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Special Issue: Sport and Livelihoods

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Editorial

Sport and livelihoods: An introduction to the special issue

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INTRODUCTION

Sport for development (SFD) has continued to evolve as a field to the point where it has been suggested as an institutionalized sector within the broader international development discipline (Darnell et al., 2019; McSweeney et al., 2019). Research, practice, and policy related to SFD has increased greatly since the new millennium, including empirical analysis related to the management, innovative processes, and partnerships of organizations (Welty Peachey et al., 2018; Svensson & Cohen, 2020; Svensson & Hambrick, 2016), sociocultural investigations into the power relations across and within North/South contexts (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2014, 2017; McSweeney, 2019), explorations of gender (in)equalities and (de)colonization (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Oxford, 2019; Oxford & McLachlan, 2018), and studies of the (un)intended consequences of SFD programs for participants who are "targeted" as development beneficiaries (Spaaij, 2011, 2013a; Whitley et al., 2016), to name but a few. Yet, although critical and important insights into the complexities and premise of SFD continue to grow, and organizations continue to emerge within the field (at least pre-COVID-19), there remains a need to examine further the potential opportunities of sport, if any, for promoting and offering livelihood opportunities to specific populations (Schulenkorf et al., 2016). This special issue aims to advance theoretical, empirical, and practical insights into the relationship between SFD and livelihoods.

LIVELIHOODS AND SFD

Broadly speaking, livelihoods are defined as the way in which a person earns a living to support their subsistence of basic life necessities (De Vriese, 2006). A number of scholars from various disciplines and backgrounds, for instance political economy (Banks, 2016), refugee studies (Omata, 2012), and, perhaps most relevant for SFD, development studies (Bryceson, 1999), have conducted wide-ranging research on livelihoods in and across various contexts (e.g., sub-Saharan Africa; Indigenous communities; Latin America). In addition, international development agencies have refocused attention on strategies to enhance livelihoods, including the UN Development Program and World Bank. Indeed, the United Nations (2020) emphasizes livelihoods directly in relation to three of its Sustainable Development Goals, including Goal 1: no poverty, Goal 8: decent work and economic growth; and Goal 10: reduced inequalities. Hence, in contemporary international development, livelihoods remain as a pressing and important topic to academics, development agencies, policymakers, practitioners, and those targeted by development programs

Though livelihoods are increasingly being promoted, discussed, and studied within international development, the intersections of livelihoods and SFD have received only limited attention (Schulenkorf, 2017), with a primary focus on employability in a relatively narrow, neoliberal sense (e.g., Spaaij et al., 2013; Theeboom et al., 2020). This

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oversight is concerning given that Svensson and Woods (2017) noted that the second most common thematic area of SFD organizations included a focus on livelihoods, which used "sport to improve livelihoods of disadvantaged people through career and economic development" (p. 39). For instance, A Ganar, an organization working in Latin America to reduce cycles of poverty, received a Beyond Sport "sport for employability" award in 2015 for their SFD program focused on providing lessons from sport such as teamwork and leadership to be translated to "market-driven" skills for practical internships and opportunities (Partners of the Americas, 2020). Other SFD organizations seek to build capital of SFD participants in order to enhance education and prepare program users for future employment and occupations (e.g., Right to Play, DIVERTcity).

Sport and livelihoods may refer to a number of different employment or financial opportunities. For instance, some scholars have discussed how sport and livelihoods, at its simplest level, is related to making a living through sport, such as an athlete attaining sponsorships or professional contracts, or as a coach, sport agent, administrator, or as an athletic trainer or physiotherapist (Stewart-Withers, 2020). Indirectly, participation in sport may also lead to benefits that build additional livelihood opportunities for specific populations, for instance through improved access to education, which may make individuals better able to compete in the labor market (Dudfield, 2019). More directly, organizations may offer vocational programs alongside SFD activities (Spaaij et al., 2016), provide youth and adults with job skills training and increased access to employment opportunities through addressing social exclusion (Kay, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2013), and/or implement community SFD events that involve the hiring of local community members (Welty Peachey et al., 2015). Still, while the studies above have touched on livelihoods and SFD, as Schulenkorf et al. (2016) note, there remains a need for further attention to the intersections of SFD and "job skills training, employability, rehabilitation, and the creation of social enterprises" (p. 34). In their review of literature, Theeboom et al. (2020) conclude that there is limited evidence as to the success of programs in developing job skills and employability through sport. We would add that more scholarly work needs to be done in relation to intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability in relation to livelihoods and SFD. This special issue is one step forward in responding to the relatively limited insights into the possibility of SFD, and sport more generally, to connect with the concept of livelihoods.

OVERVIEW OF ARTICLES

The guest editor team would like to thank the contributors to the special issue and we are delighted to collaborate with scholars and practitioners to form this important addition to the SFD literature with support from the *Journal of Sport for Development* editorial and management team. The papers range across various topics, foci, countries, and SFD contexts and present interesting and nuanced viewpoints on the relationship between SFD and livelihoods. Overall, the special issue includes two From the Field articles that present important and necessary perspectives of the organizational work being done within SFD related to livelihoods and two original research articles that offer exciting empirical investigations into SFD and livelihoods.

In their From the Field article on Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment (MLSE) LaunchPad—a sport for development facility located in Toronto, Canada—Marika Warner, Jackie Robinson, Bryan Heal, Jennifer Lloyd, Patrick O'Connell, and Letecia Rose consider how SFD is used to promote work preparedness, life skills, and employability among local youth facing barriers in the Moss Park community. Informed by literature on "youth employment training" delivered by community-based entities, Warner et al. investigate the utility of MLSE LaunchPad's Positive Youth Development approach to employment training through its Ready for Work program involving "plus sport" initiatives (i.e., programming that starts with employment training as the tool to entice youth to participate) created and executed with local partners. The authors examine three programs successfully developed and delivered at LaunchPad, including: 1) Digital Customer Care and Professional, 2) Culinary Skills Placement, and 3) Leaders in Training. In turn, the authors provide an overview of best practices for delivery of such initiatives, including prioritizing the collaboration and codevelopment of programming and the utilization of mixed funding models to ensure sustainability and impact. They conclude by suggesting that "plus sport" employment training initiatives present promising opportunities to improve long-term positive youth development outcomes in relation to sport, physical activity, and employability.

In a research article, Sacha Smart, Kyle Rich, and Allan Lauzon explore the role of sport participation in newcomer migrants' acculturation and livelihoods in Toronto, Canada. Drawing on theories of social and cultural capital as well as acculturation processes, the authors direct attention to the experiences of migrants' acculturation and their use of sport to build cross-cultural relationships in relation to their social integration. Adopting an exploratory case study methodology, the paper highlights how sport played a limited role in effecting (and enhancing) the financial capabilities and livelihood opportunities of migrants. Foreign credentials and discrimination within the

community often inhibited the creation of economic capital. While sport was notable for its ability to bring diverse groups together and form new social relationships, the paper unpacks how there remained difficulties to procure interpersonal relationships through sport due to language. The authors also find that sport had an unequal distribution of benefits, for instance due to the playing ability of some sport participants compared to others. The paper holds significant insights into the limits of sport for the purposes of fostering social and cultural capital of migrants and their acculturation processes, and further, urges scholars and organizations to recognize the complex relations in which livelihoods and sport intertwine. Overall, the authors suggest there is a need for further research on how the sport industry might overcome challenges to the generation of social and cultural capital of migrants and offer livelihood opportunities to individuals who face disparate and difficult circumstances during their resettlement.

In another From the Field submission, Anne De Martini and Wylie Belasik demonstrate how an SFD initiative in the United States draws on thoughtful and mutually beneficial partnerships to mitigate community and institutional challenges in order to improve participants' livelihoods. The unique CrossFit initiative, UliftU, is tailored to support incarcerated men as they re-enter the workforce, and the program is offered to men while incarcerated and after their release. Incarcerated men face many challenges once released, such as stigma, lack of work experience and job skills, and employer prejudice (Bucknor & Barber, 2016; Holzer et al., 2003). Fitness industry jobs do not have extensive barriers to employment. CrossFit, a company and unique fitness regimen, has low barriers to entry, high growth, and adaptability. CrossFit workouts are scalable to individual fitness, which helps with accessibility. They are also performed in groups led by a coach, which engenders a supportive community. Participants are required to commit to the year-long training (at no charge) that includes workouts at the gym, preparation for Level 1 trainer certification, and assisting at the gym with various paid tasks such as coaching, hosting the front desk, and cleaning. Various partnerships have been formalized for UliftU to meet its goals: the federal court system provides referrals, an adult educational specialist delivers andragogy, the CrossFit foundation donates resources, and a for-profit CrossFit gym houses the initiative. UliftU developed from experiences of an SFD initiative that did not work. While UliftU has not been formally evaluated, this paper demonstrates that thoughtful partnerships coupled with a tailored approach has the potential to improve participants' livelihoods.

In the second research article, Rochelle Stewart-Withers and Jeremy Hapeta examine livelihoods using an analysis of different forms of capital—human, psychological, social, and cultural—that are developed and transferred in a sport for development program. Their empirical focus is the Māori and Pasifika Rugby Academy (MPRA), a sport-based educational partnership in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The authors conclude that the education provided in the program is particularly apt for fostering cultural and psychological capital. Calling for a holistic partnership approach to using sport to increase employability, their analysis of the MPRA program suggests that initiatives need to think beyond the end goal of building hard skills (i.e., training and educational qualifications). They argue that "soft skills might be the most important, albeit the hardest to evidence. In this case, increasing cultural and psychological capital were key to unlocking potential making more out of human and social capital" (Stewart-Withers & Hapeta, 2020, p. 61).

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR SPORT AND LIVELIHOODS RESEARCH

The articles in this special issue offer a starting point for future research into SFD and livelihoods. More specifically, the articles underline the key role that varying forms of social, cultural, and economic capital play in influencing and impacting how individuals involved in SFD navigate, relate to, and potentially acquire livelihood opportunities. Given the importance of varying forms of capital, future studies may find the utilization of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) (see Chambers & Conway, 1992) particularly suitable for empirical investigations. The SLF has become an increasingly popular approach for the study of livelihoods in international development, most notably for its application to poverty eradication, moving beyond traditional definitions that focused on certain (mostly economic-related) elements of poverty, such as low income or employment levels (Scoones, 1998, 2009). The SLF instead focuses attention on the varying ways in which poverty is perpetuated by, for example, social exclusion, gender relations, lack of social services, and the multidimensional factors and differentiated processes that construct livelihoods and their attainment. Different types of capital (natural, economic, human, cultural, and social) that individuals accumulate and/or face challenges of attaining are assessed in relation to the construction of livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). The nuanced nature of the SLF to be applied to diverse contexts of livelihoods has led to it being operationalized in responding to specific global development goals, including the Sustainable Development Goals.

While we hope that this special issue invigorates more

research that adopts the SLF for studies of SFD and livelihoods, another theoretical lens that may be useful for future empirical investigations is the capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2011; Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 1999). The capabilities approach has been discussed more recently in relation to SFD (e.g., Darnell & Dao, 2017; Svensson & Levine, 2017; Zipp & Nauright, 2018). As Zipp, Smith, and Darnell (2019) argue, the capabilities approach

> *encourages a better understanding of how development initiatives are experienced, rather than restricting the focus of development (and development research, merely to prescribed outcomes, which can obscure underlying inequalities (e.g. gender, race, class), reinforce neo-liberal ideologies and overlook restraints on peoples' freedoms. (p. 8)*

The ability for the capabilities approach to understand how development programs are experienced is key for advancing studies of how SFD initiatives focused on livelihood creation and opportunities actually take place and the processes and possibilities involved therein. Other research pertaining to livelihoods may benefit from examining more closely social enterprises, social entrepreneurship, and innovation in SFD, which are growing areas of scholarly investigation (McSweeney, 2020; Svensson, Anderson, & Faulk, 2020; Svensson, Mahoney, & Hambrick, 2020; Whitley & Welty Peachey, 2020). Social enterprises and social entrepreneurs have been claimed to hold potential for enhancing livelihood opportunities for diverse individuals and groups, particularly through microfinance or job readiness programs (e.g., Kistruck et al., 2011; Mair & Marti, 2009a, 2009b). Future research should investigate the intersections of SFD, innovation, social entrepreneurship, and livelihoods more specifically.

Whilst this special issue highlights sport and livelihoods work that is taking place across diverse contexts in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand, there is also a need for future research beyond the Global North. Hence, another future direction for research into sport and livelihoods is to explore more specifically and analyze sport-related work taking place in the Global South, or in low- to middle-income countries, that seek to offer opportunities of employment and livelihood creation to individuals, groups, and communities. From the Field articles and insights that draw on and emphasize practitioner viewpoints in Global South contexts are particularly needed given that a large portion of SFD takes place in such geographical locations (Svensson & Woods, 2017). These articles may shed light on the innovative and novel approaches that actors "on the ground" employ for the purposes of sport and livelihoods.

The articles in this special issue also speak to the broader context in which sport and livelihoods take place. In particular, recognition of the structural relations that constrain certain populations (e.g., newly arrived migrants, youth in low-income areas) from employment or job opportunities were essential—and perhaps more importantly, influential for sport participants—to understand the complexities and nuances inherent within livelihood attainment and access. Indeed, Smart et al. in this special issue and Spaaij (2013b) point to how sport may not hold much relevance for newly arrived migrants and their livelihoods given that their immediate need is to gain employment in a new country and community. Hence, the question arises, what is sport's place in livelihoods? How does SFD hold promise for the creation of livelihood opportunities if structural constraints (e.g., gender equality, migrant discrimination) inhibit the ability of sport to make an impact?

This leads to an additional future research avenue in SFD—that of critical research related to sport and livelihoods. Darnell et al. (2018) argue that instrumental approaches to, for example, vocational training through SFD, may merely train individuals and groups to be passive workers in a depoliticized, inequitable world. Given this, the authors suggest that scholars should look to adopt critical approaches that "might investigate the structures or antecedents of unemployment or discuss the socio-political implications of preparing workers for a neo-liberal global order in which capital is increasingly unregulated and mobile, and labour less organized and more precarious" (Darnell et al., 2018, p. 140-141). Indeed, critical explorations of SFD and livelihoods are particularly encouraged due to the way(s) in which they may not only offer more nuance to the power (and neoliberal) relations that influence employment-focused sport programs, but also work to envision an approach to SFD and livelihoods that accounts for the diverse sociopolitical contexts in which labor remains important to those SFD participants who have often been marginalized by the very (capital) system within which they hope to work. Hence, further research that unpacks the complexities, relations of power, and neoliberal structures of SFD and livelihoods would assist in uncovering and explicating the way in which SFD programs, participants, and organizations navigate, perpetuate, and/or resist a neoliberal ethos.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Finally, it is important to highlight the practical implications this special issue holds in relation to sport and livelihoods, particularly given the inclusion of two From the Field articles. First, both Warner et al. and DeMartini and Belasik

note the significance of collaboration and mutually beneficial partnerships for proper implementation of sport and livelihood programs. This includes the need for SFD staff and organizations to codevelop livelihood programs with partners and end users in order for effective execution of SFD for participants to ensure that livelihoods are sustained and successful for individuals. We would suggest then that—for any SFD program, but sport and livelihoods in particular—building reciprocal and inclusive relationships with partners and end users is crucial for SFD relevance, effectiveness, and impact. Involving partners and end users step-by-step in the cocreation of sport and livelihoods programming, from initial needs assessment and conceptualization to implementation, evaluation, and follow-up, and adhering to inclusive and ethical decision making and sharing of ideas, questions, and challenges of SFD initiatives is required.

Second, and specific to the contribution by DeMartini and Belasik, SFD organizations should consider alternative sports (e.g., CrossFit) for sport and livelihood programs beyond traditional sports used in SFD (e.g., football/soccer, rugby, basketball) (Svensson & Woods, 2017). This includes the use of less structured sports and informal activities (see Jeanes et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2020; McSweeney et al., 2020) in SFD practice that may have fewer barriers to participation for marginalized individuals and groups. As highlighted in their From the Field article, CrossFit is one sport that is less restrictive to potential participants (in this case, formerly incarcerated individuals) and, furthermore, offers a space in which SFD participants may not only engage in physically, but also find livelihoods (e.g., coaching, administration).

Last, with reference to honing in on the power relations and neoliberal underpinnings of sport and livelihood programs discussed above, SFD organizations and practitioners should discuss, highlight, and structure SFD programs to unpack the ways in which those unemployed or less likely to attain livelihood opportunities have arrived at such a position. For instance, in what ways do sport and livelihood programs consider structural relations of poverty or gender that inhibit livelihood creation for specific populations and work to disrupt such relations rather than work within such structures? In practice, this may mean that SFD organizations, program creators, and end users collectively envision how employment opportunities may possibly be increased for certain individuals and groups but also how to deconstruct underpinning relations leading to unemployment in the first place. For example, practitioners may wish to pair employment opportunities with programs focused on gender equity in communities where unemployment is high for women and girls to respond to marginalization and underrepresentation. Another strategy may involve working with nonsport partners (such as is noted in this special issue) to conduct community-based assessments of poverty and the factors that influence unregulated, limited, or precarious labor of certain people in specific contexts and to construct SFD programs that work to ameliorate such factors for sustainable livelihood creation (such as is emphasized in the SLF mentioned above). Although these practical suggestions are not exhaustive (and indeed will require further research and refinement over time to understand whether such strategies may reduce inequitable relations in regard to sport and livelihoods), it is nonetheless important for practitioners to consider the neoliberal and broader power structures in which sport and livelihoods programs take place to ensure that participants of such initiatives may find sustainable employment and improved opportunities to work.

Overall, the possibility of SFD to create livelihood opportunities is even more important given the worldwide impact COVID-19 has had on communities around the globe, including its impact on the social, cultural, political, and perhaps most important, economical contexts in which SFD takes place. COVID-19 has had enormous implications on the economic stability of various countries, including many nations in sub-Saharan Africa (where a large majority of SFD programs operate) (Svensson & Woods, 2017), and even more pertinent, diverse effects on marginalized populations including women, refugees, Indigenous communities, and other often underrepresented groups (Handy Charles, 2020; Levesque & Thériault, 2020; Lewis, 2020). It is difficult to approximate the effects of COVID-19 around the globe, especially as its effects will remain for years to come. And yet, as others have postulated, the reconstruction of economic sustainability and restructuring of the global economy will need to occur in order for many of the effects of the global pandemic to be managed and, ideally, better serve those who have been both impacted greatly by the global pandemic as well as have been marginalized prior to (and after) its longevity. What role does SFD play post-COVID-19 in relation to livelihoods? How may SFD, through employability programs or livelihood creation, support and enhance (or perpetuate) the lives and systemic structures of inequality that have become even clearer during the global pandemic? We hope that this special issue and its included articles serves as a starting point for future investigations of SFD and livelihoods.

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From the Field

A comprehensive sport for development strategy using collaborative partnerships to facilitate employment among youth facing barriers

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ABSTRACT

The collaborative development and delivery of "plus sport" employment training programs are promising strategies to increase work readiness, life skills, and employment among youth facing barriers to positive development in a North American urban context. Three programs developed and delivered at MLSE LaunchPad, a large urban sport for development facility in Toronto, Canada, provide a precedent for further implementation and study of collaborative programs that incorporate intentionally designed sport activities into a youth employment program. Strategic codevelopment and codelivery of "plus sport" programs with collaborative community partners and a mixed funding model involving professional sport organizations, charitable foundations, corporate partners, individual donors, and various levels of government are recommended to maximize sustainability and impact. Learnings to date at MLSE LaunchPad point to several key programming components for the successful delivery of youth sport for development employment training in a context of high youth unemployment rates disproportionately impacting youth facing barriers and a rapidly evolving job market.

The Youth Employment Landscape

Canada's youth unemployment rate is 10.3%—nearly double that of the general population (Statistics Canada, 2019). The national average, however, does not reflect the higher youth unemployment rates seen in specific regions of the country. In Ontario, youth unemployment is above the national average at 12.7% and up to double the overall provincial unemployment rate due to growth in the youth labor force that exceeds growth in available jobs (Geobey, 2013; Government of Ontario, 2018; St. Stephen's Community House & Access Alliance [SSCHAA], 2016). During times of economic recession, Ontario's youngest workers have experienced the most adverse employment outcomes (Geobey, 2013; SSCHAA, 2016). In the city of Toronto, youth unemployment is 13.4%—the highest of any region in Ontario—and has trended above the national average since the early 2000s (Geobey, 2013; Government of Ontario, 2018). This trend relates to an increased representation of youth facing barriers, including racialized (nonwhite) and newcomer youth (youth new to Canada). The high unemployment rate also relates to the policy, infrastructure, and economic composition of Toronto (Bolíbar et al., 2019; City of Toronto, 2018; Geobey, 2013) and demonstrates a consistent failure in policies designed to address youth employment issues (Bancroft, 2017; SSCHAA, 2016). Growing structural inequities profoundly impact business and educational institutions and create barriers to employment for racialized and low-income youth (Geobey, 2013). Systemic racism and asymmetry in educational and economic resources constrain occupational attainment among these populations, particularly in neighborhoods that face significant social and economic

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challenges, including high rates of poverty, homelessness, and criminal activity (Diemer, 2009; Sabeel Rahman, 2018). Racial disparity in youth employment outcomes is apparent in Toronto, with unemployment rates up to 23.9% among racialized youth and 28.0% among Black youth (SSCHAA, 2016).

