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Rugby union driven migration as a means for sustainable livelihoods creation: A case study of *iTaukei*, indigenous Fijians

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ABSTRACT

Due to their sporting potential, young Fijian rugby athletes have become a highly sought-after sport migrant group. For many Fijian families, rugby-generated remittances are a critical step towards income security and can contribute towards achieving social and economic development goals at the household and community level. Despite the prospect that migrant athletes should be able to dramatically improve their economic positioning and that of their family back home, the promise and opportunities do not seem to be fully realised, especially in the longer term. By drawing on survey findings of 70 Fijian athletes, as well as fieldwork undertaken in Fiji and New Zealand, where 33 in-depth interviews occurred, this paper asks: *What is the potential development impact of rugby-generated remittances for iTaukei, indigenous Fijian families and what are some of the challenges athletes and/or their families face ensuring any gains make a difference in the longer term?* Findings suggest that for many athletes and their families, rugby-generated remittances make a significant contribution, which enables them to meet consumption needs and wants and allows for capital accumulation (tangible and intangible). Thus the *potential* development impact is seen to be substantial. However, cultural expectations and often related high demands from family, poor financial literacy and limited business opportunities at home are some of the things impacting any sustained effect. The uneven playing field and politics of the rugby landscape were also raised as areas of concern when thinking about rugby as a sustainable livelihoods option for *iTaukei*.

BACKGROUND

Rugby union in Fiji is central to the *vaka i taukei* (indigenous way of life).^{1,2} The passion and conviction afforded to rugby in Fiji provides a space for hegemonic masculine expression and aspirational social and economic achievement. Therefore many Fijian men see rugby as a possible means of livelihood, encouraging them to strive towards the 'rugby dream.'¹ With many indigenous Fijians living below the poverty lineⁱⁱ and the fact that rugby in Fiji is not bound by classⁱⁱⁱ where even the poorest can participate, further incentive for viewing rugby as a livelihood option can be seen. Recent work undertaken by Kanemasu and Molnar illustrates the various socio-economic and emotional challenges Pacific Island athletes can face post-career.² Authors such as Besnier³ have also considered their experiences from post-colonial and transnational perspectives and in terms of mobility debates. To date no research has been undertaken investigating the way rugby union is used as a livelihood strategy. This exploratory study aims to better understand rugby as a livelihood choice by asking broadly: What is the potential development impact of rugby-generated remittances for *iTaukei*, indigenous Fijians families? More specifically we ask:

Research Question 1: How do remittances contribute to growing capitals and what types of capitals are being grown?

Research Question 2: How do remittances contribute to creating choices and opportunities and what types of

choices and opportunities are being created - now and in the longer term?

Research Question 3: What are some of the challenges athletes and families face when using rugby as means of livelihoods creation, which influences any sustained impact?

Conceptualising Livelihoods and Capitals

Livelihoods theory and practice emerged from the rural and agricultural sector and dates back to the work of Robert Chambers.^{9,10} Founded on the premise that people living in poverty have abilities and assets that can be drawn upon to manage and improve their lives,⁹⁻¹¹ livelihoods thinking also advocates taking a participatory approach to understanding the lives of people experiencing poverty and disadvantage. Many development agencies working in the Global South have sought to adopt livelihood concepts so as to better understand the means by which poor people make a living, specifically the ‘combination of resources used and the activities undertaken in order to live’.⁹⁻¹¹

Scoones observes ‘livelihoods’ to be a mobile and flexible term, in that livelihoods can be attached to a plethora of words to construct whole fields of enquiry and practice. These relate to locales (e.g., rural or urban livelihoods), occupations (e.g., farming, pastoral or fishing livelihoods), social difference (e.g., gendered, age-defined livelihoods), directions (e.g., livelihood pathways, trajectories), dynamic patterns (e.g., sustainable or resilient livelihoods) and many more.¹²

It is recognized that poorer communities and households face greater challenges, so building resiliency is considered vital. Households are resilient when they can grow their capital and have diverse options. The term ‘capitals’ refers to the assets households and families have which enables them to build a livelihood strategy so as to sustain their lives.^{9,11} Capitals are thus the various resources that can be acquired, consumed, developed, improved and transferred across generations. The literature demonstrates broad agreement in terms of capital types, such as financial, human, social, personal, or physical. Some authors have included natural capital,^{9,11} political capital,¹² or cultural capital.¹³ More nuanced asset categories have also been identified, for example, aspirational, psychological and productive with a relationship between capitals and rights being argued.^{10,14,15}

For the purpose of this paper a “livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets/capital (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation, which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods in the short and the long term.”¹¹ In taking a livelihoods approach we place people at the centre of analysis, emphasising what people have as oppose to what they lack. In using this approach we are concerned with strengths as opposed to deficit thinking. Great weight is placed on working with existing capabilities, making the most of what people can do and can be.⁹⁻¹⁵ We are therefore interested in the way rugby is used to build assets (from here on referred to as capitals), enhance capabilities, and ultimately make the most of what athletes and families can be now and in the future. In taking a livelihoods approach we also look beyond athlete migration as merely a perpetuation of colonial relationships between core (First World) and periphery (Third World), because this diminishes the complexities of the context in which people live their lives.³

Importance of This Study

This research is important for three main reasons: Firstly, widespread access to international migration opportunities and ensuing remittances are an important contributor to the national income of Pacific Island nations such as Fiji.¹⁶⁻²⁰ Rugby athletes, alongside health professionals such as doctors, nurses, peacekeepers and participants in the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) schemes, constitute categories of labour migrants who remit. Sport labour migrants as a specific type of highly skilled migrants are, however, unique compared to other skilled migrants. Even though sport labor migrants are specialists in their fields, they do not have the security of employment and rights that other skilled migrants often enjoy. Careers can be short, unpredictable and precarious.¹⁻³ Success is dependent on the body’s ability to perform.¹⁻³ Careers can end abruptly because “athletes’ bodies are inherently fragile and the sport industry fickle”.³ (p.849) While athletes can potentially be well paid, more often they are not. One significant way sport migrants also differ from other economic migrants relates to size of earnings if successful, and therefore the size of remittances that can be sent back to kin at home and in diasporic nodes. Migrant athletes, especially those from poorer communities, often face a multitude of expectations, demands, and hopes from those at home.²¹⁻²⁵ Kin, villages,

i The “rugby dream” is a phrase used by many authors and refers broadly to the idea that young Fijian men secure overseas professional rugby contracts and/or find economic success, fulfilment and prestige in their lives by represent Fiji in rugby.¹⁻⁴

ii While the World Bank categorises Fiji to be an upper middle-income country, it is widely recognised that the country has significant levels of poverty and an unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity. Narsey emphasises the importance of seeing poverty in Fiji to be complex and politicised.^{5, 6}

iii Rugby in the Pacific Islands is not about social class - unlike England, where for example, the great split of 1895, which resulted in two different versions of rugby (union and league), was essentially about social class. In England the game of union was, and perhaps still is, argued be representative of middle-class principles.^{7, 8}

congregations and states partake in the dream of 'making it', and the burden of providing for relatives and communities can erode whatever earnings they have managed to secure in a very short time. Globally little is known about the management and impact of sport-generated remittances and what the challenges might be.^{26, 27}

Secondly, rugby union is showing considerable growth and is now played by 5 million people in 117 countries.²⁸ With the rise of professional sport, particularly rugby union and league, Pacific Island athletes as top level performers have become a highly-valued global commodity.²⁹⁻³² Fijians can be found in all levels of rugby from the top tiers (France, Britain and New Zealand) to lower tiers (USA, Romania and Japan).²⁹ Kanemasu and Molnar estimate that up to 500 Fijian athletes hold professional contracts in foreign competitions.² In France the number of professional Pacific Island athletes has increased 179% over a 7 year period. More than 50 Fijian rugby athletes are currently playing in the two top divisions of French Rugby.^{26, 27, 33} In 2006 rugby-generated remittances sent to Fiji were estimated to be F\$18.54 million or 11% of total workers remittances sent that year.²

Thirdly, 'Pacific rugby [despite many recent publications still remains] an academic *terra nova*'.²³ There is a plethora of research exploring Pacific Island migration^{16-20, 39-41} and an emerging body of knowledge that investigates Pacific sport-labour migration, most of which focuses on the socio-cultural experiences of Pacific Island professional and semi-professional rugby athletes.^{1, 2, 34-37} There is a significant research gap regarding livelihoods. As shown recently by Schulenkorf, Sherry and Rowe³⁸ despite a burgeoning number of sport-for-development (SFD) projects and related academic research, both empirical and theoretical, there is a notable livelihoods gaps in the SFD literature. This article speaks to this gap.^{iv} The following section outlines, in relation to Fiji, the importance of migration as a livelihood strategy alongside its presence and value attributed to rugby.

Migration as a Livelihood Strategy

Migration and ensuing remittances are on the rise globally^{42, 43} and are an effective mechanism for increasing the income of the poor,⁴⁴ particularly in the absence of state-provided social protection and a fully developed cash economy.¹⁸ Key multilateral lending institutions and development agencies, such as the World Bank, International Labour Organisation, the Asian Development Bank, Asia Pacific

Economic Cooperation group and the International Monetary Fund, together with a range of bilateral aid providers now see migration and remittances to be a viable livelihoods option for many Pacific countries.^{39, 40, 44} Indeed international migration has become a 'safety-valve' for Pacific countries' governments under increasing pressure to provide employment opportunities and welfare services in a context of poor domestic economic growth.¹⁹ This is of particular importance in the Pacific Islands where young and aging populations are high, and formal employment opportunities are limited.⁴⁵

Fijians have widespread opportunities to migrate to economically developed countries and the ensuing remittances are an important contributor to the national income of Fiji.^{18, 19, 39-43} Remittances were shown to be in the range of 5.4% of GDP in 2010 to 4.8% of GDP (equivalent to US\$206 million) in 2014. The amounts from some host countries are increasing. For example between 2010 and 2014, Australia increased from US\$53 million to US\$69 million; USA increased from US\$39 million to US\$48 million and New Zealand increased from US\$34 million to US\$51 million.⁴³ Official records, however, do not account for unauthorised migrants who may send money back to Fiji and also excludes in-kind transfers and remittances sent via informal channels. To elaborate further, some remittance senders choose to remit by providing family members in Fiji with New Zealand, European or Australian credit or debit cards. Expenditures are therefore classified as 'out of country' or tourist spending, as opposed to expenditure by locals. Remittance senders also remit by posting or shipping consumer goods especially when exchange rates are not favourable. The market in Nuku'alofa, Tonga on a Saturday morning is a clear example of goods sent from overseas for the purpose of on-selling. This brings money to local households.^{26, 27} Under-estimation of actual remittances is therefore very probable.^{27, 39, 43} Globally, the World Bank has approximated that remittance payments made through informal and unrecorded channels could be at least another half of those made through formally recorded channels.⁴³

As mentioned earlier, Kanemasu and Molnar report athlete remittances to be in order of F\$18.54 million, which is 11% of total remittances sent.² With respect to sport-generated remittances in the Pacific, there are various anecdotal claims. For example:

The financial estimates of earnings by Polynesian professional athletes are \$200m for NFL; \$100m for rugby union; \$60m for rugby league; and \$55m for Sevens. That

^{iv} Natural capital refers to the resources and ecosystem services of the natural world. Natural capital is very important in terms of poverty reduction. The definition of sustainable livelihood when including natural capital also speaks to the idea that a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope and recover now and in the future while not undermining the natural resource base or environment.¹¹

is an estimated total of \$415 million, and growing... Even if only 20% of those earnings flow back to the 'homeland', that is about \$83 million.⁴⁶

In terms of evidence-based calculations, recent work undertaken by Stewart-Withers, Richardson and Sewabu found that Pacific athletes send a total and conservative estimate of NZD\$21.7 million per year, which constitutes 5% of all remittances.^{26, 27} Per-capita, Pacific athletes remit between 6.8 and 13.6 times more than the average migrant. However, there is uncertainty about what percentage of remittances to the Pacific region can be attributed to sport and/or rugby. As highlighted by Stewart-Withers, Richardson and Sewabu there are various complexities that need to be considered when trying to estimate the contribution of sport/rugby-generated remittances to the wider Pacific and Fiji.²⁶ For example, while remittance data is collected by banks and the Central/Reserve Banks, the employment status of the sender (e.g., professional rugby player) remains unknown.

Finally, understanding the impact of sport-generated remittances should also include the non-professional athlete's contribution. Non-professional athletes may leverage their athletic talents into non-sport employment. This non-sport employment provides the basis for the remittances. Many athletes see themselves as semi-professional, and even though playing in a second tier competition in New Zealand may not provide them with a professional-level salary, it can still be an entry point into opportunities in France; for example, semi-professional athletes can sometimes go on to receive a full-time sports salary. Thus we argue that it is important to not underestimate the importance of semi-professional athletes who also remit.^{26, 27} Of the 70 Fijian responses to our survey, almost half the athletes identified themselves as semi-professional, which meant that they were working part- or full-time as well as earning a salary playing sports. These athletes will thus be likely to earn (and remit) more than a migrant with a non-sport related full-time job (e.g., someone involved in the RSE scheme).

Regardless of the unknowns surrounding the true value of remittances sent, it is clear that Fijian families see sports like rugby to be a feasible avenue for men to gain future financial security for themselves and the wider family.²²⁻²³ Hence Fijians see rugby as a livelihoods option. The next section outlines the presence and importance of rugby in Fiji.

Rugby as *Vaka I Taukei* (the Fijian Way of Life)

The history of rugby is well documented.^{7, 8} In former British colonies like Fiji, rugby was used by the colonials as a "prominent part in educational ideology, which strongly relied on the character-forming properties of religion, athleticism and team sports (muscular Christianity) to form young men."⁴⁷ (p.25) In Fiji, rugby was first introduced to the Ba province with games played between European and Fijian policeman and soldiers of the Armed Constabulary, developing along segregated lines based on ethnicity. Consequently, the founding of the Suva-based Fiji Rugby Football Union by New Zealand expatriates occurred and in 1914 a Native rugby competition was established across Fiji. In 1945 the two separate unions merged and in 1963 this organisation became the Fiji Rugby Union (FRU).⁴⁸ In 1986, the FRU became a member of the International Rugby Board (IRB), due to pressure from the IRB, which is now known as World Rugby. In 2001 the FRU turned professional.²⁹ The FRU is responsible for developing and promoting rugby across 14 provinces through its 36 affiliated unions and 600 local rugby clubs.⁴⁸ FRU (2017) states that "rugby is the leading sport in the country." Currently there are 36,030^v registered athletes, which is 4.3% of the population. Unofficially, however, there are an estimated 80,000 athletes (60,000 senior athletes and 20,000 children).⁴⁸ The FRU also reports that:

Fiji has the highest player-population ratio of any rugby playing nation; a recent survey by the World Rugby showed Fiji had more post-schools rugby players than New Zealand and only slightly less than Australia.⁴⁸

The professionalisation of rugby has led to a growing number of elite Fijian athletes, many of whom are based overseas, and serves as a further incentive for Fijian rugby athletes because of the limited in-country opportunities for young men to succeed socially and economically.³

In the last few years, Fijian's passion for rugby and the emergence of the Fijian rugby athlete on the global stage has attracted growing scholarly and media attention.^{1, 2, 4, 29-37, 49-52} Rugby is "deeply implicated in the interests and discourses of colonialism, ethno-nationalism, masculinities and militarism".³⁵ (p.2 and 49) However, while "ethnicised and gendered"³⁵ (p.2), rugby is a unifying force in this plural society. Rugby is also followed by the Indo-Fijian population^{24, 36, 47, 52} Rugby is argued to be a medium for nation building where athletes are warriors of the entire nation, which is consequently promoted.^{1, 47, 52}

Rugby is hence deeply embedded in the national psyche,^{1, 2, 35, 47} central to *vaka i taukei* (the indigenous Fijian way of life),^{1, 2, 47} and explicitly unified with the chiefly system, churches, military and the police.^{49, 50} The 2006 military coup was said to have been postponed due to the Ratu Sukuna Bowl, a national sporting event where the police and army teams compete. Fred Wesley Editor-in-Chief of the Fiji Times wrote that it is: “Only in Fiji that a coup could be put on hold for a rugby match”.^{47 (p.24)} Rugby is as important to Fiji as “its UN peace-keeping services for gaining national prestige internationally”.^{49 (p.213)} Indeed Fijians do not see their rugby driven migration to be simply equating it to ‘black-birding’ or as some sport mobilities theorists and media sources have argued, ‘brawn drain’ or ‘muscle trade’. Rather, they see the experience to be a source of pride, a space whereby they can demonstrate to the world what Fijians are able to be and achieve.⁴³

Success on the Field

The game of rugby union and the sevens form of rugby has positioned Fiji well on the international sporting stage. Fijian rugby “stands tall on the international rugby scene and produces some of the finest players for other nations”.^{1 (p.1121)} Fiji has a particular affinity with the sevens form of rugby.⁵² The Fijian team has been one of the dominant forces in the sevens with victories in the annual Hong Kong Sevens tournament (fourteen times since the event’s inception in 1976, the most of any country), the quadrennial Rugby World Cup Sevens tournaments (the only country to win the event twice) and also the annual IRB Sevens World Series title (once in 2005/2006).^{2, 35, 36, 52} Fiji has also been runners up in the Hong Kong Sevens ten times, in the IRB Sevens World Series five times since its inception in the 1999/2000 season, and beaten semi-finalists twice in the Rugby World Cup Sevens tournament. Both men and women’s sevens teams were included in the debut of sevens at the Rio 2016 Olympics, where the men’s team won a Gold medal and the women’s team made it to the quarter finals.²⁹ Fiji’s record in the 15-man game has been less successful than the shortened form of the game, but they have twice reached the quarter-final stages of the Rugby World Cup.^{29, 35, 36}

Off field, however, Fijian rugby has been riddled by conflict between the FRU and various stakeholders, with accusations of financial mismanagement and poor governance.²⁹ This conflict is also located within the various periods of political turmoil seen throughout the country, which will be expanded on below. The paper will now outline the fieldwork context and procedures drawn

upon while investigating rugby union as a sustainable livelihoods option for *iTaukei*, or indigenous Fijians.

