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Community Sports and the Challenge of Public Governance: Between Institutional Ambitions, Social Inclusion, and Local Realities

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ABSTRACT

Morocco's ministry in charge of sports reports 2,180 planned community sports fields, 1,210 of which have been completed. This commitment contrasts with the assessments of the Economic, Social, and Environmental Council (CESE), which found that the national sports strategy had not become a genuine public policy and that sports fields were rolled out without an effective management model; in its 2022 citizen consultation, only 9% of respondents were satisfied with access to them. Drawing on an integrative literature review and a documentary analysis of the Moroccan case (2008–2026), this article proposes an explanatory model of how public sports infrastructure is transformed into territorial social value. The model links three mechanisms: governance capacity, which transforms resources into a service; effective accessibility, which transforms the service into participation; and the quality of supervision and participation, which transforms practice into inclusion. The analysis shows that Moroccan policy has focused primarily on construction rather than management and evaluation: public officials count planned or completed sports fields, never those that are unused. The article derives six untested theoretical propositions and an indicator framework for future empirical validation.

Keywords: community sport, territorial governance, public value, accessibility, spatial justice, social inclusion, Morocco.

1. INTRODUCTION

The neighborhood sports field is now a common sight in Moroccan neighborhoods. Enclosed by a fence and often covered with synthetic turf, it hosts everything from impromptu late-afternoon games to sessions organized by a local association. Its presence seems self-evident. Yet it is the result of a recent public policy that has profoundly changed the way the state views sports. For decades, sports were primarily viewed through the lens of competition and national prestige, and preparations for the 2030 World Cup show that this perspective has lost none of its strength. But another conception has emerged alongside it, one that sees sports participation as a means of healing, educating, and integrating young people, as well as bringing communities closer together. Since sports serve such purposes, they can no longer fall under the purview of a single ministry, and one question becomes central: Who decides where to build a sports facility, who funds it, who maintains it, who runs it, and who is accountable for its outcomes?

Morocco has made this policy a priority since the 2008 National Sports Conference and the inclusion of sports in the 2011 Constitution. According to the Ministry of Sports, 1,210 of the 2,180 planned sports facilities have now been completed, and 624 new projects were launched in 2025 (Ministry of National Education, Preschool Education, and Sports [MENPS], n.d.-b). However, institutions evaluating this policy offer a much more reserved assessment. The CESE found that the national sports strategy had never been translated into a genuine public policy, that it had been poorly managed, and that it had lacked human and financial resources (CESE, 2020). It went on to describe the rollout of sports fields as lacking “an effective management model,” and its public consultation revealed that only 9% of participants were satisfied with access to these facilities (CESE, 2022). Political leaders themselves share this assessment. In 2017, the former minister who initiated the 2009 program acknowledged that it had achieved only about 30% of its objectives (El Ouardighi, 2017). In January 2026, the Head of Government called for a consolidation phase focused on governance, maintenance, and oversight (Médias24, 2026).

This disconnect is not unique to Morocco. International literature has long shown that facilities can exist without being used, and be used without promoting inclusion (Coalter, 2007a; Kelly, 2011). In Morocco, however, the issue remains understudied. Recent research on sports governance has focused on federations (Hannoun, 2024; Lotfy & Bennis Bennani, 2023) or the regional impacts of major events (Benreghai, 2024). Community sports, which nonetheless account for a considerable portion of public investment, are documented only through scattered institutional reports that cannot be linked within any analytical framework. It is this gap that forms the basis of our inquiry:

To what extent do community sports initiatives in Morocco succeed in translating the ambitions of public governance into effective mechanisms for social inclusion and territorial development, within a context marked by spatial disparities, institutional constraints, and varying local capacities?

This question encompasses four sub-questions. The first is to understand what public policies have actually contributed to the development of community sports (Q1), followed by identifying the governance mechanisms on which the effectiveness and sustainability of these facilities depend (Q2). We must then assess the contribution of these facilities to inclusion and the reduction of territorial inequalities (QR3), before identifying the implementation barriers specific to the Moroccan context (QR4). Our general hypothesis is that the effectiveness of community sports depends less on the number of available facilities than on the quality of their governance.

The concepts underpinning this analysis governance, accessibility, inclusion, and territorial development are by no means new. The value of this article lies in how it articulates these concepts. We propose interpreting the transition from infrastructure to social impact as a sequence of three transformations, each of which depends on a specific mechanism and can fail without the others being compromised. First, a built facility must become an open and maintained service, which depends on governance capacity. Next, this service must be effectively used, which depends on its accessibility. Finally, its use must foster connections between different groups, which depends on the quality of facilitation and participation. This breakdown allows us to pinpoint exactly where value is lost and to evaluate the whole in terms of public value as defined by Moore (1995).

The relationships described by this model are not demonstrated here. They stem from a literature review and are presented as hypotheses to be tested. The first section outlines the conceptual foundations and the model. The second describes the methodological approach. The next three sections examine, in turn, the Moroccan policy framework, the conditions for inclusion, and the territorial realities that hinder implementation. The final section proposes levers for action, six theoretical hypotheses, and a set of indicators.

2. CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS AND CONVERSION MODEL

2.1 Community Sports: From a Sporting Activity to a Tool for Public Action

Community sports refer to physical and sporting activities offered at the neighborhood or municipal level. This category encompasses a wide variety of facilities: multisport fields, community sports centers, multipurpose halls, school playgrounds open outside of school hours, as well as community programs that bring these spaces to life. The term "community" is misleading. The geography of sport has shown that it is never reduced to a mere distance (Augustin, 1995). A field located two blocks from a middle school remains out of reach if it closes when students are getting out of school, if there is a fee to play there, or if a group has claimed it as their territory. We will therefore distinguish between the potential accessibility of a facility which depends on its location and its actual accessibility, that is, the concrete possibility of getting there, using it, and feeling at home there.

The concept also has a history that sheds light on its current ambiguities. In France, urban policy in the early 1990s turned it into a tool for crime prevention in working-class neighborhoods, and facilities were built faster than community leaders capable of bringing them to life could be trained (Gasparini & Vieille-Marchiset, 2008). This shift accompanied the transition from a competition-based model to an ideal of "sports for all" (Callède, 2000), though governments did not abandon elite sports, which retain significant political value (Houlihan, 1997). In Morocco, the concept entered the public lexicon with the "community sports and social centers," but it still lacks a legal definition. This history reveals two ways of conceiving public intervention. The first, which we might call the "facility-based approach," measures its success by the number of facilities delivered. The second the "public sports service" approach views facilities merely to support a regular, supervised, and accessible program. We adopt this second perspective, as a field without a coordinator, without set hours, and without a maintenance budget is little more than a paved area.