Further, youth unemployment acts as a trigger for increased poverty and social isolation, cumulative disadvantages that make it even more challenging to obtain a job (Bolíbar et al., 2019). Chronic unemployment harms the support networks of young people from low-income backgrounds, reducing the presence of resourceful contacts among these youth (Bolíbar et al., 2019). Precarious employment also leads to adverse health outcomes, exclusion from resources, and decreased access to social services, including employment training (Briggs, 2018; Mayhew & Quinlan, 2002). Yet accountability for youth unemployment continues to fall on individual youth, who are pressured to take full responsibility for their employment status even while contending with vast and intersecting structural inequities (Bancroft, 2017; Sabeel Rahman, 2018). Among youth who are employed, working poverty and precarious employment are common issues (Briggs, 2018; Statistics Canada, n.d.; The Blagrave Trust, 2018), and full-time earnings continue to fall (Kershaw, 2017). Workplace discrimination is a well-documented reality (PricewaterhouseCoopers [PwC], 2018; SSCHAA, 2016), and youth who face barriers to positive development, including racialized and newcomer youth, are more likely to struggle to secure work and remain employed (Briggs, 2018; Liang et al., 2017; Santos-Brien, 2018; The Blagrave Trust, 2018). Individuals who faced barriers including trauma, poverty, or other social marginalization as adolescents are less likely to be employed and much less likely to have a high-quality job at age 29 (Ross et al., 2018).

Youth employment plays a significant role in generating social stability and positive health outcomes for individuals, families, and communities (Briggs, 2018; Liang et al., 2017; Mumcu et al., 2019; SSCHAA, 2016). Having a job between ages 13 and 17 predicts higher job quality in adulthood with significant implications relating to income and well-being (Ross et al., 2018). However, youth face a range of difficulties in finding and keeping work. Transitions encountered during late adolescence and emergent adulthood present issues that may negatively impact employment outcomes (Lane & Carter, 2006; Liang et al., 2017; The Blagrave Trust, 2018).

Beyond job precarity, discrimination, and inequity in networks and social capital, significant obstacles to sustainable employment relate to levels of education, skills, and experience as well as mental health, attitudes, and motivation (Liang et al., 2017; Sack & Allen, 2019; SSCHAA, 2016). Youth, particularly those who are out of school and without postsecondary credentials, need improved on-ramps to workforce engagement (Ross et al., 2018; Sack & Allen, 2019). Work readiness and life skills also play significant roles in a successful job search and ongoing job retention, with employers frequently citing a lack of "soft skills" or life skills as a central reason for the termination of new employees (Ross et al., 2018).

Challenges in Youth Employment Training

Rigorous evaluations of youth employment programs demonstrate mixed and modest results overall (Bloom & Miller, 2018; Matsuba et al., 2008; SSCHAA, 2016), pointing to a scarcity of engaging and impactful job training programs for youth. Some programs succeed in providing practical job training skills but do not demonstrate impact relating to other relevant domains such as self-concept and life skills (Matsuba et al., 2008). Employer expectations for work readiness and life skills have grown since 2000 (Modestino & Paulsen, 2019) placing an increased yet unmet demand on providers of youth employment training to develop novel and innovative tactics to deliver on these outcomes (Matsuba et al., 2008; Bloom & Miller, 2018). Other programs have not evolved sufficiently to keep pace with rapid changes in the job market, creating a mismatch between skills and demand and resulting in an overrepresentation of youth in low-wage jobs without specialized skill requirements (The Blagrave Trust, 2018). Existing job training programs may tend to mobilize youth for low-quality low-wage work (Spaaij et al., 2013) instead of jobs that offer stability, self-esteem, and a living wage (Briggs, 2018).

Advancements in technology have created a demand for new skills and capabilities in the labor force while rendering others obsolete (PwC, 2018). There is an increasing risk of loss of talent to support Canada's skilled labor force, particularly in the digital and information technology sectors (PwC, 2018). The youth employment training sector's response to these shifts has been insufficient, and vocational pathways are continually undervalued in the creation and delivery of youth employment training supports (The Blagrave Trust, 2018). Local needs assessments in downtown neighborhoods such as Toronto's Moss Park have uncovered strong interest in and demand for accessible vocational training for youth (SSCHAA, 2016). Yet, few such programs exist in these geographical areas.

Establishing adequate youth employment training resources is likely to be time consuming and resource intensive (PwC, 2018). These factors result in the reproduction of existing programs that have not demonstrated an ability to support youth to reach their employment-related objectives. Community-based organizations and collaborative partnership approaches are typically underutilized in the provision of employment support for youth (Sack & Allen, 2019), with the bulk of services delivered in isolation by municipal and higher levels of government. This model may present additional obstacles to youth already facing barriers to employment, and employment training resources located in neighborhoods and provided by trusted community organizations are likely to increase access to such services.

The factors discussed above that contribute to adverse youth employment outcomes involve significant structural and systemic causes that cannot be addressed simply through employment training programs and a positive youth development (PYD) approach (PwC, 2018; Sabeel Rahman, 2018; Santos-Brien, 2018; The Blagrave Trust, 2018). Beyond individual skill development, elements of social inclusion such as housing, urban planning, transit, and child care must also be considered in programming and policy making to authentically address youth employment as a complex social issue (Coalter, 2015; SSCHAA, 2016).

Program Setting and Population

Youth facing barriers to positive development are the intended beneficiaries of the sport for development (SFD) strategy described below. Youth facing barriers are defined as youth who may require additional supports and services to reach their full potential. In the context of MLSE LaunchPad, a SFD facility located in downtown Toronto, those facing barriers include racialized youth, Indigenous youth, low-income youth, youth with disabilities, homeless or underhoused youth, youth in foster care or leaving care, 2SLGBTQ youth, newcomer youth, and youth in conflict with the law.

MLSE LaunchPad occupies the ground floor of a subsidized housing building. The local area has a high proportion of subsidized housing and the highest density of homeless shelters in Canada (Dhungana, 2012; James, 2010; Kumbi, 2013), exhibits high rates of poverty, and is home to many low-income families, including over 3000 low-income youth (City of Toronto, 2011, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). Approximately 50% of the neighborhood's population was born outside of Canada. Over 60% of residents are racialized individuals, and Black and South Asian are the predominant racialized groups (City of Toronto, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). Disproportionate numbers of youth from low-income families and racialized neighborhoods such as Moss Park have few work opportunities beyond low-wage, precarious employment (Briggs, 2018). The area also has serious safety issues with a high rate of criminal activity (CBC News, 2012). Demographic data collected from youth participants at MLSE LaunchPad indicate that 88.67% identify as racialized youth with the highest representation among Black youth at 33.83%. Of the youth polled, 76.76% report an annual household income less than $30,000 (MLSE LaunchPad, 2018/19) below the low-income cutoff for a family of three in the province of Ontario. Within the local community, youth unemployment is a prevalent concern (City of Toronto, 2018), and many youth face barriers to finding and keeping paid jobs.

Objective

This study responds to the "need for theoretically informed explanations of the ways that sports and sport participation can be organized and combined with other activities for the purpose of empowering young people" (Coakley, 2011, p. 318). We report on our experience with collaborative development and delivery of "plus sport" employment training programs in a community-based SFD setting and the application of evidence-based strategies and tactics in programming. Specific research questions are as follows:

1. Is the implementation of "plus sport" youth employment training programs feasible in an urban SFD setting?

2. Does a collaborative partnership and funding model support the sustainable delivery of such programs?

3. What is the impact of such programs on youth employment and related outcomes?

By applying a systematic framework for observation and measurement of program outcomes, this experiment questions the neoliberal approach to sport for youth development, wherein sport inevitably leads to individual and community development, which has typically been supported by anecdotal evidence (Coakley, 2011, 2015). In the programs discussed, employment training acts as the hook to attract youth whose goals include finding and keeping paid work. Employment and related outcomes are the primary focus, and sport is an additional context for teaching skills and behaviors that contribute to employment outcomes. This approach is a promising strategy to increase work readiness, life skills, and employment levels among youth facing barriers in a Western urban context (Spaaij et

al., 2013; Walker, 2018; Walker et al., 2017).

Beyond a programmatic focus on individual development, the approach aims to impact government policy and sector-wide standards for the provision of employment training services by testing and refining an approach to youth employment training that is community based, youth focused, and evidence based. The findings discussed may be applied and further researched in SFD and youth development contexts, from front-line program delivery to policy setting. However, critical discourse relating to this novel approach is required to tease out the further potential for impact, applicability in various settings and with multiple populations, and theoretical and practical implications. To stimulate dialogue on key learnings to date and to catalyze cross-sectoral discussion of the utility and application of this strategy, this paper describes and explains MLSE LaunchPad's collaborative partnership approach to implementing a comprehensive SFD strategy to increase positive youth outcomes relating to employment.

Current Best Practices in Youth Employment Training

The Youth Employment Index identifies five key factors essential to accelerating a young person's path to employment through a collaborative partnership approach: (a) people and leadership skills, (b) access to networks, (c) formal qualifications, (d) relevant experience, and (e) practical job application skills (PwC, 2018). These factors establish a framework for youth employment training that is supported by a range of literature in the SFD and PYD fields (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005; Lyras & Welty Peachy, 2011; Matsuba et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2018; Sack & Allen, 2019; Santos-Brien, 2018; Spaaij et al., 2013).

Training programs designed to improve youth employment outcomes should include holistic wraparound services such as counseling, mentoring, and guidance components (Arellano et al., 2018; Cragg et al., 2018; Matsuba et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2018; Santos-Brien, 2018; SSCHAA, 2016; Whitley et al., 2018), income support (Santos-Brien, 2018), and nonemployment focused activities (Santos-Brien, 2018) to address internal and external barriers to employment (Sack & Allen, 2019; Spaaij et al., 2013). A PYD approach to employment training is recommended, with a focus on personal strengths and the growth of positive developmental assets through appropriately structured activities delivered in a safe environment (Ross et al., 2018). Ideal employment supports are "one-stop shops" located in and responsive to local communities (Santos-Brien, 2018) and supported by multistakeholder partnerships to incorporate a diversity of expertise relating to employable skills training, work readiness including job search skills, life skills development, and mental health (Spaaij et al., 2013). The involvement of multiple partners in design and delivery may help ensure that programs align with regional needs—another recognized factor influencing program outcomes (Ross et al., 2018). While prioritizing a welcoming and relaxed informal atmosphere (Ross et al., 2018; SSCHAA, 2016), programs should engage employers both in program design and delivery and as postprogram entry points into the labor market (Santos-Brien, 2018).

Successful programs address the specific and tangible obstacles that youth face in entering and remaining in the workforce, including underlying psycho-socio-emotional issues (Matsuba et al., 2008). Program components designed to increase confidence and motivation play an important role in addressing such obstacles (Santos-Brien, 2018). A comprehensive approach should develop positive psychological traits in addition to skills training and work experience (Matsuba et al., 2008). Participation in career or technical education that is relationship based is related to higher job quality and is a practical approach to addressing barriers to quality employment for youth. Relationship-based training takes place at the workplace in whole or in part and explicitly or implicitly involves a relationship with an adult or supervisor (Ross et al., 2018). This approach benefits from the integration of multiple community partners. Work-based learning (Ross et al., 2018), apprenticeships (Sack & Allen, 2019), and volunteer experiences (Spaaij et al., 2013) offer potential contexts to deliver relationship-based employment training. Community-based organizations are well positioned to connect youth who are not currently working or in school to these programs (Sack & Allen, 2019). One collaboratively delivered Boston-based program demonstrated positive impact resulting from an integrated curriculum combining work experience and job readiness curricula (Modestino & Paulsen, 2019).

The use of formal eligibility criteria for youth employment training programs increases the likelihood that youth who enter programs will complete the program and experience the intended benefits (Bloom & Miller, 2018). Programs appear to be more effective for young people who possess sufficient intrinsic motivation and some established base competencies (Spaaij et al., 2013). Training programs should also offer relevant formal qualifications and credentials that align with current local job market demands (Sack & Allen, 2019; Santos-Brien, 2018). Credentials and certifications increase individuals' ability to secure stable employment, decreasing vulnerability to long-term marginalization (Briggs, 2018). By employing these documented best practices, programs may allow youth to gain work readiness skills appropriate both to the individual

youth and the local context (Ross et al., 2018).

Youth summer employment programs are a relatively common intervention in youth employment training. Based on available evidence, this style of programming should not be overlooked as a potentially impactful tactic and has the potential for far-reaching and long-term positive outcomes (Modestino & Paulsen, 2019). Summer work programs appear to be more impactful for "at-risk" youth. Such programs may help to ameliorate adverse employment outcomes—including unemployment, low income, and low-quality work—experienced at increased rates by youth who face barriers to positive development (Modestino & Paulsen, 2019). Mechanisms of impact for summer employment programs include improving behaviors related to academic success, increasing career and educational aspirations, reducing opportunities to engage in negative behavior, and providing direct income support to youth and their families (Modestino & Paulsen, 2019).

SFD and Employment Training: Existing Connections and Gaps

Programs with employment as an intended outcome make up a small proportion of SFD programs worldwide. Recent review articles have created international listings of programs utilizing SFD to address various thematic issues, including livelihoods. Programs that targeted livelihood issues made up 5-17% of all SFD programs included (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Svensson & Woods, 2017). In another recent review article, of 46 studies of youth SFD interventions, only two included outcomes related to employment (Whitley et al., 2017).

One qualitative study examined the impact of two programs combining education with sport activities to increase youth employability (Spaaij et al., 2013). These programs included multisector involvement from partners in professional sport, government, and charitable organizations. The integration of sport in program content was critical in achieving positive employment outcomes, including increased social and job search skills (Spaaij et al., 2013). Issues with the sustainability of youth employment postprogram (Spaaij et al., 2013) suggest that more significant postprogram support and follow-up may increase long-term outcomes.

The subject of life skills transference stemming from sport experience has been theorized and reported extensively with the conclusion that life skills developed through sport likely do not transfer automatically from one domain to another, for example from sport to the workplace (Whitley et al., 2019). Intentional program design bridging the gap between sport and workplace contexts and integrated curriculum including sport activities designed to foster development, practice, and transfer of life skills are necessary to support the transference of life skills developed in a SFD setting to the workplace (Petitpas et al., 2005; Turnnidge et al., 2014; Whitley et al., 2019). Other conditions known to facilitate life skills transference to nonsport settings include coach support to identify life skills developed through sport activities and how these life skills may be applied in other settings, strategizing and practicing the application of life skills in a variety of contexts, and debriefing experiences of applying life skills. Program design should also include elements in the sport setting that relate to other domains of life and provide real-life examples of life skills application outside of sport including involvement of past participants and other relatable role models (Camiré et al., 2007; Danish et al., 2005; Gould & Carson, 2008; Petitpas et al., 2005; Turnnidge et al., 2014).

Projections predict that the sport industry is likely to create new jobs in the immediate future (Mumcu et al., 2019). Despite concerns regarding public–private partnerships in the provision of social services (Collins & Haudenhuyse, 2015), the community sport and professional sport industries may be valuable partners for creating and delivering responsive and engaging youth employment training programs. Sport-based partnerships have the potential to develop programs that align with current and future job market demands, including emerging opportunities in the sport industry and related industries such as hospitality and technology. Positive youth development is more likely to be achieved when sport programming is strategically combined with nonsport programming to promote specific objectives. Thus, employment training programs developed and delivered in partnership with the professional sport and SFD sectors are promising avenues for long-term youth and community impact (Jones et al., 2017).

Further, SFD organizations may be well positioned to manage such partnerships effectively. A recent study used social network analysis to explore characteristics of cross-sectoral networks that promoted sport and civic participation among individuals facing barriers and concluded that sport organizations should coordinate such systems (Dobbels et al., 2018). Cross-sector partnerships also present several challenges relating to impact and sustainability. Pertinent challenges in the context of this field report include partner skepticism regarding sport as a tool for PYD, the potential for power imbalances, and lack of alignment regarding objectives, which may contribute to mission drift (MacIntosh et al., 2016; Welty Peachy et al., 2018). Simple and clearly stated objectives that align with

each partner's stated purpose is a necessary component for cross-sector partnership in SFD (MacIntosh et al., 2016).

SFD programs designed to address employment outcomes have received little attention in research and evaluation (Darnell et al., 2018; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Spaaij et al., 2013; Svensson & Woods, 2017; Whitley et al., 2017). The potential to impact livelihoods is one of the least studied areas of SFD (Svensson & Woods, 2017). The focus of study in the SFD field has predominantly been on educational and emotional outcomes and social cohesion (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Svensson & Woods, 2017) without consideration of employment and income as mediators of these other outcome domains—one limitation in the literature and a possible avenue for future study. Further, transference between sport and external contexts represents a small portion of the research body (Jones et al., 2017), which highlight several limitations to the presumed transferability of life skills learned and adopted in a sport context (Petitpas et al., 2005; Turnnidge et al., 2014; Whitley et al., 2019). Rigorous short- and long-term mixed methods evaluations of SFD programs with employability and employment as primary objectives offer a means to assess the transference between sport and the workplace. Research and program evaluations that follow youth throughout their participation in a "plus sport" employment training program and later in their work environment offer great potential for learning relating to the transference of life skills and other cognitive and emotional outcomes of SFD outside the sport context. Further, the development and application of positive youth outcomes in sport and nonsport contexts are typically studied separately (Jones et al., 2017). The results of programs integrating sport into youth employment training may have substantial implications for future best practice in youth employment training and SFD.

An Evidence-Informed Approach to Youth Employment Training in Sport for Development

The current study draws from the literature outlined above, which provides substantial direction for SFD programming organizations seeking to impact youth employment outcomes and for youth employment service organizations considering how to increase their impact through creative innovation and collaboration. The programs discussed below include multiple tactics supported by the extant literature, including wraparound services, income support, and activities not directly related to employment (Matsuba et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2018; Santos-Brien, 2018; Spaaij et al., 2013). A relationship-based approach to PYD builds soft skills, job search skills, and social capital (PwC, 2018; Ross et al., 2018). Formal credentials and work experience are realized through a community-based, collaborative, and centralized service delivery model in an inclusive setting (Santos-Brien, 2018; Spaaij et al., 2013). Application of appropriate eligibility criteria and intentional alignment with local job market demands increases the likelihood of a positive impact (Ross et al., 2018; Sack & Allen, 2019; Santos-Brien, 2018). While not directly proposing a SFD approach for youth employment training, the literature reviewed support multiple aspects of the strategy detailed in this field report and suggest further exploration of this approach (Petitpas et al., 2005; Spaaij et al., 2013; Whitley et al., 2019).

MLSE LaunchPad's Ready for Work Strategy

The intention of MLSE LaunchPad's Ready for Work programming pillar is to offer a comprehensive strategy to address youth employment outcomes through SFD. The approach includes a range of "plus sport" employment training programs developed and delivered in close collaboration with local partner organizations with similar intended outcomes and strong reputations in the community. MLSE LaunchPad's approach to employment training views sport and physical activity as potentially powerful tools to teach the skills required to gain meaningful and sustainable employment and focuses primarily on interrogating the impact of SFD on individual development with a secondary focus on community development. SFD's role in societal development, while a crucial question, is beyond the scope of this program evaluation. Although structural inequity is recognized as a necessary strategic focus to enable long-term social change (Sabeel Rahman, 2018), deep-rooted systemic inequities are not expected to be modifiable through this approach. This approach focuses on strategies that complement structural change while enabling economic participation in the short and medium term.