METHODS

Fieldwork Context

Fiji is a developing nation located in the Pacific Region. Fiji was a British colony from 1874 to 1970 when independence was gained. Consequently, Fiji has inherited many British traditions, including rugby. With a population of approximately 874,000 people, Fiji is a plural society consisting of those who identify themselves to be *iTaukei*, indigenous Fijians who comprise approximately 57% of the population and Indo-Fijians, who are often referred to as simply Fijians or Indians, and constitute 38% of the population. Other ethnic groups are recorded to be 5%.⁵⁴ The Indo-Fijian population are primarily descendants of indentured Indian labourers who were brought to Fiji to work in the sugar cane plantations by the British.

Fiji has a chiefly system that draws on Ratuism ideology, which is the belief that Fijian chiefs are the legitimate divine rulers. Fiji has had a number of periods of political instability with two coups d’état in 1987, and again in 2000 and 2006. Consequently, the country was overseen by a military government from December 2006 until September 2014.⁵⁵

Fiji is ranked 90 out of 188 countries in the world rankings of human development. Poverty remains a significant concern in Fiji, with 31% of the population said to live below the national poverty line despite the overall level of development and moderately high average incomes. Narsey argues the importance of understanding poverty in Fiji in terms of all of its characteristics such as locality, gender, and ethnicity, for example. He suggests some poverty is more visible, for example, poverty in the urban/peri-urban areas is more condensed so stands out comparative to rural poverty which is in fact greater. He stresses that incorrect assumptions are also made that *iTaukei* (the indigenous Fijian people) always have access to communal land.^{5, 6}

Hence forty-two percent of Fiji’s labour force is struggling to gain formal employment work in the informal sector. In terms of economic development Fiji relies heavily on international resort-based tourism, sugar exports and remittances.^{54, 55} Like many countries in the Pacific Fiji also has burgeoning youth population and carries a high proportion of young men without purpose.⁴⁵ Consequently the rugby trajectory appeals to countless young men.²

Data Collection and Analysis

Fieldwork occurred in Fiji and New Zealand. Data collection relied heavily on the use of semi-structured interviews. Ten interviews were conducted with athletes, and 16 with key informants – those with rugby or financial expertise. A focus group with fringe athletes (i.e., those athletes who do not have professional contracts yet but are on the verge of signing) and focus groups with five families

were also conducted. Interviews with athletes, family and Fijian based key informants were conducted mostly in Fijian, underpinned by the notion that a richer understanding comes from participants using their own vernacular. The approach to recruiting participants for the semi-structured one-on-one and focus group interviews was purposive snowballing. Table 1 summarises the individual and focus group participants. Table 2 outlines the types of questions asked to individuals and focus group participants.

Table 1 – Summary of Individual and Focus Group Participants

FIJI	
Position	Organisation
1. High Performance Manager-Coach	UAE - Westfield Babas
2. OSEP Coordinator	Oceania National Olympic Committee
3. Former Fiji Rugby captain Currently Fiji 7s selector	Fiji Rugby Union
4. Development Manager	Fiji Rugby Union
5. Acting CEO	Fiji Rugby Union
6. Permanent Secretary	Ministry of Finance
7. Chairman	Fiji Rugby Union
8. Manager Corporate Communications	Reserve Bank of Fiji
9. Elections Editor	Fiji Sun
10. Pacific Financial Inclusion Programme Financial Education Technical Specialist & Coordinator FinED Fiji	United Nations Capital Development Fund
11. Head Coach	Fiji 7s
12. Financial Systems Analyst	Reserve Bank of Fiji
13. Pro Athlete (NZ/France)	Retired
14. Pro Athlete (Japan/France)	Retired
15. Pro Athlete (Australia/UK)	Retired
16. Pro Athlete (UK/France/Japan)	Retired
17. Family 1	
18. Family 2	
19. Family 3	
20. Family 4	
21. Family 5	
22. Family 6	
NEW ZEALAND	
Position	Organisation
23. Remittance Expert and Economist	Don Abel Consulting
24. Member Services Manager	International Rugby Players Association
25. Player Services Manager	NZ Rugby Players Association
26. Higher Level Management	Pacific Island Players Association
27. NZ 7s Athlete 1	NZ 7s Team
28. NZ 7s Athlete 2	NZ 7s Team
29. ITM ⁱ Athlete 1	NZ Premier Domestic Competition Team
30. ITM Athlete 2	NZ Premier Domestic Competition Team
31. ITM Athlete 3	NZ Premier Domestic Competition Team
32. ITM Athlete 4	NZ Premier Domestic Competition Team
33. ITM Fringe Players (FG)	NZ Premier Domestic Competition Team

ⁱ ITM refers Independent Timber Merchants who were the key sponsors in the New Zealand premier domestic rugby competition. As of 2016 this became the Mitre 10 Cup as per the change in sponsorship.

Table 2 – Outline of Various Questions Asked to Individuals, Focus Group Participants, and Industry Stakeholders

Exploring Remittance Patterns and Behaviours

1. **What is the importance of remitting, why is it valued, what are the drivers to remit?** (*What are the cultural values which underpin, such as service, pride, obligations, status, commitment to family, vanua which may drive player patterns and behaviour?*)
2. **Where are remittances ranked within families/communities?** (*For example, if it is the only cash income for a family or community it may be of more importance. We need to therefore locate remittances within people's wider livelihoods patterns/options. Thus, are remittances important to survival or are they just improving quality of life, e.g. now able to buy consumer goods, Western foods, etc.*)
3. **What exactly is being sent?** (*Amounts, frequency, in what forms and how this is done – so what, to who, when, how often, via what means?*)
4. **How are family/individuals, communities using remittances short term - long term – multiplier effect?** (*For occasions - weddings/funerals. For specifics – school fees, church fees. For one-offs – new car, new roof on house. For wider community - contribution to painting village school, For emergency – cyclone, illness*)
5. **What other ways are contributions made? In what forms?** (*Clothing, consumer goods, travel, medical costs*)
6. **Who makes the decisions in terms of remittance demands, spending and investment?** (*Think about gender, chiefs, elders, church, village*)
7. **Do players take an active interest in how the remitted money is spent?** (*If not, why not? If so, in what ways, to what extent? How is this interest played out? Who has the say? Does this change based on the focus or need?*)
8. **As career progression occurs does this change the pattern of remitting?** (*Does the pattern change once married, have children? Does it depend on who they marry? Ethnicity?*)
9. **What has receiving remittances meant for players/family?** (*What has been made easier, harder, changed? How was life different pre –remittances?*)
10. **What do they worry about most regarding the remittances and the career?**
11. **Where do they think they/family will be in 5 years? 10 years?**
12. **Encourage story telling about someone/family they think has been successful? What do they think it worked, why is this?** (*Also ask for unsuccessful, what didn't work*)
13. **What is the key thing they would tell someone/family starting out, that they wish they had known?**

Exploring career progression and financial literacy

1. What type of financial knowledge do players and family have/need?
2. What type of financial systems/organisations do players and family access/use/need?
3. What type of financial literacy services do players and family use/need? (Formal or informal?)
4. What are the views held by players/families/agents about the level and quality of support/services they receive and can access?
5. What type of additional support might be needed?
6. What sort of support/activity would be most beneficial? (What would make things better/easier?)

Table 2 (continued) – Outline of Various Questions Asked to Individuals, Focus Group Participants, and Industry Stakeholders

7. Which key stakeholders do players and families interactive with? What is the nature of these interactions?
8. Do clubs provide pastoral care support, including career guidance and financial management training?
9. What support/role do the Pacific Island Rugby Unions play in providing contract negotiation/financial literacy support to up and coming players? What could be done better?
10. Encourage those involved in the industry to talk about the rugby landscape: Challenges faced by players and the game as a whole.

The study utilised a qualitative approach⁵⁶ drawing upon culturally relevant understandings and practices related to *vanua* and *talanoa*.⁵⁷ *Talanoa* as an embodied expression of the *vanua* concept was used to ensure that respect, humility and traditional Fijian cultural protocols were adhered to in planning and undertaking data collection.⁵⁷ This also allowed the researchers to acknowledge kinship and relationships with participants. Vaoleti writes that *tala* means to “inform, relate, or tell” and *noa* to mean “talk about nothing in particular” or [a] personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities and their aspirations”.^{58(p.21)} From a Fijian perspective, Nabobo-Baba defines *tala* as ‘to offload’. *Noa* is often used with a prefix ‘*na noa*’ meaning yesterday, so *talanoa* means literally offloading stories of recent events.⁵⁹ Otsuka states that “*talanoa* asks researchers to establish a good interpersonal relationship and rapport with ethnic Fijian participants”, adding that “*talanoa* research expects researchers and participants to share not only their time and interests but also emotions”.^{60 (p.2)} Hence the relationships established must be trustful if such emotions are to be shared.⁵⁷⁻⁶⁰ Such an epistemological approach allows for differing world views to be communicated and participant voices to be heard. *Talanoa* creates a space to adhere to cultural processes while also seeking to devolve power to those who are participating.⁵⁷

Ethics

The University Human Ethics Committee processes rated the research as low-risk status. Of great importance in behaving ethically was the adherence to a cultural process that presented *sevusevu*, which is the accepted and traditional Fijian way to gain permission to situate and temporarily be part of the local environment. In general, *sevusevu* is the presentation of a gift of *kava*^{vi} to the local village chief.

Utmost consideration was given to the make-up of our research team. We were a three member team and each of us brought a different level of expertise to the research process and had a unique contribution to offer. We were extremely

cognisant of our positionalities,⁵⁷ recognising these to be multiple and fluid. To expand on this, I Rochelle, am non-Pasifika; I hold a PhD in International Development; I have ten plus years researching with Pacific peoples and have undertaken fieldwork in Samoa, Fiji and PNG. My research interests lie with sport-for-development, gender and applications of cultural frameworks. I teach methodology courses, and I am Chair of the Southern B Ethics Committee at Massey University. Prior to academia I was a mental health nurse for 15 plus years. I see myself to understand the concepts such as empathy, relationships, compassion, positive regard and cultural safety well.

I Sam the second member am also non-Pasifika. I hold a PhD in Economics, my area of interest is sport economics, and I have expertise in looking to explore critically the value and economic impact of mega events such as the World Cup Rugby. Of fundamental importance was that our team included an insider^{vii} and in this case an emerging indigenous researcher (skilled in language and protocols of the land), who had connectivity to the *vanua* and the connections and relationships, with the world of rugby, and the lived experience of using rugby as a livelihood option and to send remittances.

I Koli have an MBA and I am Fijian. I was raised in Fiji, I speak the language and I am connected to the *vanua*. I played professional rugby for Fiji, with 27 caps. I played in the French Top 14, the UK and Japan before coming to New Zealand for the national competition and retiring in 2008. The third researcher we would argue was the most valuable to our team. Our team has been working together now since about 2012 building a research platform exploring rugby as a livelihoods options and the value and importance of sport generated remittances to the Pacific.

An online survey instrument was developed to capture the experiences of European-based Fiji rugby athletes regarding remittances. Seventy professional and semi-professional rugby athletes responded. The survey was disseminated via private contacts, as well as through the use of social media

vi Kava (Piper methysticum) is a root crop of the Pacific. In Fiji kava or yaqona is integral to Fijian culture and is used for ritual offerings.

vii Smith suggests insiders face different challenges when doing research.⁶¹ As noted by Meo-Sewabu being an insider still poses a risk. “Doing anything that goes against my cultural values, marks me and my family for a lifetime”.^{62 (p.345)}

Table 3 – Survey Questions List

- Q 1. Demographics** (age, ethnicity, country of origin, currently living, highest level of education, religious affiliation, marital status, any children as dependents or family residing with you)
- Q 2. Career Details** (years playing rugby as a non/semi-professional/professional, number of contracts signed, length of each contract and who arranged the last one, value of your current contract, specify currency and length, and how many years you are in contract so far, and whether there is an area you would like support with now and in terms retirement)
- Q 3. Finances** (other forms of income you get - i.e., rental property earnings, benefits, subsidised rent, utilities, transport; whether you receive financial advice from anyone - who and what exactly, and whether there is an area you would like support with)
- Q 4. Remittance Information** (who do you support - i.e., family/community/church, and where are they based, why do you send money, how often, do you send, how much, what currency, how do you send it, what have the remittances been used for, whether extra money is ever sent, when and why, whether other things besides cash are given, whether there is an area you would like support with, and whether there anything you find it hard in terms of remittance demands and the sending experience)
- Q 5. What does being a rugby player mean for yourself, for your family and your community?**
- Q 6. Is there anything you wish you had known when you started out on your rugby career, or that your family should have known?**
- Q 7. What challenges do you think Fijian rugby athletes specifically face?**
- Q. 8. What challenges do you think Fijian rugby specifically faces?**

(e.g., Facebook and Twitter). Some respondents chose not to answer all the questions however. Table 3 lists the survey questions and Table 4 summarises the key characteristics of the first eight survey respondents.

Journals were used when spending time with athletes and family. Specifically we looked to document the sorts of livelihoods activities that were occurring and to make notes about the various capitals. Field journals often become a useful place for the ‘scanning’ or ‘first cut’ analysis of data.⁵⁶ A review of secondary sources also occurred. Secondary sources included media reports, information published by multilateral and bilateral development agencies, government documents and sporting organisations. Secondary sources were important for a deeper understanding of the development, migration, remittances and sporting context within which Fijian rugby athletes’ lives are located.

