of university sport in greater detail, utilising qualitative and quantitative data from questionnaire responses and follow up interviews.

A Qualitative Approach

Having discussed the quantitative data produced by the questionnaire, the style of the following sections switches to the qualitative data, as produced by the open-ended questions in the questionnaire, and the follow-up interviews. Thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews produced emerging themes regarding economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital. The process for this involved identifying the responses that were relevant to the theory of capital, before then considering which type of capital the response was most closely related to. This coding process (Williams & Moser, 2019) involved three stages - open coding, axial coding, and selective coding, which produced the themes discussed below.

To identify the themes and interview responses that were relevant to economic capital, the transcripts of the interviews were each coded separately (Appendix 8), before then collating all quotes that related to economic capital in a separate document. This process was repeated for social and cultural capital, habitus (example in Appendix 9), field and doxa, and 'other'. All of the qualitative data presented in the following sections is the subjective opinion and interpretation of Sports Union Officers, and the results should be considered as such, rather than absolute truths.

Why do Clubs have Capital?

Following on from listing the top five clubs for each type of capital, participants were asked to give reasons for their choices. This involved explaining why they believe each club fits where they put it in their top five rankings. The results, and most commonly mentioned reasons, can be seen below.

NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED	REASON
Highest	Clubs with most money
	Funding provided / costs of running the sport
	Largest clubs / biggest membership bases
	Largest interest from freshers
	Use of external facilities
	Target sports
	Performance / participation numbers
	Best fundraisers / best at getting sponsorships
	Highest level of BUCS
	Dedicated high level coaches
Lowest	

Table 7 – Reasons for clubs having the most **economic** capital

Table 7 shows the reasons given by participants for the clubs which they listed as having the most economic capital. The table shows the most frequently-cited emergent themes concerned money and financial backing, as well as the size of the clubs themselves. This supports the idea that economic capital is centred around money and financial backing, according to SU/AU Officers (Bourdieu, 1978). The inclusion of the size of the clubs and

interest from freshers as reasons also shows the social element to this type of capital, and how one type of capital can impact the other (Bourdieu, 1990a). Giulianotti (2004) develops this, implying that participation numbers and sponsorships can not only be beneficial in the financial element of a club, but also their social output.

At the other end of the table more specific reasons for economic capital can be seen, such as competing at the highest level of BUCS, and having dedicated high level coaches as part of the team. The link between economic capital and this reasoning is less obvious – why does an individual or a team need high economic capital to compete to a high level, or to have a good coach? Having strong finances or good funding provides opportunities, and is perhaps why SU Officers believe some sports have become more accessible for those with a higher socio-economic background (Nairz-Wirth, Feldmann, and Spiegl, 2017). For example, a sport such as equestrian is naturally going to require more funding from the individual, which instantly puts those with the resources at an advantage (Wakeling & Savage, 2015). This is an issue which has arisen from the underfunding of university sport in the UK, in comparison to other countries, for instance college sport in the US. The status of all sport at this level is evidently lower in the UK, due to the significant funding invested in college sport in the US (Brunton & Mackintosh, 2017). This is summarised by Vickers and Morris (2021), who found that student athletes in the UK follow one of four pathways when leaving university, of which only two tend to lead to elite sport. In countries such as the US, we see college athletes progress onto the top level of their sport, such as being picked in the draft systems of the NBA and NFL. This current set up is perceived as naturally favouring participants from more advantaged backgrounds.

NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED	REASON
Highest	Largest clubs
	Well-known members
	Biggest reputations and social output
	Highest profile sports
	Due to their social banter
	Key influence
	Easily accessible
	Strong following / social media presence
	Run social sport leagues
	Charity work
	Have roles higher up (e.g sports officer)
Lowest	

Table 8 – *Reasons for clubs having the most **social capital***

Table 8 reveals the reasons provided by participants for the sports that they believed had the most social capital. As can be seen from the table, the most predictable reasons for high social capital are the most frequently mentioned, such as being the biggest clubs, and having the most well-known members. These factors are perceived as naturally providing the clubs with networking opportunities, and external connections (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). This appears to result in improved opportunities for members, as social capital appears to increase a club's economic capital (Bourdieu, 1990a). This natural increase occurs as a result of more exposure to these opportunities, provided by a larger network of connections, which can then be used by the club to obtain more funding or investment (Gopalakrishnan, Scillitoe and Santoro, 2008).

Towards the bottom of the table, SU Officers appear to consider the output of the clubs more than the size of the club, or the members who are a part of it. Elements such as

charity work, organising social leagues, and roles within sport are mentioned (Spence, Schmidpeter, and Habisch, 2003). University clubs and societies are often seen as part of the student experience, and are closely linked to enhancing employability opportunities – the roles of the committee members and student leaders are important factors for maintaining these agendas. This suggests that from a Bourdieusian perspective, the input and output of a sports club are important factors for obtaining social capital (Brooks, 2005).

NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED	REASON
Highest	Typical 'private school sports'
	Engaged committee
	Professional mindset and culture
	Club members excel and win awards
	Likeable, friendly group
	Biggest reputation
	Wide ranging sport and social programme
	Popularity
	Obtain positions within the SU
	Big alumni following
Lowest	Embedded social hierarchy

Table 9 – *Reasons for clubs having the most **cultural capital***

The final table in this section, Table 9, shows the reasons given by SU Officers for the clubs which had the highest levels of cultural capital. Interestingly, 'private school sports' was the most common answer, suggesting that many participants associated cultural capital with sports with a socio-economic association (Schubert, 2012). The specific type of 'embodied' cultural capital would appear to have an impact on this, as individuals in private school sports are often perceived as behaving in a manner associated to a class level (Throsby, 1999). In some circumstances, these individuals can be described as attempting to maintain a social division (Prieur, Rosenlund, and Skjott-Larsen, 2008). Other popular answers prioritised factors such as how engaged the committee were, their

professionalism, and the reputation and success of the group. This suggests that cultural capital is perceived as creating a positive, strong legacy for the club itself (Jaeger, 2009).

The reasons towards the lower end of the table emphasise the importance of a legacy in creating cultural capital, as having a big alumni network provides the opportunity for skills and experience being passed down to new members (Throsby, 1999). The answers in Table 10 show the biggest range and variance, suggesting that cultural capital is the most difficult of Bourdieu's capitals to define and understand. However, from the responses given, the participants in the study appear to have made sense of cultural capital as a concept, as their answers support the existing research in the field.

Economic capital

The most evident interview themes relating to economic capital were ones which related to 'socio-economic advantages' and 'financial advantages', and the way these advantages were perceived as providing opportunities for those who can afford them (Sharpe, 2006). The responses that *'it's much easier for people with different backgrounds to join the ones with the cheaper memberships'* (Sports Officer, Russell Group university) and *'Some sports are more expensive than others in general, and I think having access to different training, different facilities comes with that class status basically'* (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university) reveal a clear perception of a socio-economic advantage in university sport, as participants believe those with a more privileged background have better access to sport, facilities and opportunities (Nielsen et al., 2012). The specific details of financial advantages were also covered by participants, as can be seen from the following comments:

'if you don't have the money, it's a lot harder' (Sports Officer, Russell Group university)

'clearly not everyone gets the same amount of funding. The bigger clubs definitely have more funding than the smaller clubs' (Sports Officer, Russell Group university).

However, one of the most interesting and perhaps less expected findings was how strongly participants felt that 'finances provided opportunities' to student athletes:

'And it's those kinds of opportunities, we'll probably subsidise rowing more than any other sport, because as I say, there's no way that student would have even gone near a rowing boat if we hadn't subsidised it' (Sports President, non-Russell Group university).

Aquilina (2009) supports this, suggesting that class differences actually may not be the issue, and the burden of financially supporting themselves is what creates a barrier to sport for certain individuals. Overall, these responses from Sports Officers' opinions show the importance of money in modern day sport; as theorised by Bourdieu, it provides an instant power to the individual, in the way that it offers access and opportunity (Alon, 2009). The current problem with this is summarised perfectly by the following comment: *'I don't think better funded teams perform better, I think it's that they have more opportunities to perform better' (Sports Officer, Russell Group university).*

One of the central issues, as shown in the quotes above, is the imbalance in funding that appears to be discussed by SU Officers as present in many UK universities (Steenhuis et al., 2009). This seems to be a problem emerging from the larger clubs: *'They're the biggest, and obviously because of that they get quite a bit of investment' (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).* This is clearly a complex issue, as in some circumstances the larger clubs do naturally need more funding. This tends to be the case if they don't generate their own income, yet at other institutions, the membership fees are the central source of funding – so why would these clubs then also need to receive more funding on top of this? Part of the answer to this may be the ever-growing commercial, business-like nature of sport at university (Taminiau & Wiersma, 2016), in which the bodies providing the funding to the clubs expect their finances to generate results:

'I think there's both – I think the positive is that the money will always be there, but the negative is that it becomes more of a business rather than a service for students' (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).

From this, it is clear to see that the current perception is that the distinction between upper class and working class sports may be growing, and that economic capital plays a pivotal role in this process. Jones (2002) observes the nuanced nature of university sport, in which Bourdieu's concepts of distinction and habitus are becoming increasingly prominent. The behaviour of individuals, and the way economic capital is used, is clearly believed to reinforce a barrier to access.

Social capital

In terms of social capital, the emerging themes appeared to concern two categories: 1) the social cliques, reputations, and status of the members; and 2) the network of the individuals or clubs, and their social influence and output.

The themes for social capital outline how prevalent social cliques and reputations are perceived to be at university, with certain clubs being recognised as very well-known:

'They're known across the university, but then I suppose every rugby union club at every university is well known!' (Sports Officer, Russell Group university)

In contrast, other participants focused on the groups that are created by team structure:

'If you've got the first team, and the second team, there's definitely cliques' (Sports Officer, Russell Group university).

At times, it would seem that SU and AU Officers believe these types of cliques and reputations can create judgements (Bailey, 2005), both within clubs and between clubs, epitomised in the following comment: *'Men's cricket has issues with men's hockey, and things over time will have come into a rivalry' (Sports Officer, Russell Group university).*

This shows the size of the impact that university sport is interpreted to have on social interactions, and specifically how a person's socio-economic status can affect their social capital within a sports club (Bourdieu, 1984). In a similar way to economic capital, this could create barriers to equal participation and access to university sport. Some participants in the study reported athletes feeling out of place and uncomfortable at BUCS competitions, suggesting the social capital and status of other athletes affected their ability to perform to their highest level.

On the other hand, the social influence and output of some university sport clubs is interpreted as being a very important factor, such as obtaining coaches, and providing for students' needs (Schwarz, 2009). Socio-economic background is considered to impact the decisions made by coaches and other external parties, as some participants reported:

'the people that go there, or can afford to go there, are the people that then want their companies to sponsor the tennis club, for example' (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).

'coaches can definitely favour people' (Sports Officer, Russell Group university)

'I also think that because of stereotypes, some people are more willing to support others in certain sports' (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).

This further supports the interpretation that even when finances are removed from the equation, there are still barriers to participation for those who do not come from the privileged background that some coaches and sponsors desire (Espenshade, Chung, and Walling, 2004).

However, some positive work to combat the status quo does appear to be in motion, as some participants reported that *'we more meet the needs of the student body than have certain targets, and the targets we do have are things such as participation numbers' (Sports President, non-Russell Group university)*. This was echoed by a fellow participant who argued *'a lot of it is student-led... you know, for the students by the students' (Sports*

President, non-Russell Group university). Therefore, whilst the opinions of Sports Officers may show more support of the inequality and inaccessibility currently present in sport, there are suggestions that changes to this are possible (Jones & Armour, 2000). This potential for change aligns with the broader policy agenda of university sport in the UK, which focuses on inclusion, diversity, and recruitment. Social interactions and networks can clearly have a strong impact on this, and moving forward should be used to implement positive change within university sport.

Cultural capital

The cultural capital element of Bourdieu's theory was the concept that participants were the least clear about, suggesting it is the most complex of the three discussed. Nonetheless, analysing the way participants interpreted this concept in the context of university sport at their institution was illuminating in itself. The emerging themes surrounding this element of capital involved the advantages provided by coming from a certain culture, the exclusivity of some sports, and the apparent 'atmosphere' in some sports. One participant commented *'if you haven't played county netball, you're probably not gonna get in'* (*Sports Officer, Russell Group university*), summarising the advantage that some backgrounds provide; if you play a sport from a young age, or have an experience in that sport, you instantly have a perceived strength within the sporting culture (Goulding, 2008). This was echoed elsewhere:

'the sports themselves having established cultures, and that's based on what is it, 200 years worth of football being established, there are very much consistent traits that happen with those sports' (*Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group university*)

Every sport has a history, and some sports are perceived as being ingrained in upper class backgrounds, giving those with a higher socio-economic status a perceived advantage in that sport (Jarness, 2016). This tends to create the perception of exclusivity that is seen in so many sports at university level: *'they tend to be from a certain background, as it's not from a diverse background'* (*Sports Performance Manager,*

non-Russell Group university). This final quote concisely sums up the present issue – if the sport is not associated with a diverse background, and existing barriers are not broken down, it is very difficult for athletes from a minority background to access these sports. As Bourdieu summarises, on occasion, it appears the ‘goalposts are moved’ (Wakeling & Savage, 2015, p.169), which SU Officers interpret as making it even more difficult for the current status quo to be broken down.

However, there is some support for the idea that universities have the capacity to change, and alter these sporting associations for the better. Comments such as *‘the exposure that the women’s game is getting, and women’s team sport, is something that’s growing’* (*Sports President, non-Russell Group university*), reveals a positive change for a group which have been underrepresented and discriminated against in the past, showing a positive movement within the university sporting sphere (Green, 2008). The importance of sport at university is also being appreciated, especially as it has become more than just about the winning:

‘I think it’s something that I’ve just noticed the benefits of being part of a sports club are more than just winning on a Wednesday, you know, it does add something to student experience’ (*Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university*).

Overall, despite the very prevalent problems in university sport, there is room for change, and the facilities exist for that to happen. The removal of symbolic violence, and the use of status to establish a distinction, are steps that must be taken to move towards a more inclusive sporting society for all.

Emergent Fields – Sport or Social?

Section 7 of the questionnaire (Appendix 1) involved participants responding to questions regarding the ‘field’ concept of Bourdieusian theory. When asked about the fields that existed at their university, participants all interpreted this in a similar way. Most responses mentioned the sporting fields at the institution, and then the social locations, such as clubs, bars, and student unions. This showed participants understood the questions surrounding the concept of field well, and were able to answer in an effective manner. The purpose of this question was to enable participants to think about which sports clubs held the most capital in certain fields at university, prompting further discussion in the follow up interviews. Bourdieu describes ‘field-specific’ capital as capital that may be high in one scenario due to the context of the field, yet when transferred to another field, does not carry the same value.

NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED	FIELD
Highest	Astro Turf
	Sports Hall
	Football Pitch/Pitches
	Gym
	Tennis Courts
	Students' Union
	Local Nightclub (often the sports night)
	Bars
	Restaurants
	Badminton Courts
	Climbing Wall
	Swimming Pool
Lowest	Dance Studio

Table 10 – *How often fields were mentioned by participants*

Table 10 shows the frequency of times that fields were mentioned by participants. The facilities that the 'higher percentage' sports (sports with the highest uptake) use are mentioned more often, potentially due to the fact that more people play these sports, and they are the most obvious fields present at a university (Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo, 1995). Interestingly, the social fields appear in the middle of the table, as they were mentioned more than the less common sporting fields, but not as much as the highly frequented sporting fields (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). This suggests that participants in the study considered the social settings of their universities important fields, and did not just consider the sporting fields.

From a Bourdieusian point of view, this offers support for the notion of field-specific capital. Participants' opinions were that some clubs have higher capital in social settings, whilst others have higher capital in sporting settings (Naidoo, 2004). Bourdieu develops this by discussing 'doxa', the accepted rules and norms of the field, which play a role in creating field-specific capital. The more an individual understands the doxa of the field, the more field-specific capital they are able to obtain. The presence of less-common fields such as climbing walls and dance studios (facilities that not all universities have) builds on the earlier discussion surrounding the 'outlier' sports; these sports may change position in the different hierarchies of capital due to the fields in which they find themselves. Fennell (2018) even discusses the transition of the dance pole from being perceived as something involved in adult entertainment to something which is now a sporting object, showing the transition from one field to another. As Table 10 shows, sports such as cheerleading and pole fitness are emergent sports which are gaining more recognition and respect according to the perspectives of the participants, hence their fields being mentioned by participants in the study.

NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED	REASON
Highest	Specific Training Area
	Pitch Time
	More Members
	Many People Want to Play
	Budget Spending
Lowest	

Table 11 - *Reasons for clubs having field-specific capital*

Table 11 outlines the reasons participants gave for why certain clubs had ‘field-specific capital’. The reasons given by participants show certain factors which are perceived as being important to a range of clubs - for example, pitch time suggests sports such as football and rugby have a lot of field-specific capital. The fact this reason is mentioned near to the top of the list shows that sports requiring the use of a pitch carry a lot of field-specific capital, in the opinions of SU Officers. This highlights the power dynamics present at many British universities, due to limited budgets and facility availability, which often create disagreements between various sports. Having a specific training area, the top reason listed, is clearly something perceived as providing instant field-specific capital, as the club itself has a field within which it is dominant (Tomlinson, 2004).

Club numbers and the amount of people wanting to play appear in the middle of the table, which suggests whilst memberships are important for field-specific capital, some clubs are still able to obtain capital without a large membership base. This could be a result of enhanced economic capital, in sports which require a large financial investment, such as equestrian or rowing. This also involves the concept of cultural capital, as participants believe a certain habitus is then created within these clubs, which in turn means individuals with similar socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to join those clubs (Friedland, 2009). As Robbins (2005) states, cultural capital develops at an early age,

suggesting members of these clubs are indoctrinated with specific doxa that impact on club choice.

One of the most prominent findings from the follow-up interviews was the impact that the availability and size of the fields were perceived to have on participation, training, and success for university sports clubs. Participants commented on the difficulty for the university as a whole to develop due to their field sizes: *'the thing I find difficult is that we have no opportunity to really grow'* (Sports Officer, Russell Group university). As a result of the epistemological approach of this study, participants' perspectives show that the physical capital of a field is a very influential factor for sporting development and growth at university level (Gilleard, 2020), and is clearly something which causes problems for employees who work within university sport. This is summarised by one respondent who stressed *'things like finding an astroturf are the bane of my life!'* (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university). Barone et al. (2017) assessed future plans in university sport, and found that field size and growth was one of the most important factors.

In addition to this, fields also appear to provide a certain type of capital between institutions:

'I mean you've got Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester's only 30 minutes from here, you've got York not that far, Liverpool - these are big cities that have lots of traction to them. (name of institution) just doesn't have the same pull for an 18-year-old as say, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield do.' (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).

This reveals the key role that physical fields at a university appear to have with student recruitment, as an institution or city with high level sporting facilities and amenities is more likely to draw a student in (Wacquant, 2004). Therefore, the size, quality, and availability of fields at a university can be seen as essential factors in the success of university sport (Skille, 2007). Barone et al. (2017) support this, as field development is viewed as fundamental for progress, from a Bourdieusian perspective.

The field of a university as a whole was also a key concept discussed in the follow-up interviews, involving conversations that concerned the socio-economic demographic of the institutions. This is shown in one participant's comment - *'Universities again are the same, they're just a microcosm of society'* (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group university) - suggesting this participant believes that regardless of the implementation of changes to make sport more accessible, to some extent the distinction between classes and backgrounds will always be present in the field of sport (Sulkunen, 1982). The topic of identity and locality is also a theme that was consistent across a number of interviews, with participants reporting *'we're a very regional institution'* (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university) and *'I see such a narrow field of socio-economic status in our students, compared to others'* (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university). The quotes show that participants believe the identity of the university is very localised, and that the majority of recruitment occurs from within the surrounding areas.