2.2 Public Governance: Coordinating Without Commanding

The theory of governance arose from a simple observation: the state no longer governs alone. It operates within networks of public, private, and nonprofit actors on which it depends just as much as it guides them (Rhodes, 1996). Stoker (1998) highlighted the cost of this shift, noting that the more responsibilities are shared, the more difficult it becomes to determine who is accountable. The city is the quintessential setting for this restructuring, and the capacities for collective action that develop there vary greatly from one region to another (Le Galès, 1995). Lascoumes and Le Galès (2012) urge us to take a close look at the instruments of this governance agreements, specifications, or indicators which are never merely technical tools but guide the behavior of actors. The sociology of implementation offers two useful insights. Each additional actor in the decision-making chain increases the risk that the policy will deviate from its intended goals (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973). And it is often front-line agents who carry out public action in practice (Lipsky, 1980): in our case, the groundskeeper who decides whether to open the field, or the president of the association who sets the fee.

Three extensions of this theory are of direct relevance to community sports. The first is multilevel governance, which combines nested general-purpose local governments with organizations created for a specific task (Hooghe & Marks, 2003); the Moroccan case, where both municipalities and specialized funds are involved, provides a good illustration of this. The second is collaborative governance. Ansell and Gash (2008) have shown that its success depends on the initial balance of power among actors, the quality of the institutional framework, and leadership; Emerson et al. (2012) add to this the need for a capacity for joint action, consisting of shared resources and rules. Shilbury et al. (2016) applied this framework to sports and identified the obstacles hindering its adoption. The third extension concerns the territorialization of sports initiatives. Honta (2010) has shown that this often leads to competition among stakeholders rather than cooperation, particularly since sports are not a mandatory responsibility for any level of government (Bayeux, 2013). We therefore define governance as the set of mechanisms through which stakeholders coordinate their decisions, allocate responsibilities, mobilize resources, and involve residents in the design, management, and evaluation of sports facilities.

2.3 Territorial Development as a Goal

Territorial development refers to the mobilization of a territory's resources and stakeholders to enhance the quality of life of its residents. Community sports can contribute to this in many ways: they enliven public spaces, provide a base for organizations, and create opportunities for neighbors to meet. However, the community must have the resources to sustain these efforts. A municipality that receives a sports field but lacks staff, active organizations, or a maintenance budget will not derive much benefit from it. International organizations also emphasize this point: the Kazan Action Plan calls on states to monitor the effects of their sports policies (UNESCO,

2017), and the World Health Organization highlights the importance of community-based environments and the evaluation of public policies (WHO, 2022).

2.4 From Sports Facilities to the Creation of Local Public Value

How, then, can we assess what a community sports policy actually achieves? The volume of investment does not provide the answer. The theory of public value offers another criterion: what matters is the contribution of public action to collective well-being, not the resources it commits (Moore, 1995). For Moore, a policy creates value when three conditions are met: its purpose is recognized as desirable, it enjoys sufficient legitimacy, and the government has the operational capacity to implement it. Bryson et al. (2014) expanded this perspective by showing that equity, participation, and accountability are integral parts of this value. Applied to our subject matter, this approach cautions against confusing the delivery of a facility with the creation of a service. A sports field that is inaugurated but then closed due to a lack of a caretaker is an administrative achievement; it has not become a resource for residents.

Three lines of research help clarify the conditions for this transformation. First, research on organizational capacity conducted notably by Misener and Doherty (2009) regarding community sports clubs shows that an organization's ability to fulfill its mission depends on its human, financial, and structural resources. Applied to municipalities, this idea gives concrete meaning to Moore's concept of "operational capacity": qualified staff, an operating budget, a maintenance plan, management agreements, and reliable partners. Research on spatial justice, furthermore, reminds us that the distribution of public services has a geographic dimension (Soja, 2010). Higgs et al. (2015) observe that studies on access to sports facilities yield contradictory conclusions depending on the methodology, distance thresholds, and scale used. The distribution of facilities alone is therefore not sufficient to ensure equity; one must also take into account travel time, available transportation, the number of facilities per capita, their capacity, the quality of the offerings, and disparities between regions. Finally, critical analyses of inclusion through sports show that participation fosters social connections only under certain conditions; we return to this in detail in Section 4.

2.5 The Conversion Model: Three Mechanisms and Their Conditions

These insights converge toward a single model (Figure 1). Its starting point consists of institutional resources: the legal framework, programs, funding, land, and completed facilities. Its endpoint is territorial public value, that is, the totality of collective benefits actually generated, ranging from the inclusion of groups currently excluded from sports participation to residents' trust in their institutions. Between these two ends lie two intermediate stages: community sports services which require facilities that are open, scheduled, supervised, and maintained and participation, which refers to regular use of these facilities by a diverse range of people.

The transition from one stage to the next is by no means automatic. The first conversion which transforms resources into services depends on governance capacity: a clearly identified funder, owner, and operator; management tools; accountability; as well as municipalities and operators capable of shouldering the responsibility for the facility. The second conversion which transforms the service into participation depends on effective accessibility. This has several dimensions spatial, economic, temporal, physical, and social to which we add an often-overlooked informational dimension: many residents are simply unaware of the schedules or the activities offered. It also requires a form of territorial equity, meaning that facilities are located where the needs exist. The third transformation which turns participation into inclusion depends on the quality of supervision and engagement. The presence of trained supervisors, the atmosphere they create, the diversity of the groups, and the role residents play in organizing activities make the difference between a space that brings people together and one that divides them.

Two factors complete this framework. Local government capacity, the type of territory, socio-spatial inequalities, and the vitality of the nonprofit sector all influence the intensity of each transformation: the same policy does not produce the same effects in Casablanca as it does in a rural town. Finally, a learning loop links the results to governance, because an administration that does not know how many sports fields are open or who uses them cannot correct what is not working.