The facility offers job skills training programs that combine classroom or kitchen-based learning with on-court sport components in an integrated curriculum to assist youth in gaining both the technical and "soft" skills required for employment in a variety of sport and nonsport settings. Youth are recruited through word of mouth and employment training partners. These recruitment tactics align with the "plus sport" approach, wherein youth primarily access the program for employment training and job search support, and sport is an additional teaching tool to assist youth in achieving their work-related objectives. It stands to reason that the pervasiveness of the "Great Sport Myth"—a strong belief in the inherent purity and goodness of sport (Coakley, 2015)—may aid the use of sport as a hook for youth participants and for program delivery

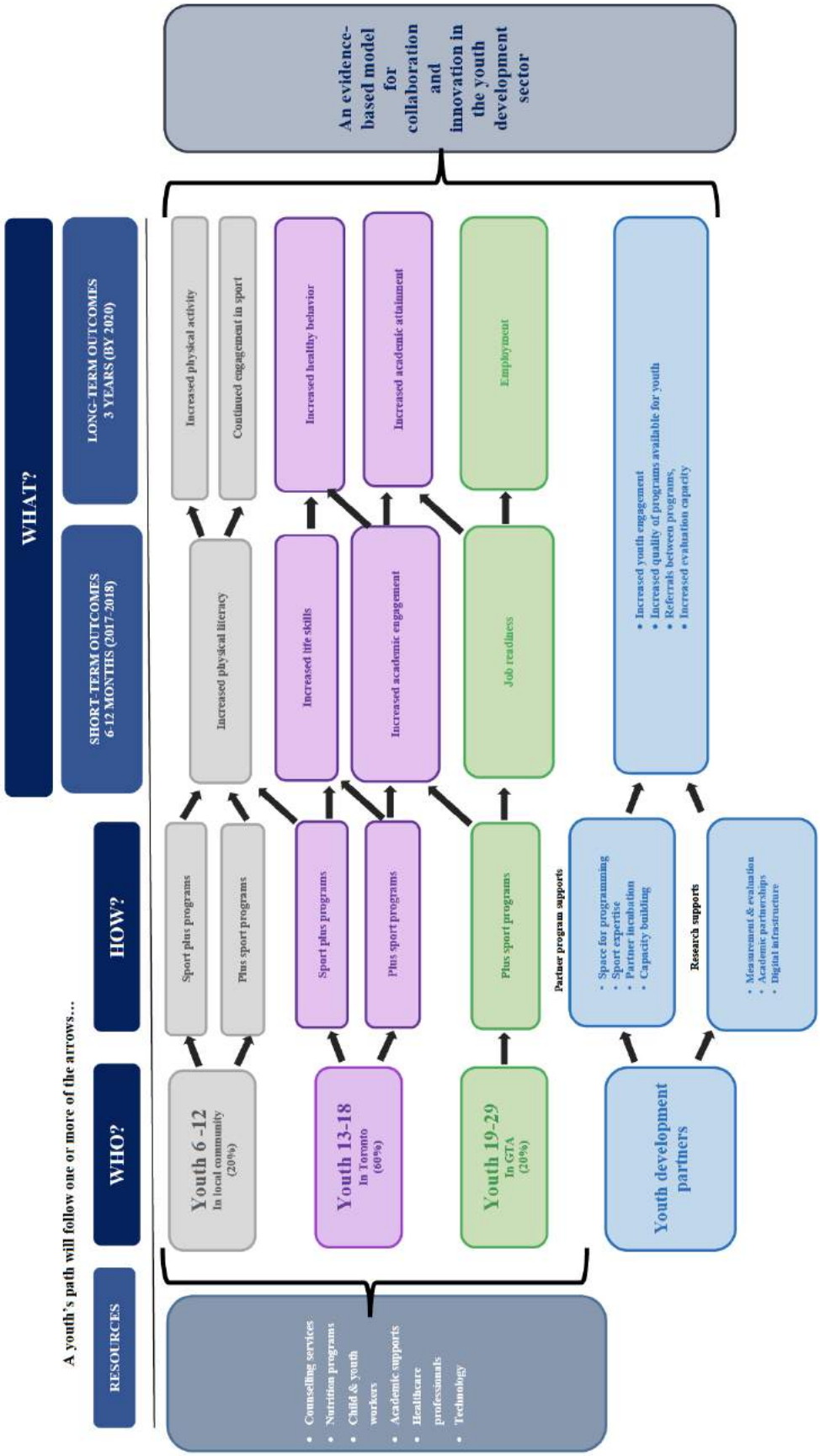

Figure 1. MLSE Launchpad Theory of Change

partners wishing to incorporate sport into their employment training offerings. However, this has not been our experience. The majority (92%) of youth participants entered the program to obtain employment and reported not being aware of the sport component before starting the program, but they did see the sport component as having a positive impact on their job readiness postprogram. Program delivery partners have expressed skepticism regarding the role of sport in an employment training program but have changed their perspectives as a result of the evidence produced in program evaluation and their own systematic observations.

Community partner organizations with expertise in the delivery of youth employment services are essential to the program framework. The comprehensive partnership selection and development process begins with an expression of interest by an external community partner organization. As part of the initial partnership assessment, the potential partner organization provides information related to funding and insurance as well as program descriptions to ensure the alignment of the organization's mandate with MLSE LaunchPad. Critical questions at initial assessment include:

1. *Does MLSE LaunchPad have the capacity to take on a new employment training partner?* MLSE LaunchPad provides several in-kind resources to collaborative partner organizations including staff support by trained and experienced coaches and youth mentors; classroom, kitchen, and court space; access to wraparound services such as counseling and nutrition resources; measurement and evaluation support including customized evaluation frameworks, analysis and reporting; and staff support for the codevelopment of evidence-based program curriculum. Figure 1, the MLSE LaunchPad Theory of Change specific to Ready for Work programs, details these resources.

2. *Does the partnership align with MLSE LaunchPad's Theory of Change?* MLSE LaunchPad's Theory of Change includes short- and long-term outcomes relating to employment, including increased work readiness and increased employment among youth age 18-29.

3. *Does the partnership fill a gap in programming at MLSE LaunchPad?* MLSE LaunchPad works to offer a range of programs and services to meet the expressed needs of a growing membership base and engage priority demographics described in the section "Program Setting and Population" above.

4. *Is there the potential to codevelop a program?* Collaborative codevelopment of programs is seen as an ideal path as opposed to mere provision of in-kind resources to support the delivery of an existing program with the addition of a "tacked-on" sport component.

If questions 1-4 are answered affirmatively, the partnership is moved to the next stage in the process: internal consultation. Program staff evaluate whether the facility has the resources to support the collaborative program, including space, equipment, staff expertise, and human resources for curriculum development, program delivery, and oversight. Research and evaluation staff assess the feasibility of rigorously measuring the intended outcomes of the program.

Proposals supported by all parties move on to the discovery and development stage. Critical questions at this stage include:

1. *What would integration of sport look like for this program?* The alignment between skills and outcomes to be developed on- and off-court in the proposed program is assessed to determine what type of sport engagement might complement and enrich the nonsport content.

2. *What are the needs of this partner, and what would capacity building involve?* MLSE LaunchPad's Theory of Change includes a commitment to collaboratively developing capacity among partner organizations in the youth development sector.

3. *How can MLSE LaunchPad best focus an approach to measurement and evaluation of this program?* An Evaluation Framework Builder document and in-depth consultation are employed to determine primary and secondary program outcomes, appropriate metrics, and evaluation techniques, which typically include a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. Program evaluation frameworks assess the efficacy of the program in achieving its intended outcomes, a focus that supports program quality improvement, increased youth outcomes, and funding solicitation by partner organizations.

The funding model for collaborative partnerships involves financial support for program implementation from both MLSE LaunchPad and the community partner organization. MLSE LaunchPad does not provide direct financial support to partner organizations but offers many in-kind supports, including human resources, with a substantial cost implication. MLSE LaunchPad coaches and youth mentors are embedded in all collaborative programs. Partners are

responsible for securing funding to pay staff employed by the partner organization and to support organizational operations external to the facility. The MLSE Foundation funds MLSE LaunchPad through support from the parent company, Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment (MLSE), as well as corporate partners, the provincial government, individual donors, and other fundraising efforts including ticketed events. Partner organizations raise funds through a variety of means, including grants from the municipal, provincial, and federal governments and charitable foundations; corporate and individual donations; and fundraising events.

One example of a collaborative partnership in the Ready for Work pillar is the Digital Customer Care Professional program delivered in partnership with NPower Canada. NPower Canada is a charitable workforce development organization that prepares underserved youth for successful careers in the information and communication technology sector (NPower Canada, n.d.). Classroom-based activities in this intensive 10-week technical support professional training program include technical skills training and the opportunity to earn a Microsoft Office Specialist certification; life skills development with sessions delivered by a mental health provider on topics such as stress management; and job readiness preparation such as mock interviews. Local employers are engaged in the partnership as guest speakers, and program participants are connected to new career opportunities with some of Canada's largest employers. An on-court physical activity component delivered twice per week for 60 minutes at the end of the program day by MLSE LaunchPad coaches reinforces vital concepts learned in the classroom while developing leadership skills and helping youth learn to balance a healthy lifestyle with the demands of a job. Program evaluation results have been positive with significant increases in the immediate intended outcomes—work readiness and leadership—with 85% of graduates securing employment or enrolled in postsecondary education within six months of completing the program. Additionally, increases in employment, household income, and physical activity level persist at a two-year follow up.

A second example is the Cooking for Life Program developed and delivered in partnership with Covenant House Toronto, Canada's largest agency serving youth who are homeless, trafficked, or at risk (Covenant House Toronto, 2019). Youth who have completed an introductory seven-week employability skills program at Covenant House are offered a paid eight-week placement in MLSE LaunchPad's commercial-style community kitchen. Youth work with trained and experienced chef–mentors to learn technical and soft skills in demand in the local food and beverage industry. The placement includes preparing snacks and meals to meet facility needs such as after-school snacks for younger youth and their families, lunches for day campers and other daytime program participants, evening meals provided to league-play participants, staff lunch, and catering for meetings and other internal events. Youth may earn recognized credentials, including a food handler's certificate—an essential qualification that may be inaccessible for low-income youth due to the testing fee. The program will soon include an integrated and customized sport component—delivered twice per week during program hours at regular times when food preparation activity is minimal—to support youth participants intending to work in the hospitality industry. The sport component will include structured on-court activities that support the development of leadership and communication skills while addressing documented health issues faced by hospitality workers, including injury prevention, chronic pain, depression, anxiety, and stress management (Mayhew & Quinlan, 2002; Zhang et al., 2019). This component will expose youth to new sports and activities while creating healthy physical activity habits and utilizing exercise for stress management. Following program completion, interested youth are connected to sustainable employment at MLSE-owned food-service facilities, where hospitality workers are unionized and earn high wages relative to the industry average (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2019; Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment & Teamsters Local Union 847, 2016). Five program graduates (38% of total program participants) have obtained ongoing employment at MLSE LaunchPad.

The nine-week Leaders In Training (LIT) program offered each summer at MLSE LaunchPad is a third key example. Partners from the education, marketing, sport, recreation, and social service sectors are involved in program implementation. The extensive training provided in the first two weeks includes the acquisition of multiple certifications such as CPR, First Aid, and nationally recognized coaching credentials. The training period also includes professional development related to job search skills, including resume writing and interviewing and personal development workshops such as self-care. The next six weeks involve working with permanent full- and part-time MLSE LaunchPad staff to deliver day camp programs to youth from the local community. The final week of the program offers career exposure activities, including meeting staff from professional and community sport organizations and tours of local sport and sport media facilities. These activities intend to expose youth to a variety of career options in the sport industry, connect youth to potential role models, and increase educational and career aspirations. Qualitative and quantitative evaluation of this program has

Table 1. "Ready for Work" program description

Program	Age range	Program structure	Program duration	Key outcomes	Evaluation techniques
Digital customer care professional	18-29	5 days/week, 4 hours/day	10 weeks	Work readiness, employment	Preprogram and postprogram survey; focus group interview
Culinary skills placement	16-26	5 days/week, 6 hours/day	8 weeks	Work readiness, social capital	Preprogram, midprogram, and postprogram survey; exit interview
Leaders in training	15-18	5 days/week, 8 hours/day	9 weeks	Work readiness, Leadership	Preprogram and postprogram survey; weekly qualitative check-in; exit interview, follow-up interview at 6 and 18 months postprogram

produced positive results with significant increases in work readiness and leadership. Youth report having developed the confidence and skills to secure jobs after the end of the program. Twelve LITs in three years (24% of total program participants) have become permanent coaching staff at MLSE LaunchPad, and many have described the LIT program as a turning point in their lives.

Before enrollment in any of the programs described, above youth complete a thorough application process customized to each program to help ensure that the youth enrolled are well positioned to participate fully and achieve their objectives. The process involves staff from MLSE LaunchPad and community partner organizations and members of MLSE LaunchPad's board of directors. It may include an application form with open-ended questions, group and individual interviews, and in some cases, demonstration of credentials such as a high school or general equivalency diploma.

As MLSE LaunchPad members, youth enrolled in collaborative Ready for Work programs have access to a variety of complementary programs and wraparound services. These include drop-in and registered "sport plus" programs, leagues, tournaments, counseling services with mental health providers, nutrition supports, and access to youth mentors. Youth mentors are available during program hours to respond supportively to youth needs, help youth to access facility and community resources, and provide positive and consistent adult relationships. Table 1 displays key information relating to each of the programs described above.

Insights from the Field

The above program descriptions provide examples of how the integration of sport in youth employment training programs through a collaborative "plus sport" program delivery model may increase outcomes related to youth employment. Sport can act as a hook that attracts new and different youth to employment training programs. Moreover, sport can be a highly engaging tool to transfer employable skills. The delivery of an employment training program at a community SFD facility creates a welcoming, engaging, and relatable setting for local youth who may not feel comfortable in a traditional learning environment. Within the context of the program, sport has the potential to build relationships, develop social capital, and increase life skills, all of which may, in turn, influence employment outcomes (Spaaij et al., 2013). Psychological well being correlates positively with youth employment, and physical and mental wellness developed through consistent and sustained engagement in sport is likely to contribute to employability (Matsuba et al., 2008).

SFD employment training programs constructed and implemented in alignment with MLSE LaunchPad's Ready for Work programming model may create positive impacts beyond the typical outcomes of traditional youth employment training programs. Such programs have the potential to support youth to reach their employment-related goals. Key program components include collaboratively developed evidence-based curricula featuring complementary skills training and sport activities; an appropriate screening/admissions process; a physically and psychologically safe environment with the presence of

positive relationships; income support for youth wraparound services including mental health counseling; the opportunity to earn recognized and valuable credentials; and a thorough and iterative mixed methods measurement and evaluation framework. With these components in place, employment training "plus sport" is likely to enhance long-term positive youth outcomes directly relating to both employment and participation in sport and physical activity. Funding demands require the alignment of program outcomes with the dominant North American narrative of personal development, which emphasizes individualism and overcoming barriers to improve one's life (Coakley, 2011). In the case of MLSE LaunchPad, these types of outcomes are successfully supported by a mixed funding model that includes substantial in-kind support provided to community partner organizations made possible primarily by corporate and government support orchestrated by an allied charitable foundation. Strategic codevelopment and codelivery of "plus sport" programs with collaborative community partners and a mixed funding model involving professional sport organizations, philanthropic foundations, corporate partners, individual donors, and various levels of government may maximize sustainability and impact. As MLSE and the MLSE Foundation intentionally move to a more strategic approach to corporate social responsibility, an inherent risk is the blind adoption of the "Great Sport Myth"—an unquestioned belief in the positive qualities of sport and the automatic transmission of these qualities to those who participate in it (Coakley, 2015). An ongoing commitment to rigorous measurement and evaluation is necessary to interrogate critically the benefit of sport in youth development, including in an employment training context.

Limitations of this paper include an implicit social integrationist discourse and a focus on the potential of SFD programs and organizations to impact the supply side of the youth employment equation by enhancing individual youth's technical and soft skills leading to employment and increased personal income (Spaaij et al., 2013). A future focus on impacting the demand side of youth employment through examining and exploring strategies to reduce obstacles to employment for youth facing barriers, including a deeper grappling with economic structures and systems, is a necessary avenue for a comprehensive exploration of this issue (Sabeel Rahman, 2018).

In light of the successful implementation of the program framework discussed above, the next steps for the authors include mixed methods and participatory action research within the three programs described in this paper. Longitudinal mixed methods research involving Ready for Work program participants, program evaluation reporting on a larger sample achieved through scaling successful programs, and comparisons to non-SFD youth employment training programs will also help to define and explain program impact more clearly (Matsuba et al., 2008).

Conclusion

We have applied a social research lens to the relationship between sport participation, life skills development, work readiness, and employment, moving beyond personal testimony to track and measure program implementation and outcomes. In the context of an individualized approach to SFD, the collaborative development and delivery of community-based "plus sport" employment training programs is a potentially promising strategy to increase work readiness, life skills, and employment among youth facing barriers in a North American urban setting. This approach should be considered by SFD organizations and youth employment service providers as a starting place for new and sustainable programming partnerships that may effectively deliver both SFD and youth employment outcomes. Three example programs developed, delivered, and evaluated at MLSE LaunchPad utilizing a collaborative partnership model provide a precedent for further implementation and study of training programs within this prototype.

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Original Research

Exploring migrant families' acculturation and livelihoods in Canada and the role of sport participation

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ABSTRACT

Canada is poised to increase the number of migrants arriving annually. Growing attention is being directed toward how sport can be managed in a way that is accessible and inclusive of immigrant populations, as well as how sport can foster new opportunities for migrants to develop connections within their communities. The objectives of this research were to explore broadly the realities of the migrant settlement experience and migrants' livelihoods in Toronto and the role sport had on these experiences. Using an exploratory case study methodology, this paper explores the participants' strategies of acculturation and the implications of these strategies for developing social and cultural capital. Youth sport programming is discussed as having little effect on the financial capacities and livelihoods of migrants. As illustrated within this paper, sport has the ability to facilitate crosscultural relationships and influence acculturation strategies. However, sport-specific cultural capital produced asymmetries in the outcomes of sport participation. While sport may serve a role in developing social outcomes, efforts to improve the access of migrants to employment opportunities within their field of experience, either within or outside of sport contexts, are required to positively affect the livelihoods of migrants.

INTRODUCTION

Toronto is the largest city center in Canada and receives the largest number of migrants compared to other Canadian city centers (Morency et al., 2017). Whereas Montreal and Vancouver receive approximately 3,800 and 2,300 migrants respectively annually, Toronto receives more than 5,700 (Morency et al., 2017). The interaction of culturally diverse populations contributes to acculturative stresses that are the results of behavioral changes among migrant populations (Berry, 1992). Acculturative stress has been associated with behavior shifts (Paulhus et al., 2002; Ryder et al., 2013), language difficulties (Boyd & Cao, 2009), emotional disorders (Sam & Berry, 1995), and perceived social exclusion and discrimination (Banerjee, 2009; Bauder, 2003b). However, there is a growing body of academic literature (e.g., Spaaij, 2013; Walseth, 2006, 2008) that examines how sport can ease challenges of integration and settlement of newcomers in new social contexts.

Canadian Sport Policy (CSP) formally recognizes five pillars that sport can support in order to assist in the production of broad social outcomes. These pillars include, "excellence," "enhanced education and skill development," "improved health and wellness," "increased civic pride, engagement, and cohesion," and "increased economic development and prosperity" (Sport Canada, 2012, p. 4). This study focuses on the last two of the five: increased civic pride, engagement, and cohesion; and increased economic development. Considering these ambitious claims of the utility of sport, the CSP notes that sport is in a position to play a greater institutional role through

Keywords: migrant; sport; social capital; cultural capital; integration

partnerships, identifying Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) as an institution that stands to benefit from leveraging sport to "build respect, tolerance and foster inter-cultural awareness and relationships, [and] assist in the integration of new Canadians" (Sport Canada, 2012, p. 14).

The benefits of sport participation, however, are assumed to occur as a function of "proximity" (Coakley & Donnelly, 2002, p. ix) or the simplistic view that being and playing together will lead to the development of social relationships. Attempts to foster cross-cultural relationships within a narrow framework of understanding risks a universal portrayal of both migrant experiences and the possible outcomes of sport participation (Kelly, 2011). Coalter (2010) argued that for the possibility of sport to catalyze desired positive social outcomes, program delivery must include a clear understanding of the "social process and mechanisms" (p. 311) that would dissuade from universal approaches to sport delivery. Therefore, the recognition of the diversity of migrants' acculturation strategies and their settlement experiences within and outside of sport is necessary to understand the potential role that sport (and sport policy agendas) can play within these experiences.

This research is underpinned with the notion that sport is well positioned to act as a mechanism for facilitating outreach to migrant populations due to its ability to attract participants and "reduce [the] social distances between people" (Coakley & Donnelly, 2002, p. ix). In this article, we discuss findings from a study that explored the acculturation process of nine recent migrants to Toronto and the perceived implications of engaging in sports on their acculturation experiences. The objectives for this study were, first, to broadly explore the realities of the experiences of migrant families with regard to their settlement and livelihoods in Toronto such as economic, social, and cultural barriers and, second, to examine the role of sport within these experiences. Utilizing an exploratory case study approach to inquiry, we discuss the exclusion of migrants from the workplace in Toronto, the methods participants utilized to develop social networks and their influence on cultural capital generation, and the role sport played in the participants' settlement processes. By acknowledging the realities of migrant experiences and the disruptions in their livelihoods, we discuss the potential for sport to play a role in the settlement process and how the diversity of cultures within communities can be better accommodated (Spaaij, 2013; Spaaij et al., 2020).