From a Bourdieusian point of view, this shows the scale of the field concept, as some institutions will recruit from all over the UK, whilst others focus on a much more localised recruitment plan (Maringe, 2006). This can also be viewed partly as a result of the socio-economic structure of society - the universities with smaller sporting ambitions, and less upper class sports, tend to attract more commuter students, in comparison to the student demographic of institutions such as those in the Russell Group field (Rutter, Roper, and Lettice, 2016). In Bourdieusian terms, students who are from a higher socio-economic background, and are therefore more financially suited to living away from home, are also more likely to participate in, and afford, a more upper class sport. This can be seen from the response of one participant who stated: *'We recruit more local students, and we've seen drop off in engagement in sports such as equestrian, hockey, tennis'* (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).

The discussion of fields in the follow-up interviews naturally brought about the discussion of field-specific capital, as well as the status held by certain clubs and individuals within fields. The interviews highlighted how Sports Officers believe certain judgements are made by some individuals about others within the institution whether in a sporting environment or academically. This is recognised as symbolic violence when taking a Bourdieusian perspective (Giulianotti, 2015). Interestingly, one participant commented:

'I think sometimes the judgement can come as well, when you're at a uni that has a broad range of students in terms of academic ability, I think that's when judgements are more prevalent.' (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).

This suggests that symbolic violence does not only arise from sporting ability, but also students who use their academic ability to create a distinction between themselves and others (Schubert, 2012).

In terms of field-specific capital, it appears as if certain degree programmes naturally give some students capital in certain sporting fields:

'The majority of the lads on football and rugby will be on sport and exercise courses, same with the women's, and it's almost like they've got this bubble.' (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group university).

From the participants' perspectives, this shows an almost emergent field which involves an academic course and sport combination, in which the course a student undertakes at university is often predictive of the sport they play (Berlinerblau, 2001). Furthermore, things such as computing courses at some universities are leading to more uptake in sports such as archery:

'We don't fully know the reason, perhaps the skill sets align, they also get involved in other things such as Esports, or tabletop gaming, dungeons and dragons, so there's the possibility that it plays into that a little, you know if they are fans of lord of the rings or things like that, archery is one of the closest sports to that' (Sports Officer, non-Russell Group university).

This supports the idea of sport acting as a 'microcosm' of wider society, as socio-economic background, locality, and course choice are all factors which play a role in university sport (Dashper & Fletcher, 2013). Brooks (2018) states that attending an elite educational institution increases your wages further, outlining that sport, similarly to wider society, currently provides a platform, but primarily to those who can access the elite.

Finally, it is interpreted from the interview results that the concept of the field can also be observed to identify the scope for positive change within university sport, where barriers are broken down and the status quo is altered (Triventi, 2011; Triventi, 2013). By improving accessibility, there is more exposure to sport for a wider range of people, with one interviewee arguing *'If people want to go and try it for the first time or are cut from the elite boats, we have something for you here'* (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group university). By offering more sessions, students have more chance to attend training that suits them and is open to all; one participant stated that *'The size of the club as well affects it, they have training slots all across the week, so it gives people more opportunity.'* (Sports Officer, Russell Group university).

Overall, the field as described by Bourdieu covers a wide range of environments and systems, ranging from the university as a whole, to a specific pitch on a specific astroturf (Bourdieu, 1978). From participants' responses, field-specific capital appears to play a major role in students' ability to succeed in a club: those who have a higher socio-economic status tend to automatically accumulate more capital, which can enact symbolic violence on those who are trying to access the field (Schubert, 2012). Moving forward, it was argued by one participant that *'to make a sports team work needs all elements'* (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group university). This involves students, staff, coaches, and many more factors creating an open, inclusive environment to make sport more accessible for people of all backgrounds and classes.

Habitus

The section in the questionnaire concerning habitus was designed to obtain an understanding of the behaviours of individuals, as well as of sports teams as a whole. These questions were included in the habitus section of the questionnaire as this relates closely to the behaviour and disposition elicited by student athletes; often the habitus an individual has may be used to enforce an evident judgement on a certain sport (Giulianotti, 2015). Other questions referenced judgements made by student athletes about other teams, as well as judgements concerning their own teammates. This may take the form of physical body language, such as starting a fight, or more subtle habitus, such as a change in behaviour when interacting with another club or team mate (Reay, Crozier, and Clayton, 2009). The doxa of the field is also a key factor in the development and maintenance of habitus (Hunter, 2004).

NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED	HABITUS
Highest	Kit
	Shirts, Ties, Chinos, Dress Sense
	Fancy Dress/Dressing up for Socials
	Drunkenness
	'Lad' Culture/Outgoing Behaviour
	Committee Tops/Club Stash
	Club Area
Lowest	Rivalries
	Fines/Punishments

Table 12 - *How often certain habitus' were mentioned by participants*

Table 12 shows the frequency of mentions that different aspects of habitus received from participants. The elements of habitus listed in the table show most participants consider appearance, behaviour, and rivalries/punishments the most frequently occurring themes in university sport. From a Bourdieusian perspective, this is not a surprise, as the

established theory states that disposition and characteristics are central to the subject of habitus (Bourdieu, 1978). The most mentioned aspects of habitus were the different elements of people's appearance, such as sports kit, smart items of clothing that some clubs occasionally wear, such as shirts and ties, and also fancy dress items, which are often seen at socials. Metcalfe (2019) suggests that from an external perspective, the physical appearance of individuals and teams is a very important factor in how they are viewed.

As can be seen from the table, Sports Officers believe that certain teams have certain habitus associated with them, such as 'lad' culture, which is traditionally associated with the more raucous, outgoing sports, like rugby, football, and often cricket. From the perceptions of participants, this can result in a barrier to potential newcomers to these sports, with many individuals worried they do not fit the habitus of the club or the field (Granfield, 1991). This could be a result of the doxa of the field, as some of the team cultures have a resultant impact on an individual's habitus. As discussed by Bourdieu, this often creates the so-called 'distinction' between some clubs and outsiders, as an exclusive feeling arises, regarding the habitus and 'personality' of the club - or, perhaps, this is how it is viewed by the participants of the study. Less frequently mentioned reasons included club rivalries, clubs having their own area within nightclubs and bars, and fines or punishments which are given out. These all suggest a doxa of specific teams, in which some clubs have certain behaviours that they display. The idea of clubs having specific areas in nightclubs and bars forms part of a sports club's identity, and almost becomes part of their territory - therefore, it is easy to see how rivalries between clubs could occur (Liston & Moreland, 2009). Fines and punishments are often used in clubs which elicit loud, extroverted behaviour, which can again lead to a certain type of individual joining the club. This shows how the habitus of sports clubs plays a key role in the accessibility of university sport.

Further to these habitus, there were other, more specific mentions of habitus from participants. Examples of these include things such as girls wearing 'ungodly' amounts of makeup, rugby and cricket being known for 'poor etiquette', and embedded cultural norms being present in many clubs (Scott et al., 2017). On the other hand, many participants also mentioned positive elements of habitus and doxa, such as clubs fundraising for charity, obtaining sponsorships, and being known for being fun, inclusive clubs at their university. This shows that participants believe the habitus of an individual, or the doxa of a club, can take a positive or negative form, and reveals the inclusive or exclusive nature of some university students' experiences (Light & Kirk, 2001). These findings offer support for the theory offered by Bourdieu, which postulates that habitus can take many forms, and can appear very different from one field to another.

As a result of embedded cultural norms being seen in multiple clubs, and behaviours perpetuating from before university, it is easy to see how judgements of other clubs, as well as judgements of teammates, begin to occur. Participants' responses revealed they believe this arises as a result of student athletes embodying the habitus of the club (Bourdieu, 1978), which can at times take a judgemental form. This partly explains the stereotyping seen in what an individual from a certain sport looks like, or the personality they may have - these are assumptions that are made based on the existing habitus' of the clubs. Light & Kirk (2001) discuss that in order for university sport to move forward in a more progressive manner, it is essential these exclusive barriers are broken down, to create a more accessible environment for all.

One of the most prominent findings from the follow-up interviews was the number of mentions that dress sense and outfits received. Despite this being partly expected, the frequency of discussions surrounding both individual and team dress was very high. One of the most mentioned categories was the theme of 'upper class dress' (Hartmann, 2000), as some participants mentioned things such as '*...rugby union, they all dress on socials in checked shirts, chinos, blazers and ties*' (Sports Coordinator, Russell Group University).

Another emerging theme regarding clothing was the use of fancy dress outfits by almost all sports clubs: *'everybody goes off and gets their own social stash'* (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group University). This shows two very different parts of identity; one which can be seen as a class identity, as the sports mentioned as wearing shirts, ties, and blazers tended to be those with a class association, and another which appears to be a more sport-specific, environment-dependent dressing style (O'Regan, 2016). The importance of appearance in terms of habitus is epitomised below:

'I can pretty much nail what a football player looks like, what a rugby player looks like, what a netball player looks like, what a women's football player looks like, just by sight' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group University).

In a similar way that dress sense appears to have club and class associations, certain behaviours and mannerisms were also discussed as being associated with a certain region or class (Lee, 1997). In terms of 'regionalised' habitus, participants mentioned things such as *'people get made fun of for their accents'* (Sports Coordinator, Russell Group University) and *'that's the psyche of the locality of the institution'* (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group University). This reveals an area from which judgements between clubs and teammates originate, as the identity of being from a certain area, or having a certain personality, can impact the habitus of an individual, and the way others interact with them. From a sociological perspective, embedded class habitus was also an emerging theme, with one participant commenting that from a young age, the 'upper class behaviour' is naturally present (Ollivier, 2008):

'I think even at that age, the socio-economic background of the family and the behaviours become embedded. It's instinctively there before our students get to us' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group University).

This shows the distinction in behaviour, as discussed by Bourdieu, is already present by the time a student begins playing sport at university.

One of the more expected findings from the follow-up interviews was the difference in extroverted behaviour and introverted behaviour in certain clubs. Some participants reported the sport itself impacts this behaviour (Giazitzoglu, 2019):

‘wherever our rugby players come from, they behave like rugby players. And that’s what makes me think it’s not the institution, it’s the mentality of the sport itself’ (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group University).

Such sentiments were echoed by others:

‘they are what they are in terms of the sport and the ethos and the type of person that often plays those sports’ (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group University)

Clearly, the participants in the study believe the habitus of the club invites a certain type of individual to join, which potentially creates the exclusive barriers that are present in university sport (Ollivier, 2008). Hardiman (2015) uses the term ‘lad culture’ to describe some of the behaviour. Class habitus is discussed as emerging from a young age, which potentially leads into this specific behaviour that is seen in sports clubs. At times however, it would appear this behaviour can become anti-social and cause problems:

‘rugby union are likely to fight with rugby league, men’s cricket will fight with both, people just get too drunk and then they start pushing each other or fighting each other’ (Sports Coordinator, Russell Group University)

Capital Makes the World Go Round

Throughout the process of analysing the questionnaire responses and follow-up interviews, it became evident that elements of Bourdieu's less frequently discussed theories were also evident within the responses provided by the participants. This involved more niche types of capital being discussed, such as physical, geographical, educational, and symbolic capital. Participants also reported scenarios that could be classified as symbolic violence, in their opinions. As a result of this, the following section will discuss the role that these types of capital play in university sport, and the impact symbolic violence can have on enforcing the theory of distinction. The questionnaire responses and interview discussions produced mentions of other important sociological factors in sport, such as gender, race, and disability. Despite this thesis focusing on class and socio-economic background, it is also valid to observe and analyse other factors that participants mentioned, as these are clearly central elements of their university's sporting set up.

As outlined by Bourdieu (1986), capital often takes the form of financial gain, social connections, or cultural goods; yet it is also possible to classify some types of power as more of a physical capital. This is described by Shilling (1991) as a physical factor which provides an advantage or a strength to the individual, such as a wrestler using their body effectively, or a gymnast using their rhythmic nature as an asset to their profession. This is summarised by one participant in a follow up interview: *'It takes time, it takes your body to just go, nope lactic acid off you go!'* (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university). The quote highlights how, from the perspective of the participant, the body can provide an advantage in reaching high level sport. Frew and McGillivray (2005) suggest that some businesses capitalise on individuals' desire for a positive body, which shows how appearance can hold capital according to the theory of Bourdieu.

In a similar fashion to this, participants discuss the location of an individual as also proving to be a sort of capital, as being from a certain area often results in a certain type of geographical capital. Antoninetti and Garret (2012) discuss the need to continue this type of research, to extend the understanding of Bourdieu's concepts of the body and places. The concept of geographical capital links closely with the locality of the institution, as discussed by multiple participants:

'I think part of it comes down to school, and what you can access at school. I think the school system, in PE if you go to a public school it's very different to if you don't' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university).

This shows the capital that location can provide; private schools are seen as providing more opportunities, as a greater range of sports, at a more elite level. Wood (2013) discusses the concept of 'participatory capital', where geographical location even impacts upon how often an individual takes part in sport. Therefore, if a student has attended a private school prior to university, they have often already accessed more sports than others.

From the perspective of SU Officers, this in turn can naturally transfer into educational capital, in which an individual holds a higher capital based on their academic achievements, as well as their established status within the educational system (Sullivan, 2001). In support of this, some participants reported a majority or minority of students from a particular background, exemplified by one interviewees comment that *'there isn't a high volume of privately educated students coming in'* (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university). Educational capital therefore plays an important role in the accessibility of sport for students, as the demographic of the cohort is clearly fundamental in the sports that are available.

However, Nash (1990) postulates that Bourdieu's concept of educational attainment may in fact be inadequate, and that cultural capital is a more fitting explanation of what an

individual gains from academic achievements. At an institution with more privately educated students, and therefore a higher 'educational' capital, more sports at a wider range of levels are likely to be available. This is summarised accurately by one participant, who observes that geographical capital is not the only important factor in sporting access:

'the department is nowhere near as established as at other universities, so I don't think it's reflective of the area, but I think it's reflective of the institution.'
(Sports Development Officer, non-Russell Group university).

Moore (2013) aptly describes the relationship of the university set up and individuals, as he states that a '*Bourdieuian approach always seeks to capture the objective structures of the social space and the subjective experiences of individual agents and relationships between these*' (p. 100), suggesting that objective and subjective factors are both influenced equally by the theory of capital. The findings of the present study support this, as objective elements such as class structure and subjective elements such as personal experience are discussed in the questionnaire and interviews.

Bourdieu also discusses a type of capital known as symbolic capital, which is perhaps the most open of the capital concepts. The theory of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) is one of the most important in terms of why sport is difficult to access for individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and symbolic capital plays a pivotal role in the establishment of a distinction between classes (Jarness & Friedman, 2017). Pret, Shaw, and Drakopoulou Dodd (2016) comment on how symbolic capital can be converted, and discuss the form this takes; it can often be a positive transformation, or can lead to a negative element, such as symbolic violence. Symbolic capital can be formulated from athletes having a quality that is symbolic of power within their designated sport. However, it can also arise from an enforced elitism, such as someone using their class status as being 'symbolic' of higher power; this can be seen in the research of Ceron-Anaya (2010), which summarises the business element of a golf course, and the power this holds. This

naturally links back to physical capital; if an individual can present their image in an environment that is known to be of a higher class, it is symbolic of power.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, this misuse of symbolism creates a vast gulf in sport, which the work of Bourdieu partly aims to address. This type of symbolic capital is often portrayed through a level of control, in which a distinction is established between a student athlete of the higher class and working class. Horne et al. (2011) discuss symbolic capital as creating privilege, which only emphasises this distinction. As suggested in the response of one participant - *'yeah I think it's a class thing, I think it's that ties thing, and that private school stereotype'* (Sports Coordinator, Russell Group university) - they believe individuals who work in university sport recognise this divide, and are aware of the current problem. This project looks to develop these issues in sport, by minimising the gap between classes, and making sport more accessible for all. In turn, the ideology is that symbolic violence will be reduced, which prevents student athletes feeling out of place.

Symbolic Violence

The existence and importance of symbolic capital often leads to the effect of symbolic violence, which is the use of capital to symbolise a superiority over another group. This effect is the result of distinction being created between classes, groups, and individuals, and has a major effect on sporting society. Participants in the study were well aware of this type of issue, reporting issues such as students being made to feel out of place by others:

'Either way, there was a clear identification that they didn't like taking part in BUCS competitions anymore, because they were made to feel inferior' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university).

This can also be seen from a more hierarchical viewpoint, where one class is perceived to elicit symbolic violence on another. This can occur on a macro and micro scale, with issues occurring between clubs and within clubs:

'You know, you had your hierarchy in what team you played in, and if you were a footballer you were the bee's knees!' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university).

Samuel (2013) suggests a 'monopoly' takes place, where one group is dominant over another. As discussed in the literature review, this relates to the risk-aversion theory (Van de Werfhorst & Hofstede, 2007), in which some individuals may avoid certain situations that cause them to feel symbolic violence. Participants believe that the result of this type of symbolic violence is often club rivalry and club judgements, where student athletes enact a sense of discernment on one another, through a belief they themselves are superior. This can arise as an after-effect of having a more prestigious socio-economic background, or having a history of high economic or cultural capital. In the interviews, sports such as rugby, netball, and hockey were discussed as having this sort of association.

At times, this symbolic violence can have an impact on what Bourdieu calls 'illusio', where the meaning and investment of time and effort into a certain field are considered (Lupu & Empson, 2015). As Hage states regarding Bourdieu: *'To see a person on a trajectory is to also see them as capable of acting strategically within their class position'* (Hage, 2011, p. 85); this suggests that when illusio is considered, symbolic violence has the potential to interrupt someone's trajectory. If an individual feels very happy and comfortable in a field, they are likely to have a high illusio, as they will believe their time is worth investing. However, if symbolic violence is enacted on them, they are likely to have a reduced illusio, as their time and effort are not worth putting into the field. One participant discussed work being done to challenge this ideology:

'And we do try and challenge those ideas, those social norms, because there's a large group of students who want to get involved but don't, because of those perceived cliques' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university).

This is an evident result from the questionnaire and interviews, as multiple participants commented on the issues that many students face, as a result of factors such as symbolic violence.

Throughout the process of analysing the questionnaires, there were notable mentions of other topics, which were less fundamental in the overall assessment of class, but still have connotations when university sport is considered. Despite the problem of symbolic violence, which is currently perceived as preventing progression in a number of sporting sectors, participants reported the growth of multiple minority groups in sport. Elements such as the control of clubs were seen in answers, as well as discussion of women's sport, diversity, and looking towards the future (Cortis, 2009). For example, one participant commented:

'Lacrosse women have grown substantially in the last couple of years, becoming one of the largest female clubs we have' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell group university)

Similarly, other responses focused on the openness and welcoming nature of some clubs: *'They have the most members but also are most active on social media/most well known'* (Sports Coordinator, Russell Group university). Overall, both of these examples show the inclusive movement of sport towards a more equal and diverse entity, by focusing on widening participation, and developing minority groups (Hovden, 2012). This drive towards inclusivity and equality helps to reduce symbolic violence being enacted upon minority groups.

A Recap and a Look to the Future

As this results section has shown, there are multiple issues in university sport which affect a wide range of individuals in the eyes of the Sports Officers. Using a Bourdieusian analysis, it has been possible to identify the fundamental reasons that these issues arise (using interpretation of SU Officers responses), focusing centrally on Bourdieu's interpretation of the class breakdown of society. The way in which this demographic develops into socio-economic background and capital has been a vital part of this project, as the structure of society is evidently influential on sporting advantage, power, and accessibility. Jenkin et al. (2016) even discuss the concept of whether some athletes are 'worth their weight in gold', suggesting some achieve their status as a result of class, rather than ability.