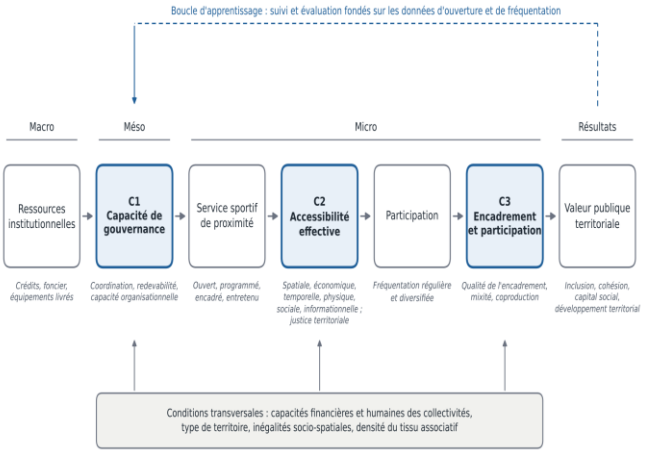


Figure 1: Model of the conversion of public sports facilities into territorial social value (developed by the author)

The model can also be interpreted by levels of analysis (Table 1), which brings it closer to the framework proposed by Pan et al. (2026), for whom public sports facilities are less about infrastructure and more about governance processes that link the macro level (policy direction and resources), the meso level (management), and the micro level (uses). It does not assume that sports participation naturally produces positive effects. On the contrary, it starts from the idea that these effects are fragile and seeks to identify the point at which they are lost. The relationships it posits will be reformulated as hypotheses in Section 6.

Table 1: Analytical Structure of the Conversion Model

Level	Dimensions	Function in the model
Macro	Public policy, legal framework, funding, land-use planning	Resources and guidance
Meso	Governance, coordination, management, organizational capacity, participation, accountability	Conversion 1: Resources for Service
Micro	Effective accessibility, user experience, usage, ownership, support	Conversions 2 and 3: from service to participation, then to inclusion
Results	Inclusion, cohesion, social capital, territorial development	Public value generated
Cross-cutting	Local capacities, territorial inequalities, monitoring and evaluation	Conditions for success or limitations; learning

3. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1 Research Design

Our objective is not to measure the impact of neighborhood sports fields on their users. Public data would not allow for this, and the question that interests us is of a different nature: understanding how a governance structure promotes or hinders the creation of social values. This interpretive choice led us to a case study, as defined by Yin (2018), that is, the examination of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-world context. The case selected is Morocco's community sports policy, observed at the national level between 2008 the year of the National Sports Conference and 2026.

The process unfolded in two phases, each of which informed the other. We first conducted an integrative literature review, a form of review suited to heterogeneous corpora and to studies that seek to construct a framework rather than aggregate results (Whittemore & Knafl, 2005). The conversion model presented above emerged from this review. We then applied it to the Moroccan case through a documentary analysis inspired by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), as public documents are the most accessible records of governance. There was a constant back-and-forth between the two components. For example, it was during the coding of the documents that the importance of the status of the published figures became apparent a point that the literature alone would not have been sufficient to bring to light.

3.2 Literature Search and Selection

Table 2 lists the databases consulted, the keyword combinations, and the inclusion and exclusion criteria. We wrote these combinations in Boolean form so that they can be reproduced.

Table 2: Databases, Terms, and Criteria for the Literature Search

Element	Selected Parameters
Databases	Cairn.info; OpenEdition Journals; Érudit; Scopus; Google Scholar; IMIST journal portal
Combination 1 (French)	("community sports" OR "community sports* facilities*" OR "community* sports* field*" OR "community* sports* and social* center*") AND (governance OR "sports* policy*" OR "public policy" OR "local governments")
Combination 2 (English)	("community sport" OR "grassroots sport" OR "sport* facility*") AND (governance OR "sport policy" OR "local government" OR "public value") AND ("social inclusion" OR accessibility OR equity)

Element	Selected Parameters
Combination 3 (Morocco)	(sport) AND (Morocco OR Morocco) AND (governance OR "sports policy" OR "local governments")
Time period; languages	1990–2026 (scholarly literature), 2008–2026 (Moroccan documents); French, English
Inclusion	Peer-reviewed scholarly works addressing local sports governance, regional sports policies, accessibility of facilities, or inclusion through sports; or providing a theoretical framework for one of the components of the model; any work on sports governance in Morocco
Exclusion	Works devoted exclusively to elite sports or major events (except where they have territorial implications); clinical studies; non-scientific texts; duplicates

The texts were selected in two stages: first based on title and abstract, then after a full reading; the search was supplemented by tracing the references cited in the selected works. We did not record the number of results obtained in each database or the details of the successive exclusions with sufficient rigor to present them in the form of a quantified flowchart. We prefer to state this clearly rather than reconstruct uncertain figures after the fact. This limitation remains consistent with the spirit of an integrative review, which aims to cover each link in the model in a reasoned manner rather than to catalog the entire body of literature. The synthesis is ultimately based on 37 scientific works including 21 articles and 16 books and on 7 methodological references.

3.3 Documentary Corpus

The Moroccan corpus (Table 3) was constructed to shed light on each of the model's three transformations. We consulted the official websites of the CESE, the Ministry of National Education, Preschool Education, and Sports, the General Directorate of Local Authorities [DGCT], the Court of Auditors, and the national legal portal, before turning to the press to trace the chronology of the programs and locate public statements. The institutional sources were verified one last time on November 18, 2026.

Table 3: Inventory of the Documentary Corpus (2008–2026)

No.	Document	Source	Year	Conversion
D1	Royal Letter to the National Sports Assembly	Mohammed VI	2008	Resources
D2	Law No. 30-09 on Physical Education and Sports	Kingdom of Morocco	2010	Resources; C1
D3	Constitution	Kingdom of Morocco	2011	Resources; C1
D4–D6	Organic Laws No. 111-14, 112-14, and 113-14 (regions, prefectures and provinces, municipalities)	Kingdom of Morocco	2015	C1
D7	Study on Sports Policy in Morocco	CESE	2019–2020	C1; loop
D8	Opinion on the Economics of Sports	CESE	2022	C1; C2; loop
D9	Results of the Citizen Consultation on the Sports Economy	CESE	2022	C2
D10-D11	Portal pages on local infrastructure and facilities	MENPS	n.d.	Resources; C1; C2
D12	Program for Local Sports Fields in Rural and Suburban Areas	DGCT	n.d.	Resources; C1
D13	Guide to Inclusive Management of Sports Facilities	GIZ	2022	C3
D14-D15	Kazan Action Plan; Global Report on Physical Activity	UNESCO; WHO	2017; 2022	Results; loop
D16	The National Sports Agency and the New Governance of Sports	Court of Auditors (France)	2022	C1
D17	Note on Sports and Territorial Equity	Boussif and Mouacha	2026	C2
D18–D25	Statements, reports, and announcements (2017–2026), including the presentation of the Court of Auditors' 2022–2023 annual report	Médias24; TelQuel; H24info; Hespress	2017–2026	All

Note. C1: first conversion, from resources to sports services (governance capacity); C2: second conversion, from services to participation (effective accessibility); C3: third conversion, from participation to inclusion (support and participation); Loop: institutional learning loop (monitoring and evaluation). See Figure 1.