The conclusions of this article more broadly highlight the need for greater emphasis on the improvement of practices within Canada's gateway cities to conduct outreach to migrant populations with the intention of positively influencing their acculturation processes. This paper argues that during the acculturation process of migrants, the benefits that sport participation could engender are less clear in comparison to the disruptions in their livelihoods. We suggest that for sport to meet the goals of the CSP and rhetoric of others, it needs to produce outcomes that mitigate the broad challenges that participants experienced outside the arena of sport. Thus, the implications for the findings of this article could better inform the design and delivery of sport programming to accommodate the challenges of all participants.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sport, Livelihoods, and Pathways to Integration

"Livelihood" is an enigmatic term (Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2016; Sørensen & Olwig, 2003). It describes an individual's attempt to meet consumption and economic obligations yet acknowledges external influences (Long, 2000). Sørensen and Olwig (2003) described livelihoods as the accrual of economic capital (e.g., income) and the influence social relationships (e.g., family, kin, etc.) on the production of a standard of living. From a conceptual foundation, livelihood is influenced by one's individual ability and their social environments (Long, 2000).

Canadian city centers such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal receive the majority of the country's migrants and exhibit the highest rates of low-income migrants in Canada (Picot & Lu, 2017). Compared to other population demographics, migrant population groups have been shown to experience higher levels of chronic low income (Picot & Lu, 2017; Shields et al., 2011). These difficulties frequently relate to the language proficiency (Boyd & Cao, 2009), the devaluation of foreign credentials (Li, 2001; Xue, 2008), and the "de-skilling" of migrant labor (Bauder, 2003a). Studies have shown that migrants experiencing difficulty in obtaining employment in their desired fields as a consequence of barriers of unemployment turn to the secondary labor market (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Contrary to the primary labor market, the secondary labor market is characterized by precarious employment, labor-intensive work, and lower paying positions (Siar, 2013), which could represent a disruption in the migrant's livelihood. Studies suggest that the disruption in migrants' livelihoods could be implicated in acculturation strategies (Phillimore, 2011; Walters et al., 2007).

Stodolska and Alexandris (2004) noted that the socioeconomic status of migrant populations was a

determinant of acculturation strategies. The acculturation strategy utilized also affects the degree of acculturative stress that a migrant is likely to experience. The result of acculturative stress can produce behavioral changes (Paulhus et al., 2002; Ryder et al., 2013) that are associated with their contact with culturally diverse populations (Berry, 1992). The stressors of acculturation and the disruptions in livelihoods also limit opportunities for migrants to engage with their community (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003) and to build capacity to develop interethnic connections (Stodolska, 1998; Yu & Berryman, 1996).

Sport and Social Integration

It has been argued that sport has both the capacity to promote positive social integration (Kim et al., 2016) and the potential to engender social and cultural capital development (Spaaij, 2012). Internationally, Schulenkorf and Edwards (2016) noted that "sport activities" can bridge the divide between entrenched populations in post-conflict societies. Spaaij (2015) suggested that sport could foster different levels of belonging in migrant participants. The intersection of sport and the integration of migrants is increasingly discussed by policy makers. These discussions suggest that sport can produce positive social outcomes (Amara et al., 2005; Bailey, 2005; Coakley & Donnelly, 2002; Coalter, 2007), has the capacity to accommodate diversity (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003), and can play a role in mitigating acculturative stress (Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Walseth, 2006, 2008). Doherty and Taylor (2007) noted that migrants perceived the utility of sport similarly to policy makers; however, other scholars (e.g., Coalter, 2010) caution the expectation that sport could be used to continually reproduce positive social outcomes in participants. Due to its nature, sport is perceived to be intrinsically positioned to alter the strategies of acculturation of migrant participants (Lee & Funk, 2011; Stodolska & Yi, 2003). However, Hatzigeorgiadis and colleagues (2013) remarked that sport alone does not have the capacity to integrate migrants. They suggested that sport provides the platform on which "integration can be cultivated" (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013, p. 1). By exploring the acculturation experience of migrants, this article attempts to fill this gap of how sport could cultivate the integration of migrants. This article emphasizes the need for a comprehensive exploration of the strategies that migrants utilize during their transition to their new home prior to implementing sport programming. Understanding the nuances of the migrant's acculturation experience could better inform the delivery and utility of sport programming to cultivate the integration of migrants.

Theoretical Framework

This section outlines our theoretical framework for this study. We draw from the literature examining acculturation processes (Berry, 1992) as well as the role of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1993) within these processes.

Acculturation

Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that follows when two groups interact (Redfield et al., 1936). While acculturation was previously recognized to be a group-level phenomenon, acculturation theories expanded to a discussion at the individual level. Group-individual relationships experienced in transition create tensions and produce acculturative stress. The acculturation process of the group includes changes in economic and political spheres, as well as psychological domains. Psychological acculturation is manifested in behavioral changes in which the individual's attitudes—their sense of personal and ethnic identity or attitudes toward their group, for instance—alter during adaptation to their new environment (Phinney, 2003). These behavioral shifts as a consequence of acculturation can engender acculturative stress manifesting alterations in "psychological, social, or physical health" (Berry, 1992, p. 70).

We drew on Berry's (1992) framework for understanding acculturation strategies in order to contextualize migrants' transitional experiences in Toronto. The strategies of acculturation are depicted on a four-quadrant matrix created by two intersecting spectrums (Berry, 1992, 1997). The two axes represent continuums on which an individual can be located based on two issues: (1) the importance of maintaining one's distinct cultural identity, and: (2) the perceived value of building relationships with other groups. One's location on these two continuums locates the individual in a corresponding quadrant that is associated with acculturative strategies (Bennett, 2015). Identified by Berry (1992) as assimilation, integration, segregation (or separation), and marginalization, these strategies are influenced by the repeated interactions between the individual and environment and may continue to change and develop with experience (see Table 1). For instance, a Southeast Asian migrant who does not value interethnic relationships but does value the maintenance of cultural relationships may be described by the "separation" strategy. With regard to sport, this may be reflected in a decision to participate in a sepak takraw (a ball sport native to Southeast Asia) league of primarily Southeast Asian migrants, thereby maintaining cultural characteristics and not engaging intentionally in relationship building with

Table 1. Berry's 1992 Determining Acculturation Strategies

		Question 1: Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?	
		Yes	No
Question 2: Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Marginalization

other groups. On the other hand, a South American migrant may perceive value maintaining their ethnic identity but also in developing and fostering relationships with diverse groups. In this case, they may be described by the "integration" strategy and participate in a soccer (or football) league at a community center with a variety of community members of diverse backgrounds. Framing the acculturation strategies as a two-axis spectrum acknowledges the fluidity of the strategies, meaning the individual is never fixed to one particular strategy, and the strategies employed may shift and change over time and throughout the acculturation process.

Sport is one domain of life that has implications for acculturation processes. There is a long history of sport and recreation activities being employed as mechanisms to support migrant children throughout the acculturation process (Spaaij et al., 2014). Sport can also facilitate the contact of groups and, especially among youth participants, promote civic engagement (Gambone et al., 2006). Through repeated contact, an individual's experiences may influence their acculturation strategies (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). Though studies have emphasized the barriers migrants face with regard to participation (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Stodolska, 2000), Yu and Berryman (1996) suggested that sport can influence the acculturation strategies of migrants by assisting migrants to develop and/or maintain self-esteem. Other studies suggested that sport can influence acculturation strategies by assisting in the uptake and regulation of "behaviours deemed acceptable" within social environments (Stodolska & Livengood, 2006, p. 298), as well as acting as a "buffer against acculturative stress" (Morela et al., 2019, p. 28), and develop "social inclusion and a sense of belonging" for migrants (Tirone et al., 2010). Therefore, although not always equitably accessible to migrants in a host country, sport may have the capacity to promote interethnic engagement and engender positive social outcomes when facilitated intentionally.

Conceptualizing Social and Cultural Capital

Here, we review Bourdieu's (1984, 1986, 1993) seminal work on *habitus* and social and cultural capital. We connect these theories to acculturation theory (Berry, 1992), and how these theories have been adopted in the SFD literature. Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as the benefits of sociability, or "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of durable networks" (p. 51). Bourdieu (1984) posited that relationships are transactional in design, and the profits can be represented in the potential outcomes of association with a particular group or lifestyle. Social capital is implicated in the livelihoods of individuals, as it intersects with employment, civic institutions, and sport programming. Consistent in Bourdieu's notions of social capital is the portrayal of social networks to represent a form of capital that can be drawn on in lieu of economic resources. Thus, the unequal redistribution of power as well as the capacity for social capital to influence the acculturation and adaptation of migrants become evident. Based on language or networks to accrue social capital, migrants therefore could experience challenges and transitions differently during their acculturation process.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) introduced the class-based concept of habitus. Habitus is used to describe the individual's conditioning (e.g., upbringing) and its relationship with the practices and lifestyles of the individual (e.g., taste in food, music, sport). Bourdieu's habitus included the notion that the acquisition of dispositions is a function of one's lifestyle that is in tension

with their engagement with their environment, or fields (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984). Defining fields as the spaces in which social class is produced and cultural capital developed, Bourdieu (1993) plotted the distribution of lifestyle characteristics (e.g., musical works, sabre dance, or potluck) on two axes, or a cross. The lifestyle characteristics represented the social class of the individual as well as the influences of their habitus. Bourdieu's field theory conceptualized that power is reproduced within social class by the acquisition of cultural capital in relationship to lifestyle determinants. Importantly, with this depiction, sport is implicated in many ways, such as in the "immediate or deferred" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 20) benefits of visible or invisible physical health and in access to selective social groups that require economic capital (e.g., yacht club, golf and country clubs).

The relationship between social and cultural capital is highly relevant in the acculturation of migrants. Progressive immigration policy emphasizes the idea of "two-way" integration, or the mutual accommodation between the host country's population and migrants (Joppke, 2007; Li, 2003). Integration, according to Berry (1992), implied the maintenance of traditional cultural integrity and the selective adoption of the host country's culture. Meaning, the migrant's relationships with the host country's culture is continually at tension due to the migrant's habitus and divergent positions. For migrants to develop connections with the host country and integrate, the migrant requires the capacity to gain access to groups for the accrual of cultural and social capital (Portes, 1998). Subsequently, there may be a lack of support for migrants adopting marginalization or separation (segregation) strategies to facilitate the development of social and cultural capital (Baron et al., 2000). Through a Bourdieusian lens, the habitus of migrants could influence their acculturation strategies, making the individual either more likely or more hesitant to shed their traditional cultural values (Cassim et al., 2020). The accrual of capital is therefore skewed to those willing to adopt the host country's culture—a misrepresentation of multicultural policies and a perspective that evokes countries to adopt a postmulticultural framework (Fleras, 2015).

Although perceptions are mixed within the sport for development discourse, the utility of sport to engender social and cultural capital is widely discussed (Coalter, 2007; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2018; Spaaij, 2011). Many policy makers subscribe to the notion that sport can develop aspects of social capital (Walseth, 2008) and promote cultural capital acquisition through the engagement with community and civic spheres (Spaaij, 2012; Woolcock, 2001). However, as Kay and Bradbury (2009) noted, the acquisition of social capital is dependent on the habitus of the individual to develop cultural capital. Meaning, those without the necessary cultural capital to participate in sports programming are also constrained in social capital development (Smith et al., 2018). Utilizing a Bourdieusian lens, in this article we discuss the role sport has in the development of social capital; the relationship of social capital, the habitus, and cultural capital; and the influence these forms of capital have on the strategies of acculturation and livelihoods of migrants in Toronto.

METHODS

Background of Authors

This study was undertaken as a master's thesis research project. During the research process the first author (at the time a 24-year-old male), was employed in a nonprofit organization that worked with underserved youth populations. The first author collaborated with two male professors, one from the University of Guelph with a research interest in youth retention in rural communities and capacity development, and the second from Brock University with an interest in social inclusion and diversity in sport and recreation management. Both the second and third author had previously conducted research with newcomer populations and provided guidance throughout the research process. To report important aspects of the research process, the first author incorporated aspects of the consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ) (Tong et al., 2007).

Semistructured Interviews

Semistructured interviews were conducted by the first author. Over the course five months, nine newcomers (*n=9*) to Canada of various cultural, ethnic, and economic backgrounds were interviewed. To participate in the study, participants needed to have arrived in Canada within the previous 10 years (i.e., since 2008). Participants emigrated from Pakistan, Japan, Holland (*n=2*), Columbia, Saudi Arabia, Mauritius, Punjab in northern India, and Bangalore in southern India. The traditional gender perception of participants was seven (*n=7*) mothers and two (*n=2*) fathers. We did not constrain our scope to specific sports or participant demographics, and therefore participants varied in major demographic factors (e.g., age, gender, socioeconomic background, level of education, country of origin, etc.). However, we did focus on structured sport programming, rather than drop-in or unstructured play. The sport programming in which the individuals participated was not intrinsically designed to positively influence the acculturation process of migrants. Sports that participants were engaged in were: track and field (athletics), tennis,

soccer, cricket, and basketball, and ice hockey.

Interviews were conducted by the first author and scheduled to accommodate the participants. The majority were conducted by phone interview (*n*=7) and the remainder (*n*=2) were conducted face to face in public community centers. Nonparticipants were not present. Interviews were conducted in English using digital audio recording and transcribed verbatim by the first author. The length of interviews ranged from 16 minutes to 75 minutes with the average being 40 minutes.

Interviews began with the participants presenting their stories of immigration to Canada. Topics such as the participants' transition experience to Canada, hurdles to employment, actions taken to foster social and cultural roots in Canada, and the role of sport in the process of acculturation were all discussed. Interviews were conducted as an ongoing conversation without an interview guide. The centrality of sport in the interviews differed among participants as the objective of understanding the lived experiences of the migrants' settlement process remained consistent and the focus of all interviews. The semistructured approach to interviews allowed the opportunity to pose follow-up questions and points of clarification (e.g., about feelings relating to inclusion and exclusion and about discrepancies in culture) that resulted in a "thick description" (Lincoln & Guba, 1990 p. 57) of the experiences of acculturation, the livelihoods of participants, and the role of sport in these processes.

Thematic Analysis

All participants' identifying information were removed from transcripts in order to protect the identity of the interviewees, and participants were each given a pseudonym. Following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis, the first author utilized an inductive coding strategy. Initial codes were generated (e.g., accreditation programs, foreign credentials, friendships with Canadians, etc.) based on the first author's interpretations of the data. Thematically overlapping codes were organized into higher level themes (e.g., transition of livelihood, development of social networks, and culture). In consultation with the second and third authors, themes in the coding tree were given clear titles such as "exclusion from the workplace," "development of social networks," and "sport and acculturation." Examples from the interviews were extracted to represent the identified themes and verified by the second and third author.

Recruitment Difficulties

We also acknowledge that there were difficulties in recruiting participants for this study. Our original approach to recruitment sought to pursue recruitment through youth sport programming that involved engaging with prospective participants in public spaces as they watched their children's sport programming. However, this method produced little success due to the perceived limited engagement of migrant parents with youth sport programming. Fourteen prospective participants (*n=14*) were approached and two agreed to participate in the study (*n=2*). Similar recruitment difficulties are identified in other research studies focused on the experiences of newcomer populations (e.g., Rich et al., 2015; Tirone et al., 2010). Alternatively, we employed a method of convenience sampling (Marshall, 1996) whereby the first author sought participants from a previously established social and professional network (*n=7*). The first author however, had no previous relationship prior to the study commencement with participants. This approach proved to be more successful and provided us with a greater number of participants.

CASE STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section is divided into two parts that explore the complexities of the livelihoods of migrants and the implications of sport participation. The first section discusses experiences migrants have that are outside of the field of sport, which could have implications on the way in which migrants approach and participate in sport. The second section directly considers the utility of sport within the settlement process and the implications of sport participation for migrants in Toronto.

Participants' Experience Settling in Canada

The findings of this study suggest that some participants experienced difficulties in establishing employment within their field of expertise due to the privileging of Canadian qualifications over others earned in foreign countries and the preferential regard for previous Canadian employment. These factors further disrupted the participants' livelihoods and may more broadly represent a rigid systemic barrier that impedes full participation of migrants within Canadian society and the consequential underutilization of their human capital.

There were two notable barriers that negatively influenced the livelihoods of participants. The first was the requirement of professional organizations for migrants to accredit foreign credentials. The second barrier was

understood to be the continued presence of discriminatory hiring practices, most commonly referred to by participants as the requirement of "Canadian experience." The combination of these two barriers affected the way migrants procured economic capital, which also illustrated the value of Canadian cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Provincial governing bodies in Canada regulate different industries to ensure Canadian ethical and quality standards are maintained. Although migrants can come to Canada with equal or comparable education and experience, professional governing bodies have the authority to refuse to recognize foreign credentials (Bauder, 2003a). This resulted in the requirement that some participants had to enroll in postsecondary institutions to become accredited within their professional field. Jess, a mother of two with a graduate degree in social work who had immigrated from Pakistan in 2011 with her husband, elected to pursue accreditation programs and commented on the redundancy of the employment process,

You need to retrain . . . which is redundant. [Regulations are] professional walls, they also served to exclude. . . . Whether it's unions, whether it's professional associations, whether whatever you may call them . . . by asking for so much local [education and experience] it's a way of exclusion.

Jess considered the requirement of migrants to pursue accreditation for their foreign education and professional experience to be a redundant measure that could be further indicative of professional organizations seeking to exclude migrants from Canadian professional labor markets.

The requirement of the pursuit of accreditation programs in order to obtain an employment in a previous field of expertise could place migrants in a financially precarious position. Meg, a former university professor from Columbia, now in the service industry, was unable to pursue accreditation programs in her field due to the lengthy approvals process and her lack of financial capacity. She commented,

I was a university teacher. . . . I went to find a position in the field of financial planning. . . . I try [sic] to validate my diploma in local services. . . . I couldn't study to receive a licence because the bank wouldn't [let me] borrow money. . . . I work cleaning or other organizing stuff that immigrants have to do. . . . That doesn't make sense, that doesn't help this country to grow.

Migrants arriving in Canada with equal educational and professional experiences are expected to contribute to the economic growth of the country (IRCC, 2019), yet they are constrained in their capacity to do so. The regulation of foreign credentials creates, for some, a redundancy that places an insurmountable financial burden on them that they are expected to absorb. Their participation in professional accreditation programs was also understood to be indicative of participants' loss of net earnings due to their inability to establish employment within their field of experience as well as their loss of time that could otherwise have been utilized for income generation.

Participants in this study also experienced discriminatory hiring practices based on the requirement of Canadian experience (e.g. Bauder, 2003a; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008). Requiring Canadian experience was understood by the authors to suggest a perceived lack of cohesion between Canadian industries and the participants' expectations. The perceived lack of cohesion was understood to be indicative of the presence of a Canadian form of Bourdieu's cultural capital that held greater value within Canadian labor markets in comparison to cultural capital accrued in a foreign system. Pedro, a participant from Bangalore, India, argued that the discrimination on the basis of Canadian experience created cultural stratification within Canadian society where foreign cultural capital could be considered of less value relative to Canadian cultural capital. Pedro remarked,

I think honestly that's a joke [the requirement of Canadian experience] . . . they make it look like Canada is this country that is so different than everybody in the world, and they put it on a pedestal . . . I don't have Canadian experience, "I have international experience." . . . They will also have to learn—those that have been here for so many years—will also have to learn to adapt to people outside of their own culture as well.

The preference for Canadian credentials has the potential to situate new migrants who possess international experience in a difficult economic predicament due to the barriers that constrain the production of an equivalent form of Canadian cultural capital. In terms of acculturation, the preference for Canadian cultural capital also constrains the ability of migrants to utilize acculturation strategies that are reflective of integration (Berry, 1992).

Participants who experienced hurdles to employment within their field of experience altered their search for employment by looking for positions that were outside of their field of expertise. This finding is similar to the results discussed by other researchers (e.g. Bauder, 2003a; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008), whereby the presence or lack of Canadian cultural capital is a method of differentiating between applicants. Consequently, the participants needed to convince prospective employers of their knowledge of Canadian

workplace culture, rather than referencing their previous international professional experience. Barriers to employment and regulatory requirements that persuaded participants to pursue professional accreditation programs to validate their international experience were also factors that encouraged other participants to pursue work outside of their field of expertise and professional knowledge. This strategy is similar to strategies other scholars have documented (Picot & Sweetman, 2012; Xue, 2008) and reflects more broadly the pervasive issue of underutilizing human capital arriving in Canada.