An iterative process allowed the researchers to move back and forth between data collection and analysis.⁵⁶ Our analysis identified thematic patterns in relation to the research questions stated above, as well as emerging information. This was also useful for sharpening the focus of the fieldwork on subsequent days. Our analysis involved getting intimate with the raw data by spending time reading and re-reading our transcripts, sorting and coding and resorting and re-coding our data.⁵⁶ Our main approach to

coding was to think about peoples’ stories in relation to capital types, choices, opportunity changes, decision making processes and challenges faced.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Results 1: Types of Capitals that are Grown due to Rugby-Related Remittances

The types of capitals which have been built due to rugby-generated remittances can be broken down into the financial (i.e., money, credit), physical (i.e., infrastructure and producer goods like housing, livestock, or machinery), human (i.e., skills, education level or health status), social (i.e., networks, organisations and associations which people draw support from), and the cultural spheres (i.e., norms, values, practices that shape identity, social interaction, attachment to place – in this instance the *vanua*). Financial and physical capital can also be grouped further and labelled as produced capital. This speaks to the idea that financial and physical capitals are not always by themselves productive, rather they require the human element. By applying human capital (i.e., skills, knowledge or reputation), productive capacities of an individual or a group better ensure the financial and physical capitals can grow. Table 5 provides a categorised list of examples of the different capitals that are grown due to rugby-related remittances.

Table 4 – Survey Respondents Sample – First Eight to Reply

Code	Age	Marital Status	Location	Status	Contract arranged by	Contract length: Year	Contract amount 000	Supporting at Home	Other income	Remittances data					Would like assistance with
										Currency	Frequency	Amount	Via	In-kind	
R1	25-30	Married	France	Pro	Agent	1	101-150k	Mother, Father, Sisters	Nil	Euro	Demand	1000-5000 Has made various on demand payments	Bank	Clothes	Business/Investment planning
R2	31-35	Married	NZ	Semi-pro	Agent	3	50k	Mother, Father, close family	Wife	NZD	Monthly	1000 monthly	WU	Clothes	Financial management
R3	25-30	Separated	France	Pro	Agent	2	50k	Mother, Sisters, Brothers	Sub Fam	Euro	Monthly	500 monthly	Bank	Clothes	Financial management/ literacy; career guidance; retirement planning; contract help; business investment planning
R4	18-24	Single	France	Pro	Rugby Union	1	50k	Father	Nil	Euro	Monthly	500 monthly	WU	Clothes	Support while away from home
R5	25-30	Married	France	Pro	Player	3	50k	Mother, close family	Wife	Euro	Demand	1000 Has made various on demand payments	WU	Kids clothes	Financial management/ literacy; career guidance; retirement planning; contract help; business investment planning
R6	31-35	Married	France	Pro	Player, Agent	1	50k	Brothers, close family	Wife, Family business	Euro	Monthly	500 monthly	Bank	Clothing	Retirement planning
R7	31-35	Married	France	Pro	Friend, Agent	2	151-200k	Close and extended family	Real estate	Euro	Demand	1000 Has made various on demand payments	WU	Nil	Business/Investment planning
R8	25-30	Married	NZ	Pro	Agent	5	300,000+	Mother, close family	Real Estate	Euro	Weekly	5000 has sent up to	WU	Clothing	Retirement planning

Table 5 – Capitals Developed by Rugby Related Remittances

Financial		Produced	Physical	Human	Social	Cultural
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Self-employment opportunities• Small/medium business opportunities that can offer employment to others• Savings can occur• Credit rating is gained; the ability to lend money grows• Able to service debt• Can develop a rental portfolio• Can afford insurances• Reduced need to take high interest loans or sell assets/livestock when the unexpected arises (i.e., illness; funerals; natural disaster, crop failure)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Can buy private land• Can develop communal land and buildings• Security of tenure can increase• Can undertake home renovations• Can buy transport (cars, boats); can maintain vehicles• Affords quality clothing• Increased food choices• Can buy goods for households (washing machine, fridge)• Increase access to technology (mobile, internet access)• Can afford better and more consistent electricity, water supply• Can invest in livestock and maintain livestock• Can buy farm machinery• Can contribute to feasts and celebrations without depleting asset base	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Knowledge about the world and in terms of rugby grows due to travel and exposure to various experiences• As career progresses earning potential can grow• Fitness increases• Increased access to various professionals and/or advisors (health, financial)• Afford quality food (i.e., meat)• Can afford health/dental care family and self• Can afford education for family and self• New opportunities become available for family and self (i.e., access to education in NZ; able to move from remote villages to towns)• Skills grow (technical, leadership, and interpersonal)• Access to transport means accessing markets to sell produce increases• Reputation grows (personal, family, village, and country)• Adds to the growing reputation that Fijian rugby players are of value; increases the chances for others	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Increases the desire and ability to do service; pay back to others• Family village status increases due to contributions made to church, community and cultural events• Ability to employ others grows through multiplier effect (e.g., in doing renovations others in the villages may be employed; materials are purchased locally; working in own business may employ others for child care or household duties)• Family becomes more mobile (locally, internationally)• Increase in bonding, bridging and linking networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Adds to the <i>vanua</i>• May be offered new cultural opportunities due to doing service and increased status – or leadership roles• Puts Fiji rugby on the global stage; reputation of Fiji rugby grows; increase demand for the Fijian player• Growing awareness globally of a Fijian type of rugby player and game, Increased pride in being a Fijian player• Increased desire to make a career out of rugby• More opportunities become available in the sport• Growing recognition of other forms of the game• Growing recognition of other participants in the game, women, and school girls		

Capitals Discussion

Understanding poverty and poor people's livelihoods is an important aspect within international development literature and policy debates. As such the significance of understanding livelihoods has been embraced in various ways and more recently in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG),⁶³ which is the new global development agenda. SDG 1 promulgates a goal to: End poverty in all its forms everywhere, and more specifically as seen in Target 1.4: By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including micro finance.

Capitals are seen to be the building blocks of a sustainable livelihood; by building capitals the household, and in this instance the family ought to be able to meet their needs on a sustained basis and develop their capacity to cope with any challenges they encounter.⁹⁻¹⁵ People are said to have a range of capitals that contribute to livelihood creation and can include those which are non-material or intangible, such as social or kinship networks or access to and/or command over a particular resource or service.⁶ People are thus more likely to have a good livelihood when they have various capitals to draw upon both in the short and longer term.⁹⁻¹⁵

It is within this context that this research explored the way that *iTaukei*, indigenous Fijians, are using rugby as a livelihood means by asking: what is the development impact of rugby-generated remittances for their families, and more broadly in terms of their communities. We asked more explicitly whether capitals were being built and if so what types. Then we asked how these capitals were contributing to choices and opportunities today and in the longer term. Thinking about the longer term required us to consider the factors that impede the permanency of the choices and opportunities.

Results 2: Do Remittances Contribute to Creating Choices and Opportunities and What Types of Choices and Opportunities are Being Created Now and in The Longer Term?

Building the asset portfolio was said to result in enhanced family status by adding to the *vanua*; enabling household livelihoods diversification; and allowing for a reduction in vulnerability. Participants' voices are drawn upon to further discuss these themes.

Enhanced Family Status

Having a rugby athlete in the family increases family status. Athletes and family members spoke of being looked on with more respect because other relatives and villagers perceived that the family 'had made it'. Owning capitals such as a new car, being able to build a new house or renovate, visibly showed that the family unit is doing well and has more options or choices. One family member participant commented:

Well apart from being able to pay for school fees, for things in the house, giving support to others in the family, we have a car. So it's great. I can take the kids out on the weekends, and do some things we couldn't have done or afforded before – like shopping, picnics and keeping the kids happy.

Status is enhanced also if the family is able to contribute more to wider family, village and church commitments and demands, both in a religious and cultural sense. One family member participant remarked:

We want to help out our family members – like do little things such as helping out with school fees – you know you shouldn't forget your relatives just because we're getting better money aye. Family is very important, if the money is gone or disappears, we still have each other.

Another family member participant stated:

They know that my boy is playing overseas so they always call when there is something to be done; we are able to meet some of the demands and obligations from the village. I feel proud that our family can do this.

Having increased choices or options such as the ability to go overseas gave some participants a sense of accomplishment. One athlete participant commented:

I feel like things have really got better for us. We went to see my uncle in Auckland. This is the first time we have been to New Zealand. We took my mum. It has been a long time since she has seen her brother.

Employing others to work less desirable jobs such as cleaning, or heavy plantation work also brought an enhanced sense of dignity and self-worth. One family member participant explained:

We have a house girl now; she does some of the cleaning, washing, cooking and shopping. I feel like we have help in our house but we are also doing a good thing. She earns

money and she brings her little kid with her. I used to hate thinking about doing household stuff while also trying to run this shop. It is a win - win in my mind.

Another athlete participant reflected:

I think about my family all the time. I think about being able to be successful. Carving out a good road ahead for others.

Household Livelihoods Diversification

Rugby-led migration of both the professional and semi-professional athlete provides a means for household livelihoods diversification. Ensuing remittances meant that family members at home had the capital to establish new businesses, such as setting up small shops, market stalls, or a taxi business. One athlete participant explained:

I'm thinking maybe to buy a car (taxi) to help us further financially. We also have a stall out the front of the house where we sell baked goods. This is working well.

Another family member participant spoke about improving their existing business:

We have set up another stall at the market for handicrafts. We used to only sell like small fruits and vegetables but we have family in Taveuni and we try and sell some of the things they make like pottery. We have been able to get a better located stall too for the fruits, more up the front of the market. This costs more, but we can do this. You want to sell fruits quickly because these things go off. No point being at the back if you can help it.

Remittances also enabled people to expand a current business, for example, renting or purchasing extra land to grow more and different crops, purchasing a vehicle to get crops to market, buying new tools, adding to water systems and purchasing better fertilisers. Remittances also gave people a means to buy up-to-date mobile phones; this gave them better access to information such as market prices, and weather forecasts. Having capital also meant families could access further credit via the formal system such as the bank. They could also get themselves out of situations they did not necessarily like. An athlete participant shared this anecdote:

My sister's husband was very lazy; she would be working hard with her small plantation, doing sewing on the side. He was fishing only small amounts but running up credit at the shop – he would buy beer, yaqona, cigarettes. When they could afford meat curry he would eat lots, take the best parts of the curry. He would only think about himself not the kids or my sister. I helped her set up her sewing business,

she has done some training; she even went to a course about business planning, took a loan from the bank to expand. Our family has never had a proper loan. We are business owners now, we are insured too. We have all said goodbye to that lazy husband too.

Reduced Vulnerability

Remittances and diversification of livelihoods serve to reduce vulnerability in an immediate sense. One family member participant explained:

It has helped us with some of the things we need on a daily basis. Times are getting harder and we are blessed to have [our boy] playing rugby and he is able to send us money to support us financially. We used to have times during the year when it was hard – when church donations were due, school fees. We don't panic now.

There is also a multiplier effect in that benefits accrue to those who do not have a rugby athlete in their family or even receive remittances. A family member participant explained:

Our son has helped pay for repairs for the school, we have made a big donation as a family, some upgrades on the buildings have occurred because of us. Men in our village were given some payments to do this job. You could say others have benefited [indirectly] from X playing overseas.

From a longer term perspective, being located overseas provides an opportunity to also bring family overseas or to move family to the urban centres, meaning they have greater opportunities to access education, employment, or health care. One family member participant stated:

Our whole family has moved into Suva; this has meant the kids can go to a better school. I have a proper job; I get sick leave, holiday pay. Ok I have to pay tax but I am hoping I might have a chance in this job. I would like to be a supervisor one day.

Another athlete participant stated:

We have moved mum to Nadi. It is way better for her; she needs to be closer to the hospital with her health problems. The rugby money means we can do this.

Choices and Opportunities Discussion

Rugby remittances enabled families to meet immediate consumption needs and wants. Material wellbeing was greatly improved through having access to better and more

consumptive goods (e.g., regular protein in their diets), access to amenities (e.g., regular power, access to better water supplies), or increased ownership of house products (e.g., a fridge or washing machine). This could reduce workloads, particularly for women.¹⁵ The ability to pay for health care and medicine makes an obvious difference to people lives.

Families were better able to protect themselves against potential hardships. Examples of this include making their homes more resilient to tropical storms, having insurance and savings. Remittance recipients were able to take better care of the assets (e.g., livestock or farm machinery). Small plantations were less likely to be over planted, and families spoke of being able to afford fertilisers.

Participants also spoke about engaging in less risky behaviours. For example, some participants no longer needed high interest loans from money lenders or to sell or pawn assets when they needed to meet cultural or church demands (i.e., funeral contributions or donations to a chiefly ceremony). Being able to keep children in school or pay for better schooling was seen to be investing in the future; as was supporting, for example, a family member to establish a small business.

Families spoke of increased connectedness through access to technology. Having a mobile phone to call family, do internet banking or access market information was considered very valuable. Being able to afford transport made getting goods to market easier and that they could travel further. Families had more opportunities for travel, some of whom went overseas to see family for the first time in years. Indirectly there were spin offs for the wider community when local people ended up being employed as part of renovating a house, as a house girl or in terms of a donation made to fix the school roof. These findings very much mirror what is seen in other studies that focus on remittance sending and livelihoods.³⁹⁻⁴⁵ A key difference to note though is that rugby-generated remittances, whilst high yield, do not always endure because as mentioned, prior rugby careers are “fragile and ephemeral”.^{1 (p.11)} Thus we argue the importance of understanding what some of the challenges might be in realising this potential.

A livelihoods approach recognises that poverty is more than a lack of income, and that a good livelihood is more than just income received or consumption attained. Thus, we support Bebbington’s¹³ argument that capitals give meaning to a person’s world; assets give people the capability to be and act – not only do they allow survival, adaptation and the ability to alleviate poverty but they are the basis of an agent’s power to act, reproduce and challenge.

Having the means to be and act via rugby also gave athletes a sense of accomplishment.^{35, 36, 52} Families whose members included a professional rugby player spoke of the immense pride they had in being able to give to the wider community; this was seen as also enhancing the family status.²⁴ As with most Pacific people, identity as a Fijian and as a Fijian rugby athlete, ongoing connections to one’s land and country remain at the fore. For Pacific people their culture, specifically the *vanua* (i.e., land and all that connects to the land), the extended family are of the essence, and in the case of even those engaged in the sport of rugby, especially when located overseas, these still remain the backbone of support.⁶⁵ As mentioned previously, despite the plentiful debates about brawn drain⁶⁶⁻⁶⁸ and exploitation^{66,67} of which are indeed real issues, rugby migration “constitutes a site of both structural subordination and symbolic resistance”.^{36 (p.875)} Thus representing the nation of Fiji even if wearing another nation’s jersey is explicitly linked to notions of adding to the *vanua*, of being proud to be a Fijian.^{35, 37}

Results 3: What Are Some of the Challenges Athletes and Families Face When Using Rugby as a Means of Livelihood Creation?

The research identified several challenges that are faced by athletes and families in pursuit of this livelihoods option. Such challenges include the costs of remitting, poor financial literacy, cultural expectations, demands from family, and limited business opportunities.

One player spoke about the high commission rates of sending remittances as well as his own limitations in meeting family expectations:

My mum used to call me often, saying we need more money, more dollars. Can you please send this today? I would send dollars through Western Union, it costs more but easier to do for them. The money is there straight away. Sometimes I didn't have any money so I would borrow from other players; people understand the pressure when your mum rings and say look we need to pay some money for a funeral or we have to make a donation because [someone who is important] is coming to the village. Sometimes I would have to take an advance in my pay check.

Players spoke about their inability to manage their finances. The following statement was typical of many players:

Like I know I was sending lots of money home, we were blowing it fast. Even me when I got home I would think I needed to look the part. So I would buy a car, shout everyone nights out. You're on the big bucks people would say. I was always shelling out the money. Not really

thinking about ok, what about next year. My cousins set up some taxi businesses but these didn't play out well. The cars were run down in the end. I also had a rental property but even this didn't work out that well. Family ended up staying there; you can't charge your family to stay, that's just not right.

Players acknowledged their lack of financial literacy. One athlete participant lamented: "My biggest regret is not having any financial support or advice earlier in my rugby professional career." Finally, there are also many challenges facing the development of Pacific Island rugby, which also seems to hinder those looking to use the game for livelihood purposes. These are summarised in Table 6 below.