One of the most prominent findings from the present research has been the extent to which the issue of inclusivity and accessibility is seen in universities (Teetzel, 2013). This is not limited to one type or one specific area - the problem appears to extend nationwide, with multiple different institutions reporting problems of diversity and openness within their sporting set up. Breger, Holman, and Guerrero (2019) suggest that sport can be utilised as a prevention of things such as symbolic violence, as they discuss toxic issues that are currently present within universities. Therefore, this research has connotations for not only the more obvious scenarios, such as rich, elite Russell Group universities, but also other institutions, situated in lower socio-economic areas. This final section of the results and discussion chapter will therefore consider practical recommendations for the findings of this study.

These recommendations for future research could translate into practical applications within university sport. The type of research being discussed has the potential to provide a vehicle for positive change, which could be implemented in both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Black (2017) examined the two different approaches and observed that when

combined, they may be able to provide the most effective solution to sporting development. This could take the form of grants from universities which make sport more accessible for those who cannot afford it, as well as providing more opportunities for participation, where there previously have not been. To this end, one participant argued that universities are beginning to consider more targeted approaches with their funding:

'we'll have to examine our infrastructure again and where we're recruiting from, what funding we've got available, and whether the university will invest' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university)

De Bosscher, Shibli, and Weber (2018) provide support for this, as their research compared the success of countries who prioritised funding to certain sports with countries who diversified their funding across a wider range of sports. The conclusion was that nations who diversified their funding more were more successful across a greater range of sports, which is an approach universities could take. The implementation of these changes must be done in a way that is sustainable and long-lasting, something that makes sport what it should be - an element of enjoyment and competitiveness that allows the student to escape from the monotony of lectures and work.

In the interviews, similar themes were uncovered, including a consideration of cases that show a progression of sport at university. Examples of these included discussion of future planning (Phipps, 2020):

'if it's going to lead into the wider strategy till 2035, is to get it so that sport is taken seriously, and it's not just that one sport might perform very well, but others are being forgotten about' (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group university)

This identifies a clear target of widening participation in sport by 2035, so a 15-year plan is in place to make a positive change. Further support for this process came from another participant, who argued that:

'the main aim was to create more opportunities for participation in sport at ... university. There's still that negative perception of 'is that for me?', and we're looking to change that' (Sports Coordinator, non-Russell Group university).

Phipps' (2020) previous research demonstrates that more can be done to make sport more inclusive. This is highlighted by the interviewee quotes, as some reported that sports are 'forgotten about', whilst others are viewed by athletes in a negative light. Evidently, there are different levels to university sport; it may be one of the few places where amateur mixes with elite on a regular basis, and this is something that should not be lost. This emphasises the message that all athletes are as important as each other, regardless of their ability or level within the sport (De Bosscher, Shibli, and Weber, 2018). This is something that has perhaps been lost in recent times, and attention has in fact turned to the preservation of winning leagues, cups, and championships, with many forgetting that participation and enjoyment are at the heart of why many of us play sport in the first place.

As Bourdieu discusses, one of the hardest challenges is to alter the status quo in which society finds itself, so movements to increase participation are essential to develop university sport in a positive, open format (Brown, 2005). However, there are evidently problems with implementing these kinds of changes, and achieving equality within sport. If these practical applications had already worked, there would be less urgent need for research such as the present study. Whilst sport is gradually moving towards a more inclusive and diverse field, there are still many barriers that prevent this from being achieved in a faster, more effective manner.

One issue that is very well known is how success-driven many institutions are. In most cases, this is very understandable - money is invested by an individual or organisation, and they want to see results for their investment. This is not just observed in a sporting environment, but appears to be a neoliberal trend in education and wider society. As discussed in the literature review, Green (2007) highlighted that the large majority of funding is usually invested in elite sport, as opposed to grassroots sporting development.

On the other hand, some universities have become almost exclusively interested in BUCS performance and BUCS points, and have forgotten about the inclusivity side of sport development (Fenoglio & Taylor, 2012). This naturally leads to universities being more interested in the athletes who are elite, and potentially even scholars, or in other words, the students who are likely to win them BUCS points. In turn, this often ends up being the students with the higher economic capital, who can afford the best equipment and coaching, or the individuals who have the most established connections. It is here that the barrier can be found - the vast majority of athletes who excel have some sort of financial or cultural background that provides them with an advantage. For individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds, it is hard to progress to this elite level without the same resources. Fenoglio and Taylor (2012) discuss the Give Us Back Our Game (GUBOG) approach, which focuses much more on the development and inclusion of young athletes, and moves away from the win-at-all-costs approach. This is the type of direction that university sport could follow, to develop a sustainable, diverse future.

A phrase which one participant used in the study was *'because we get elite individuals who are coming to us because we have been elite for a while, that strand therefore just continues to breed success, so that sort of takes care of itself'* (Sports Performance Manager, non-Russell Group university). This comment arguably epitomises the issue - if it takes care of itself, then it is clearly hard for someone new to break this mould. It is a known fact that success tends to breed success; a winning team gets more money invested, and continues its success, and so on. The crux of the problem is found in the 'Catch-22' scenario of teams or individuals who believe they should have more funding, and are capable of winning leagues and competitions, yet are refused additional funding and support because they have not won anything (Weinberg & McDermott, 2002). Their argument is that until there is funding there cannot be success, and the university's argument is often that until there is success there can be no funding. This captures in short the money-orientated ideology of university sport, and on a more general level, society.

This project has aimed to show that this should not be the case, and that this is not a sustainable or effective way of managing sport. If success brings funding, then participation and development really are forgotten about, which moves away from the ideals of sport and exercise. Therefore, as a result of this project and the research conducted, future research and practical applications should aim to highlight the importance of inclusion and diversity within sport, whilst maintaining equality and participation in development.

Conclusion

To conclude, this research project has uncovered extremely important findings with regards to the progression of university sport, as well as sporting society as a whole. From a statistical point of view, the data collected revealed findings that were perhaps expected, with the Russell Group universities involved in the study having the highest number of sports clubs, the highest number of BUCS teams, and the highest BUCS table positions (with the exception of Queen Mary, University of London). However, some of the less expected statistical findings were that these institutions do not always convert these high numbers of team entries into success, as their BUCS success rate was lower than many non-Russell Group institutions. The private school percentage attendance at Russell Group universities does however support the notion that class plays a significant role in the university that students attend, as these institutions tended to have the highest numbers in this category, with Oxford Brookes providing an exception to this rule. Hemsley-Brown (2014) highlights the advantage for private school students who attend this type of institution, as they are usually much more successful in terms of applications. This concise review of university sporting statistics shows there is a definite theme of socio-economic advantage playing a part in Russell Group attendance, shown by the varying categories of information, such as club size and private school attendance (Davies and Guppy, 1997). The information on BUCS entries and success also aided this application of statistical data, as this provides support for both recreational and competitive sport being more elite at this type of institution, from a socio-economic point of view.

In terms of the qualitative data, more in-depth findings were uncovered, such as a closer examination of Bourdieusian theory in relation to sporting society. The process of follow-up interviews allowed for extended discussion of these concepts, and enabled the thematic analysis to be further understood. Capital was one of the concepts discussed the most by participants, as it is perhaps one of the most understood elements of

Bourdieuian theory. One of the most important findings was the value of different types of capital in different fields, which offered a lot of support to the theory of field-specific capital (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). The qualitative data for capital aligned with the expectations of the study - interviewees concurred that economic capital provided more access to elite sports.

Participants also discussed behaviour and characteristics of individuals and clubs in great detail, suggesting that habitus and symbolic violence is something that is very noticeable in university sport. These conversations were also essential in understanding the issues surrounding accessibility and how students feel regarding sport at university, as many participants reported that their students felt out of place or uncomfortable in certain situations, such as BUCS competitions. Many participants were more clear in understanding habitus than was expected, suggesting Bourdieu's definition of the concept may be stronger than originally thought. In interviews, individuals mentioned lad culture, behaviour in social environments, and appearances as habitual consequences of socio-economic background. Field was perhaps the hardest concept to discuss in depth, as many participants understood this to mean literal sporting fields, as opposed to the theoretical meaning. However, some participants discussed the difficulty in balancing time and space for clubs to actually play their sport, suggesting the more popular sports that require less equipment may have an advantage in the university field.

Utilising the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu throughout this study has offered excellent theoretical and practical support to the project, as the problems and issues within society are well signposted by his work. This means that identifying the elements of university sport that contain issues of accessibility and inclusion has been aided by the theoretical strength of Bourdieu (Phipps, 2020), and participants involved in the study have understood the concepts in the context of sport. In comparison to other sociologists in the field, Bourdieu's work contains significantly more references to a sporting context, which offers greater applications to this type of research (Bailey, 2005).

The specific nature of many of Bourdieu's theories also provided a strength to the study. For example, the detailed theory of capital, in which he mentions multiple different types, offers in-depth sociological theory in a range of different disciplines. This has evidently allowed detailed discussion of social, economic and cultural factors for an individual's involvement in sport, which may not have been possible if another sociologist was considered (Van de Werfhorst, 2010). This was essential for the present study, as the distinctive forms of capital enhanced the qualitative approach. Therefore, one of the major strengths of Bourdieu is his specific application of sociological theory to sport as a whole.

However, Bourdieu's work does contain some weaknesses, which make providing practical steps for further research more difficult. Although his concepts are discussed in the context of sport, which is a rare advantage to find in a sociologist of this nature, his strengths lie in the identification of the issue, rather than the solution to it (Yang, 2013). When looking towards implementing positive change in the future of university sport, Bourdieu's research does not provide many ideas - it is primarily focused on the problems that are already present, as opposed to how to improve them (Bottero & Crossley, 2011).

There are also flaws within some of his ideologies, such as the definitions of some terms. For example, the theory of habitus is defined as a very open concept, which can be seen as a weakness, due to a lack of understanding from many on exactly what habitus is. King (2000) criticises Bourdieu's defence, in which he asks not to be judged on the definition, but the use of the term; King argues that if society cannot understand the term, how can it be applied correctly? Utilising this theory also makes it more difficult to explain this concept to participants, as there is not a specific definition from the theorist himself. Participants' responses did, however, show that the concept does have some validity in the context of university sport. Indeed, overall, the strengths of the theory of Pierre Bourdieu outweigh the weaknesses, as his application to sport is an invaluable advantage to the research project.

Furthermore, the methodology of the research was effective. The interruptions and challenges caused by the Covid-19 pandemic were minimised by utilising online methods successfully, such as video conferencing for meetings and interviews, and an online questionnaire to collect statistical data. This enabled relationships with participants and supervisory staff to be maintained effectively, regardless of the alterations that were required. By using this mixed-methods, tailored approach (Seale et al., 2004), the project catered to the needs of the participants in a suitable manner, allowing real-world validity of the data collected.

In terms of the project approach, the methodological process proved appropriate. The research followed an interpretivist, epistemological approach, and was consistent with the aims and objectives of these terms. By using an interpretivist, relativist epistemology, the findings of the study have all been considered in context of the institutions who were involved (Slevitch, 2011). This means there is consideration for the fact that some institutions have more students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, whilst others have more students from higher socio-economic backgrounds. The analysis of the collected data was mainly focused on qualitative aspects of research, as a result of the subjective, constructivist approach. This was also the reasoning for using thematic analysis, as it fits with the epistemological approach of the study (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). The use of this approach was effective in the fact that participants' subjective, personal experiences could be understood, as opposed to simply a statistical analysis of socio-economic data in sport (Jones, 2015). This also removed the desire for one fixed answer, and developed a more complex understanding of sport at a university level. It was also possible to develop a strong rapport with the participants due to the approach, and as Sparkes (1994) discusses, this is essential in a project of this nature. The bottom-up, inductive approach was also a strength of the method, as removing the direction of the hypothesis allowed for each participant's responses to be considered in a relative context, instead of being aligned to a specific, directional hypothesis. The answers given by

participants to questions were therefore observed in a constructivist way, rather than positivist or realist, reducing the potential impact of researcher bias.

However, taking this type of methodological approach to research does carry some limitations. By not searching for one specific answer, it does mean that there are multiple different conclusions from the project, some of which differ greatly from one another. Therefore, the arguments made do not necessarily come to one conclusion, but offer scope for further research in multiple different areas (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This does not weaken the findings of the project, but simply means that there is a wider range of discussions, as opposed to one central focus. This could be perceived as a limitation to the project, as the data is used in the context of multiple research questions, in contrast to focusing on one specific, in-depth question.

A further limitation of the present study is that although an unbiased overview of a wide range of UK universities was obtained, there is a lack of depth into any specific sports. The decision was made to not utilise this type of participant, as it would have likely led to differing results for different universities, which could not have been controlled for. This would have made comparisons and discussions very difficult. This decision was also made based on the timescale of this research project - it would have been too time-consuming to attempt a detailed analysis of individual sports within the course of this particular study. However, it must be acknowledged that due to this decision, there may be limitations in the depth to which individual sports are explored.

Additionally, as the methodology shows, there were sampling and recruitment challenges within the project. The desired number of questionnaire responses and interviewees was not met, which would have been beneficial in enhancing the generalisability of the findings. This was certainly a limitation which arose as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, it was not possible to conduct any interviews in person, which may have achieved an improved relationship with the participants who were involved in the interview

stage. Using online methods was successful, but was more difficult in terms of building rapport (Mourad et al., 2020). The process of writing the report was also a challenge due to the pandemic, as no office space could be used, and communication with the supervisory team had to be virtual. Without the interruption of COVID, it may have been possible to utilise student focus groups, which would have achieved a more detailed understanding of specific sports. These would have created more discussion around topics of the study, such as socio-economic background and sporting accessibility. If the study were to be repeated, or redesigned, this is certainly something that would be explored. However, when the sample is considered, there were 19 questionnaire responses, which means over 10% of UK universities responded. The interview target was met, which means the project used rich, qualitative data to formulate the findings. Overall, despite methodological challenges, the study was a success.

The initial stage of this research project involved identifying if there was a gap in the market for a study such as the one that has been conducted, by searching for literature in the field. The results of this revealed that whilst a wide range of research has been conducted in the field of socio-economic background and class status in sport, there is a lack of depth into certain samples. Lynch and O'Riordan (1998) offer support for this, suggesting more research into class status is needed. One of the populations in which there is a lack of depth is university student athletes, meaning this research project has aimed to fill a gap in the literature, and offer valuable, practical applications of the study's findings. The university sample is a vital part of sporting development to observe - this metaphorical step on the ladder sits near the start of many athletes' elite journeys, whilst also providing recreational opportunities to other students (Aquilina, 2013). There are few other scenarios where the two appear alongside one another, which is one of the many reasons this sample was so intriguing, given the context of the study.

In terms of looking to the future, this study has outlined the potential for more in-depth research into this area. In particular, the competitive world of sport could be observed to

examine the effects of socio-economic factors on elite, national and international competitions, such as World Championships and Olympic Games. Alon (2009) discusses the importance of competition, and the fact that team spaces to compete are less readily available during highly competitive times. As The Sutton Trust (2019) and The Sutton Trust (2020) discusses the background of Olympic athletes, research such as this could be developed further, by utilising the findings of the present study.

Additionally, more research at a university level could take place, potentially from within the institutions themselves. This would allow sports officers and coordinators to examine in detail the demographic and socio-economic background amongst their sporting students. In turn, this research could be used to shape university policies and sporting strategies. Based on these findings, it is important to consider the type of research that could be conducted in the future, to further our understanding of contemporary issues in university sport. The present research has explored the extent of the problem, such as how students are often denied the opportunity to participate, whether that be a result of a lack of economic capital, social capital, or cultural capital, or the wider issue of symbolic violence (Griffiths, Moore, and Brunton, 2020). The research has highlighted that in almost every institution the socio-economic background of the individual has at least some part to play in their sporting involvement (Hashim, 2012); this may be that it creates an advantage for them, or does the opposite, and in fact holds them back from accessing the sport they may want to.

To further expand the depth and breadth of this research, it is essential to understand these issues from a personal perspective. To obtain a wide understanding of the problems, this project has focused on an overview of university sport from people in sporting occupations. In future research, it may be effective to consider the account of student-athletes, as this will develop appreciation of the personal barriers faced by students, as opposed to those identified by sports managers and sports coordinators. McElveen and Ibele (2019) also describe how student-athletes' academic abilities may be

impacted by their sporting participation. This shows a clear scope for future research in the field, as the challenge of inclusivity and diversity can be approached from an alternative perspective to the present study.

Furthermore, follow-up research and investigation could take a much more statistical approach, as a different method to the largely mixed-methods direction that this project took. This could incorporate an exploration of the finances involved in sport, and examine the extent to which economic capital really is a driving factor in the world of university sport. Williams, Hay, and Macdonald (2011) examined the level of outsourcing of institutions for sport, and found that around 75% of schools and universities are likely to provide sport from an external source, and charge participants for it. This type of approach could also be used to observe other types of capital, such as educational and geographical capital, by assessing students' academic performance and the affluence of their area. This could then be considered in relation to their sporting situation at university.

The findings presented in this study could be beneficial to sporting organisations, such as BUCS, Sport England, and sport-specific governing bodies, such as the FA or British Athletics. Using the information from the present research, national governing bodies could conduct further, sport-specific research into accessibility and diversity within their sport. This would enable an observation of the problems faced by the sport, such as what causes the barriers to participation, or behavioural issues that are associated with members of the sport. Priest et al. (2008) discuss this, suggesting there is a lack of evidence for effective interventions designed by national governing bodies. Changes to programmes could also be made to implement a more suitable model that caters for all, as opposed to pathways that are geared towards supporting a certain type of individual.

As a result of this, the research findings provide many questions for future research, as well as consequences for university sport strategy at present. It is clear that sport in a university context contains more social, cultural, and financial implications than other

spheres. These factors are seen in the social pressures surrounding certain sports, such as drinking at socials, dressing a certain way, or acting in a specific manner. Coupled with the cultural aspects and history of some sports, an individual who does not arrive at university already set up and supported in a sport can find it difficult to break down these barriers. Add to this the financial requirements that a range of sports have to simply participate, and it is easy to see that there are many socio-economic factors that influence a person's ability to find relative success in their university sporting career.

References

- Akram, S. (2012) Fully Unconscious and Prone to Habit: The Characteristics of Agency in the Structure and Agency Dialectic. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 43(1), pp. 45-65.
- Alon, S. (2009) The Evolution of Class Inequality in Higher Education. *American Sociological Review*, 74(5), pp. 731-755.
- Andersen, P. and Bakken, A. (2018) Social class differences in youths' participation in organized sports: What are the mechanisms?. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 54(8), pp. 921-937.
- Anheier, H., Gerhards, J. and Romo, F. (1995) Forms of Capital and Social Structure in Cultural Fields: Examining Bourdieu's Social Topography. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(4), pp. 859-903.
- Antoninetti, M. and Garrett, M. (2012) Body capital and the geography of aging. *Area*, 44(3), pp. 364-370.
- Apling, R. (1991) 'Nontraditional' students attending postsecondary institutions. CRS report for Congress. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service.
- Aquilina, D.A. (2009) *Degrees of success: negotiating dual career paths in elite sport and university education in Finland, France and the UK* (Doctoral dissertation, Loughborough University).

Aquilina, D. (2013) A Study of the Relationship Between Elite Athletes' Educational Development and Sporting Performance. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30(4), pp. 374-392.