Participants of this study who accepted positions in the secondary labor market were highly educated and possessed extensive experience that was gained in their country of origin. However, it appeared that due to the disruptions in their livelihoods, participants elected to exchange their human capital for economic capital that was valued less than what they perceived it was worth. This symbolizes a disjuncture of culture within the Canadian social class. The potential outcome could reflect a population segmented along lines of cultural upbringing, which highlights the reservation of primary labor market positions for Canadian-born citizens. The exclusion of foreign credentials from Canadian labor markets is problematic for a country that will be increasingly reliant on immigration to maintain population growth (Morency et al., 2017), yet this exclusion of credentials is attractive from the perspective of industry (Bauder, 2003a). According to the federal Department of Finance (DoF) (2014), Canada will need to have a "flexible labour force" (p. 4) to meet the challenges of increasing globalization. The experiences of participants represented in this study who expressed difficulty in obtaining positions in their field of experience is reflective of the DoF's message stressing a flexible labor pool that could fill these positions.

Potentially indicative of the difficulties that some participants experienced in obtaining employment were their strategies to develop and accrue social and cultural capital. Participants of this study initially developed personal relationships and fostered social capital through culturally similar groups. A participant from Japan with a professional background in finance said she developed a friendship with an established Korean migrant. She considered this individual to be culturally similar: "I think she came to talk to me because I am Asian." This strategy of developing social relationships with culturally similar peers was understood to be attractive for some participants due to its ease to engender social capital with little acculturative stress. For example, Pedro first developed relationships through his ethnic religious community: "My community was my family and my church. I did not struggle as much. I did not have to grow as much." Similar to the findings of other scholars, the accrual of social capital with culturally similar groups had the potential to reduce the acculturative stress of participants (Loizos, 2000).

This strategy for developing social capital, however, was understood to reflect an acculturation strategy of separation (Berry, 1992) and the notion that separation could be linked to a form of social capital that is only valuable within particular contexts (Bourdieu, 1984) or social groups. Similar to other research (e.g., Li, 2007), it was understood that the diversity of participants' social networks was predominately limited to culturally similar groups. An acculturation strategy that is reflective of separation (Berry, 1992) could be unsupportive for other migrants wishing to exchange social capital for the transmission of Canadian cultural capital. The reduced cultural diversity within social networks could negatively impact the group's capacity to accrue a Canadian form of cultural capital and access employment opportunities, thereby accruing economic capital and establishing a livelihood within Canada.

However, once social networks were established, some participants elected to pursue crosscultural relationships that had the potential of developing relationships with people of different backgrounds. Some participants leveraged their relationships with culturally similar groups to facilitate introductions with individuals who were outside of their cultural networks. For instance, Elara said, "Well, she had another Korean friend too . . . [and] they were a member of the, you know, club [tennis club], and then yeah, that's how [I] start to [*sic*] getting to know the people." This approach to developing relationships was reflective of acculturation strategy of integration. It is also indicative of the strategies participants used to leverage similarities in either of the domains of social or cultural capital.

The strategies of acculturation that some participants utilized could be indicative of their capacity to accrue social and cultural capital that could be leveraged to positively affect their livelihoods. The difficulty that some participants experienced in gaining access to Canadian labor markets could be a result of the limited diversity in their social capital, and therefore, cultural capital. As we will discuss in the next section, sport is uniquely positioned to engender social and cultural cohesion across different ethnic groups (Coakley & Donnelly, 2002; Sport Canada, 2012).

However, the disruption in the livelihoods of some participants could affect their strategies to engage with sport programming. Therefore, the capacity of some of the participants to accrue the potential benefits, or different forms of capital, that sport could engender was understood to be limited. The result could indicate the constraints migrant families experience accruing different forms of

capital through sport due to their financial capacity that may inhibit their ability to participate. As the following section will discuss, sport could be further utilized to facilitate bridging between the Canadian population and migrants who elect to pursue acculturation strategies that are reflective of separation. However, further processes need to be developed that include complexities of the migrant's acculturation experiences within the framework of sport to ensure that migrants have the opportunity to participate in sport programming.

Sport in Acculturation Experiences

This study's findings suggest that sport has the ability to attract diverse populations to a central area due to its capacity to act as a common ground (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013). The common ground that sport can create was understood to have the potential to cultivate new social relationships that could accrue different forms of capital. A participant from Holland who had immigrated to Canada in 2017 recognized the role sport played in facilitating social connections, commenting that,

The socializing part is a big part of sport in general. . . . [Sport] is such an easy thing to do worldwide. . . . [For example] if you join a tennis club, that's an instant social network that you build on . . . you have a common denominator.

The utility of sport to engender social relationships could positively affect the livelihoods of migrants who had experiences similar to Meg and Pedro. Utilizing sport as a medium to express frustrations could also facilitate the development of social networks within which migrants could accrue knowledge, recommendations, or advice that could have the potential to produce of a form of capital and positively affect their livelihoods. This could facilitate their adoption of strategies of acculturation that are reflective of integration (Berry, 1992). The utility of sport in the acculturation experience of migrants could be the opportunity sport provides for fostering the social development of migrants (Darnell & Dao, 2017).

The accrual of knowledge or advice was understood to be representative of a form of cultural capital that some of the participants perceived as lacking. The accrual of a Canadian form of cultural capital was interpreted to have the potential to positively affect the livelihoods of participants due to the barriers of entry to Canadian professional markets. The notion, therefore, that sport could "assist in the integration of new Canadians" (Sport Canada, 2012, p. 14) and provide the opportunities for newcomers to foster novel relationships should therefore not be undervalued.

The outcomes of sport participation, however, did not equally benefit all participants and could be indicative of the habitus of migrants. The findings of this study suggest that although sport could facilitate the development of a form of social or cultural capital, new migrants to Canada are more interested in the production of a more concrete form of capital, such as earning money through supplemental employment, pursuing professional accreditation, or developing language proficiency through coursework. First, and particularly salient among some of the participants of this study, were the difficulties in procuring employment and the subsequent financial insecurities. These factors could have limited the participants' abilities to participate fully in sport and experience the possible benefits of developing social relationships. Without sufficient economic capital it was understood that the participants were less likely to participate in sport programming for extended periods of time. Although mentioning they were financially secure, Jada commented on the financial challenges of sport participation: "It's just because of the money thing too . . . because it's costly still—it [sport] costs a lot of money." Participants who were understood to have experienced financial insecurity due to disruptions in their livelihoods elected to pursue accreditation programs, language training, or further employment in the secondary labor market. Pedro commented on his initial limited participation in sport programming: "I had to work, I had to take care of my family, I had to make sure that there was a job always at hand and there was money coming in." These alternatives to sport were understood by the authors to illustrate a form of cultural capital and were perceived by participants to be of greater benefit to their livelihoods than capital developed through sport participation. The authors understood that this form of cultural capital accrual was also understood as an acculturation strategy that was reflective of integration and the necessity of shedding cultural features (Berry, 1992). Several participants perceived gaining cultural capital that could be utilized within Canadian culture as a strategy to accrue economic capital.

The second factor that limited the utility of sport to engender analogous outcomes for all participants was language proficiency. Similar to the strategies participants utilized to develop social relationships, many participants elected to pursue cultural sport programming. Cultural sport programming was understood to include participants of similar linguistic backgrounds, which was perceived to be more attractive for those who were lacking proficiency in English.

The authors understood that the cultural sport programming pursued by participants was indicative of an acculturation

strategy that reflected separation and a habitus that elected to maintain cultural identity. The preference of participants ramming for culturally similar sport programming could more broadly be illustrative of the limitations of sport to embody a universal language (United Nations, 2005), which can act as a mechanism to bridge crosscultural divides and seemingly engender an acculturation strategy that could reflect integration (Berry, 1992). Importantly, these findings reflect a contrary conclusion. The limited capacity of some participants to communicate verbally across crosscultural groups during their participation in sport facilitated the separation of cultural groups on the basis of language. Without encouraging the engagement of cultural groups, sport could prove to be a mechanism that further separates cultural groups. Furthermore, if sport is expected to achieve positive social outcomes, an equal mechanism that also facilitates communication must be developed off of the playing field and outside of the arena.

Third, the findings of this study also suggest that sport-specific cultural capital such as sport proficiency and skill level could facilitate the development of social and cultural capital and engender an unequal distribution of the benefits of sport participation. For example, Jada, a former youth tennis protégé, benefitted socially from her level of skill, stating that, "I must say that it speeds things up [development of friendships] if you have a certain level [of skill]. You get an instant—people respect you. People look differently at you." Given her level of skill, Jada was able to engender social capital through the platform sport provided, which subsequently could also be exchanged for cultural capital. Other participants, such as Emily, who experienced difficulty in developing social relationships through sport due to her modest skill level, appeared not to have experienced a similar opportunity to exchange cultural capital for social capital. The limited sporting ability of participants therefore effected their capacity to accrue social capital within the same period and required that they invest more of their resources to produce results that were similar to those of higher skill.

Similar to the findings of other research (e.g., Rich et al., 2015), the findings of this study may be indicative of the limitations of sport to foster social relationships equitably in a way that could be used to "assist in the integration of new Canadians" (Sport Canada, 2012, p. 14). Factors that influence the livelihoods of participants, such as the creation and maintenance of these relationships, may also be dependent on the proximity of the participants to sport (Coakley & Donnelly, 2002). As alluded to by other scholars, the accrual of social capital by the participants of this study and its exchange for cultural capital could have been an inclination of the participants' willingness to engage in crosscultural relationships (Frisby, 2011). Consequently, participants who elected to engage with sport programming as a step in their settlement process could already be employing acculturation strategies that are reflective of integration. On the other hand, migrants who utilized acculturation strategies reflective of separation may be less attracted to engaging with services that deliver sport, and as a result, they did not receive the new forms of capital that sport participation could accrue. Comprehensive approaches that include migrants utilizing strategies of separation could illuminate the broader nuances of the role sport plays in the livelihoods of migrants. Furthermore, the habitus of migrants who elect to utilize a strategy that is reflective of separation could also be indicative of their willingness to engage with services that are not culturally traditional outside of sport but that could positively influence their livelihoods.

The inequality of capital transmission with regard to sport participation, as Coalter (2007, 2010) remarks, is contrary to the perception of sport as a common denominator as described by some participants. Considering that a number of studies warn that sport could reproduce or exacerbate social exclusion (Janssens & Verweel, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2014), simply offering sport programming to migrant populations with the preconceived notion that sport could act as a "common denominator" to produce positive social outcomes may be insufficient in addressing the experiences of migrants utilizing different acculturation strategies. Further research into the implications of combining sport with other services, such as a "plus sport" (Coalter, 2010) model, whereby sport is a hook for the engagement and delivery of settlement services (e.g., language services, capacity development) to migrant populations, could be a pathway for the IRCC to include sport within its toolbox of settlement strategies.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The CSP Policy Framework called for the development of new institutional partnerships with the IRCC (Sport Canada, 2012) to assist in the settlement process of migrants to Canada. This suggests policy makers perceive sport as a viable pathway to affect the settlement experience of migrants. However, our findings suggest that sport participation alone is unlikely to produce real outcomes for participants that lead to a positive effect on their livelihoods unless they are combined with resources that facilitate the integration of migrants such as language programming or vocational support. Indeed, our research contradicts the CSP's notion that sport could contribute to "increasing civic pride, engagement, and cohesion," and "economic develop and prosperity." (Sport Canada, 2012, p. 4) While there are

ways in which the participants accrued social and cultural capital through sport, there was no evidence that sport increased their civic pride or their prosperity.

The glorification and idolization of sport could threaten to overshadow discussions that are needed to address the most persistent issues pertaining to the integration of migrants (Frisby, 2011). As such, we echo the remarks of Darnell and colleagues (2018) who suggest that addressing the systemic barriers that impede economic integration of migrants has the potential for a more profound impact on the settlement experience of migrants and their livelihoods. Further research that explores the implications of sport-facilitated knowledge transfer could provide a more nuanced discussion of the benefits of sport participation on the acculturation experience of migrants.

As articulated in this paper, sport represents a platform for connections to be formed through a shared commonality, yet the capacity of sport to engender positive outcomes was not easily realized. The outcomes of barriers to employment further disrupted the livelihoods of participants and influenced the strategies of acculturation that participants elected to pursue. Rather than pursuing sport during the settlement process, participants perceived value in acculturation strategies that could positively affect their livelihoods, such as Canadian accreditation programs or English as a Second Language courses. However, the perception of sport as a commonality could be utilized to leverage the delivery of other modalities that could have a positive effect on the livelihoods of migrants. For instance, the sport sector can produce opportunities for migrants to develop transferable skills, such as personnel management, project coordination, or the procurement of event funding, within a familiar environment. Further research that comprehensively explores the diversity of acculturation strategies among migrants could better inform the delivery or mode of participation within sport to overcome the social and economic challenges that migrants experience in their acculturation process.

The findings articulated in this paper were drawn from a small-scale research study. More comprehensive studies that explore the broader patterns of participation in sport and acculturation strategies are necessary to add nuance to the scholarly discussion of sport, migration, and livelihoods. Indeed, a basic understanding of participation rates of migrant adults and children in sport in Canada is lacking and could be useful to better understand the scope of the issues at hand and the possible effects of sport on the acculturation process. Research articulating the role that sport can play in developing the diverse capacities of migrants could provide more insights into innovative approaches that may facilitate the transition of migrants to their new country. Additionally, future research might explore models of sport delivery and governance that can most effectively serve migrant populations and have positive impacts on their settlement and acculturation experiences in large urban centers.

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From the Field

CrossFit partner work: Strength building for SDP

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ABSTRACT

This article provides recommendations for Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) practitioners focused on improving participants' livelihoods. Practitioners should consider developing programs specifically for previously incarcerated persons that utilize CrossFit or similar fitness-based methods with thoughtful partnerships. Though returning citizens have complicated challenges reentering the job market, fitness-based programs may offer employment opportunities. CrossFit is large, growing, and has low barriers to entry. It supplies the additional benefits of physical activity, a supportive community, and the ability to be replicated easily in different contexts. Grounded in the example of UliftU in Pennsylvania, USA, and its partners, this article highlights an unexplored avenue for SDP programs. The article identifies lessons learned concerning client populations and partnerships and suggests avenues for further study.

Authors' Statement

The landscape of the fitness industry, and specifically the CrossFit brand, has changed significantly since we wrote this piece in Fall 2019 and it was accepted for publication. As with all research, conclusions must evolve with changing circumstances.

We strongly believe that the fitness industry has the power—and opportunity—to be a catalyst for social change. We also believe that sport-for-livelihood programs like UliftU, a nonprofit dedicated to empowering incarcerated men, should be replicated. However, the CrossFit brand is not the best or only option through which to do so—especially in light of recent events.

In early June 2020, Greg Glassman, founder of CrossFit, made racist remarks and circulated conspiracy theories. Former employees also revealed allegations of sexual harassment. Several high-ranking CrossFit executives resigned shortly thereafter, and hundreds of gyms disaffiliated from the CrossFit brand. While grateful for previous support, UliftU immediately denounced Glassman and cut ties with the CrossFit brand.

We believe that the methodology of CrossFit still works. Former CrossFit affiliates can provide that benefit without the name or logo. UliftU will continue training men to be exceptional fitness coaches both during and after their time in prison but will explore certifications through other organizations.

In late June 2020, CrossFit announced the sale of the brand to Eric Roza, who will become the new CEO. We must wait and see if this move sufficiently addresses CrossFit's issues and takes the brand in a new direction. Meanwhile, Wylie Belasik, founder of UliftU and one of the authors of this article, is collaborating with a group of former affiliate

Keywords: sport for development for livelihoods; fitness industry; CrossFit; partnerships; returning citizens; from the field

owners to fill the leadership void. These gyms and nonprofits whose missions have always been inclusive will support former affiliates with resources and action steps to create programs that can truly enact social change.

Find Belasik's full statement here:
https://subversusfitness.com/leaving-crossfit/

For more information on the new direction, check out www.trainanybody.com and www.uliftu.org/

INTRODUCTION

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) programs focused on improving participants' livelihoods can learn from the example of UliftU, a program in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This program, which partners with the CrossFit Foundation, for-profit CrossFit Subversus (CFS), an adult education expert, and the American federal court system, creates career opportunities for previously incarcerated men. CrossFit gyms provide low barriers to entry (Ozanian, 2015), a sense of community (Maslic, 2019), and physical activity (Glassman, 2004). These characteristics serve citizens returning from prison well as they face complicated challenges reentering the workforce. This article analyzes UliftU and its partnerships, identifies lessons that SDP programs can apply, and recommends avenues of future exploration.

DISCUSSION

Why SDP for the Previously Incarcerated?

Spaaij (2009) recommended SDP practitioners individually tailor their programs to meet the needs of local problems and orient toward different social groups within disadvantaged neighborhoods. SDP-for-livelihood practitioners should create programs to serve previously incarcerated persons in their local area because returning citizens confront unique challenges in employment.

Researchers estimate between 14 million and 15.8 million people have felony convictions in the United States, which significantly adversely affects a person's employment prospects (Bucknor & Barber, 2016). Time in prison produces a stigma attached to a criminal record, erodes basic job skills, disrupts formal education, and causes the loss of social networks that could improve job-finding prospects (Bucknor & Barber, 2016). Many government jobs and licensed professions lock out persons with felony convictions (Bucknor & Barber, 2016). Fitness industry jobs, particularly those as personal training entrepreneurs or in affiliate models like CrossFit, do not erect the same barriers.

Returning citizens may possess a variety of characteristics that limit their employability and earning capacities, including limited education and cognitive skills, limited work experience, substance abuse, and other physical and mental health problems (Holzer et al., 2003). Even where little formal skill is required, employers seek essential "job readiness," expecting that the employee will show up consistently and punctually, work hard and take some responsibility, and be generally trustworthy (Holzer et al., 2003). Employer prejudice impacts hiring and retention of workers, and employers display more aversion to hiring returning citizens than any other disadvantaged group. (Holzer et al., 2003).

Education and training can help prepare returning citizens for the workforce and meet the particular skill needs that employers seek (Holzer et al., 2003). Transitional work experiences should not only provide some general work-readiness skills but also signal to employers the individual's ability to hold a job and meet basic standards of responsibility (Holzer et al., 2003). Programs combining a variety of other aids might help reduce the isolation and alienation from the world of work that many ex-offenders feel (Holzer et al., 2003). SDP-for-livelihood programs training returning citizens to be CrossFit coaches meet these criteria, providing education and certification, signaling work-readiness skills, and establishing a stable community and sense of belonging.

Why CrossFit?

In an overview of SDP programs, Svensson and Woods (2017) found organizations most commonly employed football, basketball, and rugby. They did not identify any program explicitly classified as a fitness or strength and conditioning program. They noted the current state of SDP practice narrowly defines sport. This indicates SDP programs have not yet explored utilizing strength and conditioning programs.

Physical Activity Benefits

Careers as CrossFit instructors lead to increased levels of physical activity compared to sedentary jobs, and physical activity can generate broad-ranging wellness improvements (Calderwood et al., 2016) far beyond having employment. These gains can multiply the valuable effects of employment education for participants, increasing the chance of attaining long-term employment. Calderwood et al. (2016) reviewed physical activity literature, synthesized

the myriad benefits, and explained the connection to positive employment outcomes. Physical activity yields health and well-being enhancements by triggering antidepressant hormones and increasing endorphin secretion, which may allow employees to experience their work more positively through improvements in physiological health (Calderwood, et al., 2016). Physical activity may distract individuals from depressing or negative thoughts and improve mood, which may yield well-being and performance enhancements (Calderwood et al., 2016). Physical activity may also relate positively to mastery experiences, self-efficacy, self-esteem, and body image (Calderwood et al., 2016). Participants receiving these improved physiological, psychological, and cognitive outcomes would make an SDP-for-livelihood vocational training program even more likely to succeed.

CrossFit Characteristics

CrossFit, a strength and conditioning program, aligns remarkably well with SDP-for-livelihood programs. Maslic (2019) noted CrossFit's potential for SDP had not been fully explored. He analyzed CrossFit from the Sport for Peace perspective, finding CrossFit did have the ability to build a community that challenged dominant ethnonational narratives in a postviolence context (Maslic, 2019). CrossFit's entrepreneurial nature, low barriers to entry, high growth, adaptability, and focus on community make it an excellent vehicle for SDP for livelihood programs looking to move participants into employment.

CrossFit, both a fitness regimen and a company, emphasizes constantly varied, functional movement performed at high intensities (Glassman, 2004). CrossFit, founded in 2002, doubled its revenue every 18 months until 2012 (Fischbach, 2012). As of 2014, CrossFit had generated $4 billion in annual revenue (Ozanian, 2015). By 2016 it had also credentialed more than 80,000 trainers and hosted over a million participants (CrossFit v. NSCA, 2016). By 2018, it had licensed more than 15,000 locations in 162 countries (Henderson, 2018). CrossFit is also increasingly global. In 2018, only approximately a third of newly registered CrossFit affiliates had opened in the United States, and for the first time there were more gyms located outside the United States than inside it (Henderson, 2018). CrossFit recently renewed its focus on combatting chronic disease by launching CrossFit Health and offering training workshops to medical doctors (Belluz, 2018). This initiative is meant to expand CrossFit to a broader market, reaching patients through their health care provider's recommendation (Belluz, 2018). These indicators demonstrate CrossFit is likely to continue its growth and deliver employment potential in the future.