Table 6 – Challenges Facing the Game and Faced by Athletes

Challenges Facing Athletes
<p><i>Knowledge gaps</i></p> <p>There is a lack of knowledge surrounding the globalisation of sports (and operational systems in place). Overseas clubs/agents take advantage of this lack of knowledge, and this is impacting the development of young talent at home. There is also a very clear knowledge gap in terms of managing finances for both athletes and family members.</p>
<p><i>Immigration issues</i></p> <p>Travel sanctions and other visa-related issues can be seen as a deterrent to the development of sports in the islands, acknowledging that these issues are mostly the result of political situations and eligibility statuses and agreements between countries. It can also be about poor planning because athlete travel may only be arranged days prior to a competition since funding has not been secured until the last minute.</p>
<p><i>Contract issues</i></p> <p>Athletes can be approached through informal means (agents/clubs/friends/former athletes) and no proper advice is given to them to ensure that they fully understand the conditions of their contract. This leaves them open to exploitation. There is no ability to earn a living playing for the home team. Contractual obligations also means Pacific players may remain based off shore; are often unable to play for the home team due to having past contracts with 1st tier teams. This also hinders development of the team at home.</p>
<p><i>Career planning</i></p> <p>Few athletes have a career plan in place and understand that there is 'life after rugby'. Athletes and their families/advisors are more focused on short-term financial gains rather than long-term sustainable options. Those who have a career plan possess higher levels of formal education.</p>
<p><i>Targeting of very young athletes</i></p> <p>The move from French clubs to establish academies in Fiji are attempts to procure the best young talent from the country to bolster their playing stocks. Athletes are offered what are considered to be lucrative contracts but are likely to be entry-level academy contracts. Contracts can be poor or non-existent, so athletes are vulnerable and at risk of exploitation.</p>
Challenges Facing the Game
<p><i>Governance of Pacific and Fijian Rugby</i></p> <p>There is no regulatory framework to guide, monitor and manage the development of athletes. There is no proper database/system in place to track athlete's profiles/statuses. Athletes report a lack of confidence in home systems and trust in home union.</p>

Table 6 (continued) – Challenges Facing the Game and Faced by Athletes

Uneven playing field – 1st tier teams verses Pacific teams

Exclusion from regional competition Super 15.

PI nations share only 1 seat on IRB – World Rugby Council amongst self & other members of the Federation of Oceania Rugby Union – this is marginal power in terms of decision making.

Marked differences noted in the types of expertise and money seen in comparison to 1st tier teams vs. Pacific teams.

Unclear Rugby Pathway

There is no clear alignment/pathway between junior children's rugby, secondary school rugby and club/provincial rugby. More emphasis needs to be placed at provincial rugby/national duties. A proper pathway and structure needs to be implemented from the grassroots level up to national representation.

Challenges Discussion

While athletes and families saw the potential development impact to be substantial, having to meet expectations and ensuing high demands that often came from family, poor financial literacy, and limited business opportunities at home were some of the things getting in the way of any sustained effect. The uneven playing field and politics of the game were also raised as major concerns when thinking about rugby as a sustainable livelihoods option for *iTaukei*. By using the term uneven playing field, we are referring to the core periphery relationship between the first-tier international teams such as New Zealand, Australia and the 6 nations teams^{vii}, and the Pacific teams.⁶⁸ The complexities of this relationship are well documented by various authors.^{34, 68, 70} The reduced competitiveness of Pacific Island nations due to players having to declare eligibility to first-tier nations, which is noted in the World Rugby regulation 'one-country-for life',⁶⁹ and limits the development of the game at home. Pacific Island nations also have marginal power in terms of decision making regarding the game and various rules based on current World Rugby Council arrangements and voting rights. Exclusion from various competitions, for example, the Super 15, is a point of contention.^{33, 69} However, World Rugby has invested millions into the Pacific, and the issue is argued to be one of poor governance by local unions.^{30, 66} Regional organisation have been argued to serve national interests rather than the region as a whole.⁶⁶

While professionalism has hindered the development of rugby in Fiji, Fijian rugby players are interconnected agents who creatively negotiate and seek to exert some degree of control over outside structural forces.⁶⁵ By listening to the voices of the athletes we argue the potential of rugby regardless of structural forces. While World Rugby might dictate terms and conditions of the game, athletes also show evidence of being competent actors who have agency and

can manoeuvre and manipulate factors in their lives and the game in order to pursue collective and individual interests, in search of status increase and for economic gain.^{38, 39} Yes there are constraints especially in times of international competition, but they are starting to develop self-help strategies (PIPA). This very much speaks to Bebbington's¹³ argument, as noted above, that capitals give meaning to a person's world; assets give people capability to be and act. Thus, not only do capitals allow survival, adaptation and the ability to alleviate poverty but they are the basis of an agent's power to act, reproduce and challenge.

Recent work undertaken by Stewart-Withers, Richardson and Sewabu^{26, 27, 33} as part of the Rugby Max Project addresses some of these issues. The New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade is piloting a sports diplomacy programme 'Rugby Max'. This is a 3 year, pilot project which aims to support professional and semi-professional Fijian rugby union players and their families to access contract support, financial literacy, management training, personal development planning and business development support. The project will be delivered by the Pacific Island Players Association (PIPA) in partnership with the New Zealand Rugby Players Association, leveraging the expertise of New Zealand's world renowned Personal Development Programme and building on the limited support currently provided to players through PIPA. The idea of the project has received much praise from the Fijian and New Zealand Governments and the communities– of both sport and Pacific people.

CONCLUSION

Horton writes about the place of rugby in Pacific communities and how and why it has become a zone of potential success, aspiration and social and economic

vii Six nations refers to England, France, Ireland, Italy, Scotland and Wales.

advancement.²² While livelihoods can be explained in many ways, for the purpose of our enquiry it is understood broadly to comprise households having access to capitals: financial and physical (produced capital); and human, social and cultural capitals with which they can influence their material wellbeing, find meaning in their life and increase their capabilities to use, respond or transform. In this instance the means by which this occurs is rugby, and it can be considered sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and capitals both now and for in the future.

In the context of Fiji there is a consensus that economic migration and ensuing remittances are an important mechanism for social and economic development and thus poverty alleviation. Fijian rugby athletes are a sub-group of economic migrants who work and remit. Rugby union has positioned Fiji well on the international sporting stage, even more so given their recent Olympic success. Findings suggest that for many families, rugby-generated remittances are an extremely important income source that helps them meet consumption needs and wants, and allows for asset accumulation in the short term. However, the costs of remitting, cultural expectations, high demands from family, limited business opportunities at home and poor financial literacy are impacting athletes and their families from maintaining livelihoods goals into the future. The uneven playing field and politics of the game are also major concerns when thinking about growing the game.

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Original Research

A programme evaluation of 'Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future': Making sport relevant to the educational, social, and emotional needs of youth

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ABSTRACT

Community violence negatively impacts the educational, social, and emotional needs of youth, particularly those living in under-resourced communities. Social and environmental influences can help youth develop resilience to this pervasive, destructive cycle of community violence. A particularly effective approach is programming that fosters positive youth development (PYD), which prepares youth to successfully adapt and function in the midst of ongoing stress and adversity such as community violence. This study examined Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future, a sport-based PYD programme empowering middle school youth to engage in their own strength-based, holistic development through sport, with a particular focus on education and career exploration and development. The purpose of this study was to examine connections between participant outcomes and programme implementation of this sport-based PYD programme, which used the Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR) model. This programme was evaluated through multiple methods, including observational field notes, interviews, and written reflections that were analysed with deductive and inductive analysis strategies. Results suggested that meaningful life skills were learned and transferred to other domains. This was accomplished through an intentional programme climate (e.g., youth-centred philosophy, and task-oriented climate), effective leader and mentor strategies (e.g., relationships and engagement), and valuable campus visits.

INTRODUCTION

In the United States, community violence remains a major public health problem with causes including insufficient

institutional resources, pervasive substance abuse, firearm access, minimal collective efficacy, social cohesion, and social control.¹ Youth living in under-resourced communities are at high risk of witnessing community violence, which compounds the destructive effects of concentrated poverty.¹ This is concerning, as heightened levels of violence negatively impact the educational, social, and emotional needs of youth. Repetitive exposure to community violence can lead to cognitive impairments, resulting in lower academic achievement and higher rates of school failure.² Exposure to ongoing community violence is also a major risk factor for youth developing social, emotional, and behavioural problems such as internalizing behaviours and psychological problems (e.g., anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder).^{2, 3} Additionally, repetitive community violence exposure can lead to the development of externalizing behaviours (e.g., aggression and antisocial behaviour) and eventual violence perpetration,^{4, 5} thereby continuing the cycle of community violence, particularly in under-resourced communities.

To combat this cycle, it is critical to help youth develop resilience, because evidence suggests that social and environmental influences are keys to adaptation and positive development upon exposure to violence.^{6, 7} These social and environmental influences include parental support, mentoring, and local organizations.⁸ Instead of focusing on deficit reduction (e.g., minimizing externalizing behaviours and reducing youth violence), which targets problems with short-term, narrow solutions, scholars recommend a focus on positive youth development (PYD) that addresses youths' long-term, holistic developmental needs.⁹ This prepares youth to successfully adapt and function in the midst of ongoing stress and adversity such as community violence.¹⁰ PYD can

Keywords: TPSR; sport-based youth development; sport for development; positive youth development; socio-emotional learning

and should be integrated into the lives of youth at multiple levels, from their parents and other adults to their educational experiences. This includes PYD-based sport and physical activity programmes, which capture the interest, engagement, and motivation youth often bring into sport and physical activity settings,¹¹ while also developing the resilience that allows youth to maximize their educational, social, and emotional development.

The Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR) model is one of the leading sport and physical activity-based approaches for fostering PYD.¹² Intentional programming facilitates the development of personal and social responsibility, guiding youth through five progressive levels of the TPSR model. These levels and a sample session format are outlined in Table 1.

The TPSR model has been used with a variety of populations (e.g., gang-affiliated youth, girls from low-income families, and refugee youth) and settings (e.g., after-

school, in-school, community-based, and global), with research citing the model's effectiveness.¹³⁻¹⁵ More specifically, Bean and colleagues¹³ found that TPSR was particularly effective due to the inclusion of intentional leadership opportunities for female participants, support for participants' active engagement in various physical activities, and strong communication amongst the leaders. Buckle and Walsh¹⁴ cited the importance of taking a strength-based approach in their programming with gang-affiliated youth, along with developing mutually respectful relationships with the youth and continually challenging their use of newly acquired life skills in other domains. Through programming that created this environment, Buckle and Walsh reported that gang-affiliated youth developed positive cognitive, emotional, social, behavioural, and physical skills, along with increasing their internal assets (e.g., positive identity, self-control, and commitment to learning) and external assets (e.g., empowerment, support, and expectations).

Table 1 – Responsibility Levels and Daily Session Format

Five Responsibility Levels of Hellison's TPSR Model	Daily Session Format for the <i>Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future</i> Programme
<u>Level I: Respect</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Able to control behaviour enough to not interfere with others' right to learn • Right to be included and have cooperative peers • Right to peaceful conflict resolution 	<u>Relational Time (5 min)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on rapport building
<u>Level II: Effort and Cooperation</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-motivation • Exploration of effort and new tasks • Getting along with others 	<u>Awareness Talk (6 min)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss goals of the day • Ask participants to lead discussion
<u>Level III: Self-Direction</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On-task independence • Goal setting progression • Courage to resist peer pressure 	<u>Activity (45 min)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small group activity stations • Youth participant-led sports and games • Youth participant-led 'check-ins' • Focus on youth participant voice and choice
<u>Level IV: Helping Others and Leadership</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring and compassion • Sensitivity and responsiveness • Inner strength 	<u>Group Meeting (5 min)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflection on day's goals and activities • Reflection on integration into other life domains
<u>Level V: Transfer</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Try these ideas in other aspects of life • Positive role model for others 	<u>Self-Reflection and Mentoring (14 min)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-reflection on youth participant's actions in the session • Individual goal setting for the next session • Individual goal setting for transferring lessons to other domains • Reflection and exploration of future educational and career paths

These are examples of the growing number of sport-based programmes using the TPSR model in under-resourced communities. The need exists, however, for more rigorous evaluation of these programmes,¹⁶ including analyses of programme implementation through multiple methods (e.g., observation, self-report, interviews, and instrumentation), which allows for a more nuanced understanding of the connection between implementation and outcomes.^{17, 18} Importantly, for scholars and practitioners using sport-based PYD programming in the context of persistent community violence, more knowledge is needed regarding how programme structure and implementation can lead to outcomes that affect the educational, social, and emotional needs of youth. A recent integrative review of sport-based PYD literature reveals the following:

...research in this area tends to focus almost entirely on the skills and abilities that are influenced by sport participation, with less information on the characteristics of programmes or settings that influence the process (Coakley, 2011; Riley & Anderson-Butcher, 2012). As a result, while there is a wealth of knowledge on the youth development outcomes sport can influence, there is much less on how or why this development occurs (Coalter, 2010a). As noted by Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, and Nols (2013, p. 473), 'this has led researchers to refer to such practices as black or magical boxes, since little is known about the ways programmes are actually working in relation to their claimed but often hard-to-follow outcomes.'^{19, p. 3}

As such, the purpose of this study was to examine connections between participant outcomes and programme implementation of a sport-based PYD programme using the TPSR model in an under-resourced community.

METHODS

The methodological approach for the current study was grounded in community-based participatory research.²⁰ Within this, the authors embraced a philosophical stance of critical subjectivity,²¹ in which knowledge is interdependent and socially constructed. Further, multiple methods and points of data were used in an effort to better understand questions of how the programme was conducted, what the outcomes were, and the connection between programme implementation and outcomes.

Programme Description

The Southern Queens Park Association (SQPA) is a unique human service agency that has served the Southern Queens community in New York City for 40 years. An SQPA partner school that is representative of the population served by the SQPA and the Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future programme has a school wide Title I program, with 76% of the students eligible for free lunch and 5% eligible for reduced price lunch. Additionally, over 99% of students identified as racial or ethnic minorities.²² In regards to environmental risk factors, the police precinct in which this programme was held recorded over 1,500 crime complaints during a three month period about seven major felony offenses (i.e., murder, rape, robbery, felony assault, burglary, grand larceny, and grand larceny of automobile).²³

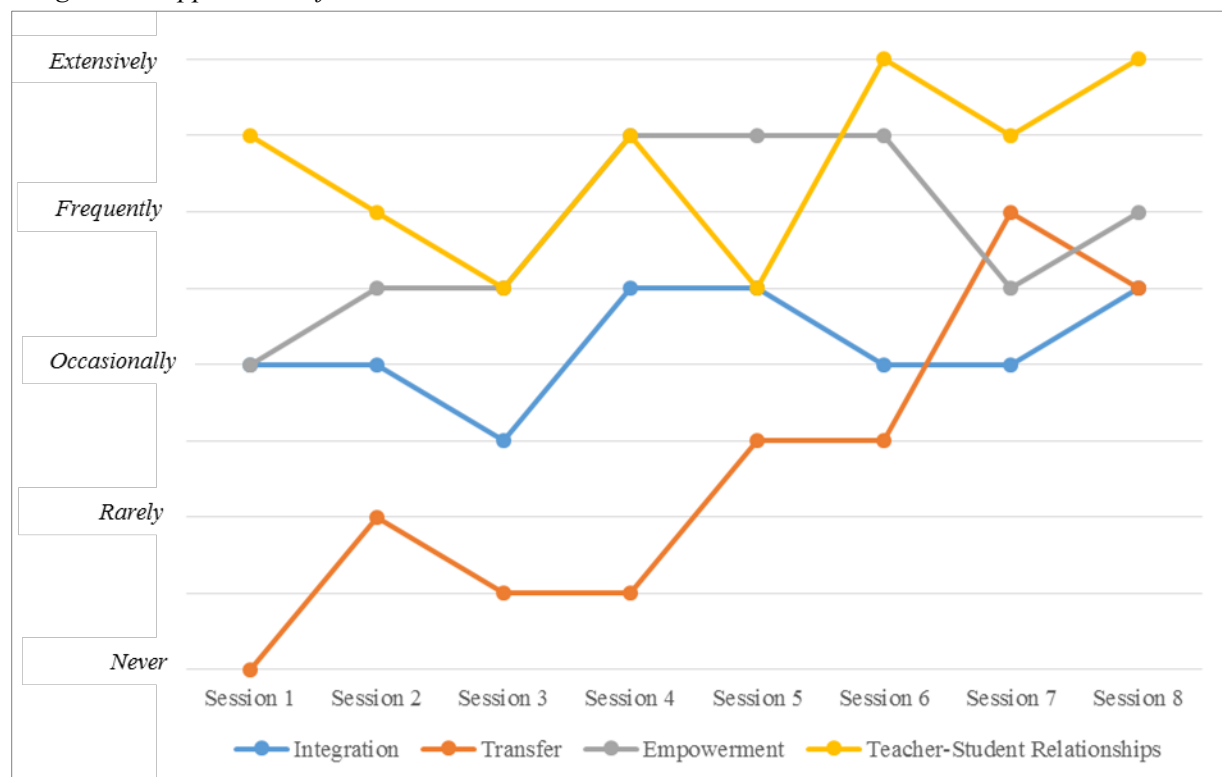
The Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future programme was developed as a collaboration between SQPA and the first author's university (Adelphi University). The TPSR model was used to develop the programme, with specific aims including: (a) empowering youth to take part in their own strength-based, holistic development through sport and physical activity, with a particular focus on the exploration and development of their education and career plans; and (b) introducing youth to higher education through mentoring and on-campus visits. The programme's leadership structure was scaffolded, with programme leaders including the first author, a leader from SQPA, and four university students (including the third author). These university students were concurrently enrolled in a service-learning graduate course entitled, "Youth Development through Sport and Physical Activity", where they learned about sport-based PYD programmes and the TPSR model. Additionally, time was set aside each week for a focused discussion on programme implementation, with further information detailing students' experiences found in an applied article by Whitley and colleagues.²⁴ Leadership meetings were conducted before and after each programme session to assist with programme planning, implementation, and evaluation.