Archer, L., Hutchings, M. and Ross, A. (2003) Higher Education And Social Class. 1st ed. London: Routledge-Falmer, pp. 5-21.

Bailey, R. (2005) Evaluating the relationship between physical education, sport and social inclusion. *Educational Review*, 57(1), pp. 71-90.

Bairner, A. (2007) Back to Basics: Class, Social Theory, and Sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24(1), pp. 20-36.

Ball, S., Reay, D. and David, M. (2002) 'Ethnic Choosing': Minority ethnic students, social class and higher education choice. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 5(4), pp. 333-357.

Barone, C., Schizzerotto, A., Abbiati, G. and Argentin, G. (2017) Information Barriers, Social Inequality, and Plans for Higher Education: Evidence from a Field Experiment. *European Sociological Review*, 33(1) pp. 84-96.

Beamish, R. (2002) Karl Marx's enduring legacy for the sociology of sport. In Maguire, J., and Young, K. (eds.) *Theory, sport & society*, pp. 25-39. London: JAI Press.

Berlinerblau, J. (2001) Toward a Sociology of Heresy, Orthodoxy, and Doxa. *History of Religions*, 40(4), pp. 327-351.

Blackburn, R. and Jarman, J. (1993) Changing Inequalities in Access to British Universities. *Oxford Review of Education*, 19(2), pp. 197-215.

Black, D. (2017) The challenges of articulating 'top down' and 'bottom up' development through sport. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, 2(1), pp. 7-22.

Boliver, V. (2013) How fair is access to more prestigious UK universities?. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 64(2), pp. 344-364.

Boliver, V. (2015) Are there distinctive clusters of higher and lower status universities in the UK?. *Oxford Review of Education*, 41(5), pp. 608-627.

Booth, D. and Loy, J. (1999) Sport, Status, and Style. *Sport History Review*, 30(1), pp. 1-26.

Bottero, W. and Crossley, N. (2011) Worlds, Fields and Networks: Becker, Bourdieu and the Structures of Social Relations. *Cultural Sociology*, 5(1), pp. 99-119.

Bourdieu, P. (1978) 'Sport and social class', *Social Science Information*, 17(6), pp. 819-840.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *A Social Critique Of The Judgement Of Taste*. (translated by R. Nice). 1st ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital, in: J.G. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, pp. 241-258 (New York, Greenwood Press).

Bourdieu, P. (1990a) *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990b) *The logic of practice* (translated by R. Nice). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., Dauncey, H. and Hare, G. (1998) The state, economics and sport. *Culture, Sport, Society*, 1(2), pp. 15-21.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. (1977) *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Breger, M., Holman, M. and Guerrero, M. (2019) Re-Norming Sport for Inclusivity: How the Sport Community Has the Potential to Change a Toxic Culture of Harassment and Abuse. *Journal of Clinical Sport Psychology*, 13(2), pp. 274-289.

Brooks, A. (2005) Does Social Capital Make You Generous?. *Social Science Quarterly*, 86(1), pp. 1-15.

Brooks, R. (2018) Higher education, social class and social mobility. The degree generation. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 67(2), pp. 280-282.

Brosnan, C. (2010) Making sense of differences between medical schools through Bourdieu's concept of 'field'. *Medical Education*, 44(7), pp. 645-652.

Brown, D. (2005) An economy of gendered practices? learning to teach physical education from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's embodied sociology. *Sport, Education and Society*, 10(1), pp. 3-23.

Brown, D., Morgan, K. and Aldous, D. (2016) 'Changing the student teacher habitus: interweaving Bourdieu's theory of practice with pragmatism's crisis, creativity, and problem

based learning'. In: K. Andrew, R. Richards and K. Lux Gaudreault (eds.) *Teacher Socialization in Physical Education*. London: Routledge, pp. 210-227.

Brunton, J. and Mackintosh, C. (2017) Interpreting university sport policy in England: seeking a purpose in turbulent times?. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 9(3), pp. 377-395.

Callender, C. and Dougherty, K. (2018) Student Choice in Higher Education—Reducing or Reproducing Social Inequalities?. *Social Sciences*, 7(10), p. 189.

Ceron-Anaya, H. (2010) An Approach to the History of Golf: Business, Symbolic Capital, and Technologies of the Self. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 34(3), pp. 339-358.

Chan, T. and Goldthorpe, J. (2005) The social stratification of theatre, dance and cinema attendance. *Cultural Trends*, 14(3), pp. 193-212.

Claringbould, I., Knoppers, A. and Jacobs, F. (2014) Young athletes and their coaches: disciplinary processes and habitus development. *Leisure Studies*, 34(3), pp. 319-334.

Collins, M. (2016) Social Exclusion from Sport and Leisure: A Decade of Progress or Regress?. In: B. Houlihan and D. Malcolm, ed., *Sport and Society: A Student Introduction*, 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications, pp. 79-109.

Connor, H. (2001) Deciding for or Against Participation in Higher Education: The Views of Young People from Lower Social Class Backgrounds. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 55(2), pp. 204-224.

Cortis, N. (2009) Social Inclusion and Sport: Culturally diverse women's perspectives. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 44(1), pp. 91-106.

Coyle, C. and Vaughn, H. (2008) Social networking: Communication revolution or evolution?. *Bell Labs Technical Journal*, 13(2), pp. 13-17.

Cullinan, J., Flannery, D., Walsh, S. and McCoy, S. (2013) Distance effects, social class and the decision to participate in higher education in Ireland. *The Economic and Social Review*, 44(1), pp. 19-51.

Cushion, C. and Jones, R. (2006) 'Power, Discourse, and Symbolic Violence in Professional Youth Soccer: The Case of Albion Football Club', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 23(2), pp. 142-161.

Dashper, K. and Fletcher, T. (2013) Introduction: diversity, equity and inclusion in sport and leisure. *Sport in Society*, 16(10), pp. 1227-1232.

Davies, S. and Guppy, N. (1997) Fields of Study, College Selectivity, and Student Inequalities in Higher Education. *Social Forces*, 75(4), p. 1417.

De Bosscher, V., Shibli, S. and Weber, A. (2018) Is prioritisation of funding in elite sport effective? An analysis of the investment strategies in 16 countries. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 19(2), pp. 221-243.

de Haan, D. and Dumbell, L. (2016) Equestrian Sport at the Olympic Games from 1900 to 1948. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33(6-7), pp. 648-665.

Donnelly, P. (1996) Approaches to Social Inequality in the Sociology of Sport. *Quest*, 48(2), pp. 221-242.

Dumais, S. (2002) Cultural Capital, Gender, and School Success: The Role of Habitus. *Sociology of Education*, 75(1), p. 44.

Dunnett, A., Moorhouse, J., Walsh, C. and Barry, C. (2012) Choosing a University: A conjoint analysis of the impact of higher fees on students applying for university in 2012. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 18(1), pp. 199-220.

Eime, R., Charity, M., Harvey, J. and Payne, W. (2015) Participation in sport and physical activity: associations with socio-economic status and geographical remoteness. *BMC Public Health*, 15(1).

Emirbayer, M. and Johnson, V. (2008) Bourdieu and organizational analysis. *Theory and Society*, 37(1), pp. 1-44.

Engström, L.M. (2008) Who is physically active? Cultural capital and sports participation from adolescence to middle age—a 38-year follow-up study. *Physical education and sport pedagogy*, 13(4), pp. 319-343.

Espenshade, T., Chung, C. and Walling, J. (2004) Admission Preferences for Minority Students, Athletes, and Legacies at Elite Universities. *Social Science Quarterly*, 85(5), pp. 1422-1446.

Evans, L. (2015) Competitiveness, Elitism and Neoliberal Performativity: The Formation of a Russell Group Academic Identity. In: *Academic Identities in Higher Education: The Changing European Landscape*, 1st ed. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 150-160.

Evans, J. and Bairner, A. (2013) Physical education and social class. In: G. Stiddler and S. Hayes, ed., *Equity and Inclusion in Physical Education and Sport*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, pp. 141-156.

Feddersen, A. and Maennig, W. (2005) Trends in Competitive Balance: Is There Evidence for Growing Imbalance in Professional Sport Leagues?. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, pp. 1-19.

Fennell, D. (2018) Pole studios as spaces between the adult entertainment, art, fitness and sporting fields. *Sport in Society*, 21(12), pp. 1957-1973.

Fenoglio, R. and Taylor, W. (2012) From winning-at-all-costs to Give Us Back Our Game: perspective transformation in youth sport coaches. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 19(2), pp. 191-204.

Fitzpatrick, K. (2020) USING BOURDIEU TO UNDERSTAND HEALTH AND EDUCATION. *Social Theory and Health Education: Forging New Insights in Research*, p. 44.

Flannery, D. and Cullinan, J. (2014) Where they go, what they do and why it matters: the importance of geographic accessibility and social class for decisions relating to higher education institution type, degree level and field of study. *Applied Economics*, 46(24), pp. 2952-2965.

Forbes, J. and Weiner, G. (2008) Under-stated powerhouses: Scottish independent schools, their characteristics and their capitals. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 29(4), pp. 509-525.

Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J. and Deakin, J. (2005) Youth sport programs: an avenue to foster positive youth development. *Physical Education & Sport Pedagogy*, 10(1), pp. 19-40.

Frew, M. and McGillivray, D. (2005) Health clubs and body politics: aesthetics and the quest for physical capital. *Leisure Studies*, 24(2), pp. 161-175.

Frey, J. and Eitzen, S. (1991) Sport and Society. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17(1), pp. 503-522.

Friedland, R. (2009) The Endless Fields of Pierre Bourdieu. *Organization*, 16(6), pp. 887-917.

Gammelsæter, H. (2017) Media visibility and place reputation: does sport make a difference?. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 10(3), pp. 288-298.

Gemar, A. (2020) Social capital networks in sports spectatorship and participation. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 1(1).

Giazitzoglu, A. (2019) This Sporting Life : The intersection of hegemonic masculinities, space and emotions among rugby players. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 27(1), pp. 67-81.

Gilleard, C. (2020) Bourdieu's forms of capital and the stratification of later life. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 53, p. 100(8) p. 51.

Giulianotti, R. (2004) *Sport And Modern Social Theorists*. 1st ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Giulianotti, R. (2015) *Routledge Handbook Of The Sociology Of Sport*. 1st ed. Oxford: Routledge.

Giulianotti, R. (2016) *Sport: a critical sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Glaeser, E., Laibson, D. and Sacerdote, B. (2002) An Economic Approach to Social Capital. *The Economic Journal*, 112(483), pp. 437-458.

Gopalakrishnan, S., Scillitoe, J. and Santoro, M. (2008) Tapping Deep Pockets: The Role of Resources and Social Capital on Financial Capital Acquisition by Biotechnology Firms in Biotech-Pharma Alliances. *Journal of Management Studies*, 45(8), pp. 1354-1376.

Gouanvic, J. (2005) A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances. *The Translator*, 11(2), pp. 147-166.

Goulding, A. (2008) Libraries and Cultural Capital. *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 40(4), pp. 3-6.

Goyette, K. and Mullen, A. (2006) Who Studies the Arts and Sciences? Social Background and the Choice and Consequences of Undergraduate Field of Study. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 77(3), pp. 497-538.

Granfield, R. (1991) Making It By Faking It. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 20(3), pp. 331-351.

Green, B. (2005) Building Sport Programs to Optimize Athlete Recruitment, Retention, and Transition: Toward a Normative Theory of Sport Development. *Journal of Sport Management*, 19(3), pp. 233-253.

Green, B. (2008) Sport as an Agent for Social and Personal Change. In: V. Geginov, ed., *Management of Sports Development*, 1st ed. London: Routledge, p. 18.

Green, K., Smith, A. and Roberts, K. (2005) Social Class, Young People, Sport and Physical Education Phys. In: K. Green and K. Hardman, ed., *Physical Education: Essential Issues*, 1st ed. London: Sage.

Green, M. (2007) Olympic glory or grassroots development?: Sport policy priorities in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, 1960 – 2006. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(7), pp. 921-953.

Griffiths, K., Moore, R. and Brunton, J. (2020) Sport and physical activity habits, behaviours and barriers to participation in university students: an exploration by socio-economic group. *Sport, Education and Society*, pp. 1-15.

Hage, G. (2011) Social gravity: Pierre Bourdieu's phenomenological social physics. *Force, movement, intensity: The Newtonian imagination in the social sciences*, pp. 80-92.

Halffman, W. and Leydesdorff, L. (2010) Is Inequality Among Universities Increasing? Gini Coefficients and the Elusive Rise of Elite Universities. *Minerva*, 48(1), pp. 55-72.

Hardiman, L. (2015) *The role of 'lad culture' in University sports teams and its impact on the attitudes and behaviours of male undergraduate students* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Chichester).

Harker, R. (1984) On Reproduction, Habitus and Education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5(2), pp. 117-127.

Hartmann, D. (2003) Theorizing Sport as Social Intervention: A View From the Grassroots. *Quest*, 55(2), pp. 118-140.

Hartmann, M. (2000) Class-Specific Habitus and the Social Reproduction of the Business Elite in Germany and France. *The Sociological Review*, 48(2), pp. 241-261.

Hasbrook, C. (1986) The Sport Participation–Social Class Relationship: Some Recent Youth Sport Participation Data. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 3(2), pp. 154-159.

Hashim, H.A. (2012) Perceived barriers to recreation sport participation in university students: A comparison between international and local students in the United States. *Pertanika journal of social science and humanities*, 20(1), pp. 197-203.

Hemsley-Brown, J. (2014) Getting into a Russell Group university: high scores and private schooling. *British Educational Research Journal*, 41(3), pp. 398-422.

Hilgers, M. and Mangez, E. (2015) *Bourdieu's theory of social fields*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp. 183-199.

Hillebrand, J. and Berg, B. (2000) Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences. *Teaching Sociology*, 28(1), p. 87.

Hill, S., Kerr, R. and Kobayashi, K. (2019) Around the kitchen-table with Bourdieu: understanding the lack of formalization or professionalization of community sports clubs in New Zealand. *Sport in Society*, pp. 1-23.

Hjelm, J. (2017) The Aristocratic Taste for Sport among Swedish Sport Researchers. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 8(1), pp. 1-27.

Hoekman, R., Breedveld, K. and Kraaykamp, G. (2017) Providing for the rich? The effect of public investments in sport on sport (club) participation of vulnerable youth and adults. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, 14(4), pp. 327-347.

- Holm, A. and Jæger, M. (2008) Does Relative Risk Aversion explain educational inequality? A dynamic choice approach. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 26(3), pp. 199-219.
- Holroyd, R. (2002) September. Body work: Physical capital, habitus and the field of school. In *BERA Annual Conference*, pp. 12-14.
- Horne, J., Lingard, B., Weiner, G. and Forbes, J. (2011) 'Capitalizing on sport': sport, physical education and multiple capitals in Scottish independent schools. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 32(6), pp. 861-879.
- Houlihan, B. (2016) Politics, Power, Policy and Sport. In: B. Houlihan and D. Malcolm, ed., *Sport and Society: A Student Introduction*, 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications, pp. 32-57.
- Hovden, J. (2012) Discourses and strategies for the inclusion of women in sport – the case of Norway. *Sport in Society*, 15(3), pp. 287-301.
- Hunter, L. (2004) Bourdieu and the social space of the pe class: Reproduction of doxa through practice. *Sport, Education and Society*, 9(2), 175-192.
- Husu, H. (2013) Bourdieu and Social Movements: Considering Identity Movements in Terms of Field, Capital and Habitus. *Social Movement Studies*, 12(3), pp. 264-279.
- Hyde, K. (2000) Recognising deductive processes in qualitative research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 3(2), pp. 82-90.

Ihlen, O. (2009) On Bourdieu: Public Relations in Field Struggles. In: O. Ihlen, B. van Ruler and M. Fredriksson, ed., *Public Relations and Social Theory*, 1st ed. Oxford, New York: Routledge, pp. 62-82.

Ismer, S., Beyer, M., Solms-Baruth, C. and von Scheve, C. (2015) International football tournaments, emotional entrainment and the reproduction of symbolic boundaries. A case study in Germany. *Soccer & Society*, 18(4), pp. 554-574.

Jaeger, M. (2009) Equal Access but Unequal Outcomes: Cultural Capital and Educational Choice in a Meritocratic Society. *Social Forces*, 87(4), pp. 1943-1971.

Jæger, M. and Holm, A. (2012) Conformists or rebels? Relative risk aversion, educational decisions and social class reproduction. *Rationality and Society*, 24(2), pp. 221-253.

James, C., Brammer, S., Connolly, M., Fertig, M., James, J. and Jones, J. (2011) School Governing Bodies in England Under Pressure: The Effects of Socio-economic Context and School Performance. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 39(4), pp. 414-433.

Jarness, V. (2016) Cultural vs Economic Capital: Symbolic Boundaries within the Middle Class. *Sociology*, 51(2), pp. 357-373.

Jarness, V. and Friedman, S. (2017) 'I'm not a snob, but...': Class boundaries and the downplaying of difference. *Poetics*, 61, pp. 14-25.

Jenkin, C., Eime, R., Westerbeek, H., O'Sullivan, G. and van Uffelen, J. (2016) Are they 'worth their weight in gold'? Sport for older adults: benefits and barriers of their participation for sporting organisations. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 8(4), pp. 663-680.

Johnston, L., Delva, J. and O'Malley, P. (2007) Sports participation and physical education in American secondary schools: current levels and racial/ethnic and socioeconomic disparities. *American journal of preventive medicine*, 33(4), pp. 195-208.

Jones, G. (2002) Performance Excellence: A Personal Perspective on the Link Between Sport and Business. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 14(4), pp. 268-281.

Jones, I. (2015) Research methods for sports studies. 3rd ed. Abingdon: Routledge.

Jones, R. and Armour, K. (2000) *Sociology Of Sport: Theory and Practice*. 1st ed. Harlow, Essex, England: Longman.

Kahma, N. (2010) Sport and social class: The case of Finland. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 47(1), pp. 113-130.

Kalleberg, A. and Griffin, L. (1980) Class, Occupation, and Inequality in Job Rewards. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(4), pp. 731-768.

Karusisi, N., Thomas, F., Méline, J. and Chaix, B. (2013) Spatial accessibility to specific sport facilities and corresponding sport practice: the RECORD Study. *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, 10(1), p. 48.

Kennelly, J. (2016) Symbolic violence and the Olympic Games: low-income youth, social legacy commitments, and urban exclusion in Olympic host cities. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 20(2), pp. 145-161.

Kesenne, S. (2000) Revenue Sharing and Competitive Balance in Professional Team Sports. *Journal of Sports Economics*, 1(1), pp. 56-65.

King, A. (2000) Thinking with Bourdieu against Bourdieu: A 'Practical' Critique of the Habitus. *Sociological Theory*, 18(3), pp. 417-433.

Laberge, S. and Kay, J. (2002) Pierre Bourdieu's sociocultural theory and sport practice. In: M. Joseph and Y. Kevin, ed., *Theory, Sport and Society*, 1st ed. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 240-263.

Lee, E. and Kramer, R. (2012) Out with the Old, In with the New? Habitus and Social Mobility at Selective Colleges. *Sociology of Education*, 86(1), pp. 18-35.

Lee, M. (1997) Geography, the specificity of place and the city habitus. In: J. McGuigan, ed., *Cultural Methodologies*, 1st ed. London: Sage, pp. 126-130.

Lehmann, W. (2007) " I just didn't feel like I fit in": The role of habitus in university dropout decisions. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 37(2).

Le Roux, B., Rouanet, H., Savage, M. and Warde, A. (2008) Class and Cultural Division in the UK. *Sociology*, 42(6), pp. 1049-1071.