Two principles guided our use of these documents. The first concerns the hierarchy of sources: when data appears in an official document, we cite that document. The press is used to document statements, announcements, and controversies, or, failing that, to report on a primary document that we were unable to consult which we then indicate, as in the case of the Court of Auditors' report. The second principle arose from the research itself. The figures published on community sports do not all measure the same thing, so we have classified each one

according to the status of the facilities they describe: planned, completed, open to the public according to known schedules, or actually in use. These statuses correspond to the first two conversions in the model, and confusion between them significantly impacts the assessment, as we will see in section 6.4.

3.4 Analysis, Triangulation, and Inference

The analysis followed the main steps of the approach outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Each document was read in its entirety and annotated. Relevant passages were transcribed into a matrix that specified the source, page number, and assigned code; the codes were then grouped according to the three conversions. The themes identified in this way were verified across the entire corpus to ensure that none was based on a single source before being formulated as breaking points. The framework that guided this coding consists of ten categories (Table 4). It could be used to analyze other local infrastructure policies.

Table 4: Analysis Framework

Axis	Analysis Question	Indicators Sought	Conversion
Governance	Who makes decisions, provides funding, manages, and oversees?	Signatories to the agreements; designated manager	C1
Coordination	Do the stakeholders act in a coordinated manner?	Steering bodies; overlaps; conflicts of authority	C1
Resources	Are financial and human resources sufficient?	Operating budget; assigned staff	C1
Management	Who is responsible for maintenance and operations?	Management approach; specifications; use of revenue	C1
Accessibility	Is the facility truly accessible?	Free or paid; hours of operation; reported satisfaction	C2
Regional Equity	Does the service meet the needs of the regions?	Location criteria; distribution; assessments	C2
Inclusion	Which groups benefit from the services?	Programs for women, people with disabilities, and migrants	C3
Participation	Are users involved?	Consultation; user representation	C3; feedback loop
Evaluation	Are usage and results measured?	Status of indicators; usage data	Loop
Accountability	Are there controls and transparency in place?	Controls; data publication	C1; loop

Note. C1: first conversion, from resources to sports services (governance capacity); C2: second conversion, from services to participation (effective accessibility); C3: third conversion, from participation to inclusion (support and participation); Loop: institutional learning loop (monitoring and evaluation). See Figure 1.

To minimize the risk of biased interpretation, we systematically cross-referenced different types of sources, in accordance with the credibility criteria of qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Ministry figures were compared with responses provided to Parliament and government reports, revealing discrepancies in dates and scope. Statements by officials were cross-checked against the assessments of the CESE and the Court of Auditors. The announced services were compared with user perceptions gathered by the CESE, and the findings from Morocco were contrasted with the international literature. We included only those findings supported either by a primary institutional document or by two sources of different types. The theoretical hypotheses presented in Section 7 were formulated based on these findings whenever multiple sources indicated a discrepancy between the resources allocated and the expected results; Table 6 traces their origins.

This approach has its limitations. The corpus contains only published documents and lacks essential materials such as management agreements, municipal budgets, or internal reports; furthermore, sources in Arabic were only partially utilized. Official documents naturally highlight achievements, and the press often repeats officials' statements without questioning them. No public data is available on attendance; the CESE's analysis is based on a sample of volunteers, and official figures vary depending on the scope of the data. Finally, we performed the coding alone, without an independent second review. The traceability of sources and inferences should allow readers to verify our interpretations.

4. COMMUNITY SPORTS IN MOROCCAN PUBLIC POLICY

4.1 A Favorable Institutional Framework

The 2011 Moroccan Constitution explicitly recognizes the importance of sports, devoting three articles to the subject. Article 26 mandates that public authorities support its promotion; Article 31 lists it among the rights that the State and local authorities must facilitate; and Article 33 requires them to provide young people with access to sports and recreation (Kingdom of Morocco, 2011). Community sports thus cease to be an optional policy and become the implementation of a right. Title IX, which enshrines the autonomous administration of local authorities, further provides for mechanisms for citizen participation (Article 139) and distinguishes between exclusive, shared, and transferred powers (Article 140). However, this framework leaves one question without a clear answer: Who, ultimately, is responsible for the operation of a neighborhood sports field? Law No. 30-09 on physical education and sports, adopted in 2010, regulates associations and federations and sets safety and accessibility standards for facilities (Kingdom of Morocco, 2010). The CESE noted that it needed to be brought into line with the Constitution adopted a year later (CESE, 2020), and the minister in charge announced in November 2026 a revision of the text governing federations (Hespress, 2026).

4.2 Local Sports Facility Programs

Since 2009, construction has remained the primary tool of this policy. Table 5 outlines the main milestones, specifying, for each figure, the status of the facilities it covers.

Table 5: Key milestones in Morocco's local sports facilities policy, 2008–2026

Year	Milestone	Reported Data	Status Measured	Source
2008	Royal Letter to the National Sports Conference	Goal Set: Expanding Access to Sports and Reforming Governance	—	Mohammed VI (2008)
2009 – 2012	Program for Community Sports and Social Centers	Target of 1,000 centers by 2012 at a cost of approximately 1 billion dirhams; 113 centers in operation as of January 2012	Planned; opened	El Ouardighi (2017), statement
2017	Review and relaunch	Approximately 300 centers, or 30% of the program	Completed	El Ouardighi (2017), statement
2018	Framework agreement for 800 plots in rural and peri-urban areas	600 million dirhams; 27 applications reviewed for 647 plots in 436 municipalities	Planned	DGCT (n.d.)
2019	National Strategy Report	611 community sports facilities in 2017, compared to 56 in 2009	Completed	Médias24 (2019), ministerial report
2022	Ministerial response to Parliament	200 land development projects currently underway	In progress	Médias24 (2022), statement
2024	Written response to Parliament	2,419 housing projects planned by the end of 2024, of which 543 will be completed by the end of 2023	Planned; completed	TelQuel (2024), statement
2025	Ministry website	2,180 sites planned, of which 1,210 have been completed; 624 projects launched in 2025 (292 under construction, including 130 school facilities, and 332 under review)	Planned; completed	MENPS (n.d.-b)
2026	Government report; FIFA Arena; sectoral budget	More than 1,050 fields, 157 gyms, and 717 centers supported or renovated; 30 school mini-fields; nearly 800 fields put into service	Undetermined; planned; open (reported)	Médias24 (2026); H24info (2026); Hespress (2026)