In total, eight programming sessions based on the TPSR model took place across 10 weeks (see Table 1). Each session was video recorded to allow for independent analyses of programme implementation, with an initial welcoming session (not part of the formal programming) video recorded to assuage any potential Hawthorne effect.

The TPSR model is guided by four central themes: (a) integrating the responsibility levels into sport and physical activity, (b) developing strong relationships, (c) empowering participants, and (d) transferring lessons learned into other domains. The application of these themes within each session of Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future are graphed in Figure 1, while Figure 2 presents the use of responsibility-based teaching strategies in each session. In addition to the traditional TPSR session format, a mentoring component was added at the end of every session where programme leaders were matched with one to two participants for focused discussion and reflection. This mentoring component was based on the Kinesiology Career Club, which was designed, implemented, and evaluated by Walsh and colleagues.^{26, 27}

Along with the eight programming sessions, participants also visited Adelphi University during the third and the tenth week of programming. The first visit introduced participants to higher education through a campus tour, attendance and engagement in the graduate-level sport-based PYD class, and dinner in the campus cafeteria. The second campus visit included a culminating event where participants shared their experiences with leaders from SQPA and Adelphi University, an informational meeting with an admissions representative, and a varsity sports event.

Figure 1 – Application of TPSR Model Themes



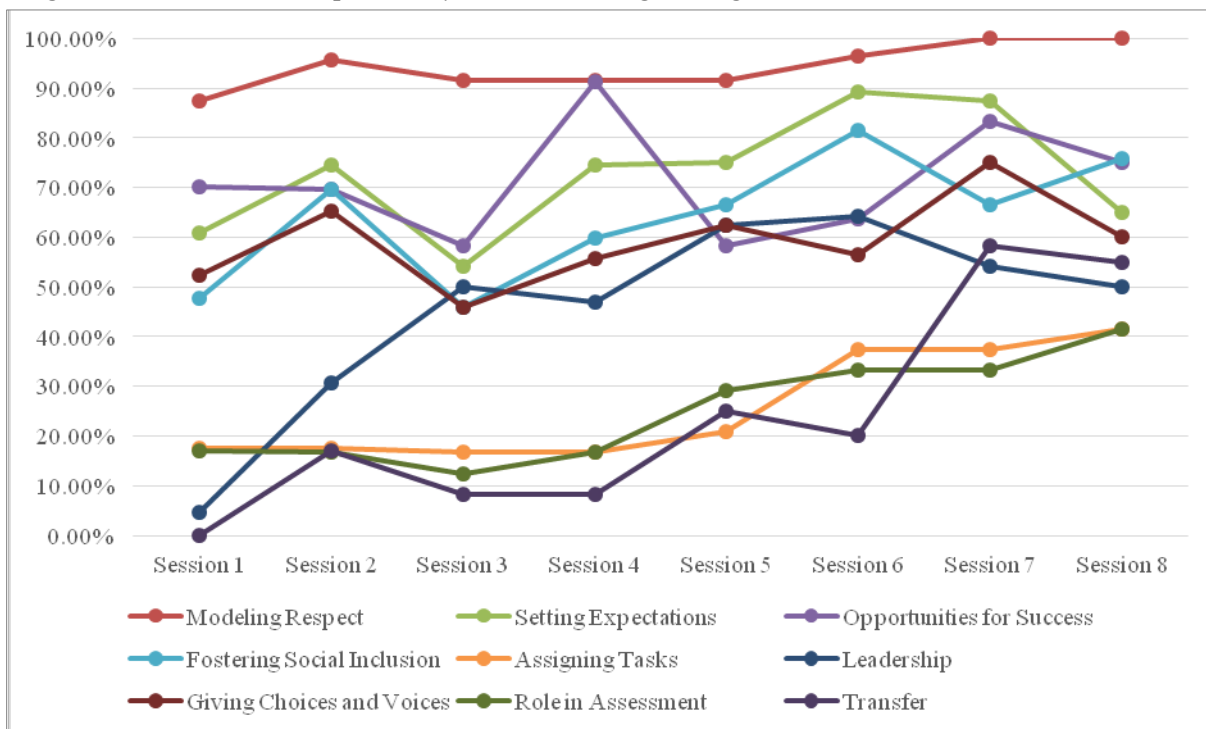
Participants

While 10 youth were recruited and participated in the programme, three did not complete the post-programme measures; therefore, this study had seven participants. There were five males and two females (Age $M = 11.86$, $SD = 0.69$); six identified as African American or Black, and one identified as Latino. All participants attended schools with a majority of students receiving free or reduced price lunch.²⁸ In an effort to provide a comprehensive evaluation that included multiple perspectives and voices, additional data were collected from the programme leaders, with the first author hereafter identified as PL1, the SQPA Programme Leader identified as PL2, and the four university students identified as PL3 to PL6.

Measures

The study measures were selected in response to the call for evaluations of TPSR-based programmes that analyse programme implementation and fidelity to the TPSR model through multiple methods (e.g., observation, self-report, interviews, and documentation), allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the connection between implementation and outcomes.^{17, 18} The methods utilized in studies by Walsh, Veri, and Scobie²⁷ and Wright, Dyson,

Figure 2 – Observable Responsibility-based Teaching Strategies



and Moten²⁵ guided the selection of the measures outlined below.

Documentation

Along with attendance records and basic demographic information, observational field notes were taken during the leadership meetings before and after each programme session. Additionally, participants and programme leaders completed reflection sheets after each programme session and campus visit to encourage reflection and learning.^{26, 27}

Tool for Assessing Responsibility-Based Education (TARE)

The TARE: Observation Instrument, a validated and reliable measure for TPSR programmes,¹⁸ was completed by the second author after viewing every videotaped session. The first author also completed the TARE: Post-Teaching Reflection immediately after each live session.²⁹ These instruments include the following sections: (a) documentation of basic information for a programme session (e.g., programme leader information, youth participant number and gender, and brief overview of session); (b) programme leaders' use of nine responsibility-based strategies connected to the TPSR model (e.g., modelling respect, fostering social interaction, and giving voices and choices); (c) programme leaders' application of

personal and social responsibility themes (e.g., integration and empowerment); (d) youth participants' behaviours related to responsibility (e.g., self-control, effort, and self-direction); and (e) an open comments section. These instruments have been used effectively to document and evaluate programmes in their implementation and fidelity to the TPSR model.³⁰

Interviews and Written Reflections

The first author conducted semi-structured individual interviews with participants after the programme concluded, with topics including: (a) their experiences in the programme (e.g., Describe your experiences as participant in the programme; What do you think were the most/least effective programming strategies? Why?); (b) their relationship with programme leaders, specifically their mentor (e.g., Describe your experience with the university students as programme leaders); (c) ways the programme may have impacted their growth and development (e.g., Did you learn anything from participating in the programme? If so, what and how did you learn this?); and (d) their perceptions about their future (e.g., Do you believe what you learned from the programme will help you in the future? Why or why not? How?). The second author also conducted pre- and post-programme interviews with all programme leaders, with the topics discussed including: (a) the programme leaders' expectations of the programme, (b)

their experiences in the programme, (c) their beliefs about the efficacy of the programme, and (d) their beliefs about the growth and development (or lack thereof) of the participants in the programme. Specific to the final set of questions, these included: (a) Describe your experience with the participants, and (b) Do you believe the participants benefited from the on-campus visits? Please explain why or why not. The first author answered the same pre- and post-programme interview questions as written reflections.

Data Analysis

The observational field notes, reflection sheets, interviews, and written reflections were analysed through deductive and inductive analysis strategies, using both constant comparison and critical reflection.³¹ Through open coding, meaning units were identified and then organized into lower and higher order themes. After each level of analysis, the first and third authors engaged in an iterative consensus process, reviewing and discussing the transcripts when differences arose until consensus occurred.³² The second author served as an external auditor and peer debriefer at each level of analysis.

Additionally, both TARE instruments were analysed separately, beginning with the programme leaders' (combined) use of the teaching strategies associated with the TPSR model. Because the TARE: Observation Instrument required the second author to indicate the presence of nine responsibility-based strategies associated with the TPSR model over five-minute intervals, these data were analysed based on the frequency of each teaching strategy during each session, with percentages calculated for each session (e.g., respect was modelled by the programme leaders 92.86% during the sixth session). The TARE: Post-Teaching Reflection required the first author to assess all teaching strategies after each session through a five-point Likert scale (0 = *Never*, 4 = *Extensively*), with these data converted to percentages (e.g., respect was modelled by the programme leaders 'Extensively' during the sixth session, with a 4 on the Likert scale, which was converted to 100% for that session). The analysis of the remaining subsections of the TARE instruments was less complex, with the rating of personal-social responsibility themes and student responsibility behaviours assessed through five-point Likert scales. The means for all subsections were then computed between the two TARE instruments.

After these analyses were completed, the first and second authors compared the results to identify connections and disparities between the findings. They also carefully reviewed the findings from the observational field notes, reflection sheets, interviews, and written reflections for explanations of the observational data from the TARE instruments. The third author served as an external auditor and peer debriefer for this process.

RESULTS AND SPECIFIC DISCUSSION

While both implementation and outcome variables were evaluated, the overarching focus of the results section is on *how* skills were developed through Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future (e.g., implementation variables) because the connection between programme implementation and participant outcomes is often overlooked.¹⁷⁻¹⁹ By examining implementation and outcome variables concurrently, a more nuanced understanding of sport-based PYD programmes is possible, allowing researchers and practitioners to have a greater impact on the educational, social, and emotional needs of youth through sport-based programming. As such, the following sections contain an overview of the skills learned, transferred, and intended to transfer through the Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future programme (e.g., outcome variables), followed by a discussion of programme implementation that highlights how the programme climate, leader and mentor strategies, and campus visits contributed to these outcomes.

Skills Learned, Skills Transferred, and Intention to Transfer

The specific themes related to skills the participants learned are explored in Table 2, along with participants' intention to transfer these skills into other domains (Level V of the TPSR model). Additionally, Figure 3 represents the holistic rating of participant responsibility observed over the eight sessions, with the growth of participant responsibility demonstrated. Thus, in addition to participants' self-reported outcomes, independent observers also noted positive changes throughout the programme. Given the purpose of the current study, an understanding of how the programme facilitated these changes is necessary. These connections are explored in the following section.

Programme Implementation

In examining programme implementation, the programme climate, leader and mentor strategies, and campus visits were identified as critical features that led to participant outcomes.

Programme Climate

With high fidelity to the TPSR model (see Figures 1 and 2), a programme climate was created that met the needs of the youth and helped facilitate intrinsic motivation towards participation. This was accomplished through TPSR-based strategies that were designed, implemented, and critiqued in an intentional, reflective manner. Intentionality, a hallmark of both TPSR-based and PYD-based sport programmes,^{13, 30, 33, 34} was achieved through: (a) detailed session plans that were critiqued and revised by programme leaders before each programme session, (b) preparatory meetings before each session, and (c) personal and group reflection after each session. Participants were aware of this intentionality, with one participant (P2) highlighting this in her explanation of the awareness talk at the beginning of each session: ‘When we sat down after the warm-ups, we kinda talked about all the words and stuff instead of just rushing into the games.’

Not only were the sessions purposefully designed to teach and/or reinforce specific life skills, but the lessons were purposefully integrated into the activities and games instead of being taught separately. PL3 believed that ‘instilling the life skills...into the activities themselves...worked out pretty well.’ Additionally, P2 explained that ‘instead of [the programme leaders] just talking to us and writing stuff down, you taught a lesson through when we were playing games...so we had fun while we were being taught.’ These results reinforce the need for sport-based PYD programmes to integrate life skill development into the activities and games themselves; it can lead to greater interest and engagement.

Within this intentional approach, programme leaders focused on the participants and their experience in the programme, getting to know participants and designing the programme around their needs and interests. This youth-centred philosophy was recognized by P1, who believed that the programme leaders truly cared about him and wanted to get to know him. In his words, ‘You understand me. The outside world, they don’t understand me. They think I’m just a kid that doesn’t do any work and doesn’t put effort in.’ For P1, this was important because he was new to sport and physical activity, and so he was initially hesitant to take