CrossFit offers prospects for budding entrepreneurs that is an avenue for returning citizens locked out of more traditional hiring pathways. CrossFit's business model requires scant capital since it does not require inventory or large staff (Ozanian, 2015). CrossFit holds weekend certification seminars internationally. While tuition is expensive, passing a single standardized test on the last day allows participants to become a Level 1 certified trainer, which permits trainers to teach CrossFit professionally or open a gym (Helm, 2013). Once certified, trainers can find jobs at CrossFit gyms across the globe.

If a trainer wants to open a gym, he or she must pay CrossFit a relatively low annual fee, now $3,000, to advertise as a CrossFit gym and to teach the methodology (Helm, 2013). CrossFit gyms retain considerable autonomy, setting membership prices, creating workouts, and deciding on what equipment to buy (Sahlberg, 2012). CrossFit gyms appear rudimentary and comprise large open spaces, usually located inside industrial facilities (Maslic, 2019). CrossFit gyms can operate with low overhead costs for warehouse space and minimal capital outlay since the exercise regimen does not require fancy equipment (Sahlberg, 2012). These characteristics allow for a wide range of entrepreneurs to own businesses.

CrossFit's ability to build a strong sense of belonging and community bolsters its potential as a vehicle for SDP for livelihoods (Maslic, 2019). CrossFit classes consist of groups of individuals led by a coach, but each participant can scale the workout to an appropriate intensity level (Maslic, 2019). This adaptability appeals to individuals of varying fitness and ability and allows for the participation of individuals with disabilities and injuries (Maslic, 2019). Classes focus on inclusivity and sustain an egalitarian approach, with gym norms such as all athletes cheering on the others during workouts (Maslic, 2019). CrossFit relies on shared experiences and a common goal to produce an inclusive culture (Bailey et al., 2019). It also allows sustained contact between individuals from diverse demographics and affirms a sense of community that can form social ties (Whiteman-Sandland et al., 2018). This sense of community can establish stability and support in a manner that can assist returning citizens to remain in employment.

The CrossFit Foundation's former executive director, Olivia Leonard, identified an additional characteristic that she finds vital regarding CrossFit as an avenue for social change. She believes that CrossFit is particularly powerful due to its ability to self-replicate: "It's very unique in that people who are involved in CrossFit . . . personally, charitably, socially, there's a huge urge to bring other

people in, and it's very much a community that self-reinforces in that way" (personal communication, March 30, 2020). In a charitable and social sense, CrossFit encourages people when they see change in themselves and in the lives of the people working out next to them (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020). This distinguishing feature also makes CrossFit uniquely suited to address the challenges of returning citizens.

Why Partnerships?

SDP-for-livelihoods practitioners utilizing CrossFit will likely possess high levels of expertise in the fitness industry and experience in instructing coaches. However, they may lack a background in confronting the other challenges encountered by returning citizens. Therefore, they should build mutually beneficial partnerships.

Spaaij (2012) explains that SDP programs cannot be isolated from broader institutions. Therefore, practitioners must consider the role of governments, community leaders, and local businesses in these initiatives (Spaaij, 2012). The International Labour Organization highlights the position of sports institutions as lying outside the usual structures that contend with employment issues, recommending the creation and development of joint projects and partnerships (Blanplain & Colucci, 2006).

SDP organizations rely heavily on partnerships for multiple reasons, including securing funding; for assistance in program design, delivery, and implementation; and for monitoring and evaluation (Welty Peachey et al., 2017). External partnerships are often crucial to overall goal achievement, providing the organization with physical, financial, and human resources benefits (Misener & Doherty, 2013). Welty Peachey et al. (2017) found interorganizational partnerships are vital to the accomplishment and sustainability of SDP organizations. Smaller SDP organizations can increase their organizational capacity through leveraging local partnerships (Svensson & Hambrick, 2016). Practitioners find mutually beneficial relationships important for broader structural capacity. They perceive genuine relationships with external partners who understand the value of the SDP agency's work as essential to meeting their goals (Svensson, 2015). SDP organizations collaborate with a broad spectrum of entities, including private corporations, school districts, municipalities, professional sport teams, and other community-based service organizations (Svensson, 2015).

Interorganizational partnerships pose challenges, and many do not succeed despite the advantages they provide (Welty Peachey et al., 2017). Collaborations can bring additional capacity but also come with opportunity and transaction costs (Svensson et al., 2018). External partnerships may unintentionally result in additional capacity constraints, which subsequently may inhibit an organization from maximizing the benefits of those partnerships (Svensson, 2015). Increasing the number of external relationships consequently requires staff members to allocate more and more time to maintaining these partnerships (Svensson, 2015).

Welty Peachey et al. (2017) recommend SDP organizations prioritize selling the value and impact of sport to potential partners, acquire business acumen, and focus on local partners. Svensson (2015) suggests, "to minimize potential negative or unintended outcomes of external partnerships, SDP leaders ought to be transparent about intended roles and responsibilities from the onset of a partnership" (p. 236). Practitioners must be persistent when relationship building with potential partners in the local community, especially initially (Svensson, 2015).

UliftU

Though a formal research evaluation has not been performed on UliftU, the program demonstrates a small, grassroots attempt to use CrossFit as a tool for livelihoods. SDP practitioners can learn from UliftU's progress and success. In its first few years, which included significant trial and error, UliftU produced three fully certified CrossFit coaches. These formerly incarcerated men are currently making a living as fitness professionals. With the improvements and streamlining of the process, the program anticipates an ability to scale up to 10 successful graduates annually.

History

In the following sections, Wylie Belasik, one of the authors of this article, will share his personal history, thoughts, and experiences from before the founding of UliftU to the present. Belasik, an experienced practitioner in SDP, first used sport as a tool to help others lead successful lives as vice president of programming and the first employee of now nationwide nonprofit, Back on My Feet, an organization dedicated to combating homelessness through running. During his time with Back on My Feet, he became disillusioned. He realized that running worked for building self-esteem, building self-confidence, and improving self-efficacy. However, it didn't seem to matter how good the program was at social efficacy, because participants still couldn't get a job, contribute to their communities, or support themselves, especially those with a criminal history. After leaving Back on My Feet, Belasik worked with

Phoenix Multisport (now The Phoenix), a free, sober, active community that facilitates addiction recovery through participation in sports and fitness activities. His frustrations continued, worrying that the programs were creating a false set of idealistic expectations. He wondered if these types of SDP programs were doing participants a disservice when the individuals committed to a program that they hoped would help them feel better and be supported, but they still would not be able to find employment if they had a criminal record.

Through those early experiences, Belasik determined that SDP should not just use sport as an intervention, but that SDP programs need to use fitness for livelihoods for populations with barriers to employment. In 2015 Belasik began CrossFit and recognized the program's unique potential. CrossFit, when done well, can be more universally accessible than other sports, such as running, and CrossFit emphasizes community. He proposed an idea to the owner of a CrossFit affiliate in Philadelphia. He wanted to start a nonprofit that would use fitness to assist participants to think more clearly and see the results of planning and dedication. He also wanted the nonprofit to serve as a tool for job creation. Belasik later bought the CrossFit affiliate and now operates both the for-profit CrossFit gym and serves as executive director of the nonprofit SDP program.

Initially, UliftU centered on homeless persons and recruited participants through the shelter system. After about 18 months, Belasik realized that individuals in the shelter system were not at a place where they were ready to engage in this type of program. The program was too intensive and too structured for most of the participants to be successful. Educating someone to become a CrossFit coach is a long, time-intensive process requiring stability and commitment. Several early participants quit. Belasik realized that relying on the shelter system for referrals did not lead to recruiting participants who would be most effectively served by the program. He decided to change the mission of the program to focus on a different population that could be better helped through CrossFit.

Program

The program, called UliftU, works both inside a prison and with men once they have been released to acquire CrossFit certifications and coaching experience. UliftU runs a 12-week program at Chester State Correctional Institution introducing CrossFit to currently incarcerated men with the hope that participants might bridge into the UliftU training program after their release. UliftU requires participants to commit to a paid, year-long training program that includes attending CrossFit classes at the gym and classroom meetings to learn the material for the CrossFit trainer Level 1 certification, as well as completing work around the gym such as cleaning and working at the front desk. As the participants progress through the program, they begin to coach classes themselves.

Partners

STAR program. In late 2017, UliftU connected with the Supervision to Aid Reentry (STAR) program, a federal re-entry court program for Philadelphia residents on supervised release (U.S. Probation Court, n.d.). STAR furnishes intensive supervision and a highly structured support system to those deemed most likely to reoffend (U.S. Probation Court, n.d.). Every two weeks, participants appear as a group before a federal magistrate judge to report on their progress (U.S. Probation Court, n.d.). After participants successfully complete 52 weeks of supervised release, they are eligible for a reduction of their supervised release period up to one year (U.S. Probation Court, n.d.). Referrals from STAR have been fruitful since the participants already have a layer of structure in place, so UliftU's requirements align with their expectations. The participants also have access to a broader range of services to help them manage challenges outside of job training. This partnership proved to be a turning point for the organization, clarifying the mission. UliftU now seeks to empower returning citizens to become leaders in health and fitness.

CrossFit Subversus (CFS). Though CFS, a for-profit affiliate gym, houses UliftU, according to the IRS tax exemption requirements, UliftU "must not be organized or operated for the benefit of private interests" (Internal Revenue Service, n.d.). UliftU's board scrutinizes this relationship carefully to avoid violating those regulations. CFS provides rent-free classroom space for educational sessions and gym space for coaching training to UliftU. CFS allows UliftU participants to take CrossFit classes at no charge.

Belasik uses CFS to create additional economic opportunities for participants. Instead of other CFS coaches or an outside cleaning crew, CFS pays an hourly wage to UliftU participants who work the front desk and clean the gym separately from their program stipend. Additionally, UliftU pays participants while they shadow CFS coaches. This does not benefit CFS economically since UliftU participants are not coaching members or replacing other paid coaches, but rather they are engaging in coaching development. CFS pays UliftU graduates who coach a CFS class on their own. UliftU stores the equipment they use for

community class separately from CFS equipment, so that CFSs member do not use anything UliftU has purchased.

CrossFit HQ and the CrossFit Foundation. The CrossFit Foundation (CFF) acts as the charitable arm of CrossFit, Inc. It supports the work of affiliates and philanthropic organizations that use CrossFit to serve the needs of their diverse communities through the CrossFit Community Health Fund (CrossFit Foundation, 2019b). CFF operates as an independent 501c3 with the primary goal of supporting communities and special groups that are using CrossFit to meet the needs of that individual group (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020). CFF provides three avenues of support to nonprofits, including pro bono development consulting, grants ranging from $5,000 to $25,000, and free access to CrossFit training opportunities (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020). CFF also hosts biannual meetings at which the leadership of charities using CrossFit can network and receive fundraising training and programmatic advice (CrossFit Foundation, 2019a).

Even though CFF's stated priorities focus on youth, veterans, and people in recovery from substance abuse, Leonard explained it is not limited to those issues (personal communication, March 30, 2020). She indicated that CrossFit, Inc. had done work for the incarcerated community before the foundation's involvement, including hosting Level 1 certifications in prisons and publishing a series of articles in the CrossFit journal about CrossFit and the incarcerated (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020).

Belasik proactively solicited Greg Glassman, founder of CrossFit; Jeff Cain, former CEO of CrossFit, Inc.; and Olivia Leonard, executive director of CFF at a lobbying event in Washington, D.C., in Fall 2016 (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020). CFF invited Belasik to the next CFF meeting to integrate UliftU into the foundation's community of nonprofits. Leonard pointed out that Belasik's spirit of service, passion, and commitment made UliftU a good candidate for CFF support (personal communication, March 30, 2020).

Belasik interprets CrossFit as maintaining partners who use the program to effect change in areas in which the company wants to make an impact. CFF pays for all education costs related to CrossFit certifications for UliftU. Those costs include the Level 1 certification workshop, retests, and online continuing education courses. CFF committed to outfitting UliftU affiliates with equipment when the program opens a new facility. CFF also covers travel costs for Belasik and UliftU participants to participate in conferences.

CFF assisting nonprofits aligns with CrossFit, Inc.'s inherent business model. CrossFit, Inc. aims to "share essential resources with its community free of cost" (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020). CrossFit provides many of the resources it finds important and worthwhile for free online, including daily workout programming and the Level 1 certification training manual. Encouraging people to take what they can from CrossFit and use it to help others will always be an essential aspect of CrossFit (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020). Leonard recognizes the obvious positives for the image and brand to have charities partnering with CrossFit. However, Leonard believes that any resulting financial gain would be so small that it does not motivate CrossFit's decision making (O. Leonard, personal communication, March 30, 2020).

Adult education professional. During the first two years, Belasik and Tim Heckman, program director of UliftU, recognized much of the classroom setting vocational training was not working. Therefore, they refined the educational curriculum UliftU used to develop coaches. The curriculum is under constant revision to address issues of accessibility and educational preparedness. The program instituted the Test for Adult Basic Education (TABE) test, a diagnostic tool used to determine a person's skill level and aptitudes in various areas. Belasik recognized that before they could train participants to pass the CrossFit certification exam, they needed to remediate some educational deficiencies. Belasik brought on an adult education professional to tutor the men in the program in study skills. This partnership has also proven to be a turning point in the development of the organization: the first participant to receive full tutoring was the first to successfully pass the CrossFit Level 1 certification test on his first attempt.

Lessons Learned

Client population. Belasik, whose work with Back on My Feet focused on the homeless population, believes substance abuse and opioids have changed the landscape of the shelter system dramatically. He thinks people in the shelter system now have much more acute substance abuse needs combined with fewer available mental health resources. He observes that shelters have shifted toward adopting a housing first model, which prioritizes shelter over other needs. He thinks Back on My Feet worked because individuals were in shelters for long durations and that longer time frame largely does not exist anymore, as most shelters attempt to get people in some

form of housing within 30 to 60 days.

Though a full exploration of the application of CrossFit to the homeless population is beyond the scope of this article, the literature supports Belasik's experience. In a systematic review of the literature on case management for homeless persons, de Vet and colleagues (2013) noted that in recent years, the focus of policy measures to reduce homelessness changed. Both in the United States and Europe, policy shifted away from the "staircase" approach to rapid rehousing (de Vet et al., 2013). The staircase approach required homeless persons to prove housing readiness while transferring through shelters and transitional housing situations before they become eligible for independent housing (de Vet et al., 2013). Few service initiatives for homeless people focus on employment. Many service providers assume that mental health and addiction problems are long-term conditions not likely to be well enough resolved in the immediate future to enable homeless individuals to become economically self-sufficient (Rosenheck, 2010).

Since a vocational training program like ULiftU requires a long-term commitment and stable schedule, changes to the program are unlikely to compensate for the particular challenges of the homeless population. Belasik believes that currently incarcerated and returning citizens are the correct target population for CrossFit based sport-for-livelihoods programs due to the physical culture and amount of unoccupied time in prison and the additional monitoring of individuals on release. Belasik has found that the incarcerated men interested in participating in UliftU are familiar with exercise regimens and worked out while in prison. The currently incarcerated men can also dedicate significant time to studying the CrossFit certification materials since they have few other distractions. Once released, as part of the STAR program, a probation officer intensively supervises ULiftU participants (U.S. Probation Court, n.d.). The court and federal probation office assist with education, training, employment, and other needs and impose graduated sanctions when necessary (U.S. Probation Court, n.d.). Alternatively, according to Belasik, participants who start the program while incarcerated develop relationships with program staff. This familiarity ensures they have appropriate support and a stable environment after their release, even though they would not participate in the STAR program. Sport-for-livelihood practitioners wishing to replicate UliftU should identify populations in their local community with similar characteristics.

Partnerships. Belasik's experience supports Svensson's (2015) conclusion that effective programs must integrate mutually beneficial partnerships to meet their goals. UliftU relies on the federal court system for referrals, an adult education specialist for andragogy, the CrossFit Foundation for resources, and a for-profit CrossFit gym for housing the program. SDP practitioners should aggressively pursue reciprocal partnerships such as those used by UliftU and allocate appropriate resources to manage them effectively.

The partnership with the STAR program crystallized the UliftU mission and establishes additional structure in participants' lives making it more likely the participants will stay in the program. The STAR program requires employment or enrollment in a training program as an eligibility criterion for participants, which UliftU offers. The professional adult educator shaped the curriculum and significantly shortened the time it took participants to obtain certification. UliftU pays hourly wages for sessions at night and on weekends, offering participants extra income.

The CrossFit Foundation provides UliftU networking access and financial support. In turn, CFF serves its mission to support agencies using the CrossFit methodology to help people. CrossFit Subversus provides UliftU a facility, infrastructure, and an established system in which to train coaches. CFS receives positive public relations from its association with UliftU and allows its owner to pursue his passion for using sport for social change. UliftU also engages participants outside of CrossFit's traditional demographic, making the sport more inclusive. However, as Belasik and Leonard have noted, UliftU does not provide measurable economic benefits to its partners.

LIMITATIONS

Though an inspiring example, using UliftU as a model for sport-for-livelihood programs has limitations. The program has not performed a formal evaluation of its services. UliftU is small and evolving, engaging in significant changes to the population it serves and its approach to vocational training during its first few years. It has a very dedicated founder, who is willing to expend resources of his for-profit business to assist the program. It targets only males, who either are in prison or recently released, and it was not successful with a homeless population. It is situated in the Northeastern United States, an area of the country with a unique culture, which includes access to a progressive federal court program that provides referrals.

FUTURE INQUIRY

These limitations provide many avenues for future study. First, the program could institute a formal evaluation to

assess its success. Observers could provide additional data on participants' career outcomes. Though CrossFit gyms operate globally, attitudes toward incarcerated and returning citizens and the availability of program partners will vary widely by location. Practitioners should consider the replicability of a similar program in other parts of the United States or outside the country. Practitioners could investigate replicability for other populations. Research should identify other groups that could benefit from a CrossFit employment training program, especially its applicability to female incarcerated persons and returning citizens. Since detractors have questioned CrossFit's safety and efficacy (Crocket & Butryn, 2018) and characterized it as a cult (Dawson, 2017), further research also could explore the use of fitness industry businesses other than CrossFit.

CONCLUSION

We argue Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) practitioners focused on improving participants' livelihoods should develop programs utilizing CrossFit or similar methods with thoughtful partnerships. Though citizens released from prison have complicated challenges reentering the job market, fitness-based programs may offer employment opportunities. CrossFit, though not the only pathway through which SDP for livelihoods partners can achieve their objectives, is large, growing, and has low barriers to entry. It supplies the additional benefits of physical activity, a supportive community, and the ability to be replicated easily in different contexts. We described an example of a current program in this space that revealed lessons learned and considerations for programs moving forward.

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Original Research

An examination of an Aotearoa/New Zealand plus-sport education partnership using livelihoods and capital analysis

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ABSTRACT

Education is regarded as a human right and fundamental to achieving other human rights, such as decent work. Education is essential for developing human potential, and it can help address growing social and economic inequality. However, for many Indigenous populations in the global North, realizing their fullest potential thorough mainstream education is mired with difficulties, and this has had serious implications for employability and livelihoods creation. This paper presents research undertaken in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ) where the Taranaki Rugby Football Union (TRFU) has partnered with local education provider Feats to establish the Māori and Pasifika Rugby Academy (MPRA). The purpose of the partnership is to provide an alternative education pathway to increase livelihoods opportunities. Undertaking a capital and livelihoods analysis of the TRFU and Feats partnership has allowed us to see more clearly different aspects of the MPRA program and bring to the fore other features of the learners' journeys. While the building of human capital through education is important, of greater significance is the cultural and psychological capital that is built through program attendance.

INTRODUCTION

Livelihood theory and practice, referred to as the sustainable livelihoods approach or framework, emerged from the global-South rural and agricultural sector (Scoones, 2009). Its genealogy lies in influences such as the applied development perspective of Chambers (1995) and his advocating "putting the last first." By this, Chambers (1995) was referring to the idea that development "experts" needed to listen to and include the voices, ideas, and experiences of disadvantaged people and start working in a bottom-up, participatory manner if poverty and underdevelopment were to be addressed. Other influences included work undertaken by French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and rural sociologist Norman Long (2001), both of whom wrote about the need to understand the local environment within which development interventions and processes occur. Bourdieu (1977), and later, Long (2001) stressed the importance of understanding forms of capital, agency, and the capabilities of local actors within the constraints of broader national and global forces (markets and social policies, for example). Such a perspective was posited to offer a better means for capturing how vulnerable populations lived their lives and for obtaining a more nuanced understanding of the various things they did in order to make a living (Chambers & Conway, 1992). This interest in understanding peoples livelihoods in more detail has resulted in a growing body of scholarship focused on livelihoods analysis.