The 2018 financing structure clearly illustrates the rationale behind these programs. The framework agreement signed on February 13, 2018, brought together the Ministries of the Interior, Economy and Finance, and Youth and Sports, as well as the Municipal Infrastructure Fund. Prefectural and provincial councils borrowed from the Fund; the Ministry of Sports repaid the loans through the National Fund for Sports Development; and the DGCT reviewed the applications (DGCT, n.d.). The system is ingenious because it allows for the rapid raising of significant sums of money. It is worth noting, however, that it involves at least five entities for a single field including the host municipality without any of them being responsible for operating it once construction is complete.

The ministry's website provides two sets of figures. The first lists 2,488 facilities under the ministry's sole jurisdiction, including 1,058 neighborhood sports fields and 717 social and sports centers (MENPS, n.d.-a). The second presents a program of 2,180 fields 1,210 of which have been completed that prioritizes rural municipalities and urban outskirts based on population density and the availability of land free of any legal disputes, with day-to-day management entrusted to associations (MENPS, n.d.-b). The effort is genuine. But these figures cannot be directly compared: the 2,419 fields announced to Parliament in 2024 and the 2,180 listed on the portal do not cover the same time period and likely do not encompass the same geographic scope, and the 1,058 fields in the ministry's inventory do not correspond to the 1,210 completed fields. Above all, none of these figures indicate how many of these facilities are open or how many are used, even though these are precisely the two pieces of information needed to assess their usefulness.

4.3 The Role of Local Governments and the Configuration of Stakeholders

On paper, local governments are best positioned to foster community sports. They provide the land, contribute to funding, maintain the facilities, and support organizations. The 2015 organic laws provide them with several management options, ranging from direct administration to local development companies, including delegated management and agreements with associations (Kingdom of Morocco, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). In Casablanca, Dinaoui and El Gnaoui (2023) demonstrated that local development companies can professionalize the management of municipal services, provided that the municipality retains the means to steer and oversee the operator. For its part, the CESE has made several recommendations. It proposes assessing the sector's human and material needs at the regional level (CESE, 2020) and, above all, making any public financial contribution to sports infrastructure contingent upon preliminary studies that establish its objectives, scale, operating and maintenance costs, and management models. It also recommends a national master plan accompanied by regional mapping, as well as standard partnership or delegated management contracts with clear indicators (CESE, 2022, pp. 34–35). In other words, no sports facility should be built without already knowing who will operate it and with what funding.

The challenge is that not all local governments have the same resources. The 2009 program already required them to provide the land and finance half of the construction costs (El Ouardighi, 2017). As a result, the least affluent municipalities were the least able to host such facilities, which ran counter to the goal of equity. Other stakeholders have since joined this landscape. Since January 2026, the FIFA Arena program for mini-soccer fields in schools has brought together the ministry, FIFA, the Royal Moroccan Football Federation, and the OCP Group (H24info, 2026), and a guide developed in cooperation with Germany helps municipalities welcome migrants and refugees to their facilities (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit [GIZ], 2022). This proliferation of stakeholders is a hallmark of multilevel governance (Hooghe & Marks, 2003) asset. It also creates more opportunities for responsibilities to become diluted.

5. COMMUNITY SPORTS AS A LEVER FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION

There are few public policies that do not attribute a unifying virtue to sports. Yet this idea is more often asserted than substantiated. Coalter (2007a) offers an illuminating distinction between two approaches. In the first, which he calls "sports plus," participation is promoted in the hope that it will also yield social benefits. In the second, "more sport," sports are used to achieve explicit social objectives, with a deliberate educational focus. Policies regarding sports facilities almost always fall under the first approach, while the rhetoric used to justify them readily draws on the second. Critical studies go further. It shows that social effects depend on how programs are designed, on the relationships among participants, and on the quality of supervision (Coalter, 2010; Haudenhuyse et al., 2014), and that sport can just as easily reproduce hierarchies of gender, class, or physical ability (Collins & Kay, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2014). In our model, therefore, inclusion is not a natural consequence of participation. It is the always uncertain outcome of the third conversion.

5.1 Youth: Socialization and the Limits of Principled Optimism

Young people are the primary beneficiaries of these policies. In many neighborhoods, the playground is one of the few public spaces where people can gather without having to buy anything, and group activities there foster a culture of cooperation and respect for shared rules. However, we must guard against blind optimism. Coalter (2007b) describes many sports-based inclusion programs as poorly defined interventions whose results are difficult to track. Kelly (2011) observes that they tend to address young people's supposed deficits such as their lack of confidence or discipline while ignoring the inequalities that cause their exclusion. According to Haudenhuyse et al. (2014), it is not sports that make the difference, but the quality of the bond that coaches manage to create. These insights take on very concrete meaning in Morocco. A field rented by the hour to pre-formed teams does not serve the same purpose as a field open free of charge at set times under the supervision of a facilitator, and the management practices discussed in section 6.2 suggest that the former scenario is common. The FIFA Arena program, which offers supervised activities for children ages 6 to 14 (H24info, 2026), incorporates educational support from the very outset. For now, it remains an exception.

5.2 Women, People with Disabilities, and Vulnerable Populations

No regulations prohibit women and girls from using neighborhood soccer fields. However, we do not know how many of them actually use them, due to a lack of public data, and experience from other countries calls for caution: open-access facilities there are often dominated by boys and young men (Gasparini & Vieille-Marchiset, 2008). The barriers are more implicit than explicitly stated in regulations. They include poorly suited operating hours, a lack of changing rooms, a shortage of female coaches, a sense of insecurity at certain times of day, and the perception of street sports as a male-dominated activity. These barriers are all the more difficult to overcome given that women remain a minority in the governing bodies of Moroccan sports (Lotfy & Bennis Bennani, 2023). Truly opening up sports facilities to women therefore requires specific measures, such as reserving time slots, training female coaches, adapting the facilities, or consulting local women before designing programs.