Figure 3 – Holistic Rating of Participant Responsibility

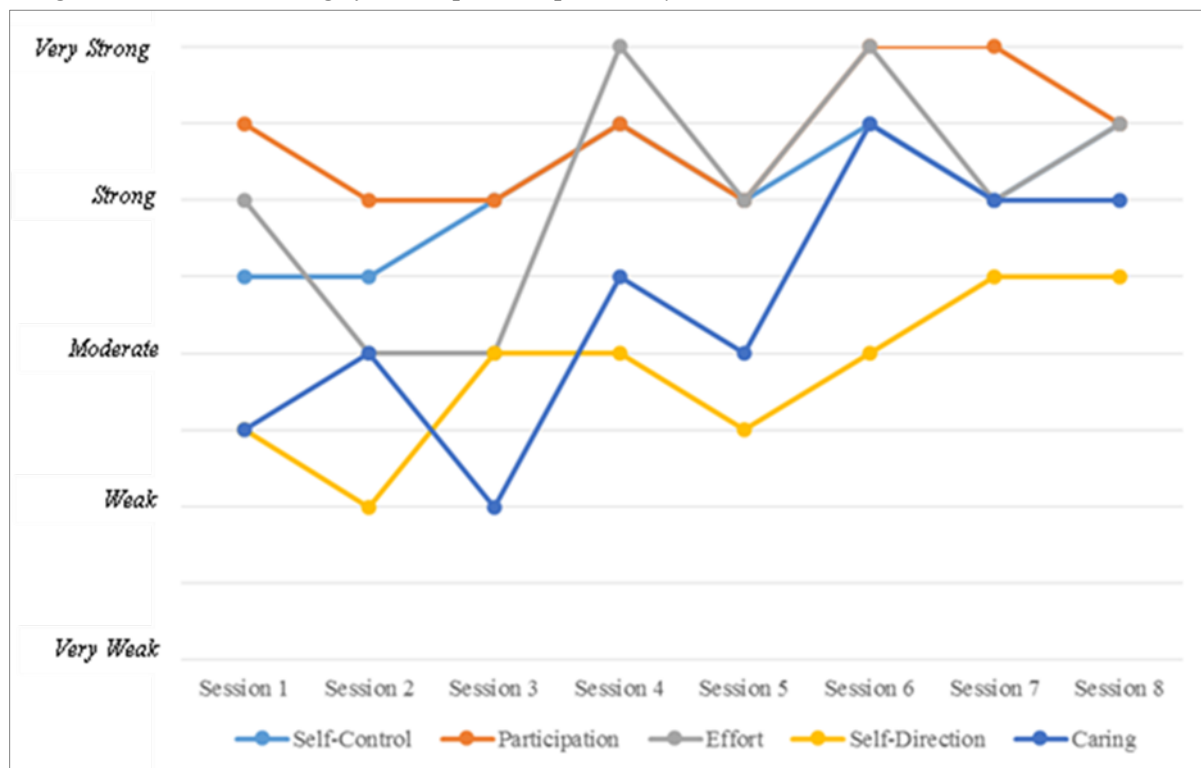


Table 2 – Skills Learned, Skills Transferred, and Intention to Transfer

Higher Order Themes	Lower Order Themes	Skills Learned	Skills Transferred and Intention to Transfer (TPSR Level V)
Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR Levels I & II)	Teamwork Respect Responsibility	P2: 'Now I know what it is to be [part of] a team and so I know if I join a team [in the future], I'll know how to treat them.' PL2: 'They learned how to be a team.' P7: '[The programme] taught me a lesson about being respectful.' PL3: 'The kids were a lot more respectful as the programme went on.'	P6: 'I could help my family more often, take care of my sister and help my mom. This [programme] helped me learn that [responsibility].' P1: '[I already demonstrated responsibility learned through programme] at home, school, in or around the borough.'
Effort (TPSR Level II)	Effort	P1: 'I never put a lot of effort, I'm like five percent or ten percent, but when I was [in the programme], I put like 50 percent.' PL5: '[They] got to learn a lot about how their hard work can pay off.'	P3: 'When I set goals [in future], I push myself to do good, [which I learned in the programme].'
Self-Regulation (TPSR Level III)	Self-Control Self-Direction Goal Setting	P4: 'Now I know how to control myself, I can do anything without getting someone who's telling me that I'm ugly or something. Because of this programme, I can just ignore what they say.'	P3: '[I] didn't set as much goals as often [before this programme], but now I do set goals in school.' P4: 'Now that I know how to control myself, in the future I won't get expelled from school.'
Leadership (TPSR Level IV)	Encouragement Caring for Others Leadership	PL2: '[They] worked on cheering each other on, encouraging each other' P3: 'I learned to push others to do their best.' P7: 'I learned how lead a station. I got to change up the rules.' PL2: 'They learned how to manage groups. They learned how to lead.'	P2: 'Now I know what it is to be... a team and so I know if I join a team, I'll know how to treat them and encourage them.' P6: '[Skills learned will help me when] leading [a] company, taking charge for whatever happens.'
Empowerment	Positive Outlook Courage Self-Belief	PL6: '[One YP] seemed timid in the beginning...but once we introduced the idea of kind of coming up with ideas and games to run the programme, every week he had a suggestion. So he became more talkative and more confident to share his ideas.' PL4: 'One positive aspect definitely for me was just seeing the shy kids or the less skilled kids coming out of their shell.'	P3: '[I learned] to be positive... if I push myself [in the future] to do good and not down myself on anything, I can actually achieve what I need to.'
Increased Physical Activity Interest and Experience	Increased Interest in Playing and Being Active Wider Sport Experience	P1: 'It's a fun programme. It's a programme where you can stay active.' P2: 'We didn't [play] just basketball...we was doing other sports.'	P1: '[I] feel like playing a lot more sports than I used to.' P1: '[Before this programme], I wasn't interested in anything, just the [video] games. But now I'm interested in just going outside.'
Improved Physical Abilities	Improved Basketball Skills Improved Activity and Fitness Levels	P6: 'I'm starting to get a little better at basketball because of the programme.' P3: '[The programme] helped me be fit.'	PL1: 'A few youth were not very active and by the end of the programme, they were very active in the programme and were considering ways to be active in the future outside of the programme.'

part in the programme. This was partially related to his level of inactivity, but it was also related to his ability to understand what was expected of him. He explained how ‘When I’m outside, it usually be I don’t get it, I don’t know it. But when I’m in here, when I say I don’t get it, I don’t know it – they usually show me.’ For P1, the programme leaders were focused on his experience in the programme and his level of understanding for each game and activity, allowing him to try new things that he had not previously tried. This led to increased courage and self-belief (see Table 2), along with an increased interest in the programme over time, as he explained: ‘I started to come to the programme, started to get hyped, and so I would try to start coming to the programme early.’ This is just one example of how programme leaders embraced a youth-centred philosophy promoting growth and change. By investing in the participants, programme leaders helped them feel valued and connected to the programme.

Additionally, the programme was continually adapted to respond to participants’ suggestions and interests. Strategies included listening to the youth voices (cited 10 separate times in the reflection sheets) and creating opportunities for them to make meaningful decisions. PL5 shared how ‘Each kid felt like they had a part in the programme and they had a say in what we were doing.’ This resulted in the participants feeling empowered (see Table 2). For example, during the fifth session, the programme was adapted to include a game requested by participants the previous week, with P1 writing that ‘I am glad that we play the game we told [the programme leaders] last week.’ That session’s debrief meeting field notes highlighted how ‘The kids having a choice in activities [worked well].’ This included leadership opportunities for the participants, with previous research showing a connection between leadership roles for participants in sport-based PYD programmes and learning specific life skills.^{30, 33} Moreover, because the participants were provided with formal leadership opportunities, choice and voice in programming, a role in assessment, and peer teaching opportunities (responsibility-based teaching strategies; see Figure 2), they were more engaged in the learning process (including learning responsibility and leadership skills; see Table 2). Similar findings have been reported in both the sport and physical education literature, as autonomy-supportive environments (i.e., environments that encourage initiative, decision making, choice, and task engagement) are shown to increase participants’ intrinsic motivation.^{35, 36}

Concurrent with autonomy support, a task-oriented climate was established,³⁷ where giving effort and learning new games and skills were reinforced (see Table 2). This was created through responsibility-based teaching strategies of fostering social inclusion, giving choices and voices, and creating opportunities for success (see Figure 2). In doing so, youth engagement increased. PL2 explained: ‘The kids was engaged...they was determined to do it. They was excited to do it.’ The programme leaders also noticed that the participants even gave effort in new games and activities, with P4 explaining how, even ‘if we don’t know how to play a game,’ the programme leaders encouraged us to give ‘effort’ and ‘just try it out.’ This task-oriented climate encouraged less-active participants to become more active within and outside of the programme, while providing a structure that associated their efforts with enhanced feelings of competence. Previous research has demonstrated similar findings. A positive association exists between task-oriented climates and feelings of perceived competence, and those perceived competence and task-oriented climates both independently predict intrinsic motivation.³⁸ Moreover, this inclusive environment also allowed youth to feel safe and comfortable trying new games and activities, learning new sport and life skills, and showing vulnerability in front of their peers. The encouraging nature of this climate led to a sense of belonging amongst the participants, with P2 explaining ‘I have never been on a team’ before, while P7 wrote after the sixth session how ‘It felt good to be part of something.’ This created an opportunity for the participants to become better teammates, which was one of the life skills learned in Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future (see Table 2). Thus, while previous sport-based PYD researchers connected inclusive yet competitive opportunities to positive personal development indicators (e.g., self-esteem, leadership),²⁸ these findings highlight the importance of a task-oriented climate where the focus is on individual effort, learning, collaboration, and development.

Overall, the intentionality and reflection involved in creating the programme climate led to a supportive and task-oriented climate that facilitated participant motivation. The responsibility-based teaching strategies in Figure 2 were critical to achieving this climate, creating space for the participants to develop personal and social responsibility (Figure 3), learn life skills (Table 2), and explore their strengths and future.

Leader and Mentor Strategies

Cultivating strong, meaningful relationships through the responsibility-based teaching strategy of social inclusion and the TPSR theme of teacher-student relationships was critical for the programme leaders. PL1 wrote after the second session ‘We really focused on building relationships, treating them with respect, showing that we care about them as individuals.’ Similarly, P1 explained: ‘I think of [PLs] like family...they understood me.’ Similar to other sport-based PYD programmes,^{13, 15} the cultivation of close, meaningful relationships between programme leaders and participants was critical. This helped participants feel safe and connected to others, which has been shown to influence engagement levels.^{36, 39} This resulted in more diligent efforts towards being respectful to their teammates, controlling their emotions, and encouraging their teammates, as well as a greater interest in playing, being active with their peers, and learning new skills (see Table 2).

These relationships also helped the participants feel safe discussing their strengths, weaknesses, and possible future selves. This was particularly powerful during mentoring time, with P7 learning ‘that you have to keep your grades up in high school in order to go to college’ and P2’s mentor showing ‘me colleges...I want to go to and talk[ing] about goals.’ In terms of exploring their potential career options, P4’s mentor ‘told me all the things that I needed to do to become robotic engineer,’ which was his dream career. P3 realised there were multiple career options, as her mentor ‘helped me research about the Marines, just in case I wanted to go there if I didn’t want to go – or didn’t make it to the WNBA or nothing.’ Mentors also encouraged the participants to consider their fears as well as their hopes in life. Below are quotes that highlight this finding:

PL3: His [P6] fear is that he won't be able to afford college.

PL4: We talked about things that would hurt the chances of going to college and playing professional basketball. P3 came up with all of them...P3 came up with a list of hopes and fears.

PL6: P2 said she was afraid of becoming a janitor. We discussed working hard and excelling in school.

These quotes demonstrate the impact that this focused mentoring time had on the participants’ understanding of their possible educational and career paths, and supported

the development of self-direction and goal setting (see Table 2).

Other leader and mentor strategies included programme leaders’ engagement and investment. In P2’s words:

When we were playing games, I was only expecting the kids to play games but also the [PLs], they also play games and the college students, they played games with us and they also taught us strategies and they gave us a chance.

The participants appreciated the programme leaders’ active engagement and participation in the programme itself. This helped minimize perceived power differentials and facilitated a youth-centred approach where the participants felt empowered to share their ideas, reflect on their experiences, and talk about their lives. Additionally, programme leaders were invested in the programme and the participants, with P7 explaining how meaningful it was that the programme leaders ‘wanted to be here. And they wanted to help us.’

Overall, these leader and mentor strategies helped Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future achieve an environment where meaningful conversations occurred in one-on-one, small group, and team settings. This was a critical component to the programme’s success, as engaging the youth in a way that they felt respected and heard facilitated an adaptable programme that met the participants’ needs, strengths, and interests.⁴⁰

Campus Visits

The two visits to Adelphi University also enhanced understanding of higher education (cited 14 separate times in the reflection sheets), with the participants identifying different components as particularly meaningful (e.g., attending sport events, meeting student-athletes, taking a campus tour, and engaging in a college course). According to PL2, ‘For some, the first on-campus visit was their first time on a college campus, and so I believe it enhanced their understanding of the life of a college student.’ The second campus visit was especially meaningful, with PL4 sharing, ‘College was kinda just this concept we were talking about [in our mentoring time], but I think having the second visit be our last event of the programme definitely made it more concrete.’ PL4 continued by identifying the specific components of the second campus visit that had such an impact: ‘having the admissions rep there, the coach of the

women's team there, some of the players, seeing the game, seeing everything in front of them, I think, really put it all into perspective and made it real.' Here, PL4 identified the connection between the focus on their possible future (e.g., education and career) during mentoring time and the campus visits that made it 'tangible' for participants. P2 highlighted this, sharing, 'I now understand all of the good things that come with college; but also the challenges that come with college and doing the things you want to do.'

These campus visits resulted in an increased interest in attending college for some participants, with P1 sharing how the campus visits 'makes me more interested 'cause it looks like college to me is fun. College actually looked better than middle school, high school, elementary school.' P2 reiterated this in her post-programme interview, explaining, 'I wouldn't know how fun' college was if she did not attend the campus visits.

When we were talking to the players, I knew what you had to do to in order to be on a college team which they said was grades, to keep your grades up and it starts very early...'cause I thought you start late and then you could like get your A put in, but...they go through your middle school records and high school records.

P2 gained a better understanding of the path to higher education, realising that her grades in middle school and high school would impact her future education plans and her dream of being a college athlete. Not only did the campus visits help participants understand what they must do today in order to pursue higher education, but PL2 also highlighted how it gave 'them a lot to look forward to growing up.'

These campus visits, along with the mentoring time, were maximized because of the foundation of Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future: (a) a youth-centred philosophy; (b) the creation of a task-oriented climate; and (c) the focus on possible and ideal future selves. These foundational components broadened the participants' perspectives on how they can transfer the skills they learned in the programme to other domains (see Table 2), with time reserved for the youth to observe, listen, share, question, reflect, and plan how to use these skills in the future.^{41,42} Participants also appreciated hearing about their mentors' own education and career plans, as well as learning from university admissions representatives, students, student-athletes, professors, administrators, and coaches during

their campus visits. These interactions and relationships reinforced their learning and development. Additionally, the foundational components created safe, supportive spaces for participants to explore and develop potential pathways for their education and careers, with structured, experiential opportunities to learn more about higher education, as well as what steps they need to take to pursue their career plans.²⁶ During the campus visits and mentoring time, the participants were challenged to set goals they may not have considered before, with programme leaders demonstrating their belief in the participants. This positively influenced the participants' belief in themselves and their ability to achieve these goals. Similar to the findings from Whitley, Wright, and Gould,⁴³ many participants did not have dreams and plans related to their educational and career paths, aside from becoming professional athletes, so this programme challenged them to go outside of their comfort zones when setting their education and career goals.⁴³ When they visited Adelphi University's campus, these goals transitioned from conceptual to realistic, with some reflecting on how this made their discussions and planning during the mentoring time 'real.' Thereby, the namesake of the programme – Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future – was actualized through the programme climate, leader and mentor strategies, and campus visits.

Lessons Learned

Along with the positive outcomes of the programme, some negative aspects emerged from the data, highlighting specific areas for improvement. Two participants shared their dissatisfaction with activities, including an interest in playing more basketball, even though other participants appreciated the variety of activities and games. Programme capacity was another concern. Though the programme was originally supposed to be held in a large gym space, it was restricted to a small room in the community centre's main programming space, highlighting the need for an appropriate space for the programme activities. Another area for improvement included the amount of paperwork required, with PL1 sharing how there should be "less paperwork because it's really hard to...keep [the youth participants] engaged." Despite these concerns, however, PL1 understood the meaning associated with these assessments for the quality of programming. In her words:

Honestly, it was a lot of paperwork that go along with it...but it was helpful because the first day when you come and you just throw things out there, people don't really

know who you are or what to expect. So [the assessments] gave us a little background of what we expect as leaders and what we expect from the kids.

This concern indicates a need for a more concise assessment that both collects adequate information for programme evaluation efforts and encourages the youth participants to reflect on the programme and their own personal growth, while still maintaining engagement in the programme.

Implications for Future Practice

By connecting the participant outcomes from Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future with the programme's structure and implementation, the research team gained knowledge about how to affect the educational, social, and emotional needs of youth living in under-resourced communities so often plagued by community violence and concentrated poverty.¹ While research suggests that youth who have been exposed to community violence are at risk for experiencing educational failure and developing social, emotional, and behavioural problems,^{2, 3} the participants in Exploring Our Strengths and Our Future were actively engaged in their educational, social, and emotional development. This was due in part to the task-oriented climate that focused on individual learning and development as well as guided discovery of possible future selves, which helped the participants learn how to regulate their own behaviour (e.g., self-control), set educational and career goals, and understand how to take responsibility for one's actions, be part of a team, and lead others. The participants also learned how to put in effort when faced with challenges, and they felt empowered to take control of their future educational and career paths. Within resiliency research, these skills can be considered promotive and protective factors that help youth develop the resilience needed to maximize their educational, social, and emotional development.^{44, 45}

The findings related to programme implementation (e.g., youth-centred, adaptation, and relationships) can also be considered promotive and protective factors that help youth successfully adapt and function in the midst of ongoing stress and adversity, along with exploring and planning for their future pathways.⁴⁴⁻⁴⁶ Given these findings, programmes should foster autonomy-supportive environments that encourage youth to take initiative, make decisions, and take on leadership roles. For example, inviting youth to suggest activities, change rules of a game, lead activities, and continuously assess the programme are all factors that can maximize engagement, empowerment, and intrinsic

motivation.^{35, 36} Programmes should also consider adding a mentoring component where youth can build close, meaningful relationships with programme leaders. This helps create a safe, supportive climate in which youth feel comfortable speaking openly and honestly about their lives and their futures, enabling a more nuanced understanding of each participant and their educational, social, and emotional needs and development.