Light, R. and Kirk, D. (2001) Australian Cultural Capital - Rugby's Social Meaning: Physical Assets, Social Advantage and Independent Schools. *Culture, Sport, Society*, 4(3), pp. 81-98.

Liston, K. and Moreland, E. (2009) Hockey and Habitus: Sport and National Identity in Northern Ireland. *New Hibernia Review*, 13(4), pp. 127-140.

Lower-Hoppe, L., Beattie, M., Wray, D., Bailey, R., Newman, T. and Farrell, A. (2020) The Relationships Between Sport Club Activities and University and Member Attachment. *Recreational Sports Journal*, 44(1), pp. 5-14.

Lupu, I. and Empson, L. (2015) Illusio and overwork: playing the game in the accounting field. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, 28(8), pp. 1310-1340.

Lynch, K. and O'Riordan, C. (1998) Inequality in Higher Education: a study of class barriers. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 19(4), pp. 445-478.

Mackieson, P., Shlonsky, A. and Connolly, M. (2018) Increasing rigor and reducing bias in qualitative research: A document analysis of parliamentary debates using applied thematic analysis. *Qualitative Social Work*, 18(6), pp. 965-980.

Mackintosh, C. (2011) An analysis of County Sports Partnerships in England: the fragility, challenges and complexity of partnership working in sports development. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 3(1), pp. 45-64.

Mahon, E. (1985) When Is a Difference Not a Difference?: A Reply to J. Murphy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 36(1), p. 73.

Maringe, F. (2006) University and course choice. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 20(6), pp. 466-479.

McElveen, M. and Ibele, K. (2019) Retention and Academic Success of First-Year Student-Athletes and Intramural Sports Participants. *Recreational Sports Journal*, 43(1), pp. 5-11.

Metcalfe, S. (2019) The development of an adolescent sporting gendered habitus: young people's interpretation of UK sports-media coverage of Rio 2016 Olympic Games. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, 16(4), pp. 361-378.

Michetti, M. and Mettenheim, S. (2019) Gender and Symbolic Violence at University Sports Events in São Paulo Brazil. *Cadernos Pagu*, (56).

Mills, C. and Gale, T. (2007) Researching social inequalities in education: towards a Bourdieuan methodology. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(4), pp. 433-447.

Molesworth, M., Nixon, E. and Scullion, R. (2011) *The marketisation of higher education and the student as consumer*. 1st ed. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Moore, J., McNeill, J. and Halliday, S. (2011) Worth the price? Some findings from young people on attitudes to increases in university tuition fees. *Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning*, 13(1), pp. 57-70.

Moore, R. (2013) Capital. In: M. Grenfell, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, pp. 100-110.

Murphy, J. (1981) Class Inequality in Education: Two Justifications, One Evaluation but No Hard Evidence. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 32(2), p. 182.

Mourad, M., Bousleiman, S., Wapner, R. and Gyamfi-Bannerman, C. (2020) Conducting research during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Seminars in Perinatology*, 44(7), p. 151287.

Naidoo, R. (2004) Fields and institutional strategy: Bourdieu on the relationship between higher education, inequality and society. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(4), pp. 457-471.

Nairz-Wirth, E., Feldmann, K. and Spiegl, J. (2017) Habitus conflicts and experiences of symbolic violence as obstacles for non-traditional students. *European Educational Research Journal*, 16(1), pp. 12-29.

Nash, R. (1990) Bourdieu on Education and Social and Cultural Reproduction. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 11(4), pp. 431-447.

Nichols, G., Tacon, R. and Muir, A. (2012) Sports Clubs' Volunteers: Bonding in or Bridging out?. *Sociology*, 47(2), pp. 350-367.

Nicholson, M. and Hoye, R. (2008) *Sport And Social Capital*. 1st ed. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Nielsen, G., Grønfeldt, V., Toftegaard-Støckel, J. and Andersen, L. (2012) Predisposed to participate? The influence of family socio-economic background on children's sports participation and daily amount of physical activity. *Sport in Society*, 15(1), pp. 1-27.

Ohl, F. (2008) Are social classes still relevant to analyse sports groupings in "postmodern" society? An analysis referring to P. Bourdieu's theory. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sport*, 10(3), pp. 146-155.

Okayasu, I., Kawahara, Y. and Nogawa, H. (2010) The relationship between community sport clubs and social capital in Japan: A comparative study between the comprehensive community sport clubs and the traditional community sports clubs. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45(2), pp. 163-186.

Ollivier, M. (2008) REVISITING DISTINCTION. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 1(3), pp. 263-279.

O'Regan, M. (2016) A backpacker habitus: the body and dress, embodiment and the self. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 19(3), pp. 329-346.

Phipps, C. (2020) "We Already Do Enough Around Equality and Diversity": Action Taken by Student Union Officers to Promote LGBT+ Inclusion in University Sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 37(4), pp. 310-318.

Post, E., Green, N., Schaefer, D., Trigsted, S., Brooks, M., McGuine, T., Watson, A. and Bell, D. (2018) Socioeconomic status of parents with children participating on youth club sport teams. *Physical Therapy in Sport*, 32, pp. 126-132.

Pret, T., Shaw, E. and Drakopoulou Dodd, S. (2016) Painting the full picture: The conversion of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. *International Small Business Journal: Researching Entrepreneurship*, 34(8), pp. 1004-1027.

Priest, N., Armstrong, R., Doyle, J. and Waters, E. (2008) Interventions implemented through sporting organisations for increasing participation in sport. *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*.

Prieur, A., Rosenlund, L. and Skjott-Larsen, J. (2008) Cultural capital today: A case study from Denmark. *Poetics*, 36(1), pp. 45-71.

Reay, D., David, M. and Ball, S. (2001) Making a Difference?: Institutional Habituses and Higher Education Choice. *Sociological Research Online*, 5(4), pp. 14-25.

Reay, D., David, M. and Ball, S. (2005) *Degrees of choice: Social class, race, gender and higher education*. First Ed. Stoke-on-Trent, England: Trentham Books Limited.

Reay, D. (2004a) Education and cultural capital: the implications of changing trends in education policies. *Cultural Trends*, 13(2), pp. 73-86.

Reay, D. (2004b) Gendering Bourdieu's concepts of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class. *The sociological review*, pp. 57-74.

Reay, D. (2004c) 'It's all becoming a habitus': beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(4), pp. 431-444.

Reay, D. (2006) The zombie stalking English schools: social class and educational inequality. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 54(3), pp. 288-307.

Reay, D., Crozier, G. and Clayton, J. (2009) 'Strangers in Paradise'? Working-class Students in Elite Universities. *Sociology*, 43(6), pp. 1103-1121.

Reay, D. (2015) Habitus and the psychosocial: Bourdieu with feelings. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 45(1), pp. 9-23.

Reay, D. (2018) Miseducation: inequality, education and the working classes. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 27(4), pp. 453-456.

Reid, G. (2017) A fairytale narrative for community sport? Exploring the politics of sport social enterprise. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 9(4), pp. 597-611.

Richardson, B. (2004) New Consumers and Football Fandom: The Role of Social Habitus in Consumer Behaviour. *Irish Journal of Management*, 25(1), pp. 88-100.

Ridgeway, C. (2013) Why Status Matters for Inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 79(1), pp. 1-16.

Roberts, K. (1996) Young People, Schools, Sport and Government Policies. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1(1), pp. 47-57.

Robbins, D. (2005) The origins, early development and status of Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital'. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56(1), pp. 13-30.

Rutter, R., Roper, S. and Lettice, F. (2016) Social media interaction, the university brand and recruitment performance. *Journal of Business Research*, 69(8), pp. 3096-3104.

Safai, P. (2016) Change Rooms and Change Agents: The struggle against Barriers to Opportunities for Physical Activity and Sport in Ethnocultural Communities in Toronto. In: R. Field, ed., *Playing for Change: The Continuing Struggle for Sport and Recreation*, 1st ed. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, pp. 253-273.

Samuel, C. (2013) Symbolic Violence and Collective Identity: Pierre Bourdieu and the Ethics of Resistance. *Social Movement Studies*, 12(4), pp. 397-413.

Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman, S. and Miles, A. (2013) A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology*, 47(2), pp. 219-250.

Scambler, G. (2005) *Sport And Society*. 1st ed. Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.

Schubert, D. (2012) "Suffering/Symbolic Violence." In *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, edited by Grenfell Michael, 183–198. Stocksfield: Acumen Publishing.

Schwarz, E. (2009) Building a sense of community through sport programming and special events: the role of sport marketing in contributing to social capital. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 7(4), p. 478.

Scott, S., Shucksmith, J., Baker, R. and Kaner, E. (2017) 'Hidden Habitus': A Qualitative Study of Socio-Ecological Influences on Drinking Practices and Social Identity in Mid-Adolescence. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 14(6), p. 611.

Seabra, A., Mendonça, D., Thomis, M., Peters, T. and Maia, J. (2008) Associations between sport participation, demographic and socio-cultural factors in Portuguese children and adolescents. *European journal of public health*, 18(1), pp. 25-30.

Sharpe, E. (2006) Resources at the Grassroots of Recreation: Organizational Capacity and Quality of Experience in a Community Sport Organization. *Leisure Sciences*, 28(4), pp. 385-401.

Shilling, C. (1991) Educating the Body: Physical Capital and the Production of Social Inequalities. *Sociology*, 25(4), pp. 653-672.

Shilling, C. (1992) Schooling and the Production of Physical Capital. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 13(1), pp. 1-19.

Shilling, C. (2007) Sociology and the Body: Classical Traditions and New Agendas. *The Sociological Review*, 55(1), pp. 1-18.

Skille, E. (2007) The Norwegian sporting field reconsidered – the application of Bourdieu's field theory on a pluralistic and blurred world. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, 4(2), pp. 103-115.

Skille, E. (2008) Understanding Sport Clubs as Sport Policy Implementers. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 43(2), pp. 181-200.

Slevitch, L. (2011) Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies Compared: Ontological and Epistemological Perspectives. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism*, 12(1), pp. 73-81.

Smith, A., Haycock, D. and Hulme, N. (2013) The Class of London 2012: Some Sociological Reflections on the Social Backgrounds of Team GB Athletes. *Sociological Research Online*, 18(3), pp. 158-162.

Solvberg, L. and Jarness, V. (2018) "Class, Body and Culture: Physical Activity and Symbolic Boundaries in the Upper Class." *Tidsskrift For Samfunnsforskning* 59(1), pp. 5-25.

Spaaij, R. (2009) The glue that holds the community together? Sport and sustainability in rural Australia. *Sport in Society*, 12(9), pp. 1132-1146.

Spaaij, R., Farquharson, K. and Marjoribanks, T. (2015) Sport and Social Inequalities. *Sociology Compass*, 9(5), pp. 400-411.

Spence, L., Schmidpeter, R. and Habisch, A. (2003) Assessing Social Capital: Small and Medium Sized Enterprises in Germany and the U.K. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 47(1), pp. 17-29.

Sport England. (2018) *Tackling Inactivity And Economic Disadvantage* | Sport England. [online] Sport England. Available at: <https://www.sportengland.org/campaigns-and-our-work/tackling-inactivity-and-economic-disadvantage> [Accessed 11 January 2021].

Steenhuis, I., Nooy, S., Moes, M. and Schuit, A. (2009) Financial Barriers and Pricing Strategies Related to Participation in Sports Activities: The Perceptions of People of Low Income. *Journal of Physical Activity and Health*, 6(6), pp. 716-721.

Stempel, C. (2005) Adult Participation Sports as Cultural Capital. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(4), pp. 411-432.

Stempel, C. (2006) Gender, Social Class, and the Sporting Capital–Economic Capital Nexus. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 23(3), pp. 273-292.

Stuij, M. (2015) Habitus and social class: a case study on socialisation into sports and exercise. *Sport, Education and Society*, 20(6), pp. 780-798.

Sulkunen, P. (1982) Society Made Visible - on the Cultural Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. *Acta Sociologica*, 25(2), pp. 103-115.

Sullivan, A. (2001) Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment. *Sociology*, 35(04), pp. 893-912.

Sullivan, A. (2002) Bourdieu and education: How useful is Bourdieu's theory for researchers?. *Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 38(2), pp. 144-166.

Taminiau, Y. and Wiersma, A. (2016) The process of trust creation between business partners at the golf course: a long-term process. *International Journal of Strategic Business Alliances*, 5(3/4), p. 245.

Teetzel, S. (2013) The Onus of Inclusivity: Sport Policies and the Enforcement of the Women's Category in Sport. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 41(1), pp. 113-127.

The Sutton Trust. (2019) *Elitist Britain 2019: The Educational Backgrounds Of Britain's Leading People*. London.

The Sutton Trust. (2020) *Educational Backgrounds Of Olympic Medallists - Sutton Trust*.
[online] Available at:
<<https://www.suttontrust.com/our-research/education-backgrounds-of-olympic-medallists/>>
[Accessed 12 October 2020].

Throsby, D. (1999) Cultural Capital. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23(1), pp. 3-12.

Tomlinson, A. (2004) Pierre Bourdieu and the sociological study of sport: Habitus, capital and field. *Sport and modern social theorists*, pp. 161-172.

Tozer, M. (2013) 'One of the Worst Statistics in British Sport, and Wholly Unacceptable': The Contribution of Privately Educated Members of Team GB to the Summer Olympic Games, 2000–2012. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30(12), pp. 1436-1454.

Triventi, M. (2011) Stratification in Higher Education and Its Relationship with Social Inequality: A Comparative Study of 11 European Countries. *European Sociological Review*, 29(3), pp. 489-502.

Triventi, M. (2013) The role of higher education stratification in the reproduction of social inequality in the labor market. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 32, pp. 45-63.

Vaismoradi, M., Jones, J., Turunen, H. and Snelgrove, S. (2016) Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice*, 6(5)

Van de Werfhorst, H. (2010) Cultural capital: strengths, weaknesses and two advancements. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(2), pp. 157-169.

Van de Werfhorst, H. and Hofstede, S. (2007) Cultural capital or relative risk aversion? Two mechanisms for educational inequality compared. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58(3), pp. 391-415.

Van de Werfhorst, H., Sullivan, A. and Cheung, S. (2003) Social Class, Ability and Choice of Subject in Secondary and Tertiary Education in Britain. *British Educational Research Journal*, 29(1), pp. 41-62.

Vickers, E. and Morris, R. (2021) Pathway decisions during the student-athlete transition out of university in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, pp. 1-22.

Wacquant, L. (2004) Following Pierre Bourdieu into the field. *Ethnography*, 5(4), pp. 387-414.

Wakeling, P. and Savage, M. (2015) Elite Universities, Elite Schooling and Reproduction in Britain. In: A. van Zanten, S. Ball and B. Darchy-Koechlin, ed., *Elites, Privilege and Excellence*, 1st ed. Oxford: Routledge, pp. 168-185.

Warde, A. (2006). Cultural capital and the place of sport. *Cultural Trends*, 15(2), 107-122.

Washington, R. and Karen, D. (2001) Sport and Society. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), pp. 187-212.

Weinberg, R. and McDermott, M. (2002) A Comparative Analysis of Sport and Business Organizations: Factors Perceived Critical for Organizational Success. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 14(4), pp. 282-298.

Weininger, E. (2002) 'Pierre Bourdieu on social class and symbolic violence', In: Wright, E. (ed.) *Alternative Foundations of Class Analysis*. Cambridge: University press, pp. 119-130.

Whigham, S., Hobson, M., Batten, J. and White, A. (2020) Reproduction in physical education, society and culture: the physical education curriculum and stratification of social class in England. *Sport, Education and Society*, 25(5), pp. 493-506.

White, P. and Wilson, B. (1999) DISTINCTIONS IN THE STANDS. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 34(3), pp. 245-264.

Widdop, P. and Cutts, D. (2013) Social Stratification and Sports' Participation in England. *Leisure Sciences*, 35(2), pp. 107-128.

Wijtzes, A., Jansen, W., Bouthoorn, S., Pot, N., Hofman, A., Jaddoe, V. and Raat, H. (2014) Social inequalities in young children's sports participation and outdoor play. *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, 11(1).

Williams, B., Hay, P. and Macdonald, D. (2011) The outsourcing of health, sport and physical educational work: a state of play. *Physical Education & Sport Pedagogy*, 16(4), pp. 399-415.

Williams, S. (1995) Theorising class, health and lifestyles: can Bourdieu help us?. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 17(5), pp. 577-604.

Wilson, T.C. (2002) The paradox of social class and sports involvement: The roles of cultural and economic capital. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 37(1), pp. 5-16.

Wiltshire, G., Lee, J. and Williams, O. (2019) Understanding the reproduction of health inequalities: physical activity, social class and Bourdieu's habitus. *Sport, Education and Society*, 24(3), pp. 226-240.

Wood, B. (2013) Participatory capital: Bourdieu and citizenship education in diverse school communities. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 35(4), pp. 578-597.

Wynne, D. (1998) *Leisure, Lifestyle and the New Middle Class*. 1st ed. London: Routledge.

Yang, Y. (2013) Bourdieu, Practice and Change: Beyond the criticism of determinism. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 46(14), pp. 1522-1540.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Questionnaire Template

Socio-economic background and class status in university sports

This questionnaire contains some questions which require short, one-word answers, as well as some questions which require a more expansive, longer answer. It should take around 15-20 minutes to complete. Below you will find a list of definitions for any terms you may be unfamiliar with.

DEFINITIONS:

CAPITAL - Used to describe the many types of power that are possible. For example, having money is seen as economic capital, being popular/having social power is seen as social capital, and having knowledge/skills is seen as cultural capital.

HABITUS - Encapsulates an individual's thought processes, likes and dislikes, and the way they conduct themselves – through the clothes they wear, the way they act, and the way they talk to people.

FIELD - A specific area of practice – part of the rest of society and at the same time its own world – governed by its own set of internal, socially structured rules. Examples include a sports setting such as a football pitch, yet also an institution, such as a university.

University Information: The following questions are about the university you attend/work for, and the competitiveness and success of its sports teams and athletes.

Which university are you a student/employee of?

How many sports clubs does your university currently have?

How many of these sports clubs have teams that compete in BUCS (British University and College Sport) competitions?

Of these teams/individuals, how many were league, cup, or competition winners in the last completed year in BUCS competitions?

Where did your university finish in the latest BUCS points table overall?

Which club at your university has the most members, and how many does it have?

Which club at your university has the least members, and how many does it have?

Approximately how many scholarships/funding packages does your university provide to student athletes?

Socio-economic Background: This section asks questions about the socio-economic status of students at your university, based on geographical information and education.

Which 3 areas of the UK provide the highest percentage of students at your university?
(Please list the approximate percentages for each area)

Approximately what percentage of the students at your university attended a private school?

Capital: This section is aimed at understanding the different types of capital present within the sports teams at your university.

Economic Capital - please list the 5 sports teams with the highest economic capital (the richest clubs, and those who have the most money spent on them), with the highest at the top.

Economic Capital - please explain your reasoning for your answers to the question above.

Social Capital - please list the 5 sports teams who you believe to have the highest social capital (the most well known clubs, well known members, and influence in social activities), with the highest at the top.

Social Capital - please explain the reasoning for your answers to the question above.

Cultural Capital - please list the 5 sports teams who you believe to have the highest cultural capital (knowledge and skill sets which are likely to lead to a higher social status), with the highest at the top.

Cultural Capital - please explain the reasoning for your answers to the question above.

Field(s): The next questions are about the sporting environments of the university, and the types of capital within them.

Field(s) - what sporting 'fields' / settings are evident at your university? These include things such as physical facilities (e.g an AstroTurf), as well as areas that clubs use for socialising purposes.

In each of the fields that you have listed, which sports club do you believe has the most economic capital?

In each of the fields that you have listed, which sports club do you believe has the most social capital?