Key to livelihoods analysis is the idea that livelihoods in themselves are only useful if they can be sustained (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Sustainability encompasses the present as well as future generations. As an approach, it looks to include all dimensions of work, paid and unpaid

Keywords: education; New Zealand/Aotearoa; plus-sport; sustainable livelihoods; youth; Indigenous peoples; rugby; partnerships

(because not all work is paid), as well as formal and informal work (Snyder, 2007). By accounting for the informal sector, it recognizes that the majority of people in the global South are excluded from formal labor markets and receive little support from the state (Jeanes et al., 2019). While in the global North there might be social services, for those unemployed or in low skilled, short-term, casual, or poorly paid jobs, insurance, nutritious food, and quality housing and health care are often out of reach. Vulnerable populations face many uncertainties in their daily lives. Livelihoods analysis therefore looks to link macrolevel processes, such as, economic reform, to microlevel outcomes and responses.

Livelihoods scholars argue people are more likely to have good livelihood options when they have various kinds of capital to draw on (Chambers, 1995). The commonly identified types of capital are: human, financial, social, cultural, physical, and natural capital (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Natural capital, in some instances, has been replaced by personal capital (see Murray & Ferguson, 2002). Other forms of capital have also been discussed: aspirational, psychological, productive, and political, for example (see Moser et al., 2001). While this paper will focus on some capital types more than others, this is not to negate the importance of other forms of capital. Rather, in keeping with livelihoods analysis, context determines which capital types are most relevant, i.e., for a person living in an urban environment, natural capital is often less important than for a person living a rural life who is dependent on agriculture (UNODC, 2011).

Livelihoods analysis is interested in understanding peoples' capabilities and what things limit people's capabilities when trying to make a living. Also of interest is understanding how resilient people are, that is, how people respond to change and cope with stresses and shocks within their livelihood's context. Communities, households, and individuals are seen to be resilient when they can grow their capital (Chambers, 1995; Chambers & Conway, 1992). While it is recognized that poorer communities, households, and individuals face greater challenges, making building resiliency vital, livelihoods analysis looks to position those who are disadvantaged as active agents of change rather than victims (Chambers, 1995; Chambers & Conway, 1992). Thus, resiliency can be developed.

There are many ways that sport directly contributes to people's livelihoods—as an athlete, coach, sport administrator, manager, or sport physiotherapist. The scale of the global sports industry and its links with other sectors such as tourism, health care, or hospitality offers prospects for employment as well (SDGFund, 2018). Opportunities also occur when sport-labor migrants remit money home and family members set up income generating ventures (Stewart-Withers et al., 2017), or when sport-based initiatives look to target at-risk populations with the intention of developing employment skills (Sherry, 2017). Employability skills have been defined as hard skills or those that relate specifically to the job at hand, and soft skills "are personal attitudinal and behavioural attributes" (Coalter et al., 2016, p.12).

With this in mind, this paper presents a livelihoods analysis drawing on research undertaken in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ)[1], where the Taranaki Rugby Football Union (TRFU) partnered with local education provider Feats, or *Pae Tawhiti* (to "seek out distant horizons") to establish the Māori and Pasifika Rugby Academy (MPRA). Feats offers MPRA participants the opportunity to obtain National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA[2]) Levels 1 and 2, which are delivered through Pasifika and Māori *tikanga* (protocols; ways of knowing, doing, and being) incorporating *hauora* (well-being), *whānau* (family) support, all with a focus on sport (rugby union) and physical fitness (Burroughs, 2016). The rationale for shining light on this "particularistic" case (Merriam, 1998), albeit small, is because this partnership is unique insofar as it privileges educational achievement within a culturally responsive environment, and the sport itself has a secondary focus. In positioning sport as a secondary focus, it provides a counter to other popular sport academy models or programs in Aotearoa. Brown (2015, 2016, 2017) has critiqued some of these popular programs, labelling them as "elite athlete programs" (EAPs), and positing that sporting successes come first and other outcomes, whether educational or sociocultural, are secondary. The TRFU and Feats partnership, with its education-focused MPRA, is a plus-sport approach (Coalter & Taylor, 2010) in which education intersects with rugby union to provide an alternative pathway for obtaining formal educational qualifications.

For this paper, because we were interested in extrapolating the capital aspect of livelihoods, we have posed five capital focused research questions:

1. What types of capital do learners[3] possess on entering the MPRA/Feats program?

2. How does involvement in the MPRA/Feats program help learners grow capital?

3. What are the dominant capital types that are grown?

4. How do the types of capital help learners respond to

change and cope with challenges and stresses?

5. How do the types of capital contribute to creating choices and opportunities for the future, whereby learners in this MPRA/Feats program are able improve their livelihoods options?

This paper is structured first to unpack some of the arguments surrounding education as a means for building capital. Of concern is the way human capital has often been privileged over other capital categories, such as cultural capital. Second, we provide important contextual information. As will be evidenced, Aotearoa's Indigenous people (Māori) as well as Pasifika peoples, have long experienced shortcomings in mainstream education that have implications for employment and livelihoods opportunities. For this reason, initiatives such as the MPRA and partnerships such as that with TRFU/Feats are important. These locally responsive solutions can resonate with Māori and Pasifika young men, especially, due to the ways various forms of rugby (union, league, touch, and sevens) are embraced by these groups from an early age (Horton, 2012). Following an outline of ethics, methodology, methods of data collection and analysis, we then present the findings according to the types of capital. Findings are discussed in relation to our research questions and in terms of livelihoods and capital analysis. In this education-focused exploratory case study, cultural and psychological capital are key to making the most of other forms of capital and are necessary for increased capabilities and improved livelihoods outcomes.

BACKGROUND

Education As Means for Building Capital

Education is seen as a means to increase human capital. According to the World Bank (2017)[4], "human capital consists of the knowledge, skills and health that people accumulate throughout their lives, enabling them to realize their potential and be productive members of society." Economists made the concept of human capital popular in the 1950s, with expenditure on education and training seen as an investment in human capital. However, using education as a means for producing workers who contribute to GDP as instruments for economic progress has been heavily criticized. Rather, education is "both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realising other human rights. Education is essential for the development of human potential, enjoyment of the full range of human rights and respect for the rights of others" (Human Rights Commission, 2019, p.169). As evidenced by key New Zealand government policy documents and action plans, for example, "Shaping a Stronger Education System with New Zealanders," and notwithstanding the fact Aotearoa is also a signatory to the UN's Sustainable Development Goals[5], there appears to be a commitment to the idea that education is a fundamental human right for all (Human Rights Act, 1993). Education is hence positioned as part of the broader development agenda.

Education has long been part of the development agenda as Millennium Development Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education. Problematically, the focus was mainly on enrollment and attendance in formal education, as opposed to the quality of this education (Barrett, 2015). The wider scope of SDG 4 – Quality Education[6] and the focus on inclusiveness and equity looks to address this. Thus, seven targets and 11 indictors for SDG 4 were agreed to by 193 countries in September 2015 at the United Nations and look to, for example, improve proficiency in numeracy and literacy and ensure equal access to affordable and quality technical, vocational, and tertiary education, especially for youth, Indigenous people, and other marginal groups. It is noted that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to live sustainable lives, thus realizing their rights as citizens. Recognition of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to development is also very important (UN, 2016).

Within Aotearoa's formal education system, different subjects tend to value the inclusion of culture more than others. Review and Maintenance Programme (RAMP) reports of Health and Physical Education (HPE) (Boyd & Hipkins, 2015), Mathematics and Statistics (Neill & Hipkins, 2015), and Science (Hipkins & Joyce, 2015), illustrate there to be a much stronger "culturally responsive pedagogy" within HPE. Boyd and Hipkins (2015) attribute this to the explicit use of *hauora*, an Indigenous holistic model of well-being (Durie, 1994), as one of the four concepts that underpin learning in HPE. We argue that including diverse cultural perspectives including Indigenous models and understandings of the subject area (in this instance health and well-being) as well as experiences that connect with the interests of learners and their communities is very important.

In view of the background of the paper presented above and moving forward with the case study, a livelihoods and capital analysis of SFD employability programs argues the importance of these specific tenets:

- working from a plus-sport perspective and valuing partnerships;
- targeting not just hard skills but also soft skills;
- working in a bottom-up, participatory manner;

- listening to and responding to the voices, ideas, and experiences of participants;
- understanding and working with the local environment;
- looking to understand capital—context determines which forms of capital are most relevant;
- exploring how resilient participants think they are, in terms of responding to change, coping with stresses, and growing their capital;
- looking to understand participants' capabilities and what things limit their capabilities with respects to capital; and
- positioning participants as active agents of change rather than victims.

Case Study: The Māori and Pasifika Rugby Academy (MPRA)

Brief Introduction to Māori and Pasifika People in Aotearoa

This study focuses on Māori (the Indigenous people of Aotearoa) and is the modern-day term used to refer to *tangata whenua* (the people of the land). Māori arrived in Aotearoa in ocean-going vessels (*waka*) from east Polynesia during the 13th century (Statistics NZ, 2015). In 1642, Dutch explorer Abel Tasman was the first European to visit Aotearoa. Over a century later, in 1769, the English navigator James Cook mapped the country's coastal area. Almost three quarters of a century later, on February 6, 1840, over 500 Māori chiefs signed *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (the Treaty of Waitangi) on behalf of their people and representatives of Queen Victoria's British Crown. Thus, Aotearoa became an official British colony in 1840 (McLeod et al., 2011). Many new settlers arrived, mainly from the United Kingdom, and they soon outnumbered the Māori population. The newly instated government broke treaty promises protecting Māori rights, and over the years that followed, the impacts of colonization, assimilation, and marginalization had enormous negative impacts on the social, economic, and cultural well-being of Māori (Statistics NZ, 2015). Since 1975, the Aotearoa government has negotiated settlements with Māori to address breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and improve the situation and position of the Indigenous population.

The 2013 Census reports that 15.7% of Aotearoa's population are of Māori descent, but fewer (13.4%) self-identified as Māori, and more than half of these identified with two or more ethnic groups (Statistics NZ, 2013). Cultural identity for Māori is, therefore, complex. As of 2015, an estimated 51% of the Māori population were 24 years of age or younger (Statistics NZ, 2015)—an important statistic given the focus of this article is youth. With reference to Pasifika peoples, the phrase "Pacific people" refers to a diverse group of people living in Aotearoa who migrated from Polynesia, Micronesian, or Melanesia, or who identify with the Pacific Islands because of ancestry or heritage. Many Pacific people migrated to Aotearoa for a better livelihood and/or to earn money for their families back home, and subsequently they have become a permanent and significant group on the Aotearoa landscape. In 2013, about 7.4% of Aotearoa's population were of Pacific descent (Statistics NZ, 2013). Similar for Māori, Pacific peoples also face discrimination and marginalization and experience varying levels of inequality in terms of opportunity and social and economic outcomes comparative to Pākehā (people of European decent), especially in the formal education system (Hunter et al., 2016; Milne, 2010, 2016).

Education for Māori and Pacific Youth

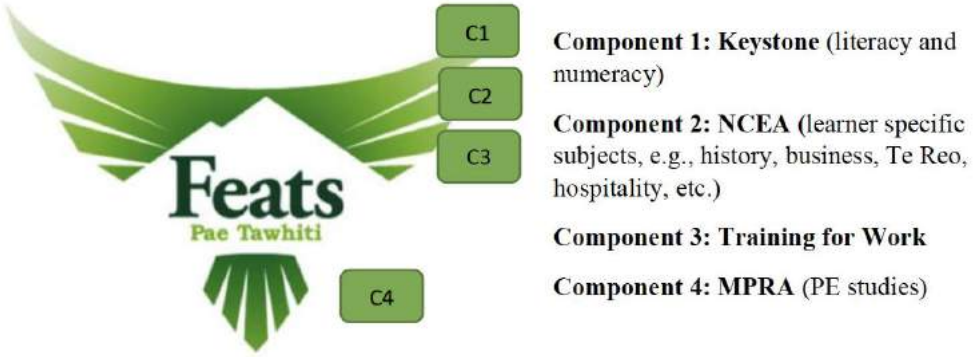
From 2009-2018, educational improvements were recorded for all ethnic groups. However, in terms of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) figures, all groups have consistently improved, therefore, the "gap" between high- and low-level achievers remains. Three in every four (75.7%) individuals of Asian descent leaving school, for example, achieved NCEA Level 3 or above in 2018, which is 19.3% higher than second- place European/Pākehā (56.4%) students. Less than one in every two Pasifika individuals leaving school achieved NCEA level 3 (46.1%), and for Māori only one in three (or 35.3%) left with NCEA Level 3. Across all individuals leaving school between 2009 and 2018, the Pasifika group, for example, recorded the largest improvement (22.9%) followed by Māori with a 16.2% increase between 2009 and 2018. Asian (12%) and European/Pākehā (9.2%) individuals leaving school also experienced respective gains between 2009-2018. There are myriad reasons for these ongoing structural disparities (inequalities outside the scope of this article), but beyond HPE, more "traditional" learning areas do not appear to cater to culturally diverse perspectives (Boyd & Hipkins, 2015; Hunter et al., 2016).

METHODS

Ethics

This project was peer reviewed and deemed low risk, and notification was lodged with the university's Human Ethics Office. This project is also underpinned by various culturally informed ethical principles, as seen in the NZ Health Research Council's Te Ara Tika document, where "*mana*—justice and equity," "*whakapapa*—relationships," "*manaakitanga*—cultural and social responsibility" and "*tika*—appropriateness of research design," are all argued to

Figure 1. Structure of the various MRPA learning components



be fundamental (Hudson et al., 2019). As well as Massey University's Pacific Research Principles, where "respect for relationships," "respect for knowledge holders," reciprocity," "holism," and "using research to do good" are essential (Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017). In the example of reciprocity, what these meant in practical terms for the study was the importance of expressing gratitude to people for their time and service through sharing food, helping profile the organization, and returning to present our findings in an accessible way to those involved (see Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017 for a detailed account of these principles).

Participants: The Taranaki Māori and Pacific Rugby Academy (MPRA) and Feats

First, to give some background, Feats (Pae Tawhiti) was founded in March 1992 and achieved registration with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) as a private training establishment in 1995 to administer and deliver training programs for youth and the unemployed. Typically, learners are referred to Feats either by government welfare agencies such as Work and Income or by local high schools when students have not been successful with their exams. A quarter century later, Feats now offers a range of programs on three campuses in the Taranaki region (Stratford, Hawera, and New Plymouth). These programs include: Training for Work, Keystones, NCEA, and the Maori and Pasifika Rugby Academy (MPRA).

The programs are run as timed sessions that resemble a traditional school day. Usually, learners begin their courses by 9 a.m. and finish at around 4 p.m. Monday to Friday at one of Feats's three sites. Three programs focus on employability (Training for Work, where learners gain skills to become work ready) and education (Keystones—where learners' specific needs are met in math, reading and/or writing), and NCEA. Their fourth program, which is the focus of this article (the MPRA), has an education "plus-sport" approach in which NCEA Levels 1 and 2 credits are delivered via a sport (rugby) academy that encompasses Pasifika values and Māori *tikanga* (protocols) incorporating *hauora* (holistic well-being), *whanau* (family) support, and physical fitness.

Second, the MPRA was the culmination of a year's work between the Taranaki Rugby Football Union (TRFU) and their partners, Feats. From inception, the TRFU committed to use rugby as the carrot to attract youth to Feats in order to gain important qualifications, especially for Māori and Pasifika students who were underachieving within the mainstream education system (Burroughs, 2016). Additionally, alongside the aspirations of their learners gaining NCEA qualifications and rugby skills, the program also teaches students life skills by developing their understandings of *tikanga* Māori and Pasifika culture and customs (TRFU, 2019). Learners have access to no less than three dedicated staff members to cater to their needs, including a Feats facilitator, the TRFU Academy manager, and a TRFU strength and conditioning trainer. The MPRA learning components are listed in Figure 1.

The MPRA case, therefore, may be considered a "plus-sport" education-focused initiative. It can be considered a "particularistic" case (Merriam, 1998) as, arguably, it operates contrary to other popular sport-only or sport-plus academy models.

Procedure

This qualitative, two-phased, inductive research (Gratton & Jones, 2004; Keegan et al., 2014) takes a case study approach, which, as Merriam (1998) suggests, is "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution . . . or a social unit" (p. xiii). Thus alongside being particularistic, it is also descriptive and heuristic (Merriam, 1998). In keeping with Merriam's (1998) pragmatism, it was important to "utilize processes that help interpret, sort, and manage information and that adapt findings to convey clarity and applicability to the results" (Harrison et al., 2017, para. 24).

Data Collection and Analysis

Our data collection across two phases allowed for inductive reasoning, by which researchers start with an observation or study of case incidents and then establish generalities. Sparkes and Smith (2013) refer to this as "a 'bottom-up' approach that is concerned with descriptions and explanations of particular phenomena or with developing theories" (p.25). In keeping with Merriam (1998), gathering data across these two phases allowed us to make links and connections and gave us time between the phases to develop working theories of the observed phenomena (MPRA).

The first phase of data collection for this research occurred mid-2018. The primary methods used to collect data were semistructured, focus group interviews with past learners (graduates) (n=4) from the 2017 intake (pseudonyms Tahi, Rua, Toru, and Wha[7]) and another focus group with course facilitators (n=4), including Feats and TRFU staff. Interview questions were open ended, and both focus groups occurred at their central Taranaki (Stratford) campus. Documents (strategic plans) were also collected. Observations were noted while on-site to complement the data gathered from the learners.

The second phase of data collection was in early 2019[8] with Feats facilitators[9] (n=2) and MPRA learners (n=5) (pseudonyms Rima, Ono, Whitu, Waru, and Iwa)[10] via open-ended, semistructured, individual interviews. These occurred at the New Plymouth campus. Again, the researchers collected documents (learner goal setting plans, n=13) and made observations while on-site to complement the interview data. While the focus group discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by the second author, the individual interviews were not recorded. Rather, the first author, drawing on first phase experience and using Merriam's (1998) simultaneity of data collection and analysis approach, took detailed notes during the interviews. A further rationale for this was also that learners were more comfortable being recorded in a group setting compared to the one-on-one sessions.

Finally, qualitative content analysis involved "making sense out of the data . . . consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read—it is the process of making meaning" (Merriam, 1998, p. 178). All sources (focus group transcriptions, one-on-one interview notes, observation notes, and other documents) were reviewed in relation to the five capital focused research questions and with learners as agents of change. This strategy was employed after phase one, when both authors conducted independent content analysis of the verbatim transcribed audio recordings. This involved each researcher familiarizing themselves with the data set and re-examining the data, highlighting key initial thoughts. This was followed by phase two, in which the first author adopted simultaneous coding for themes by noting meaningful quotes (i.e., raw data). Together, themes from both data sets were organized into capital types reflecting their relationships with livelihoods. Thus, an inductive approach was used to extract themes in relation to capital types and livelihoods (Huysmans et al., 2019). Iterative consensus validation enabled the authors to compare initial thoughts, codes, and themes, along with achieving consensus and resolving discrepancies. Another researcher acted as a "critical friend," whose primary role was to prompt reflection on alternative interpretations. On completion of the content analysis, all analyzed data was triangulated and integrated in a process of iterative consensus validation involving the researchers (Merriam, 1998).

The definitions of the types of capital are as follows:

- Human capital refers to the knowledge, skills, and health of people (World Bank, 2017).
- Psychological capital is often articulated in terms of H = hope, E = efficacy, R = resilience, and O = optimism (Luthans et al., 2007; Moser et al., 2001).
- Social capital consists of social resources, networks, organizations, and associations, both formal or informal, that occur or develop though relationships of trust that people draw from (Chambers, 1995; Chambers & Conway, 1992).
- Cultural capital is understood as existing as embodied (internalized values and ideas), objectified (material/tangible products), and institutionalized (social entitlements) forms (Bourdieu, 1986).

Table 1. Percent of learners completing the feats program by year, 2016-2018

Year	2016%	2017%	2018%
All students	64 (55)*	60 (40)	54 (45)
Māori	59	31	38
Pasifika	33	50	58
Non-Māori & non-Pasifika	52	49	31

Note. Adapted from New Zealand Qualifications Authority (2019, July 30). *External evaluation and review report: Feats Ltd.* p. 11 (www.nzqa.govt.nz/nqfdocs/provider-reports/8692.pdf).

*The NZ Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), which provides the funding for Feats, is committed to students getting NCEA Level 1 and 2 qualifications. Their targets for students completing qualifications are noted in parentheses.

FINDINGS[11]

Human Capital

Given the MPRA's education focus, the most evident capital developed was human capital. As an example of the knowledge-building aspect of human capital, one Feats facilitator commented, "Students come with low or no credits in NCEA, but this current group is 8 to 10 weeks away from completing . . . and are even ahead of schedule" (Feats facilitator, 2019). Human capital is thus grown in the form of achievement of formal academic qualifications, specifically NCEA Levels 1-2. Table 1 depicts completion and success rates for the program for 2016-2018.