Implications for Future Research

This study is not without limitations, including the immediacy of the evaluation of participant outcomes and a lack of evidence regarding the transfer of life skills learned in the programme. These limitations could be addressed in future research efforts by evaluating multiple programmes and tracking participants through longitudinal study designs, although longitudinal studies with a population such as this one do present challenges. Future research directions could also include observational data in multiple domains and data from parents and teachers, which would enable verification of participants' transfer of life skills. Additionally, the methodology used to complete the TARE was limited to what could be captured on video camera and reviewed post hoc. The researchers were not able to videotape the mentoring time. This created limited results as related to roles in assessment and transfer of skills because mentoring time focused predominantly on participants assessing the programme, assessing their experience and performance, identifying skills that could be transferred to other settings, and discussing their future educational and career options. Therefore, when TARE instruments are being used, additional methods of measurement should assess programme components that cannot be analysed by the TARE instruments. Another limitation of this study is the use of the original TARE: Observation Instrument, as the TARE 2.0 was published after the conclusion of the data collection period.⁴⁷ Using the TARE 2.0 will be a meaningful addition for future sport-based TPSR programmes as they pursue formative and summative evaluations, which will add to the knowledge base for the PYD field.

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Additional Information

For a more detailed programme description, please contact the first author.

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Original Research

A systematic overview of sport for development and peace organisations

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ABSTRACT

The boundaries of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) encompass many stakeholders attempting to leverage sport for achieving various development outcomes. This has attracted researchers to systematically review the SDP literature during recent years. What remains largely unknown, however, is where SDP organisations are located, what these efforts are focused upon, and the sport and physical activities used to deliver such programming. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to review SDP practice and provide an overview of the current state of the field. A total of 955 entities involved in SDP grassroots practice were identified based on a systematic review of 3,138 organisational entries in SDP databases. The majority of organisations operate programmes in Africa, but hundreds of entities are also found across Europe, North America, Asia, and Latin America. Of these, more than 80% are headquartered within the same region. Education, Livelihoods, and Health emerged as the most common thematic areas, while Disability and Gender were the least represented. A total of 32 types of sports were identified, with one-third relying solely on football. Implications of these findings for SDP practice and research are further discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Organisations are increasingly mobilising sport and physical activities in efforts to fulfil various development and peace-building goals in communities across the world.¹ As a result, governments, nonprofits, corporations, sport

governing bodies, and multi-lateral agencies are now more involved than ever before in so-called Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). The United Nations has designated April 6th as the International Day of Sport for Development and Peace; national sport entities such as Commonwealth Games Canada have revised their mission statement to emphasise SDP efforts; and corporations are expanding their involvement beyond financial donations. Nike, for example, started the collaborative Sport for Social Change Network for SDP organisations in Africa.² These developments have also attracted the attention of researchers from diverse disciplines including sport sociology,^{3, 4} sport management,^{5, 6} health,⁷⁻⁹ geography,¹⁰ anthropology,¹¹ religious studies,¹² and psychology.^{13, 14} Collectively, researchers across these and other disciplines have produced hundreds of academic publications related to SDP.¹⁵

Several scholars have attempted to synthesise the SDP literature. Bruce Kidd and Peter Donnelly published an extensive literature review of extant SDP knowledge prior to 2007 on behalf of the Sport for Development International Working Group.¹⁶ More recently, Cronin¹⁷ examined SDP research between 2005-2011, Van Eekeren, ter Horst, and Fictorie¹⁸ conducted a similar analysis over a longer time period from 1988 – 2013, and Schulenkorf and colleagues¹⁵ reviewed SDP scholarship published from 2000-2014. In addition, Langer¹¹ examined evaluation studies specially focused on African SDP initiatives. Combined, these reviews provide valuable insight regarding the state of SDP research and offer important implications for advancing the field. However, little

Keywords: sport for development; SDP; SDP practice; systematic review; geographical location

remains known about the current state of SDP practice. Developing a better understanding of the practical landscape is important for several reasons. First, identifying the scope and diversity of SDP initiatives can help pinpoint if the literature is representative of SDP practice. Second, a systematic overview of the location and types of programmes also allows policymakers and funders to identify where capacity-building initiatives are needed. Third, identifying the types of sports and activities used to deliver programming can indicate viable areas for future research. In other words, mapping out SDP practice is critical for identifying future directions for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to conduct a systematic analysis of SDP organisations. We believe these efforts complement emergent reviews of SDP research. Findings from this study highlight where nonprofit SDP organisations are located, the foci of SDP programmes, and the sports used to deliver such initiatives.

BACKGROUND

The proliferation of SDP efforts during the 21st Century has attracted increased attention from the academic community. As a result, there are now hundreds of peer-reviewed studies examining various aspects of SDP. Most scholars have relied on the International Platform for Sport and Development to reflect the current state of organisations operating in the SDP sphere.¹⁹⁻³¹ Others have cited the existence of hundreds of SDP organisations without specific references.³² However, as Donnelly and colleagues²³ (p. 593) noted in reference to the International Platform for Sport and Development, “there is every reason to suspect that

these represent the thin end of the wedge.” Several scholars have attempted to synthesise SDP research and to identify areas for future research.^{15, 16, 33} Others have systematically reviewed the literature to evaluate existing ‘evidence’ of how SDP initiatives contribute (if at all) to desired development outcomes.^{11, 17, 18} Further, a few researchers have tried to map out some aspects of SDP practice. Hillyer and colleagues,³⁴ for example, visited 13 countries and identified 26 entities actively involved in sport-based peace-building efforts. We commend these researchers for undertaking such imperative initiatives and contributing to the advancement of SDP. Yet, a systematic overview of the global SDP landscape is not found in the academic literature.

Nevertheless, a recent review identified football as the most commonly used sport in SDP programmes.¹⁵ The literature often highlighted the following initiatives that include football in its programmes: Football 4 Peace, which aims to bring Jewish and Arab youth together through sport-based programmes in Israel;³⁵ Open Fun Football Schools, which brings together divided communities in the Balkans for promoting social cohesion and peace-building;³⁶ A Ganar (Vencer), which operates football-based employment training for youth in Latin America;³⁷ and Grassroots Soccer, which aspires to promote HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention in Africa.³⁸ Yet, it is imperative to recognize the use of some other types of sports.^{15, 34, 39-48} (See Table 1) What remains largely unknown, however, is the popularity of these different types of sports, how the organisations use them to deliver their programmes, and where the programmes are delivered. These were the questions we aimed to address in this study.

Table 1 – Type of Sport(s) and Physical Activities

Type of Sport/Activity	# of Organisations
Multiple Sports	384
Football	236
Basketball	25
Rugby	19
Martial Arts	16
Action Sports	15
Cycling	12
Cricket	11
<u>Other Sports and Physical Activities:</u> Dance, Equestrian, Field Hockey, Figure Skating, Futsal, Golf, Handball, Hiking, Ice Hockey, Indigenous Sports, Lacrosse, Mountain Climbing, Netball, Play, Rowing, Sailing, Squash, Swimming, Table Tennis, Tennis, Ultimate Frisbee, Volleyball, Water Polo, and Yoga	69

METHODS

The purpose of this study was to conduct a systematic analysis of SDP organisations. Specifically, we were guided by the following research questions:

RQ1 – Where are SDP organisations geographically located?

RQ2 – What type of SDP efforts are these organisations involved in?

RQ3 – What sports are used to fulfil their SDP mission?

Sample

We identified our sample by reviewing the organisational lists of the Beyond Sport Network, the International Platform for Sport and Development, streetfootballworld, the Sport for Social Change Network, and the Kicking Aids Out! Network. At the time of data collection (Spring 2016), Beyond Sport listed 2,312 organisations operating in more than 140 countries and the International Platform for Sport and Development contained 671 organisational entries. The streetfootballworld website identified 108 member organisations, the Sport for Social Change Network listed 25 members, and the Kick Aids Out! Network consisted of 22 member organisations. We expected some overlap between the data sources. However, it also quickly became apparent that many of these organisations were not directly involved in grassroots SDP activities. To be included in this study, an organisation's purpose had to be primarily focused on using sport for social change rather than traditional sport development. These organisations combined sport activities with various non-sport activities including health awareness, peace-building, career development, or academic enrichment.^{4, 25, 49}

For example, these lists contained numerous marketing agencies, CSR activities of for-profit corporations, funding

agencies, and professional sport teams. Therefore, any professional sport teams, national governing bodies, or government entities were excluded. Given our primary interest in organisations involved in the operation of grassroots SDP practices, international funding agencies were also excluded from the final sample. This resulted in the exclusion of 922 organisations. In addition, another 1,261 redundancies were identified and removed. One reason for the large number of duplicate entries was that many organisations had used the name of specific programs to submit multiple entries for the Beyond Sport Awards. This resulted in a final sample consisting of 955 organisations involved in grassroots SDP efforts. These entities are described in more detail in the results section.

Data Collection

We used the aforementioned online directories to identify SDP organisations. Additional information was then collected from organisational websites and social media pages. Specifically, information describing the organisation and their programs was recorded. We also took note of where each organisation operates its headquarters and where programs are delivered. All this information was entered into a digital spreadsheet to manage the large amount of data.⁵⁰ This enabled us to easily sort and rearrange data for subsequent analysis. Program information regarding the sport(s) or physical activities used to deliver each organisation's programmes was also recorded. If available, mission statements were also collected, which helped identify the purpose of each organisation.

Data Analysis

We developed a codebook based on the seven thematic areas of the Journal of Sport for Development: disability, education, gender, health, livelihoods, peace, and social cohesion (Table 2). These SDP categories have previously been used to systematically examine the focus of SDP research in peer-reviewed publications.¹⁵

Table 2 – Overview of Codebook

Thematic Area	Codebook Definition	Sample Mission Statement/Organisational Description
Disability	Organisations using sport as a vehicle for development, access, inclusion and human rights of persons with disabilities.	To work towards realisation of equal rights and opportunities for children with disabilities and their families in countries where we support partner programmes.
Education	Organisations using sport to advance education, youth development, and life skills. Rather than focusing on sports education, these organizations focuses on the role of sport in achieving educational and social outcomes for youth.	To educate and empower promising inner-city youth to be leaders, champions and student-athletes by developing the skills necessary for success in high school, college and life.

Table 2 (continued) – Overview of Codebook

Thematic Area	Codebook Definition	Sample Mission Statement/Organisational Description
Gender	Organisations using sport to promote gender equality, challenge gender norms, and/or empower girls and women in disadvantaged settings.	The Komera Project builds self-confident young women through education, community, and sport.
Health	Organisations using sport to address communicable and/or non-communicable diseases. It includes the use of sport can play in preventative education and health promotion interventions.	Grassroot Soccer uses the power of soccer to educate, inspire, and mobilize young people to stop the spread of HIV.
Livelihoods	Organisations using sport to improve livelihoods of disadvantaged people through career and economic development, this ranges from programs focused on job-skills training to rehabilitation to social enterprise.	Back on My Feet (BoMF) is a national, for-purpose 501(c)3 organisation that uses running to help those experiencing homelessness change the way they see themselves so they can make real change that results in employment and independent living.
Peace	Organisations using sport as a vehicle for reconciliation and peace building in divided communities.	A.G.S.E.P. intends to assist the divided ethnic groups of Sri Lanka to find peace by exposing the children of the island to children of other ethnic groups as part of sporting events
Social Cohesion	Organisations using sport to promote community empowerment, social inclusion, and overall community development.	To empower underserved communities through their active participation in Sport.
Infrastructure	Organisations building sport facilities and/or providing equipment and supplies for communities and SDP organisations.	love.futbol develops simple, safe soccer fields for children in impoverished communities worldwide. We envision a day when all children have the opportunity to fulfill their passion for soccer. The game itself is a catalyst for youth development, hope, and inspiration.

A pilot study was conducted whereby approximately 10% of the sample was analysed to evaluate the initial codebook. Results of the pilot study allowed us to revise and enhance the codebook for inter-rater reliability in the full sample. We observed that some organisations could be classified into more than one category. However, the decision was made to categorise each entity based on the primary area of focus (Table 2) associated with their mission statement and organisational description, rather than secondary purpose(s). This is consistent with prior literature.¹⁵ We then both independently coded all 955 organisations using the revised codebook. The Cohen's kappa statistics was used to examine the inter-rater reliability. The final coding resulted in a kappa value of .92. Thus, meeting the acceptable standards for reliability in content analyses.⁵¹

RESULTS

Results from the data analysis are reported in four areas. These include descriptive statistics for the geographical location of SDP organisations, the existence of a formal mission statement, the primary thematic area of SDP entities, and the type of sport or physical activity used to deliver programming. In addition, the results of cross-

tabulation chi-square analyses are also reported throughout these sections to identify any significance between frequencies across organisational variables.

Geographical Location

The geographical location of SDP programming was identified for 944 organisations (Table 3). Of these, more than 40% operate somewhere in Africa ($n = 382$), followed by 16.0% in Europe ($n = 151$), 13.0% in North America ($n = 123$), 12.2% in Asia ($n = 115$), and 10.5% ($n = 99$) in Latin America. A total of 2.8% in the Middle East ($n = 26$), and 1.3% operate in Australia and Oceania ($n = 12$). In addition, 3.8% were identified to operate SDP programmes in multiple regions ($n = 36$). Overall, SDP programs were found to operate in 121 countries. Figure 1 provides a visual overview of the location of SDP practice. The darkest shade indicates the most common country of operation.

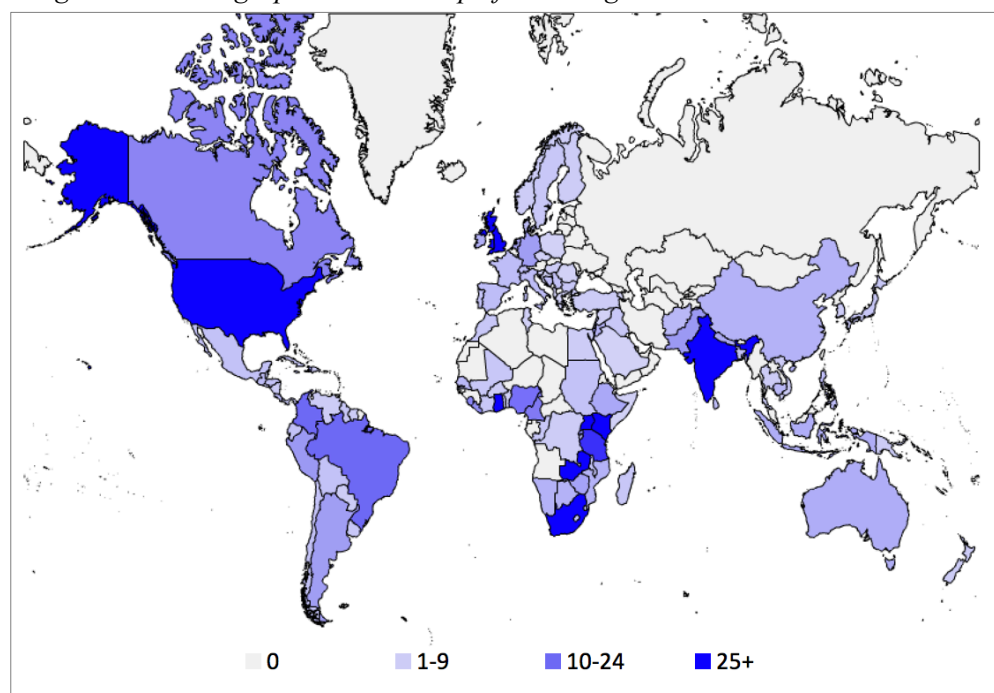
The majority of organisations were headquartered in the same region where they deliver programming ($n = 822$). A total of 13.0% of the organisations in this sample ($n = 123$) were headquartered in a different region compared to where they deliver programming. Overall, more than 33% were

Table 3 – Geographical Location of SDP Programs

Region	# of Organizations	Top Location(s)
Africa	382	South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Ghana, Tanzania
Europe	151	United Kingdom, Germany, Netherlands
North America	123	United States
Asia	115	India, Pakistan, Nepal
South America	99	Brazil, Colombia, Peru
Middle East	26	Israel, Jordan, Palestine
Australia and Oceania	12	Australia

Note: Another 36 organizations were found to operate in multiple regions.