In each of the fields that you have listed, which sports club do you believe has the most cultural capital?

Habitus: This section is aimed at understanding the behaviour of the athletes, and their opinions on other sports, as well as their own teammates

Habitus - please discuss any particular habitus that you associate with specific sports. For example, this may be a way that a certain team dresses, or traits that are typical of specific sports clubs.

In your opinion, do athletes in the sports teams at your university judge/view other sports based on their background and class status?

In your opinion, do athletes in the sports teams at your university judge/view their own team mates based on their background and class status?

Socio-economic Associations: This last section is about whether any sports stand out as having particular associations to a certain class or background.

Out of the sports teams at your university, are there any which you believe have a particular association to a class level or type of background?

Do you have any other thoughts regarding the sporting department at your university, in relation to socio-economic background or class status?

Interview/Focus Group Sign Up: Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. If you would like to be included in the follow up interview/focus group element of this study, please leave your email address below. Please note it is not guaranteed that you will be selected for the follow up part of the study - participants will be purposefully selected based on their responses to questions. If you do not wish to be included in this follow up part of the study, then please ignore this question. Remember to click submit at the end of this questionnaire.

Email Address:

Appendix 2 - Interview Script

Interview Script - semi-structured:

The interviews and focus groups will use a semi-structured interview format, as can be seen below. Some prompts and follow ups may be used based on the participants' responses.

Thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire, and for agreeing to take part in this follow up interview/focus group.

In this interview/focus group we will be discussing ...TOPIC OF INTERVIEW..., and I'll be asking a few further questions in relation to your questionnaire responses.

Before we get started, do you have any questions or comments?

If possible could you explain to me a little more about your university sport department, and the set up of the sports clubs. What do you think the differences are/Can you explain the differences that you see compared to how other university sports are set up?

Main/overarching question to start: What socio-economic associations can be made between certain backgrounds and certain sports? If yes, why? If no, why? And which sports have you seen this in?

How/In which ways do you think that socio-economic background and class status have an effect on athlete success?

How/In which ways do you think that these factors affect how athletes feel towards each other? For example, do they view team mates based on their background? And do they view other sports in this way?

Have you seen evidence/What examples of capital, field, and habitus interacting at your university have you seen?

Do you believe that the sports at your university with the most capital are the same as at other universities?

Do you believe that/In what ways does the habitus seen in specific sports teams at your university is the same as at/compare to other universities?

Appendix 3 - Email Template

Email (to be sent to Sports/Athletic Union Presidents):

To whom it may concern,

I am emailing you as the president of your Sports/Athletic Union. If this is not the correct contact, please forward this onto the relevant person if possible. I am a MA by Research student at Oxford Brookes University, conducting a research study into the influence socio-economic background and class status have on established university sports.

In order to complete the research, I am using a questionnaire to obtain an overview of the sporting set up at UK universities. I am aiming to understand the influence class and background have on the sports athletes play at university, by asking questions regarding sports clubs' success levels and membership numbers, class status, and socio-economic background. As a result of these questionnaires, some participants will also be invited to further focus groups or interviews, to discuss certain aspects of the responses.

If you would like to take part in this study, the link to the questionnaire is below. If you would like more information, please reply to this email. If you wish to not take part, then you do not need to do anything.

Kind regards,
Harry Spinks

<https://forms.gle/4wduj2XiA5wwn2r17>

Appendix 4 - Participant Information Sheet



You can't sit with us: Habitus, Capital and Socio-economic background in the established status of certain university sports

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the present study is to understand the role that socio-economic background and class have in influencing the sports played by student athletes at university. Using a nationwide sample, the aims of the study are to understand whether these factors determine the sports athletes choose to participate in, their levels of success in those chosen sports, and the opinions athletes have regarding their teammates. The differing behaviour and mannerisms of athletes in different sports will also be explored.

The study will be conducted using online methods due to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, namely via questionnaires and interviews/focus groups. Sports/Athletics Union Presidents from a range of universities will be invited to give feedback on their sports teams, through questionnaires. Responses to these questionnaires will be followed up with online interviews or focus groups, to gather qualitative information.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to participate as you are a Sports/Athletics Union President or Captain in university sport. Roughly 100-150 other individuals in similar positions to this have also been invited to participate in this study.

Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part - it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this research study. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet along with a privacy notice that will explain how your data will be collected and used, and will be asked to give your consent. If you do decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

As a student, your decision to take part or to not take part will have no impact on your marks, assessments, or future studies. If you are no longer a student, this choice will have no impact on any current or future employment.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you choose to take part, your responses to the questionnaire will be recorded anonymously. The questionnaire itself should take 20-30 minutes to complete. The questionnaire will involve a small amount of demographic information, but will focus more on long answer, qualitative questions. Participants will be asked to provide their email address if they are willing to take part in the interviews/focus groups. A selection of these participants will be purposefully selected for follow-up interviews/focus groups. This means that you are able to opt out of the follow-up parts of the study if you wish to do so, by not leaving your email address. To clarify, not all participants who leave their email address will be picked for the follow-up section of the study. As long as participants' permission is given, interviews and focus groups will be both audio and visually recorded, and a transcript will be taken. Interviews and focus groups will take roughly 30 minutes to

1 hour to complete. They will involve further discussion regarding responses to questions in the questionnaire, and any interesting themes will be analysed.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

The only disadvantages involved in taking part in the study are the time commitments required, such as filling out the questionnaire and the interview/focus group with the researcher.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The benefits of taking part in the study are the potential implications the research has for the field, which include practical applications within university settings. It is possible the findings of the study will further our understanding of socio-economic background and class status in sport, specifically in university sports.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected will be kept strictly confidential, and your responses will be made anonymous. For example, questionnaire responses may be coded, so the first response will simply be listed as participant 1. Responses to the questionnaire will be saved in Google Drive, as this uses encryption in a password-protected software. The University also has a security agreement with Google. Please note: the process of creating anonymous data will be reversible, purely for the purpose of contacting you, should you be invited to an interview/focus group. The only individuals with access to this will be the researcher, the supervisor, and the director of studies. Any data generated by this study will be retained in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity and will be stored securely for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project.

See GDPR form here: <https://forms.gle/N95d1dUoUm3V7xwm9>

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you want to take part in the study, please contact **Harry Spinks** (researcher) by emailing 17063417@brookes.ac.uk.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research study will be used for the purpose of a thesis, for a Masters by Research in the Sociology of Sport. A copy of the findings will be made available to any participants who wish to see them.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is being conducted as a student at Oxford Brookes University, in the Department of Sport, Health Sciences and Social Work. The overall Faculty is Health and Life Sciences.

Who has reviewed the study?

The research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, Oxford Brookes University.

Contact for Further Information

For further information, please contact Harry Spinks (researcher) by emailing 17063417@brookes.ac.uk, or Stuart Whigham (supervisor) by emailing swhigham@brookes.ac.uk. If you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

CONSENT FORM

Full title of Project: You can't sit with us: Habitus, Capital and Socio-economic background in the established status of certain university sports

Harry Spinks (researcher) - 17063417@brookes.ac.uk
Stuart Whigham (supervisor) - swhigham@brookes.ac.uk
Adam Bibbey (director of studies) - abibbey@brookes.ac.uk

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

☐

3. I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

Please initial box

Yes

No

4. I agree to the interview / focus group / being audio recorded

5. I agree to the interview / focus group / consultation being video recorded

☐☐

6. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications

☐☐☐☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix 6 - Quantitative Data Collection

University/Participant	No. of Clubs	BUCS Teams	BUCS Percentage	BUCS Winning Teams	BUCS win percentage	BUCS Table Position	Club with Most Members	Club with Least Members	Schools	Private School Attendance
	35	28	80%	5	17.86%	63	Men's Football - 182	Ultimate Frisbee - 9	20	1%
	70	55	78.57%	8	14.55%	56	Men's Football - 176	Ultimate Frisbee - 10	6	7.50%
	78	47	60.26%	N/A	N/A	12	N/A	N/A	N/A	38%
	24	20	83.33%	5	25%	122	Men's Football - 80-100	Women's Cricket - 10	0	12%
	8	5	62.50%	3	60%	104	Men's Football - 56	Netball - 9	2	14%
	34	31	91.18%	10	32.26%	35	Hockey - 100	Table Tennis - 6	25	29%
	43	23	53.49%	17	73.91%	61	Yoga - 95	Trampolining - 3	4	11%
	24	22	91.67%	13	59.09%	45	Athletics - 120	Table Tennis - 50	50	5.80%

								4		
	63	46	73.02 %	14	30.43%	18	Kickboxing and Krav maga - 350	Aikido - 15-20	20	18.30%
	42	21	50%	10	47.62%	35	Dance - 170	Aikido - 9	80	5%
	28	11	39.29 %	2	18.18%	95	Archery - 87	Equestria n - 8	10	0.80%
	57	38	66.67 %	N/A	N/A	17	Swimming and Waterpolo - unknown	N/A	N/A	12.00%
	29	29	100.0 0%	6	20.69%	52	Rugby Union - 62	Cycling - 3	30	10.00%
	28	18	64.29 %	2	11.11%	N/A	Cheerleading - 158	Thai Boxing - 8	0	1.20%
	41	18	43.90 %	11	61.11%	49	Cheerleading - 97	Cycling - 16	30	2.10%
	16	16	100.0 0%	2	12.50%	N/A	Football - 69	Badminto n - 4	17	1.30%
	68	39	57.35 %	N/A	N/A	14	Lacrosse - 255	N/A	N/A	14.20%
	60	15	25.00 %	0	0.00%	50	Rugby - 100	Snooker - 10-20	N/A	5%
	22	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.40%
AVERA GE	40.5 3	26.7 8								
			68%	6.8	32.29%	51.75	135.44	8.77	21	10%

Appendix 7 - Interview Transcript Example

names of universities and places have been blanked to maintain anonymity

TRANSCRIPTION - [REDACTED]

Interviewer: So thank you very much for taking part in the questionnaire, and agreeing to this interview, I really appreciate your time.

Participant: That's alright!

Interviewer: Have you got any questions before we start?

Participant: No.

Interviewer: What we'll do is start off by asking you a few generic questions about socio-economic background, and then we'll move on to some of the specifics of your answers to some of the questions. So to start off with, if you can just tell me a bit about the sports department at [REDACTED], the setup, how much autonomy the sports clubs have, that kind of thing.

Participant: So there's three of us who run it, so obviously I'm sort of the lead on it, and then there's three of us who run the sports clubs basically, on the day to day, there's me as sports officer, there's a sports and activities coordinator, and then there's the student activities manager, who has to split his time between sports clubs and societies, so there's three of us, but sometimes it feels like two and a half when he's splitting his time. Really, to offer 29 clubs the level we do, we're doing pretty well. Our sports department isn't big enough for what we offer. The clubs have autonomy to an extent, but obviously we control their central budgets, we control any spending, we arrange their fixtures for them.

Obviously if they want to go out and arrange a friendly against X uni that's fine, but they then have to tell us, and we have to book it in and book their transport and stuff like that. They have autonomy over certain things, so they can raise money for who they want to, they can get X, Y, and Z sponsors, but on the whole they're sort of governed by us. We do that because when people are club captains they tend to be third year and they have dissertations and stuff going on, and if they're suddenly running this whole sports club and are managing all these budgets and have all this responsibility, and it's all on them, we just don't think it's the right way to do it necessarily, we think it's better if we have overall autonomy of the teams.

Interviewer: Okay, and how much involvement is there from the student's union, or is it all kind of the sports centre?

Participant: It's all student union. So, all our BUCS sports and everything like that is run by three people in the student's union.

Interviewer: And how many similarities or differences do you see compared to other university sport departments in your own setup?

Participant: It's hard because everyone in the [REDACTED] seems to have a better backing, a better system of working, more funding, and we just feel like we don't! Our uni a little bit, and I've voiced this in other spaces, we feel our uni get involved when it's one of three teams, and because they're in a premier league, or if something goes wrong. We are hoping, or there is supposedly going to be a shift in positions, and some more hiring going on. But yeah, our support from the uni is minimal, and with the three of us, we just about get by. Our ultimate goal between the three of us, we're the wrong size set up to be a Bath or a Loughborough or anything like that where you want to win everything, we have some really elite students and that's fantastic and we'll support them as much as we can, but we're very much get as many students playing sport on a wednesday as we can. We don't

want to have to cut down our BUCS teams because between the three of us it's too difficult a package to give, so actually it's a difficult balance.

Interviewer: So with the sport, is it more participation based compared to target based?

Participant: Yeah, yeah. So with BUCS obviously we have some teams who do put more into it because they have links, so our rugby team is a prem team, our rugby league team has got lots of schools and international lads in it who were playing championship and league 1 for rugby league, and our netball team has got the link to 7 stars. So those are our sort of three prem clubs, and there are people from those clubs who are targeting careers from that sport. And then obviously you do get the odd standout from the other sports, so for instance at the weekend we had one of our hockey girls playing England unis, captaining one of the England unis sides. We've got people dotted around, so for example in our women's rugby we've got like four elite players surrounded by people who just fancied having a go, so it's finding that balance. Obviously it would be lovely to be able to go here's a load of money, you're elite, go and be elite, but I suppose yeah, in the very basic sense, it is more participation based than target based.

Interviewer: Okay, and then just the main overarching question I want to start with is what kind of socio-economic associations can be made between certain sports and certain backgrounds at [REDACTED]?

Participant: It's difficult, because I suppose I don't often see it, but it's the usual isn't it. Football is obviously for everyone, and people kick off sometimes, arguing about 'oh why do you only provide for the popular sports' and it's not the popular sports, it's the easy to facilitate sports, so with football you need a ball and some posts, with rugby you need a ball and some posts, like these sports are incredibly easy to facilitate. And that's why more people play them, and that's why some people are like oh they get to do everything. In varsity we had a big argument with our equestrian club because we couldn't put them in it,

due to a reduced schedule and cause of covid, there has to be at one of our own or a partner facility, over a certain cost point they won't provide for it, and it was the same for rowing and they were just like yeah we get it, but it cause a lot of arguments, cause equestrian were like ooh, you're just looking after the popular clubs, you're not looking after all your students. But we are because, next year, you need a club to come back to! But there's that socio-economic kicker where some sports people look at and just think you need to be rich so your rowing, your equestrian, and then there's those middle class sports, so your football, your rugby, and then you've got cricket floating somewhere in the middle where people always make assumptions about poshness and wealth, and I'm like hmm, you've obviously never played cricket then! I don't think there's any specifically here, where people are like that group over there are this this this, it's just that general overarching view of certain sports.

Interviewer: Yeah, cricket seems to be a weird one! People seem to have different assumptions to others about it?

Participant: Yeah, but I think once you start playing you realise no one's that posh, everyone's a bit of a lunatic, it's just looking at it from the outside that everyone is like oh, posh game!

Interviewer: And how do you think that any class status and background links do affect athletes' success?

Participant: I think it is difficult because I think that whole you have to have money to succeed in certain sports sort of rings true of all sports, because if you want to succeed you have to chuck money at it. At some level somehow you have to chuck money at it. And whether it comes from your parents or from you, it has to come from somewhere, and I think just as a general point, more needs to be done in this country to level that playing field. Just because you're from the council estate and can barely afford your food for the

week, doesn't mean you deserve the chance to play sport any less than someone who's been brought up in a 5-star gated home. That gap needs to be closed, because the drive and the passion and the mentality, the skill levels and the talent that come out of some of those places, the reactions those people get are horrendous, and it's disgraceful that somewhere along the line you have to launch money at it to succeed. Money shouldn't be a barrier to sport, money shouldn't be a barrier to success sort of across the board, full stop.

Interviewer: And following on from that, is there anything that [REDACTED] have implemented to try and change that or challenge that?

Participant: So obviously we've got scholarships, so if you can prove you're an elite level athlete, coach, or official, you can go on a scholarship of varying tiers. That's just a bit of extra money that comes back to you. Obviously you have to compete in BUCS for us, and compete in competitions etc, but that money covers travel and things like that. One of the lads who plays rugby league plays for the West Wales Raiders every week, so he has to go back there for training twice a week, and back there for match days, so obviously he's on a contract and stuff, but at the start he wasn't, so without that scholarship input and that extra money, where he can then be like okay that's my petrol for the year, that would then be a massive struggle for him to be able to support himself and sustain himself whilst he's at university, so the scholarship programmes are really helpful. So, I was on a scholarship programme, and I was just on a really low level one, for officiating, but that knowledge that at every point in the year I'm going to get that money, it just covers me for any rugby game I've then got to go and referee anywhere. Because that should do me for the year, and that's good cause it means if I need to pop home or anything, it covers me. But there again, obviously there's an element of that that becomes elitist, because you have to prove you're good enough to get the scholarship. As an SU we help out where we can on a case by case basis, if it's a case that someone can't pay at the start then we do what we can to get everyone involved. Obviously it's difficult because as an SU with little

support from the university, we need that membership money to facilitate the club, and it's such a hard counterbalance for us. And this is why I wish we had some of the money that other unis do, cause we could have a hardship fund pot, so if people can show us actually this is gonna be really difficult for me, we'll cover your membership. And then from that pot we would just put a membership amount into the club. That would be the kind of thing I'd love to be able to do, because then that would remove all barriers, and that's what we all want to do isn't it, remove all barriers from sport.

Interviewer: And how do you think those factors affect how athletes feel towards each other, so teammates and other teams as well?

Participant: There's definitely some animosity sometimes, and I've seen it, so I grew up playing cricket, and all the lads who get into minor counties and things like that, people look at them and go, ooh you're at this college and you're at this place and you're at this place, you're at this private school. And there's always a bit of the feeling of are you actually that good, or is it just cause you're at that school. So we've got some guy for my team back home, who would absolutely do a job in minor counties, but have never been looked at, because they're either at the wrong club, because there's certain clubs people like to look at, or didn't go to a private school. And we're playing against the lads who are in the minor counties, so they're in our league, so it's nothing to do with what league you're in, and sometimes you just look at them and think you're not all that are you. And there's that animosity of actually you've got here because you've launched money at it. Or you're in the right circles, or you went to the right school, and it goes back to what I said about living in star-gated homes, if you're good enough then there shouldn't be any barriers. If you put in the work, you deserve to be there. So yeah, 100% there's a bit of animosity of are you actually good enough or can you just afford it.

Interviewer: Okay, and in the questionnaire how clear were the concepts, so capital, habitus and field, were they all clear?

Participant: Yeah, yeah, it was all pretty clear actually. I suppose it was just about how I can apply it to here, and just trying to work through it in my head. And how it all levels out and stuff, I think a little bit of it is you're so in your own institution that you almost don't see it. I've been here six years now with my degrees and then two years in office, and sometimes I think it doesn't click, so it was really hard to sort of sit down and actually think.

Interviewer: How much do you actually see those kinds of factors interacting, so it's a bit of a weird question, but do you see a certain field that has certain habitus, or a certain field that has more capital than another?

Participant: I genuinely think we've got quite a level balance here across the board, I think it's pretty even. Most people interact with most people, we've got people in almost every club from different socio-economic backgrounds, because we can stagger memberships so you only buy a social and training membership, and if you get picked for a match you only pay a match fee, and borrow someone's kit on the day, rather than having your own. And then there's people who at the start of the year will sort of go here's all my cash, give me everything, the full membership. Even with things like rowing and equestrian, there's people who will come to uni and think I want to give that a try, and will just pay a base level membership which means they get less access than the other ones obviously, but they get to see if they can row or ride a horse. There are obviously some divides, but we're pretty good here in terms of people interacting. Obviously there are some clubs who don't like each other, rugby league and union don't like each other, netball and cheer don't like each other, but apart from that, we're pretty good.