People with disabilities face similar challenges. Law No. 30-09 requires that facilities be physically accessible, but a ramp alone is not enough to make a sports field an inclusive space. Collins and Kay (2014) have shown that exclusion from sports mirrors patterns of social exclusion, where factors such as income, age, gender, disability, and place of residence intersect. Tailored programs, trained instructors, and awareness-raising among sports stakeholders are equally essential. The inclusive management guide developed for welcoming migrants and refugees (GIZ, 2022) reflects this same reality in its own way: inclusion does not happen on its own; it must be organized. A policy aimed at reaching these populations must shift from a one-size-fits-all approach to services tailored to each group.

5.3 Local Social Capital

Community sports are often expected to strengthen a region's social capital, that is, the relationships and trust that make cooperation possible (Putnam, 2000). Sports organizations do indeed foster this, particularly through volunteerism and community involvement (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). However, not all forms of social capital have the same impact. Coalter (2010) distinguishes between the bonds that unite a group within itself and those that connect different groups to one another and to institutions. The difference is far from theoretical. A playground where the same neighborhood youth gather every evening fosters genuine social interaction, but it does not generate the same value as a facility where people of different generations and social backgrounds who would not otherwise meet come together. Rigorous assessments of these effects remain rare, especially in the Global South, where they are more often claimed than measured (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). The inclusive potential of community sports is therefore real, but it depends on two factors accessibility and supervision, both of which are governed by policy decisions: fees, schedules, the hiring of program leaders, and the organization of activities.

6. REGIONAL REALITIES PUT TO THE TEST BY PUBLIC SPORTS POLICY

6.1 Persistent Regional Disparities

Indicators of limited access point to the same conclusion. In March 2022, the CESE collected 887 responses to an online questionnaire (CESE, n.d.). Half of the participants said they were "not at all satisfied" with access to community sports facilities, and only 9% reported being satisfied (CESE, 2022, p. 22). These voluntary respondents do not represent the Moroccan population, but their opinions constitute the only publicly available measure of user perception at our disposal. On another scale, the Casablanca-Settat Regional Court of Auditors audited the sports facilities of 123 local authorities in the region. It concluded that their distribution did not meet the requirement of spatial justice and recommended legally defining what constitutes a neighborhood facility (Court of

Auditors' 2022–2023 annual report, as reported by TelQuel, 2023). These findings are set against a backdrop of a highly unbalanced economic geography, as three regions account for nearly 60% of national wealth, and Boussif and Mouacha (2026) fear that investments tied to major sporting events will further exacerbate this concentration.

The recent reorientation of programs toward rural communities and urban peripheries (MENPS, n.d.-b; Hespress, 2026) partially addresses these criticisms. However, it will not be sufficient, for two reasons. The first relates to the targeting criteria themselves, which are based on population density and land availability. They indicate where it is possible to build, not where the needs are greatest. The second is more general: the distribution of facilities does not guarantee equity (Higgs et al., 2015; Soja, 2010). Asefi and Ghanbarpour Nosrati (2020) demonstrated this in Isfahan, where a distribution that appears reasonable at first glance turns out to be inequitable when considered in relation to population, land area, density, and neighborhood configuration. In Morocco, none of the dimensions of accessibility mentioned above are subject to public measurement, not even travel time, which nevertheless carries significant weight in sprawling rural municipalities. Equity ultimately depends as much on the distribution of management capacities as on that of infrastructure. This is precisely the value of the master plan and regional mapping recommended by the CESE (2022, p. 34), provided they are based on local assessments.

6.2 Financial Constraints and the Sustainability of Facilities

A sports facility costs far more than just its construction. It must be maintained, lit, repaired, and used to host events year after year, whereas public programs almost always fund only the initial investment and nothing else. The 2018 funding package did not provide any operating funding (DGCT, n.d.). The history of social and sports centers shows what happens when this issue is overlooked. In 2017, the former minister who initiated the program mentioned managing associations that generated monthly revenues of around 70,000 dirhams per center often collected in cash while his successor spoke of a failing management system (El Ouardighi, 2017). The chain of events is easy to understand. Without an operating budget, the manager seeks revenue, and without clear guidelines or oversight, this pursuit ultimately restricts access to the facilities to those who can pay.

The CESE's national assessment points in the same direction. The Council notes an ambiguous institutional and financial framework, a lack of sustainable support for operating and maintenance costs, facilities that are predominantly fee-based, highly uneven service quality, and disparate management practices rarely governed by clear specifications all complicated by the multitude of stakeholders (CESE, 2022, p. 23). Each of these points points to a failure of the initial transition. The concept of organizational capacity (Misener & Doherty, 2009) helps us understand the mechanism at work. Imagine two municipalities that receive the same piece of land, funded in the same way. If one has a staff member in charge of facilities, a budget line item for maintenance, and a partner organization bound by a specific agreement, while the other has none of these, they will achieve opposite results with identical facilities. Delegated management can compensate for the municipality's limited resources, provided that an agreement sets forth the responsibilities, operating hours, rates, access requirements, priority user groups, maintenance, revenue sharing, and oversight, as recommended by the CESE (2022, p. 35).

6.3 Institutional Fragmentation and Coordination Challenges

Under the current system, the state sets policy and provides funding; local governments provide the land and are responsible for management; associations run programs; and schools may or may not open their facilities to the neighborhood. There is nothing inherently problematic about this division of labor, except that no one is clearly accountable for the outcome. This is the well-known downside of network governance: the more actors there are, the harder it is to determine who is accountable (Stoker, 1998), and each additional intermediary creates another opportunity for failure (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973). The CESE noted that the national strategy had suffered from insufficient oversight and recommended the creation of a national steering committee (CESE, 2020). A statement made in Parliament in December 2022 sums up the problem better than any lengthy explanation. When asked about the 800-site program, the minister in charge stated that "the expertise required for these sites cannot be provided by the ministry" (Médias24, 2022). The funder thus admits to being unable to manage the program, while the entity responsible for management does not always have the resources to do so. Ansell and Gash (2008) identify precisely these uncompensated resource asymmetries as one of the main causes of failure in collaborative governance. France offers an instructive point of comparison: in 2022, the Court of Auditors noted that the lack of clarity in the division of responsibilities remained a major obstacle to shared governance in sports (Court of Auditors, 2022). Creating coordinating bodies is not enough if they lack a genuine capacity for joint action (Emerson et al., 2012).