By being involved in the MPRA, the learners have an increased ability to move into further training and education after Feats and/or paid employment. For example, one learner commented,

I'm working, I'm roofing at [X] roofers. I actually found their phone number on the internet and called them up, asked them if they were looking for workers and they said yeah. Then they gave me a month's trial. So, I'm there full time now. (Tahi, learner, 2018)

I got accepted into work for fitness course personal training. I got a message the other day from the work tutors saying I've been accepted. So, I start next month. Something cool I can do . . . because I've got a lot of unfit people in my family too. (Toru, learner, 2018)

Human capital can be further seen by the fact that all learners came with a passion for and knowledge of rugby and other sports. While most of the learners did not have outstanding talent, elite sport development is not the intention of this plus-sport organization. Regardless of talent, all learners are interested in having a healthy body. One facilitator noted, "after three months using the gym, [the learners] are really competent and confident with their ability in the gym" (MPRA, facilitator, 2018). All learners we interviewed have a sense of pride being part of the MPRA, demonstrating increased self-worth and improved mental well-being, which speaks to the development of psychological capital.

Psychological Capital

Aligned with livelihoods strength-based thinking, the CEO of Feats stated learners are viewed for their inherent potential "of what they could become in the future, not defined by their past or why and how they ended up at Feats" (2018). Many learners arrive with a sense of hope and optimism that Feats will get them back on track. Two shared their experience:

School wasn't going well [because] my attitude was shocking. I don't swear anymore, there is no reason for it. I feel I'm on track now. I feel like I am getting a second chance in life. (Whitu, learner, 2019)

I was just too angry to go to school. Never wanted to go. So, I thought I'd come here, hang out with the boys I guess . . . get in a little bit of trouble. But that all changed when I came here. None of the boys wanted to get in trouble so I had to change, eh. (Toru, learner, 2018)

Ono is an example of a learner who already had NCEA Level 1 and was looking to progress to NCEA Level 2:

Ono has the potential to succeed in life if he can learn to stand on his own two feet. Ono has a constant need to follow others and can at times be easily influenced. Since joining I have seen a rapid change in Ono's attitude. He's committed to being here every day, he's punctual, he asks questions and is willing to participate in activities. (Feats facilitator, 2019)

Additionally, learner Rua, after spending time at Feats, returned to mainstream schooling to give things another go:

Yeah, I've learned so much here that I've taken there. Because at school I was always scared to ask questions, but here I could just ask anything. I am trying to get an apprenticeship for building. (2018)

Within this type of learning environment, the many positive personal skills and attributes that learners most likely have, such as being a team player or having a sense of humor, become more apparent:

Rima hasn't been with me long. However, he has shown he is capable of working in a team environment but at the same time works well individually. Rima is definitely a character. (Feats facilitator, 2019)

Social Capital

Young people who are not succeeding in school are often disconnected from support systems. For these learners, however, there was often still someone, whether it was a coach, teacher, neighbor, or family member, who tried to be supportive and wished for them to succeed. One of the learners mentioned his "Nan" taught him about respecting all people: "even though I didn't learn [about respecting people in the past], but eventually I did" (Wha, learner, 2018).

The learners also all came possessing social connectedness, whether this was due to having a peer group, good friends, siblings who were like mates, or a connection via their mobile phones with apps such as Snapchat, Facebook Messenger, or Instagram. Some of the learners joined the program because they followed their social networks:

To be honest I only came on the course because school wasn't really that much fun, eh! And all my mates came along, so I just joined along pretty much. (Wha, learner, 2018)

I just followed him! (Tahi, learner, 2018)

Cultural Capital

There can be overlaps between psychological, social, and cultural capital. The distinction between cultural and social capital can disappear in the Māori context. Robinson and Williams (2001) suggest, "Cultural capital is an important aspect of social capital and social capital is an expression of cultural capital in practice. Social capital is based on and grows from the norms, values, networks and ways of operating that are the core of cultural capital" (p. 55). A similar point has been made with reference to Pasifika people (Stewart-Withers & O'Brien, 2006). This said, it is important that cultural capital is not subsumed and conceptualized simply as a component of social capital. Due to the Aotearoa context and the MPRA case, cultural capital warrants treatment as a separate category (Dalziel et al., 2009).

There is a Māori *whakataukī* (proverb) that states: *Inā kei te mohio koe ko wai koe, i anga mai koe i hea, kei te mohio koe. Kei te anga atu ki hea*—If you know who you are and where you are from, then you will know where you are going. This was a feature of Feats and reaffirmed learners' cultural identity (cultural capital) and their *tūrangawaewae* (place of belonging) (social capital). Participating in the MPRA clearly contributed to the development of cultural capital. For Māori and Pacific people, sharing their *pepehā* (personal narratives) is important, anchoring their cultural identity terrestrially with their *tūrangawaewae* (place of belonging) and celestially with their tupuna (ancestors) (Durie, 1999). Learners were encouraged to consider "who I am?" "who do I descend from?" "where do I come from?" and "where do I belong?"—prompts that are an implicit part of the *pepehā* process. *Pepehā* were shared in both *Te Reo Māori* and English by the non-Māori (Fijian and Kiribatian) youth, with varying degrees of confidence and competence observed:

I understand some of the customs and protocols much better now. I can give my pepehā. *I feel better using* reo, *and when I say this to people it makes me feel proud to talk about who I am and where I come from. It helps me think about where I want to go and who I want to be.* (Rima, learner, 2019)

In focusing on developing cultural capital, and thus the

norms, values, and practices that shape identity, social interaction, and attachment to place, many learners looked to change the ways in which they behaved and interacted. In understanding the rules and norms of the MPRA and life according to *tikanga* (Māori protocols), they came to understand the importance of relationships and respect, and there was a desire to fit in and belong. This reflects back to the earlier point made by Toru about none of the boys wanting to get in trouble so having to change to fit in.

Overlapping of the Capital Types: Developing Soft Skills

We can see an overlap with psychological/social and cultural capital as feeling safe, having a sense of belonging, feeling valued and respected, and having pride in being Māori and/or Pasifika. Learner Toru stated,

We don't get singled out [negatively] because we're Māori, we don't get singled out because we're Pasifika. Here we're all the same. It feels like were just a family to be honest. (2018)

In terms of attributes that are valuable beyond the program classroom, both learners and facilitators spoke about growth in confidence:

Tahi's confidence has grown dramatically. I believe he can achieve anything in life he sets his mind to. (Feats facilitator, 2019)

I was always scared to ask questions to people like to others, but now because [X] told me don't be scared, this is your home. These are your brothers and sisters. At school I'm sitting beside a palagi *[European person] so he was like scared to talk to me and I just go to him and talk to him like "are you ok"? "Oh yeah." From now on we are friends. I used to give him lunch and he used to give me money and we're friends now.* (Rua, learner, 2018)

Similar points were made by Wha, Tahi, and Rima regarding feeling more confident in their communication with others and feeling they are better able to function in a group situation:

Growing up, we never really used to get out of the house or anything, just stay in the gate pretty much. With my brothers and siblings, so I had five other siblings, so pretty much around my family the whole time. That's it, never really communicated with other people. Didn't really talk much to other people. (Wha, learner, 2018)

I used to be a real shy person, didn't really like communicating with people. But now, after this course, I learnt like I can talk to people and how to talk to them. . . . I learnt how to talk to them, like, "how is your day?" and stuff? (Tahi, learner, 2018)

I would keep to myself, just work on my own but now I can really get into the group work. I would have never done this at school. (Rima, learner, 2019)

Some learners were also clear leaders, and being part of this program enabled their leadership qualities to come to the fore:

Whitu is a natural leader amongst our learners. He is looked up to by his peers, he often has the last say on any matters that may arise within the group. (Feats facilitator, 2019)

The consensus from the learners was that the environment fostered and enabled them to learn about important core values. For example, learners felt there was a genuine respect for people and an ethic of care:

I could have passed, but I didn't really like schoolwork. Here the work was more simple [because] they helped us properly. Like at school they don't really care about you. They just give you worksheets and that's it. Nothing else. (Wha, learner, 2018)

The concept of forgiveness featured heavily in the conversations:

How you treat people. Love your enemies, as you love yourself. No matter what they do to you. (Rua, learner, 2018)

Look after your family no matter what . . . you can have an argument . . . just forgive them. They can make you so angry that you want to beat them up. Just forgive them. . . . My Dad moved away from us when I was 6 years old. . . . That is what made me an angry person . . . my little brother is a young angry man. I just want to teach him that there is more to life than being angry. . . . I want to get that out of him. (Toru, learner, 2018)

I reckon he taught us lots because he always used to tell us stories [about forgiving]. That's pretty much what helped us out. Life stories, like back home in Samoa (Wha, learner, 2018)

Many learners struggled with mainstream school due to conflicts with others, whether it was with educators or students, and so in any instance where care can be shown

Table 2. Capitals grown through participation in the Feats/MPRA program

Human capital grows due to:
• Gaining formal qualifications, e.g., NCEA levels 1-2 • Improved literacy and numeracy • Better employment opportunities • Increased knowledge about the rugby world • Increased knowledge about fitness, injury prevention, and awareness of health and well-being • Increased awareness of problems that arise from alcohol and drug misuse • Improved personal reputation by being part of a rugby academy • Increased interpersonal, technical, and leadership skills, e.g., writing a CV, speaking to a group, welcoming visitors, obtaining a driver's licence
Cultural capital grows due to:
• Having a more in-depth understanding of *tikanga* • Sharing of *kai* (food) • The process of storytelling • Having a better understanding of and increased use of *Te Reo Māori* • An increased ability to know and share *pepeha* • Having a stronger sense of identity and understanding of the importance of place • Increased pride in being Māori or Pasifika
Social capital grows due to:
• More and better connections to the rugby world • Increased access to various professional people (coaches, educators, employers, researchers) • Better communication skills • Increased desire to give back and pay forward • Having more friends • Increased access to different resources and opportunities due to wider social networks (gym, transportation, social events)
Psychological capital grows due to:
• Having a physically safe and aesthetically pleasing learner space • Having a classroom setting that is light and warm with an incredible view of the ocean • Having a small, intimate, *whanau* (family) atmosphere • Better problem-solving and conflict resolution skills • Having increased feelings of value, belonging, connectedness, self-worth, optimism, hopefulness, and respect • Having more regulated adaptive emotions

and where psychological capital can be developed, learners felt this was very important. Learning to manage emotions, including feelings of anger, and becoming more resilient was especially important. Toru explained,

I was the angriest person, the angriest person. I couldn't take a joke. When I first started . . . I couldn't handle the banter . . . didn't have a sense of humour. . . . I just took it too seriously . . . it was a little bit better at the start. But I don't know, by the end of it was we're all just the same I guess. Everyone was acting the same, talking the same. Made me teach my little brother because he is angry too. Taught him not to take what people say the wrong way, just take it as a joke. (2018)

This point is reiterated by the facilitators:

Toru has grown a lot as person since joining. He is a lot more pleasant to deal with, he's focused and is in a great head space. He had anger issues when he arrived but he has managed to find ways to deal with issues in a positive way. (Feats facilitator, 2018)

As mentioned above, demonstrating care helped learners develop psychological capital, and it was important for the facilitator to model positive core values such as humility and respect to develop trust:

If you come from a space of respect and respecting them [the learners] and seeing them for the potential of what they could be, then you get what you expect. They give it back to you, if you respect them . . . we don't have a hierarchy here. I'm just Cheree, I'm not the CEO . . . they know if you [care], it is from the heart. (Feats CEO, 2018)

Waru is a bright student. He doesn't receive a lot of praise in his life and he can doubt himself. He also struggles with authority at times but he can easily be brought back on task with words of encouragement. (Feats facilitator, 2019)

As seen in Table 2, participation in the program results in human, psychological, social, and cultural capital growth.

Table 3. Examples of capitals contributions shared in Feats learners' goal-setting plans

Human capital
I want to • Achieve NCEA Level 1, 2 (stated by all learners) • Become better at rugby, rugby league • Improve my workplace language • Improve my writing and comprehension • Learn what to do at the gym and how to use the equipment • To be able to run 1 km nonstop in under seven minutes • Get my driver's licence
Social capital
I want to • Grow as a person and develop new friends • Make my parents cry with joy and happiness because I have finally succeeded
Cultural capital
I want to • Travel the world tasting and cooking exotic foods • Learn about my Māori heritage
Long-term goals
• One day I want to travel the world as an executive chef • I want to do any work that is rewarding • I want to get into the construction industry • I want to pursue a career within mechanical engineering or construction • I would like to become a professional RL player and play in the NRL one day • I would like to work in travel and tourism • I want to become a professional dancer and a mean touch player • I want to join the army • I want to join the police force or navy • I want to own my own house • I would like to own my own business • I want to have an income to provide for my family

Capital Contributions to Choices Now and in the Future

Regarding the learners' goal setting plans, all were able to articulate a career plan for the near or longer term future. Capital links were evident, and some overlap of types of capital are clear. Psychological capital is also evident in many of the statements listed in Table 3.

DISCUSSION

While sport's potential impact on poverty reduction is limited, it is the opportunity to add to people's employability that appears to generate interest in plus-sport initiatives by various stakeholders (Dudfield, 2019). Dudfield (2019) notes, "Supporting vocational skill development, employability and the improved entrepreneurial capability of young people are typical policy interventions in response to youth underemployment and unemployment" (p.122). It is not uncommon to find sport-based initiatives and programs that focus on job-skills training, leadership, and empowerment in an attempt to add to participants' employability.

One of the biggest challenges facing sport-for-employability organizations (similar to organizations in the broader field of SFD) is that claims that are made often lack evidence (Coalter, 2013; Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014), and there is a dearth of skills and knowledge with regards to monitoring and evaluation (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Kay, 2009). These are also challenges that organizations like MRPA/Feats face. Problematically, indicators of success can also be narrow, where metrics focus on enrollment and completion rates as opposed to listening to the stories of participants. Moreover, because there is little evidence of Indigenous input into the broader field of SFD theorization, policy, and practice (Lyras & Welty Peachy, 2011), the same applies for sport-driven change interventions, such as employability programs, despite the fact that Indigenous populations are often the focus (Hapeta et al., 2019).

If we are to address some of these challenges, we need to consider alternative ways of exploring what is happening in

SFD initiatives in which the focus is on increasing access to education, vocational skill development, and improving employability and entrepreneurial capability for the purpose of enabling participants to better compete in labor markets. While not the only approach, livelihoods and capital analysis is one such suggestion. Livelihoods scholars argue the importance of participatory, bottom-up approaches as an important step in understanding more deeply the complexities of peoples' lives and experiences (Chambers & Conway, 1992). In particular, livelihoods scholars advocate for listening to and responding to the voices, ideas, and realities of participants and understanding and working with local communities. For example, TRFU's MPRA manager, Jack Kirifi, believes his role is to "open doors and provide opportunities . . . to other life skills that they [learners] need to know and opportunities in the big world of rugby. All our learners, past and present, have a significant role to play in our community and I want to help them see that . . . to help Pasifika Island players and their communities to be aware of the opportunities in rugby and ensuring they are supported" (2019).

Livelihoods scholars argue that people are more likely to have sustained livelihoods when they have a variety of capital types to draw on (Chambers, 1995), noting there are different sorts of capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Moser et al., 2001; Murray & Ferguson, 2002) and that context determines which capital types are most relevant (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Levine, 2014). While there is no doubt that their MPRA experiences helped learners develop human and social capital, many of them already possessed varying levels of these, whether this was human capital (as NCEA Level 1) or social capital (having supportive relatives or a solid friend group). What the program seemed to do was expand human capital as learners participated in the gym and learned about health and well-being, for example, or they learned a new skill such as driving, which is a "hard skill" important for employability. By also considering psychological capital, some of the soft skills of the learners become more apparent, and as stated previously, it is these attitudes and attributes that employers state they value (Coalter et al., 2016). The MPRA/Feats case example highlights that sport as a vehicle for livelihoods via education initiatives needs to think beyond the end goal of training and education and qualifications (hard skills), thus increasing human capital. Soft skills might be the most important, albeit the hardest to evidence. In this case, increasing cultural capital and psychological capital were key to unlocking potential and making more out of human and social capital.

While it is important to understand learners' capabilities and things that might hinder their capabilities, as outlined by Coalter et al. (2016), the many "potential environmental obstacles such as unsupportive family situations or lack of employment opportunities" will not be addressed by sport alone (p.12). Sport-for-employability organizations need to work with a range of relevant local organizations to address such wider issues (Coalter et al., 2016). What Coalter et al. (2016) argue is the need for a more holistic approach in using sport to increase employability. They also highlight partnerships as vital, such as that seen between TRFU, MPRA, and Feats.

In starting from a strength-based perspective, Feats looks to focus on what learners already have, not just what learners need. In doing so, Feats recognizes a learner's inherent potential. Thus, with an actor-oriented approach, the MPRA and Feats positioned learners as active agents who can make choices and devise strategies. Feats also recognizes how learners' possibilities and choices are shaped by broader structures of society in which they live, positive or negatively. Organizations likes Feats and initiatives such as the MPRA are extremely important because for many youth excluded from mainstream education, opportunities like this might be their only hope to grow their capital, which is important to a sustainable livelihood. However, we also need to be realistic that there are limits to what MPRA and Feats can achieve. What is required is an education system and a society in which all students can thrive and do not languish and a world where organizations like Feats are not required. In the meantime, however, they offer huge hope.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since the 1980s, many development agencies and practitioners have been preoccupied with livelihoods analysis as a means of understanding and addressing growing social and economic inequity. For the first time, in the context of "no one left behind," high income countries in the global North have agreed to look inwards at their own injustices and issues of inequality, poverty, and marginalization. In Aotearoa, Māori and Pasifika people more likely face poverty that other groups due to experiencing higher unemployment or possessing jobs that are low skilled, short-term or casual, and poorly paid. While education has long been pushed as means by which people increase their chances of employment and career prospective, the same institutional and societal structures that hinder Māori and Pasifika people in the job market also negatively impact them within the Aotearoa education system. Nearly a decade ago, Māori scholars critiqued the "tail end" of educational achievement, particularly the disparity between outcomes for Indigenous (Māori) and non-Indigenous students. Indeed, the New Zealand Ministry of Education's then aspirational Māori Education Strategy

(MES) was questioned by Erueti and Hapeta (2011) in terms of realizing their lofty goal of closing the gap. Erueti and Hapeta (2011) argued that in order to see desired results, a student's "cultural capital is clearly significant in terms of the curriculum (content and context) and the values (culture) of the classroom and school" (p.140).

Organizations such as Feats remain important because they provide an alternative opportunity and pathway for education by making the most of the enduring and positive relationship Māori and Pasifika people have with sport, particularly rugby, and using this as a incentive to bring young people back into education. While many learners exit the program with formal qualifications, making them better able to compete in the job market, move on to higher education, or further their training, just as important were the soft skills they acquired. Undertaking a capital and livelihoods analysis of the TRFU and Feats partnership has allowed us to see more clearly different aspects of the MPRA program and bring to the fore other features of the learners' journeys. While the building of human capital through education is important, of greater significance is the cultural and psychological capital that is built via attendance in this program.

NOTES

1. New Zealand (NZ) will be referred to as Aotearoa unless quoting or making reference to a government document.

2. The NCEA is the main national qualification for secondary school students in Aotearoa and is recognized by employers and used for selection by universities and polytechnics, both in Aotearoa and overseas.

3. Once they enter the Feats program, participants are called learners, which is why this paper uses this term.

4. As of 2017, The World Bank commenced the Human Capital Project, the objective of which is "rapid progress towards a world in which all children arrive in school well-nourished and ready to learn, can expect to attain real learning in the classroom, and are able to enter the job market as healthy, skilled, and productive adults" (World Bank, 2017).

5. The SDGs have been extensively critiqued (Sexsmith & McMichael, 2015), in terms of Indigenous people (Yap & Watene, 2019) and by SFD scholars (Black, 2017; Dudfield & Dingwall-Smith, 2015), however inclusion of these debates is beyond the scope of this paper.

6. SDG 4: To ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all (UN, 2016).

7. *Te Reo Māori* for the numbers 1-4. Aotearoa has 3 official languages, Te Reo Māori, (the Indigenous language), English, and New Zealand Sign Language.

8. The two stages of fieldwork were also to accommodate the busy schedules of MPRA and Feats staff.

9. The two facilitators interviewed in 2019 had also been interviewed in 2018, but the learners interviewed in 2019 were different from those in 2018.

10. *Te Reo Māori* for the numbers 5-9.

11. Some of the findings in this paper have been previously reported with a different analytical framework in an article for the *Journal of Sport Management*. See Hapeta et al. (2019).

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