Interviewer: Yeah, okay, that's good. And now some more specific questions about your responses to the questionnaire. So I noticed that every club is entered into BUCS, and I

think you're one of the first people I've spoken to with that, so is that something you always do so every single club always has a team in BUCS?

Participant: All 29 of our sports clubs are in BUCS yeah. People from those clubs will enter into the leagues or the individual competitions. The way it works here, I mean some teams are in the BUCS equivalent, so cheer are in, I can't remember what it's called, but some are in BUCS equivalents. So you start off as a society, even if it's a sports-based society, and then you can move across to being a sport after a year or two years. If you don't want to compete in BUCS you tend to stay as a society, because then we can just keep the management of those very separate. We are so full on, our week runs Thursday to Wednesday basically, as soon as those finish we're onto Thursday and we're planning the next week's fixtures. And it sounds bad, but because we're so like that, it limits our ability to do some of the recreational stuff we'd love to do. So they are societies, but the thing with societies is that they have a bit more management of themselves - we still have to sign off spending and stuff, but if we had a rounders club let's say, and they were a society, they could contact x, y, and z university and say do you want to have a game of rounders, and they can plan all that, and then they just need to come to us and say can we do this. And then it's just a case of them saying oh we need a bus for this, and we look and see they don't have that in the account, so it's just a case of can everyone pay us a £2 fee. So all our sports clubs are in BUCS - one of the key things for being a sports club is that you want to compete.

Interviewer: And then about club size, so rugby union is obviously the biggest, and then cycling is the smallest I think you said, so is that representative of the demographic at the university?

Participant: I think it's just representative of, like I said, the sports are just easy to facilitate, and people have grown up all their life doing it. They're the first things people pick up as a kid. For example, lots of kids get bought one of those floaty footballs, and you're just

kicking it around your garden! It's the same with little rugby balls, it's 50p or whatever for that, and it's just the fact you need so little, you just need the ball, you can make goalposts, you can make try lines. I think that is why those sports will always be the biggest ones. Even in netball, you can do so much with just the ball, you can do lots of practice and fun stuff without actually shooting. I think it's just to do with the sports that are most accessible. Cycling has the least members because, I mean lots of people go out and cycle and ride a bike, but to try and get to elite level of cycling, that's hard! It takes time, it takes your body to just go, nope lactic acid off you go! It's also one of those sports where people will watch the Tour de France in the summer and ride around the roads for a bit, but when it actually comes to putting in those 100 mile rides, or to go to your velodrome, it's just not as popular at the competition level. Having said that, the ones we do have are very good! When they leave for BUCS, we'll have a little chat about what they're hoping to get out of it, and they'll say they're going to win! Swimming, over the last few years we've not had that many, but they'll go to BUCS and come back with 6 medals! And they'll come back with bronze and say I should have won, and you'll think, you've just gone and got bronze at BUCS nationals. That's very very good, I love that mentality, but give yourself a break, you've just got a bronze medal! Even some of our smaller clubs, a lot of them are merged, so people from waterpolo can obviously swim well, so they go and try swimming, and see if they can do well at BUCS nationals. The set up is, you've got a couple of elite people at the top, but the set up is so, success-driven but fun-driven at the same time, that it takes people from here to here very quickly. And it's just really cool to watch it happen without chucking loads of money at the club, they're just using what they've got. I don't think numbers make a massive difference in terms of which sports are more successful, I think it's just a case of which sports across the land are more popular. If you walk into almost any university in this country, the three most signed up to sports will almost definitely be football, rugby, and netball.

Interviewer: A question about scholarships, obviously you've touched on them already, and you said you have sort of 30 athlete based, and then more including coaches, other than finances what do they sort of gain from those scholarships?

Participant: So there's a lead to the department, she's really good, she seems to know everyone's name. It shows they really care, and they try to bring the best out of you. So there's an athlete lead, a coaching lead, and an officiating lead, and the officiating lead is a former rugby union world cup referee, so we then get one-to-one interaction with them. They bring in psychologists, they bring in nutritionists, but then also, we get premiership referees every week, we get so much insight. I think it's testament to the officiating programme that three guys have now gone on to referee. You've got three guys who have graduated in the last few years who have gone to referee, and it normally stays at about 15 people each year, so for 3 people to have become elite level referees, it's pretty cool. You get so much put into you that you don't even realise it. We sit there in sessions and look at game tape, and it's the same thing in the athletes' one and the coaches' one. In the athletes one there's more about career management and making choices, but the amount of input you get is incredible.

Interviewer: And then you mentioned the private school percentage is around 10%, does it feel like that is the case? Or does it feel higher or lower?

Participant: It's quite accurate. It just feels, you wouldn't know. Obviously there's a few you know who went to them, because they've come out playing x, y, and z, and they're often on scholarships, but you wouldn't get it from their character. I know that's a horrible thing to say, but you know normally you can pick it up? It's a very very low percentage, but I think it's also the kind of uni we are. I'll use the words working class uni, you know, people come here to sports degrees and physiotherapy, media degrees which are massively growing. We don't offer private school degrees, people don't come here to do medicine, people do get law degrees and business degrees, but they're not very common here.

They're not the big ones, they're not the Russell Groups like the Bristols or Oxfords, or one of the law schools. That's nothing against the size of the uni, we used to be a polytechnic and we've only recently become a proper university. We're on the up - we're a very very good working class university, but we're a working class university.

Interviewer: And about kind of fundraising and sponsorship, I think this was in the economic capital question, what do rugby and women's hockey do so well to gain this financial backing?

Participant: Rugby are just unbelievable at fundraising for charity, and because they do all this work for charity, sponsors are like you look like a good person to be attached to, and join them. They're also really good at using what they have in the club, so three of their sponsors this year are family run businesses from members in their club, who have all agreed to sponsor them across the year for £1000. So that's £3000 without doing anything. So they're very good at using what they've got, but they also get some of the bigger ones as well, they'll watch them raise 5 or 6 grand each year for charity, for tash bash or whatever. I mean sometimes they cause us some trouble with their behaviour, and getting a bit drunk and stuff, but my god you cannot fault them in their charity efforts. And women's hockey, they're very good at just sort of ticking along and quietly getting on with things, and then they'll come and tell us we've got this sponsor, and you'll think to yourself like how have you done that! I think they're just a really friendly and welcoming club, and the people who have been captains and vice captains over the years have just been very good people people. And that helps when you're trying to get sponsorships, because it means you'll chat to anyone and will sort of sell yourself and your club. Women's hockey are also just very good at not spending money as well, so a lot of what I've mentioned that they've got built up is just cash from reserves that they've brought in from the years gone by. Hockey's members also pay for their kit, everyone gets a name and number, so that's less spending out of their budget compared to other clubs. And they've never had to pay for facility costs until the last 2 years, as they built a business school on our 4G. The uni

covers those costs because they built the business school on our 4G, so somewhere along the line they've just accumulated money and never spent it. So last year I had to be like can you please spend some money, because we're a charity, and we're not supposed to have someone sitting with loads of cash at the end of the year! They're just really sensible, they're the easiest club to deal with, the least hassle I've had from one of the bigger clubs in my 2 years so far. They listen, you'll tell them they need to spend some money, they say okay, you tell them they can't do this, they say okay, they are just really responsive. And I think that probably helps them with getting sponsors, they're just good people people, and because they listen and respond, people are happy to sponsor them.

Interviewer: Okay, awesome. And in the social capital question you said about high percentage sports, what did you mean by that? Is that just the sports which are most accessible?

Participant: Yeah, exactly that. Your rugbys, your netballs, your footballs, that kind of thing.

Interviewer: And are those the same kind of teams who get the most social capital?

Participant: Yeah, they're bigger clubs so they have more members, more people with them on a Wednesday night, that kind of thing. It just gives them more social capital.

Interviewer: In the cultural capital question you mentioned the words private school sports and financial backing, so do you think that cultural capital kind of comes as an amalgamation of social and economic capital?

Participant: Yeah, yeah. They mix, they're very tightly intertwined. Private school sports would be people like rowers, equine sports, things like golf, which I think is a bit of a misinterpretation, cause it's pretty accessible. And to an extent people say about cricket, and having been in cricket all my life I can see why people have that perception about it,

cause to get good at it you usually have to have gone to private school or have thrown loads of money at it. There is a very tight link between the two, yeah.

Interviewer: And on habitus, so the behaviour of clubs, you said rugby and cricket were particularly badly behaved? What does that come about from?

Participant: They're big social clubs, and they're full of lads who egg each other on, they drink too much and they get silly. That's it really. It's that simple, they drink too much, and it's lads trying to outdo each other, and you get the nicest lads doing things they would never do anywhere else. And you have to discipline them, and you end up with this nice meek lad who wouldn't say boo to a goose at 6 o'clock on a Wednesday evening, and is having scraps by 10 o'clock. It's just too much booze.

Interviewer: And the competition between rugby union and rugby league, how much trouble does that cause you, and how does that come about?

Participant: It's really historic, and it's really annoying. We used to have the All Golds connected to our university, an elite level rugby league team, and we were the only university in the country with a professional sports team connected to the uni at one point, or so I've been told. And of course the All Golds lads and the rugby league lads went round giving it all that, and the rugby union guys didn't like it, and it sort of all started from that and has stayed. If union get in trouble they tend to be like rugby league did this and vice versa, and we've managed to mostly avoid it this year, apart from one incident which happened on a night out (shock), and I happened to be stood there as well, and I turned round and it was one of the old league lads riling up one of the union lads. And it turned from them having a cross conversation to spilling outside just like that. So in the morning we had both CCs in and were like, 'look lads no one is gonna tell us what happened and we've got no idea what happened'. They won't give us the CCTV because of GDPR, so all I'm gonna get is a load of different sides to the story, so we just said to them it stops or

your clubs stop. That seemed to do the job! A lot of it is booze fuelled, if they actually worked together they could improve so much. The drive and passion is immense, and if you took some of the league lads and put them on a union pitch, and vice versa, it could really work. If they took bits and pieces of what each did in training and used it, they'd be untouchable! It's such historic pride, and now the rugby union lads who were in a premier league, went back down, and rugby league, who are in the top league and aren't in danger of going down, they use that as 'we're the best club in the uni'. That rattles the union lads. And that also rattles the netball girls, cause they'll say hold on, we're prem 1 as well! But I've spoken to quite a few people, and apparently this happens a lot.

Interviewer: Yeah, I've heard a lot about this as well!

Participant: I think part of the animosity between the two is also a bit class-related. I think league tends to be like the northern man's tough game, although I don't understand how the way you play rugby relates to your class. I know the north south divide comes into it, and I think it stems a bit from that. The union boys are seen as the private school, soft boys, and the league boys are more like we ain't got money and we don't care.

Interviewer: It does seem like a strange association that has become very talked about.

Participant: Yeah, it's definitely a strange one. I do see how it's come about though, so last year I played a few games for league, and filled in at half back, and people just come and collect your head! There's no high tackles, they don't exist! It is a complete difference to union. It is a lot more like I'm gonna run at you and I'm gonna hurt you, whereas union is much more making moves and finding gaps. So that sort of cultural split does sort of come across in the way the game is actually played, but it's just one of those that is just gonna rumble on and rumble on unfortunately.

Interviewer: Okay. And when talking about stereotypes, you said it's based on assumptions and not facts, what did you mean by that?

Participant: So kind of what I said, so rowing, equestrian, cricket, they must all have loads of money, when actually, very different story in all of those clubs. There are some people in those clubs with loads of money, but that's the same for all clubs. It's not sport reliant, but it's made out like it is. And it's like that's it I've put you in a box now. It's also like, we have two lads on our trampolining team, and they're very good at what they do, but people just make the assumption, lad, trampolining, gay. And it's just like how did you get there, and it's just an unbelievable stereotype, but it's people boxing people off without knowing facts, which is a problem of wider society, not just sport.

Interviewer: Amazing, I think that's all the questions I had, so thanks for that! Anything of interest that you had to add?

Participant: No, no, I don't think so!

Appendix 8 - Interview Analysis Example

KEY:

Economic Capital

Social Capital

Cultural Capital

Habitus

Field/Doxa

Other

TRANSCRIPTION - [REDACTED]

Interviewer: So thanks very much for filling out the questionnaire, and for taking the time out of your day to see me, I really appreciate it! If you've got any questions then feel free to ask them now, so any issues with the questionnaire or anything?

Participant: Er I know you talked about the main areas of recruitment from ... and the percentage of privately educated students, now I don't have access to that information. Anecdotally, what I do know is we've got about 20,000 students full time and part time, 7,000 of those are from the [REDACTED] ball park, which is kind of [REDACTED]. Another 1,500 are from the wider [REDACTED] and then our third highest area is actually India.

Interviewer: Ahh okay, wow, interesting!

Participant: So there's about 1,000 students from India. But yeah, we're a very regional institution. So I know I'm potentially jumping ahead, but I don't get to see many privately educated people, but if I do, they're probably involved in rugby!

Interviewer: Okay, that's interesting! That's a great place to start. It's not a problem that you didn't have access to that information. To start with, if you can just tell me, almost like you started doing there, the structure of the sports department, so how sport at ... is structured, how the clubs are run, and so on.

Participant: Yeah so the sports clubs are run from the students' union, so there's an election every year for student chairs. In terms of the student union it's the structure you'd expect, but we also have a qualified coach or instructor in place as well. What we do do in terms of the running of the clubs, in the past it's been a big mish mash of both, and the students' union has said that they should be student led, however we've kind of broken that down into the marketing, the student engagement, that kind of thing, so in terms of structure the students have lots of involvement, **but on the pitch, the best person to lead them is that coach or instructor.** So that's how they're run. The coach is also employed by the student union, so they're on our payroll, the captain or president is a volunteer. At ... we also have a sport and wellbeing department who looks after facilities, so the astro pitch, the sports hall, the gym, and we also have sport and exercise courses, so physio, sport therapy, so there's almost like the three elements there who are sort of stakeholders in sport, as it were. But in terms of the sports clubs that compete in BUCS and local leagues, that's in the students' union's remit.

Interviewer: And do you see any clear differences compared to other universities in terms of that set up, or do you think it's quite similar to others across the country?

Participant: Yes, I think it's about the institution and the institution's perception of sport within their own strategies. So within the [REDACTED] we've got quite a small kind of BUCS set up, so we've got ourselves and [REDACTED], who are very kind of local institutions, recruit a lot from their local areas, but even the difference between those is that the sports clubs at [REDACTED] are run by the university, whereas at [REDACTED] as I say they're run by the student union. And then we kind of accelerate up to a different level of university and

recruitment, so you have [REDACTED] who are more heavily invested in sport, and have done in local fixtures, not just in BUCS. And then there's [REDACTED], who you know, Russell Group, top end of the BUCS table, heavily invest in lots of facilities. Definitely for [REDACTED] and definitely for [REDACTED], the sports teams are run by the institution. I think at [REDACTED] it's more of a hybrid mix, but I think in terms of performance element, the university has more input, but in terms of participation, that's more the student union. And that's just 5 universities in the North of England. And speaking with colleagues, that changes from institution to institution - you can get a general idea of how they set up based on whether they are Russell Group or whatever, and where they recruit from.

Interviewer: Brilliant! The main question to start with is about socio-economic associations, and any that you see at your university within sport. So obviously you've already mentioned rugby union, are there any other like that that you see, so where there definitely is or definitely isn't an association, and what sports do you see that in?

Participant: I suppose to start with it's kind of reflective of the demographic at [REDACTED], like I say we recruit more local students, and we've seen drop off in engagement in sports such as equestrian, hockey, tennis, cricket hasn't dropped off so much partly due to the Indian students being very keen on it, but I suppose, those sports that you don't associate with local secondary schools in the area, we have seen diminishing numbers in them. Again we do get quite a few privately educated rugby players, we get very few new to rugby people turning up to play rugby. Most have played locally or are privately educated, or potentially from the armed forces as well. We do have some students who have been involved in it that way. I'm mainly involved in the access and participation area of the university, so I do monitor the index of deprivation, so we are doing some work on that, we recruit a lot of students from the local area like I say, there's a lot of deprived areas, and every year we can turn out a high number of football teams. It is the only sport that gets any kind of press coverage in the area. [REDACTED] maybe from a rugby point of

view. But in terms of sort of the local culture, [REDACTED] is a million miles away from Middlesbrough - it isn't, but the culture feels like it! Even driving an hour from Middlesbrough down to Leeds, it's the same kind of thing. I'm a Middlesbrough lad, and I moved to Birmingham, but didn't think twice about an hour's commute around there. It's very kind of set, so we can almost map out that most of our students will come from [REDACTED] college, [REDACTED] what sport do they do there, that sport will continue through to university. We also have secondary school fielders as well, so basically we can ring up secondary schools and just basically say right okay that's the service we need to provide. I suppose one thing we do find which is interesting, which is worth noting, is that in terms of american football, it isn't a strong area for anything like that, but we continuously get a lot of students involved in that sport in particular. I think partly this is due to some rugby players wanting to find something new, but we have a lot of students, we have quite a lot of computing students, who get involved with american football. We assume this is because they've had a negative PE experience at school, american football is something new, their body shape has changed, and they want to get involved in it. However, we have to heavily subsidise it, they won't be buying their own helmets and pads, so we have to reduce the cost, as otherwise that student won't be getting involved in physical activity. Potentially from a socio-economic point of view, this works for them as they can try it and if they don't like it, they haven't invested money into it. We do subsidise quite a lot of the sports, we look at the bench fees and if we charge anything over £100, you're basically not gonna have any interest. We have a rowing club, and that is extraordinarily subsidised, as otherwise our students would just not get involved with that. We've had a student picked up by GB, someone who if rowing wasn't subsidised would never have even started it, and the GB start up programme has seen something. And it's those kinds of opportunities, we'll probably subsidise rowing more than any other sport, because as I say, there's no way that student would have even gone near a rowing boat if we hadn't subsidised.

Interviewer: That's really interesting that you talk about, well compared to other universities that I've spoken to, you seem to say that you provide sort of what the students need or want, whereas others have specific aims in certain sports.

Participant: Yeah, absolutely. We've got a lot of first generation students who we're introducing, but we do have some performance elements as well. We heavily invest in the women's game, as the regional talent club is actually based at the university. We've got links with [REDACTED] women, and our coach actually coaches there as well, so with that it's just kind of fallen into place. But with other sports it is more participation based, and how can we introduce students to new things, new ways of working, and new life experiences. And that's kind of the philosophy at the moment, coming out of covid I don't know if that will change, we'll have to examine our infrastructure again and where we're recruiting from, what funding we've got available, and whether the university will invest because we can recruit, or actually we're happy to be more participation and you just provide a good experience It is as it is, but getting back to your point, we more meet the needs of the student body than have certain targets, and the targets we do have are things such as participation numbers.

Interviewer: Ahh okay, that's interesting, that's a nice difference to some other unis that I've heard from. And you mentioned there about the computing students' involvement in american football, I know you mentioned in the questionnaire that they were quite involved in archery as well?

Participant: Yeah that's right, so, again I don't know whether there's an existing pathway coming in, whether students involved in archery clubs naturally pick computing, I don't know why the link exists, but we heavily subsidise archery, and the majority of those students are computing. We don't fully know the reason, perhaps the skill sets align, they also get involved in other things such as Esports, or tabletop gaming, dungeons and dragons, so there's the possibility that it plays into that a little, you know if they are fans of

lord of the rings or things like that, archery is one of the closest sports to that. I guess again that's come from the provision of sport from the student union, and that's based on participation, as there's a lot of new to archery students. The interesting thing about archery is that because it's an individual sport, we can cater to everyone, so some students can be entered into BUCS. I think it also suits computing students as it allows them to do something by themselves, they aren't reliant on the team sport, that's potentially a learning style or a personality trait.