6.4 The Lack of Evaluation

One final obstacle remains perhaps the one with the most far-reaching consequences. Community sports policies are evaluated when they are evaluated at all, based on the number of projects completed. Let's revisit Table 5 in light of the four categories defined above. Public figures refer to fields that are planned, under construction, or completed, and sometimes to facilities that have been "supported or renovated," the exact condition of which is unknown. Announcements of "opening" are the only indication purely declarative of the number of open fields. As for usage, no source provides data on this. Yet these statuses are not merely accounting nuances. The gap between planned and completed playgrounds provides insight into implementation capacity; the gap between completed and open playgrounds reflects governance capacity; and the gap between open and used playgrounds indicates accessibility. An assessment that stops at completed facilities therefore cannot reveal what happens afterward. Lascoumes and Le Galès (2012) point out that what we measure ultimately defines what we govern. As long as the benchmark indicator remains the number of courts built, construction will remain the priority even though a court that has been built but is abandoned represents public spending that yields no public value.

7. TOWARD AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE FOR COMMUNITY SPORTS

At the conclusion of this analysis, the diagnosis becomes clearer. Community sports in Morocco lack neither ambition nor, for the most part, funding. What is lacking is the link between the decision to build, day-to-day management, actual use, and evaluation. This final section draws lessons for action and translates them into hypotheses that future research can test.

7.1 Five Levers for Public Action

The first level involves integrating sports into regional planning. Regional development plans and municipal action plans should specify where future facilities will be located, which groups they will primarily serve, what staff they will require, and how their operations will be funded in line with the CESE's recommendation to assess needs at the regional level (CESE, 2020). Such planning requires starting with what already exists: knowing how many sports fields are already in use, what condition they are in, and who uses them, rather than simply looking for available land.

Planning would be of little use without a forum where stakeholders can coordinate their efforts. Local community sports committees bringing together the municipality, decentralized government agencies, schools, organizations, and user representatives could fulfill this role by coordinating programs and mediating conflicts over facility use. The French experience, however, shows that such bodies remain merely formal if they are not given their own resources or a clear division of responsibilities (Court of Auditors, 2022). Their primary tool could be a standard management agreement, which would designate a manager for each facility and establish that manager's public service obligations, revenue sharing, and oversight procedures.

Residents, for their part, know better than anyone else which hours are most convenient, where problems lie, and which groups are being left out. Involving them in the planning and monitoring of facilities would improve service delivery and give substance to the participatory mechanisms provided for in Article 139 of the Constitution. Care must simply be taken to ensure that this participation does not benefit only those groups that are already well-established, and to actively organize the participation of women, unaffiliated youth, and people with disabilities rather than merely hoping for it.

None of this will work if municipalities lack the resources to manage their facilities. Strengthening organizational capacity requires allocating an operating budget from the very outset of each project's planning, training managers and supervisors, and providing technical support to the least-resourced municipalities which are often the ones that recent programs prioritize.

The final lever concerns data. A regional dashboard, maintained by managers, should indicate for each facility whether it is planned, completed, open, or in use, and provide information on its hours of operation, usage by gender and age, the diversity of its users, its condition, and its operating expenses. If published, this data would make policy more transparent, allow for comparisons between regions, and, above all, enable it to be steered at last by its results.

7.2 Theoretical Proposals and Indicators

To move from the analysis to testable proposals, we drew inspiration from the structure-process-outcome framework proposed by Donabedian (1988) for evaluating the quality of care, and from the logic models used in program evaluation (W. K. Kellogg Foundation, 2004). The idea of a multi-level analysis of sports facilities is not new (Pan et al., 2026). What we add is the division into three dimensions, the linking of accessibility and inclusion to the criterion of public value, and

a framework designed specifically for the Moroccan context. The following six propositions, numbered H1 through H6, are not findings. They summarize what the literature review and existing research suggest being plausible and will need to be tested through empirical research. Table 6 shows the findings on which each proposition is based.

Table 6: From Literature Findings to Theoretical Proposals

Turning Point	Literature Findings	Sources	Conversion	Hypothesis
Resources without a manager or operating budget	The 2018 funding package was limited to capital expenditures; there was no sustainable support for operations; management was carried out without a set of specifications	DGCT (n.d.); CESE (2022)	1	H1, H2
Monetization of facilities	Revenue collected by associations; majority of spaces not free of charge	El Ouardighi (2017); CESE (2022)	1 and 2	H2
Inequality in municipal capacities	Required contributions from local governments; responsibilities that the ministry states it cannot fulfill	El Ouardighi (2017); Médias24 (2022)	1	H4
Unsatisfactory access and inequitable distribution	9% of respondents satisfied; spatial justice not upheld in Casablanca-Settat; targeting based on land ownership	CESE (2022); TelQuel (2023); MENPS (n.d.-b)	2	H3, H5
Lack of or Uneven Support	Exceptional educational support; inclusion dependent on dedicated tools	H24info (2026); GIZ (2022)	3	H3, H5
Lack of usage data	Indicators limited to scheduled and completed statuses	Table 5; CESE (2020, 2022)	Loop	H6

Note. C1: first conversion, from resources to sports services (governance capacity); C2: second conversion, from services to participation (effective accessibility); C3: third conversion, from participation to inclusion (support and participation); Loop: institutional learning loop (monitoring and evaluation). See Figure 1.

Table 7: Theoretical Hypotheses Derived from the Analysis (Proposals to Be Tested)

Hypothesis	Relationship	Statement
H1	Resources → governance → service	Institutional resources contribute to the quality of local sports offerings through territorial governance mechanisms that organize their mobilization and allocation.
H2	Governance → Service	The quality of governance mechanisms and the organizational capacity of managers are positively associated with the continuity, quality, and sustainability of local sports services.
H3	Service → Accessibility → Participation	Effective accessibility serves as an intermediary mechanism between the quality of the offerings and community participation; participation is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for inclusion.
H4	Condition of H2	The financial and human resources of local governments determine the relationship between governance mechanisms and the quality of services provided.
H5	Condition of H3	Territorial characteristics, socio-spatial inequalities, and the density of the nonprofit sector influence the relationship between accessibility, participation, and inclusion.
H6	Learning Cycle	Mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation, and user participation strengthen institutional learning and the continuous improvement of facility governance.

H1 and H2 focus on the first conversion, the one that transforms a facility into a service. H3 concerns the second conversion and the transition to the third, and it highlights a distinction that public discourse often overlooks: an accessible space may remain empty, and a heavily used space may serve only a single group. H4 and H5 describe the conditions that strengthen or weaken these relationships, while H6 relates to

the learning loop. To be tested, these hypotheses must be translated into measurable indicators, as proposed in Table 8.