Interviewer: Yeah that's wonderful, I remember seeing that archery was your biggest club I think?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: And equestrian was the smallest?

Participant: Yeah, I mean I put those figures in, but as it stands I won't be bringing equestrian back again, because of the low participation numbers. Even the remaining students from last year were basically saying to just get rid. It's not a quality experience, what we've done in the past is referred them to the local yard, and sort of said I can't provide the club but if you go here they'll take care of you, and if there's a collection of you together then why don't you go. There isn't an awful lot of those students who come in and are interested in equestrian, in previous years students have said that they just didn't feel like they fitted in with that BUCS competition structure, they didn't feel like they could identify with the types of students from other institutions. I don't know whether that's a preconceived idea about themselves as students from [REDACTED], or whether it's the way they feel about students from [REDACTED], for example. Either way, there was a clear identification that they didn't like taking part in BUCS competitions anymore, because they were made to feel inferior.

Interviewer: So again it was more participation they were interested in compared to competition?

Participant: Yeah, that's exactly it. That's kind of what we do as well, I mean we had a massive growth of pole fitness activity, and part of what we're seeing from particularly female participation is that actually it is a health and fitness club, rather than a competitive one. I suppose that in most of the media and press that our students are watching they've seen that pole fitness has become 'acceptable', as a health and fitness activity, and potentially at some other institutions the old connotations still come with that, and wouldn't be accepted - again I don't know for sure, but it's just one that I had noticed.

Interviewer: Okay, yeah, so that kind of leads onto my next question, what you've said about equestrian there. You mentioned identity there, do you think that's reflective of the socio-economic status of the students at [REDACTED]? So do you think that if there were more 'upper class' students you'd expect a bigger equestrian club, and clubs of that sort of social status?

Participant: Yes, I think that's the case, but I don't know whether it's almost a self-fulfilling prophecy, in that students at [REDACTED] are from [REDACTED], so therefore we've got a very strong local identity. We're very kind of self-disparaging, but we won't have anyone from outside the area tell us about the area! That's the psyche of the locality of the institution and those who come to [REDACTED]. So yeah it does beg the question do we have those complexities about competing against the likes of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], cause we've come with those preconceived ideas, are they actually embedded in. Since being at [REDACTED] you can see the strong identity, and it has been around for years, and I suppose it's more of a football tradition than a rugby tradition, if that makes sense? It isn't just that they come to [REDACTED] and click join, it pre exists in the structures they've already been in, so they've almost been cultured to behave like footballers. And that happens through NGBs and pathways. And I don't know whether a student chooses [REDACTED] based on the

strong courses we have, and then gets involved in the sport, whether they find it difficult because of the preconceived identity of the place that was there. It's almost the argument of what comes first, the chicken or the egg?!

Interviewer: Yeah I completely get that, it's a difficult question, but I just thought I'd pose it!

Participant: And from a rugby perspective, and that's what makes me think it's not necessarily regional, cause wherever our rugby players come from, they behave like rugby players. And that's what makes me think it's not the institution, it's the mentality of the sport itself. And again I've worked in student union sport for nearly 20 years, and I can pretty much nail what a football player looks like, what a rugby player looks like, what a netball player looks like, what a women's football player looks like, just by sight. And is that right? So I think it's perhaps wider than just socio-economic, well no I think it is, but it's a wider, national socio-economic I suppose.

Interviewer: Talking about being able to identify what sport someone plays there, leads onto what I was going to talk about next. Where do you see the interaction of things such as economic capital, social capital and habitus, so do you see that in certain fields?

Participant: Yes, I think, it's potentially about the recruitment of the courses, not just the sport necessarily. In terms of the social capital, it is almost like secondary school esque, and it's not really that different from my secondary school experience! You know, you had your hierarchy in what team you played in, and if you were a footballer you were the bee's knees! And that is reflective of the area, but again it pre exists my time at [REDACTED], I started in 2008, and even when I came into that role, it was very much more established compared to other universities I had worked at. Often you have a big individual, a big peer who would galvanise a social group around you - however at [REDACTED] it really is sort of, this is your social hierarchy, and it's often reflected in the elections we have for our student union sabbatical positions as well. Reflecting back on who's been in those roles before,

we've had a rugby player, a footballer, even a powerlifter, basically the biggest guy on campus, smashing the gym. And that's a new kind of element I suppose which has kind of crept in there, health and fitness. I suppose from an american football point of view, it's interesting to see reformed rugby players who know how to behave in that kind of culture, you know awards dinners and that kind of environment, compared to the new to american football, computing students, who quickly adapt to that kind of behaviour. What's really really interesting is seeing that development in those school of computing students, and the change in how they carry themselves and perceive themselves socially, from actually, I hate to use the phrase, but geek to jock! There's so many times I walk around [REDACTED] and feel like I'm in an American teen movie!

In terms of economic capital, that doesn't really seem to impact, and I think that's partly because we've basically equalised how easy it is to do all the sports, from the way we subsidise, it doesn't really seem to matter. Potentially in terms of social activity, maybe there's a lot more emphasis on how some clubs go out, so some will go out quite early, and other things like awards dinners, what drinks get put on tables! But again I think that pre dates the student coming to [REDACTED], I think that's part of family backgrounds, or potentially sporting pathways, participation pathways, events pathways. From a social and cultural point of view, I think they pre date coming to university, apart from your new to sport student athletes.

Interviewer: And you mentioned economic there, and earlier in the interview, and in the questionnaire actually, you said that the women's football team is the highest funded?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: Obviously that interested me, as that's not something that you commonly see at the moment, from other responses. Is that something you've done intentionally to

diversify the sporting set up at the university, or has it happened like a few of the other things you've mentioned?

Participant: Honestly, a bit of both. A while ago, some colleagues and I identified there were already strong junior pathways in [REDACTED], surrounding women's football, and this is around the time the WSL started to properly get set up. And there was an opportunity there, so the sport and wellbeing department applied for regional talent club status, which the university got, and then as they were coming through, almost an organic pathway was created, as they wanted to stay at the institution, and there were lots coming through. From a students' union perspective, we went well actually we can use these pathways, we can use this infrastructure, we recruited the [REDACTED] ladies' coach, and it sort of became obvious that it was something we could develop. On the back of the exposure that the women's game is getting, and the success of England women, just in the past couple of years WSL and WSL 2 have been shown more on BT Sport, the exposure that the women's game is getting, and women's team sport, is something that's growing. And from a [REDACTED] point of view, in terms of sports that are already fully established, we can't influence that! You know, we can't compete with the [REDACTED], I'm not even mentioning the L word (Loughborough) - it's a completely different planet. However, when you talk about the social background, the economic background, and the infrastructure we've got in place at [REDACTED], and maybe this is just me being a Middlesbrough lad, but actually we want something to be proud of, and we're gonna invest in it and this is the rationale for it. And it's got to be about not just sporting performance, there's other benefits, like the reputation, it'll get people into courses, and potentially, it's a big ask, but a national lead. And for me, [REDACTED] as a top 100 BUCS uni, even top 50, doesn't really mean anything, but [REDACTED] as a top 10 women's football institution, now that means something. In terms of recruitment, it means something in terms of an offer, and the link to if you come to [REDACTED] from outside the area, there's an opportunity there to get spotted. And I'm sure as the women's game grows that scouting infrastructure will get stronger. Our U16s are playing Liverpool, and Man City, and wearing

the [REDACTED] badge, and there isn't anywhere else in the university where we're gonna get close to that happening. And I suppose that's the main reason behind well we can actually make inroads here, but it's got to come back to that business case - **at the end of the day, the people giving the money have got to go, is this going to equate to bums on seats?** So getting back to your original question, the set up was already there in terms of infrastructure, the pathways are already there, and the participation was already there. So just from another anecdotal point of view, my daughter is 6, and we're already at the point where the BUCS and [REDACTED] coach has been to one of her training sessions - so that mapping is already there. The area is just footy mad!

Interviewer: So it's very reflective of the media coverage of the area?

Participant: Yeah exactly, the media mainly report football here, so it's mainly footy that people play!

Interviewer: I guess we've talked a lot about provision of sport, and participation, but in terms of the more elite athletes, what comes with the scholarships that you do offer, and are they elite?

Participant: I suppose it's how you categorise the elite. I'm trying to kind of be very diplomatic - they're elite athletes at [REDACTED]. So you'll get a very kind of personalised offer - personalised S&C, nutrition, you'll be a big fish in a small pond. It will come with a financial package, you'll get looked after, but you won't get your fees paid for. A lot of our elite athletes come to [REDACTED] because they want to stay local, or the coach is local. The biggest example I've probably got is Amy Willmot, GB olympic swimmer, commonwealth games medalist, came to [REDACTED], was a [REDACTED] student, and the coach was on [REDACTED] as well. When her coach decided to move to London, Amy decided to move to London. So again we're using the pre existing pathways and structures to do that. The sporting success we've had in individuals has been sort of happily coincidental, the coach

and athlete have been on [REDACTED]. So in terms of scholarship, you're not talking about there's 3 years worth of fees paid for. That's not [REDACTED]'s business, at the moment we don't see that as a sustainable opportunity. What we've done in the past to grow the women's football game is provided lower level incentives, so have given incentives for the Middlesbrough ladies to play for the BUCS team - until that happened, we were never going to achieve higher. So to get the [REDACTED] ladies who are on our courses to play for the BUCS team, we provided incentives. So we did that to get them up there, and again making them feel valued in a holistic type way, we've got good will and good people. But in terms of, here's a sack of cash come to [REDACTED], that's not the way. I'm not saying that won't be the way in the future, but it's not at the moment. So really really strong for local, existing athletes is I guess how I'd describe it.

Interviewer: And you mentioned the amount of commuter students you have, is that to do with what you've spoken about, so kind of the identity in the locality, or is there a reason you have so many commuter students?

Participant: Yeah I think it's with wanting to stay local. If you're talking [REDACTED] [REDACTED], you're talking around a quarter of a million people. But it's a very small town mentality - when you leave, it feels like you've escaped! Not a lot of people move out of the area. I think that's a kind of mentality of the students, but I also think the sheer £9,000 a year is another reason. It's a psychological barrier to moving away - then you've got your hall fees and your living costs. One of the biggest courses that we have is our nursing course, we've got child nursing, mental health nursing, general nursing, easily 300+ students on that course. And without interrogating the data, I know the average age of our students is about 25/26, and again anecdotally speaking, we've got a lot of students who have gone to certain courses, and have gone to higher education late, and they've maybe not gone down that traditional pathway of GCSEs, A levels etc, we do take a lot of vocational qualifications as well. There's a pre-existing life before university. And that's where we're at - most people will say I'm going to [REDACTED] because

it's local. Whatever socio-economic or cultural reason it is for, it meets those needs. And yes, It's potentially reflected in the sport as well.

Interviewer: And then in terms of the specific fields, and the fields section of the questionnaire, I know that the same kinds of clubs cropped up in each sporting field, so does that reflect existing hierarchies?

Participant: I think part of it is that, and again it's the hierarchy there, but I also think it's the recruitment of students. One of the problems we've got, with the women's rugby team for example, is that we recruit a lot of nurses, so physios, OTs etc, and it's fantastic, but then they go on placement! So a lot of the time we struggle to get a reduced 12 out, nevermind a 15. We've looked at the data there and we've looked at the courses, and because we are student led, and it's students recruiting students, they recruit from the same pathways or social media. The same type of students get recruited into the same types of clubs, and that perpetuates itself. So I think that's part of the reason why those pathways crop up again and again. The majority of the lads on football and rugby will be on sport and exercise courses, same with the women's, and it's almost like they've got this bubble. We try and challenge them to change it, and I suppose it's almost a nuance of student led sport, you've got your clique, you've got your teams, you've got your numbers, and once you hit those it's volunteer led - I can go back to playing sport and concentrating on my study. And again I think that's probably different to other institutions, but I think that meets the needs of those in charge, the student chairs, the student union and the captains. And we do try and challenge those ideas, those social norms, because there's a large group of students who want to get involved but don't, because of those perceived cliques. There's also an issue of not being the primary sports club, so for example a lot of our footballers will play in the [REDACTED] League, but they won't jeopardize getting injured playing for the uni team, as it provides income to them. And that dream of still getting spotted or scouted is more likely to happen in the [REDACTED] League than it is in BUCS tier 2. And we have that issue with rugby as well, is their primary club going to be their already

existing club, the one they have an affinity and teammates with, compared to the uni. And that's why those clubs crop up again and again and again, because of those embedded structures. And like I say, we do try and challenge it, it works in terms of we get teams out, we get numbers involved, and in terms of the budget we've got, we're happy with what we do. Every now and then a student will come up and will challenge that, and we'll work with it.

Interviewer: And that leads on nicely actually, do you think that embedded nature or culture is partly the reason for those judgements of other teams, and fellow teammates? Or do you think it is sort of socio-economic background that plays a part as well?

Participant: I've got to go again on just my opinion Harry - it's difficult on the socio-economic background, cause I see such a narrow field of socio-economic status in our students, compared to others. I did the same role at Birmingham City university, and recruitment there was from a much wider range of areas around the country, and lots of different academic pathways as well. Whereas recruitment at [REDACTED] is much more kind of local, and there isn't a high volume of privately educated students coming in. In terms of socio-economic, to a point, yes, but I think those ideas are pre embedded, in how to act and how to behave, and in the sport as well. Just reflecting on local background and status as well, there's very few private schools around, and in my experience, my son is 11, and has been playing football since he was 6 - the team's goalkeeper was privately educated, and from what it sounds like, the pressure from his school and his parents is 'what are you doing football for, you need to come over to rugby'. That kind of pressure of what his peers were doing in school, so he's going towards rugby. It's not unsurprising to hear that. I think even at that age, the socio-economic background of the family and the behaviours become embedded. It's instinctively in there before our students get to us.

Interviewer: Yeah, like you say it sounds like it comes from schools, or higher education before uni.

Participant: Yeah, I mean I'm just reflecting and another student I am aware of who wasn't involved in rugby but is privately educated is involved in rowing. She was really keen on breaking these barriers down, I think because she was local, and had come to [REDACTED], I think she was feeling like I don't feel like I do fit in, but actually because you're perceiving me as a rower. Rowing isn't a prestigious sport and doesn't have to be was her viewpoint, but because of her socio-economic background it tells them it is - those preconceived ideas are already installed before they get here.

Interviewer: Brilliant! I think that's all my questions and everything I wanted to ask, so thank you very much for that! Were there any other thoughts or anything that you wanted to add?

Participant: The one thing I would say is that we know that [REDACTED] is completely different in its socio-economic background, its recruitment background, and its age background, and, are you aware of access and participation plans in universities?

Interviewer: Yeah I am, yeah.

Participant: So I sit in a group in one of those, and part of the conversation that we have is actually we haven't got an access issue at higher education, we're actually above and beyond what the national average is. I think we are one of the few, so actually what I say about [REDACTED] won't be the norm. For example the institution strategy and ideas about sport aren't the norm, and I guess that is reflective on who we are as [REDACTED].

Interviewer: Amazing, this has all been very interesting, thank you!

Appendix 9 - Categorical Themes

Master Document - Habitus

Upper Class Dress

I mentioned rugby union, they all dress on socials, in checked shirts, chinos, blazers, and ties.

men's cricket dress in beige chinos, blue shirts, and a tie.

rugby is definitely stereotyped as wearing stuff like that, club ties etc.

Regionalised Habitus

people get made fun of for their accents,

Yes, I think that's the case, but I don't know whether it's almost a self-fulfilling prophecy, in that students at [REDACTED] are from [REDACTED], so therefore we've got a very strong local identity.

That's the psyche of the locality of the institution and those who come to Teesside.

Loud/Outgoing Behaviour

Their social secs are more outlandish, every single social sec will know them, and that's not necessarily a good thing!

especially things like horrible trials, and stuff like that, although we aren't meant to have trials.

they are what they are in terms of the sport and the ethos and the type of person that often plays those sports. A footballer is gonna have a decent ego, a rugby player is gonna have a decent ego.

cause wherever our rugby players come from, they behave like rugby players. And that's what makes me think it's not the institution, it's the mentality of the sport itself.

Fancy Dress/Outfits

Women's rugby are always in fancy dress, you can always recognise what sport someone is from, on the sports night out.

everybody goes off and gets their own social stash,

Anti-Social Behaviour

so like rugby union are likely to fight with rugby league, men's cricket will fight with both, people just get too drunk and then they start pushing each other or fighting each other.

Club Judgements

I don't think it's just those factors, there are other things, one of the big issues we have in sport is er, kind of especially on like club nights, 'getting with' other people and stuff like that.

I think the stereotypical one is in hockey, it's always like hockey keep to themselves and their insular, and they're the posh lot, and it's been like that at pretty much every uni I've worked with.

Team Habitus

everybody knows where everyone stands!

but in a world where there's money being pumped into sport, and there's efforts being made to draw people to the university for sport, the idea is to be 'on brand'.

So that produces that feeling from the other teams that, oh dear, we're in trouble here. There's an element of that, that if everyone's on piece, there's a subconscious power that comes with that.

It's also about changing the mindset, at the moment many athletes would say I am part of this team playing sport, rather than I'm part of Team... playing sport.

So recently it has been so disparate that it needs to be brought under one umbrella, so everyone is now using the same terminology, whereas previously there has been no centralisation.

we want something to be proud of, and we're gonna invest in it and this is the rationale for it.

I think that's reflective of the committee members at the time. It comes down to things such as recruitment and marketing you know - I can't market for however many clubs, so it's very much a student led project. Sometimes you get a committee who really go for it and have a big recruitment drive, whereas in other years you see other people elected, and it falls quite flat.

So I wouldn't say it's necessarily interest, but it's definitely a reflection of who's leading the programme maybe.

I actually think the clubs quite like it, so a lot of people kind of grab it with both horns and go with it.

Change in Attitude

We assume this is because they've had a negative PE experience at school, american football is something new, their body shape has changed, and they want to get involved in it.

I suppose from an american football point of view, it's interesting to see reformed rugby players who know how to behave in that kind of culture, you know awards dinners and that kind of environment, compared to the new to american football, computing students, who quickly adapt to that kind of behaviour.

She was really keen on breaking these barriers down, I think because she was local, and had come to [REDACTED], I think she was feeling like I don't feel like I do fit in, but actually because you're perceiving me as a rower. Rowing isn't a prestigious sport and doesn't have to be was her viewpoint, but because of her socio-economic background it tells them it is - those preconceived ideas are already installed before they get here.

Feeling Out of Place

There isn't an awful lot of those students who come in and are interested in equestrian, in previous years students have said that they just didn't feel like they fitted in with that

BUCS competition structure, they didn't feel like they could identify with the types of students from other institutions. I don't know whether that's a preconceived idea about themselves as students from [REDACTED], or whether it's the way they feel about students from [REDACTED], for example. Either way, there was a clear identification that they didn't like taking part in BUCS competitions anymore, because they were made to feel inferior.

Dress Sense

I can pretty much nail what a football player looks like, what a rugby player looks like, what a netball player looks like, what a women's football player looks like, just by sight.

I think, it's a little bit stereotypical, but I think the swim and water polo clubs, you could walk into any uni in the country and probably pick them out. I think it's the sports where people have done them for a long time, there's some sports where people come into uni and try them and stick with them, but I think it's the sports where people have done them from a younger age.

Class Habitus

the team's goalkeeper was privately educated, and from what it sounds like, the pressure from his school and his parents is 'what are you doing football for, you need to come over to rugby'.

I think even at that age, the socio-economic background of the family and the behaviours become embedded. It's instinctively in there before our students get to us.