Table 8: Operationalization of the Model's Constructs

Construct	Possible indicators	Data sources
Institutional resources	Amounts committed; source of funds; land tenure status; number of partners	Agreements, budgets, reports
Governance capacity	Designated manager; agreement and public service obligations; operating budget; staff; maintenance plan	Interviews; management documents; questionnaire for municipalities
Sports facilities	Status (planned, completed, open); hours of operation; staff; condition of facilities	Observation; records; audit checklist
Effective accessibility	Travel time and transportation; fees; awareness of services; facilities per 10,000 residents; time slots reserved for women; amenities; safety	GIS; resident survey
Participation	Weekly attendance; slot occupancy rate; regular users	Counts; reservations
Supervision and resident participation	Supervisor per time slot; training; user representation	Survey of managers and users
Local public value	Usage by gender, age, and disability; non-affiliated users; diversity; trust in institutions	Survey of users and non-users
Cross-cutting conditions	Municipal revenue per capita; technical staff; environment; poverty	Ministry of the Interior; High Commission for Planning
Learning loop	Publication of usage data; revision of agreements	Steering Documents

Validation using mixed methods appears to be the most appropriate approach. Structural equation modeling using the partial least squares method is well-suited for exploratory models involving mediation and moderation effects (Hair et al., 2022), but its selection should be justified by the nature of the variables and the sample size rather than solely by the exploratory nature of the model. Case studies comparing urban, suburban, and rural municipalities would, for their part, help to capture the concrete mechanisms that the figures merely sketch out. Finally, the model can serve as a diagnostic framework for decision makers. When faced with a facility with low usage, it encourages an investigation into where the chain has broken whether in terms of hours of operation, fees, safety, maintenance, supervision, resident outreach, or coordination among stakeholders without assuming that governance alone explains everything. The central thesis of the article can thus be stated as follows: the contribution of community sports to territorial development depends on the ability of institutions to convert sports investments into accessible, well-managed, and sustainable public services tailored to local realities.

CONCLUSION

Morocco has never had as many community sports fields as it does today, and yet never have the institutions that fund or evaluate them placed such emphasis on what remains to be done. We took this paradox as our starting point to ask whether these facilities succeed in translating the ambitions of public policy into social inclusion and territorial development. Our answer boils down to one idea. The social value of community sports is not lost at the moment of construction, but in the stages that separate a completed field from an open one, an open field from a well-used one, and mere participation from genuine social connection. Moroccan policy has succeeded in what it prioritized: construction. It has invested far less in what determines the facilities' usefulness: management, programming, actual access, and evaluation.

Public policies have undeniably created facilities where there was almost nothing before (QR1). They have done so, however, almost exclusively through investment programs, whose structures organize construction without specifying who will ensure their operation. The documents analyzed further show that the effectiveness and sustainability of these facilities depend above all on the clarity of responsibilities among the funder, owner, and operator; on the management capacities of local governments; and on formalized instruments such as agreements, public service obligations, and operating budgets (QR2). It is precisely these elements that the CESE deems to be absent or inconsistent, and which the ministry itself acknowledges it cannot provide.

Based on the available sources, the contribution of community sports to inclusion and territorial equity remains more of an assumption than a proven fact (QR3). This contribution plays out at two specific moments: when an open field becomes a frequently used space and when participation in sports fosters social bonds. However, neither of these two moments is measured, and the only available indication regarding user perception points to widespread dissatisfaction. Finally, the main obstacle to implementation stems from the absence of a feedback loop (QR4). Public figures stop at completed facilities, so that shortcomings are revealed only from the outside by the press, the CESE, or the Court of Auditors and are repeated from one program to the next. This reinforces though does not prove our general hypothesis: the

effectiveness of community sports seems to depend less on the number of facilities than on the quality of their governance.

In our view, this article makes three contributions. First, it proposes a model that describes the transition from infrastructure to public value as a series of three transformations, and that links bodies of literature previously considered separately those of collaborative governance, spatial justice, and critiques of inclusion through sports around a single criterion: the value created for residents (Moore, 1995). He then elevates organizational capacity to a standalone explanatory factor rather than a mere contextual element which helps explain why two municipalities with the same plot of land achieve opposite results. Finally, he transforms the confusion surrounding public figures into an analytical tool: distinguishing between planned, completed, open, and frequently used facilities allows for the separate measurement of each conversion. This distinction, like the ten-axis grid, could be applied to other community facilities such as youth centers or cultural centers which face the same vulnerability once they are inaugurated.

For Moroccan public policy, these findings come at an opportune moment, as the government announces a phase of consolidation. First, they call for distinguishing, in all assessments, between the four statuses of facilities; otherwise, consolidation will continue to be evaluated solely by the number of sites built. Second, they advocate that no new facility be funded without a preliminary study of its operating costs, without a designated manager, without an agreement specifying its public service obligations, and without an operating budget as recommended by the CESE. They also suggest supplementing the current targeting criteria based on population density and land use with needs assessments and technical support for the least-resourced municipalities; without this, efforts to support rural areas risk creating facilities that no one will be able to sustain. Finally, they emphasize that making facilities accessible to women, people with disabilities, and vulnerable populations must be incorporated from the design phase onward, through designated time slots, staff, and appropriate accommodations.

These conclusions are based on a literature review and do not extend beyond its scope: they do not measure the effects of the facilities, and the six hypotheses formulated remain to be tested. The next phase of this work requires field research. A survey of a sample of municipalities and facilities would allow for the testing of H1 through H6 using the indicators in Table 8. Comparative case studies, informed by interviews with elected officials, managers, and staff, would shed light on the day-to-day trade-offs that determine actual access. A survey of residents and especially those who do not use the sports facilities would help us understand what keeps them from doing so. It is undoubtedly by surveying those who do not use the facilities, rather than just the users, that we will learn whether community sports are living up to their promise.

The issue ultimately extends beyond the realm of sports alone. It is a matter of shifting from a policy focused on facilities to one focused on services, in which success would no longer be measured by the number of sports fields inaugurated, but by the diversity of those who use them and the bonds they form there. A nearby sports field is not necessarily one that is open to everyone. It becomes so only through governance decisions, and it is these decisions far more than concrete and synthetic turf that will determine the next phase of Morocco's community sports policy.

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