Figure 1 – A Geographical Heat Map of SDP Organisations



headquartered in Africa ($n = 313$), 23.4% in Europe ($n = 221$), and 18.0% in North America ($n = 170$). This was followed by 12.2% of entities based in Asia ($n = 114$) and a total of 10.2% in Latin America ($n = 84$). Less than 3.0% were based in the Middle East ($n = 25$) and Australia and Oceania ($n = 16$).

Thematic SDP Area

Organisational descriptions were found for 945 organisations in the final sample. Based on the coding of this information, most organisations were identified to primarily focus on Education (36.7%, $n = 347$). The second and third most common type of SDP areas were Livelihoods (16.9%, $n = 160$), and Health (16.5%, $n = 156$). These were followed by organisations identified to

primarily focus on Social Cohesion (9.6%, $n = 91$), Peace (7.9%, $n = 75$), Disability (5.4%, $n = 51$), and Gender (4.7%, $n = 44$). Another 2.2% of the sample organisations were identified to focus on a new category entitled Infrastructure ($n = 22$). Chi-square results were also significant at the 0.05 level for type of sport and thematic SDP area ($X^2 = 74.466$, $df = 56$, $p < .05$). For example, 74.5% of those focused on Disability used multiple sports to deliver their programming. In contrast, only 46.6% of Education-focused SDP entities relied on multiple sports. Football was considerably more common among SDP organisations categorised to address Livelihoods (40.6%, $n = 53$), Social Cohesion (37.1%, $n = 23$), and Peace (35.6%, $n = 21$) compared to Education (27.6%, $n = 81$), Health (25.6%, $n = 34$), and Gender (25.0%, $n = 9$).

Mission Statement

A mission statement was identified for 48.2% of the organisations ($n = 460$). The majority of SDP organisations did not have a formal mission publically available ($n = 495$). However, the researchers also employed a cross-tabulation comparing the presence of a mission statement to the demographical variables of the sample organisations. Chi-square results were significant at the 0.05 level for formal mission statement and the geographical location of organisational headquarters ($X^2 = 39.904$, $df = 8$, $p < .001$). The percentage of organisations with a formal mission statement ranged from 69% in North America ($n = 117$) and 60% in the Middle East ($n = 15$) to 37.5% in Australia and Oceania ($n = 6$). In the remaining regions, a formal mission statement was found among 47% in Asia ($n = 54$), 46% in Africa ($n = 143$) 41.4% in Latin America ($n = 41$), and 41% in Europe ($n = 91$).

Type of Sport

A total of 787 organisations were found to identify the type of sport or activity used to deliver their programming in their mission statement or organisational description. Of these, almost half (48.8%) of the SDP organisations ($n = 384$) identified the use of multiple sports to deliver their grassroots programming, which includes the use of various play and physical activities. However, this category also included those that referenced the use of 'sport and physical activities' without specific details.

A total of 30% used football as their sport of choice for SDP programming ($n = 236$). This was followed by basketball (3.2%, $n = 25$), rugby (2.4%, $n = 19$), Martial Arts (2.0%, $n = 16$), Action Sports (1.9%, $n = 15$), Cycling (1.5%, $n = 12$), and Cricket (1.4%, $n = 11$). The remaining 8.8% of organisations ($n = 69$) were identified to use one of 24 others sports (See Table 1). Only 0.3% of organisations in this sample ($n = 3$) were identified to use indigenous sports to deliver their SDP programming. Chi-square results were significant at the 0.05 level for type of sport used and the geographical location of organisational programming ($X^2 = 116.466$, $df = 64$, $p < .001$). Football was the most common in Latin America (43.0%, $n = 37$) and Africa (34.1%, $n = 108$). In addition, organisations operating in Asia (15.1%, $n = 13$) and North America (19.2%, $n = 19$) were more likely to rely on 'Other Sports and Physical Activities' in their SDP programming compared to other regions. We now discuss the implications of these findings in more detail.

DISCUSSION

Findings from our systematic review provide an overarching view of SDP practice, and builds on existing knowledge about the use of sport for social change.^{11, 15-18, 33, 34} We now discuss the implications of our findings for future research, policy, and practice. Specifically, the following discussion focuses on three key areas: 1) The geographical location where organisations operate and where programmes are delivered; 2) The primary foci of SDP initiatives (e.g., education, disability, peace-building, etc.); and 3) The type of sport(s) and activities used to deliver these programmes.

Location of SDP Organisations and Programmes

The geographical location of SDP practice is important to understand due to the complex geo-political factors associated with the environments in which these organisations operate.^{45, 52} The majority of researchers and organisations featured in the SDP literature have been located in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, or Canada.¹⁵ Nevertheless, this should not be assumed to suggest that these are the locations where most SDP organisations are located.⁵³ Instead, our findings revealed that SDP practice is overwhelmingly operated in Africa. The number of entities in Africa were found to be roughly the same as these next three regions (Europe, North America, and Asia) combined. Thus, the work by Langer¹¹ synthesising extant knowledge on how African SDP programmes contribute (if at all) to development outcomes is encouraging.

Our analysis indicated that South Africa, Kenya, and Uganda were overrepresented with 218 of the 382 African SDP programmes. However, it is also imperative to recognise the diverse contexts found across the African continent. This warrants an appreciation of different epistemological and methodological perspectives for generating a deeper understanding of SDP programmes in different contexts.^{3, 54, 55} For example, Collison and Marchessault's⁵⁶ extensive fieldwork in Rwanda and Liberia shows how a participatory social interaction approach allows for developing a deeper cultural understanding in SDP research. Spaaij, Schulenkorf, Jeanes, and Oxford also offer a valuable framework for future participatory research in SDP based on their shared experiences in the field.⁵⁵

Beyond the African continent, scholars have suggested most programmes are found in Asia and Latin America,¹⁵ but findings from this study suggest more SDP projects are found in Europe and North America. These efforts include inner-city initiatives aimed at reducing unemployment, gang

violence and substance abuse as well as those focused on promoting educational opportunities.^{28, 48, 49} Even so, we found almost as many programmes in Asia. Unfortunately, these remain largely underrepresented in the literature with the exception of programmes in Afghanistan,⁴¹ Cambodia,⁵⁷ India,^{58, 59} and Sri Lanka.⁵ Future research is needed on a broader range of organisations within these contexts.

Latin America also remains largely underrepresented in SDP research. In this study, three times as many programmes were found operating in Latin America compared to the Middle East. Notably, SDP entities operating initiatives aimed at peace-building and reconciliation in the Middle East have received considerably more attention from scholars.^{15, 35, 47, 60} Among the few exceptions is the work by Ramón Spaaij and colleagues on the Vencer (A Ganar) programme in Brazil.³⁷ This lack of research on Latin America is concerning, since established SDP models and theories may not be suitable for the Latin American contexts.⁶¹ Therefore, future research is needed to enhance our knowledge regarding SDP in Latin American contexts. In addition, social movements and informal ways of organising are also recognized in definitions of SDP.^{40, 62} We believe there may be numerous of these loosely formed groups that were not captured in our review of SDP organisations and therefore encourage researchers to explore these in more detail. At the same time, this also warrants additional dialogue among practitioners, policymakers, and researchers on defining the boundaries of SDP.

The headquarters and programme locations of SDP entities provide another important takeaway from this study. There are concerns among critical researchers about the hegemonic issues associated with organisations from high-income countries engaging in SDP initiatives in low- and middle-income countries.^{20, 21, 63} Interestingly, our analysis suggests that the majority of grassroots entities are headquartered in the same region as where they deliver programmes. Power imbalances may still be prevalent in their funding relationships^{64, 65} and deserves further scholarly attention. Furthermore, over 120 organisations were found to be headquartered in a different region. Hence, there still remains a considerable need to further examine the complex dynamics of these relationships and whether local stakeholders are empowered over time to take ownership of the organisation.^{45, 66} This brings us to discuss the primary foci of SDP initiatives.

Type of SDP Organisation

The boundaries of SDP encompass a broad range of programmes used to address various social issues.^{25, 49, 67} These initiatives combine sport activities with various

educational elements.^{4, 25, 49} The explicit emphasis on educational programming among more than one-third of the sample in this study indicate the need for enhancing our understanding of the relationship between education and SDP. A common discourse in mission statements and organisational descriptions centred around teaching life skills to participants. This suggests that the language used by many SDP entities continues to reflect idealistic beliefs about sport.²⁰ Practitioners should instead consider a more balanced view of sport since programmes may result in positive and negative outcomes.^{25, 68}

At the same time, it is worth noting other examples where SDP actors are focused on delivering more sophisticated educational opportunities. In inner-cities across the United States, Svensson, Hancock, and Hums⁴⁸ found SDP leaders often go as far as identifying their entities as educational nonprofits rather than sport entities. But how does this influence the lived realities of participants? To some extent, a recent special issue of Sport, Education, and Society provides a useful foundation for beginning to answer such questions. For example, Spaaij, Oxford, and Jeanes⁶⁹ along with Mwaanga and Prince³⁰ brought attention to the need for critically examining SDP pedagogy, which requires stakeholders to consider important questions such as whether programmes are participant-centred and designed to engage local stakeholders in meaningful dialogue.^{25, 70} Researchers can further help by delving deeper into the educational dynamics involved in SDP and potential contextual differences. This would help practitioners in developing locally relevant programmes.

The emergence of livelihoods as the second most common thematic area also carries important implications, since this remains one of the least studied areas of SDP.¹⁵ These organisations included those delivering sport-based employment training programmes or sport-based social services to at-risk populations. The complexities associated with social mobility and sport-based initiatives warrants future research to advance our understanding of the multifaceted nature of SDP and livelihoods.^{71, 72} There are some examples of how football-based programmes for homeless populations have resulted in increased livelihood among *some* former participants.⁷³ However, much more work is needed to critically examine the complex realities of these types of programmes. Even well-designed SDP initiatives may not necessarily result in positive outcomes.⁴⁹ As Spaaij⁷¹ noted, these programmes cannot be examined in isolation from broader institutions. Therefore, researchers and policymakers should consider the role of governments, community leaders, and local businesses in these initiatives, as well as the potential influence of disparate institutional demands on SDP organisations.⁷⁴ Additional efforts are

needed to identify strategies for overcoming environmental challenges and avoid further, albeit unintentional, marginalization of participants.⁴⁴

It is also worth noting that an additional category was added for organisations that did not fit in any of the pre-existing thematic areas from JSFD, yet were characterized by a discourse centred around grassroots SDP practice. This new category was entitled 'infrastructure.' A total of 22 organisations were found to primarily work to develop the necessary physical infrastructure needed in terms of facilities and equipment for underserved communities to benefit from SDP initiatives. While not directly associated with grassroots programmes, we include these organisations due to the infrastructure challenges often reported by SDP practitioners.^{28, 75} For example, PITCHAfrica develops sport facilities that are used for local programming, but also allow local communities to harness rain water. Developing sufficient infrastructure is essential for both the ability of an organisation to fulfil its desired goals⁴⁵ and for achieving sustainable long-term community impact.^{76, 77}

Type of Sport

A review of SDP research published between 2000-2014¹⁵ found football to be the most common sport for delivering SDP programmes. This could arguably be due to the sport's global popularity and the lack of specific equipment and facilities needed. Rookwood and Palmer,⁷⁸ however, called for the importance of critically analysing the appropriateness of a given sport within local SDP contexts. For example, is football an appropriate tool for promoting peace-building considering the game is associated with invasive aspects that may inadvertently reinforce conflict and violent behaviour? Darnell and colleagues,⁵³ raised similar questions suggesting that without more careful (and critical) analysis, SDP initiatives may actually reinforce hegemonic values and practices. Thus, a failure to develop a thorough understanding of the historical aspects of a given sport (e.g., the football war), risks further marginalising participants and other unintentional negative outcomes.^{4, 23, 44}

We therefore extend the call for researchers to examine opportunities and challenges associated with using different sports and physical activities in SDP efforts.¹⁵ Overreliance on any one sport or type of activity risks promoting a narrow view of sport.⁵³ This is concerning since sport is defined by the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development⁷⁹ (p.2) to encompass "all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organised or competitive sport, and indigenous sports and games."

Having a narrow view of sport limits the possible outcomes from SDP initiatives.

Researchers and practitioners share a responsibility to re-examine the types of sports and physical activities used in SDP. This requires an open-minded perspective embracing the notion that there may be other sports and activities better suited for achieving sustainable development outcomes than the ones currently used. Some sports other than football are found in the literature including rugby-based SDP efforts in Eastern Africa,⁴⁵ cycling in Rwanda,⁵⁶ volleyball in Cambodia,⁵⁷ or mixed-martial arts in Brazil and Uganda.^{43, 44} These still represent only a few of the different types of sports and physical activities encompassed within the definition of sport.^{53, 79} Our findings suggest a sizeable group of organisations are indeed using multiple sports, play, and physical activities to deliver their programmes. Sterchele's⁸⁰ work examining the value of play compared to more traditional organised sports for achieving desired SDP outcomes should inspire others to further examine different types of structured and unstructured sports and physical activities. Unfortunately, only three SDP organisations in our sample explicitly indicated the use of indigenous sports and games. Future research needs to explore whether indigenous sports are more commonly found in informal social movements within SDP. Additional focus should be on examining the role these activities can play in overcoming the hegemonic ideals and patriarchal associations often found in more traditional, organized sports.

Further implications emerge from the statistical analyses of the coded data. The significance of geographical location in regards to the presence of a formal mission statement may not be surprising in terms of North American organisations. However, it is worth noting that organisations located in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa were more likely to have a mission statement than those based in Europe. Even so, many organisations were found to lack a mission statement. This is important to note given the prevalent funding challenges in SDP²⁸ since funding agencies often require this type of information from prospective funding recipients. Our findings also highlight noticeable differences in the types of sport(s) and physical activities used to deliver SDP programmes across different thematic areas. This raises questions about whether some sports and activities are better suited to achieve certain SDP outcomes than others, or if there are prominent funders or stakeholders within a given area of SDP who influenced the type of activities used. For example, how come disability-focused SDP entities are the most likely to employ multiple sports and physical activities? Answering such questions require researchers to

examine specific thematic areas in more detail by using different research methods.^{54, 56}

Similarly, our findings indicate noticeable differences in the reliance on football across different types of initiatives. Future research ought to examine whether these trends are indicative of funding priorities and entrepreneurial growth (e.g., Homeless World Cup and Street Soccer) or whether these findings represent other factors. Based on the significant differences found for the type of sport used and the location of SDP organisations, scholars should also examine global trends and regional and differences in how programmes are delivered. This would allow us to move toward an international-level analysis of SDP¹⁵ and could help “link the study of SDP to global trends and policies in international development”.⁵³

LIMITATIONS

The contributions of this study should be understood in light of several limitations. Although a two-person independent coding procedure was used to code the data, we recognise the subjective nature of categorising SDP entities based on thematic areas. Even though a high level of inter-rater reliability was achieved, there remains some ambiguity in this process since an organisation may align with more than one SDP category.¹⁵ Thus, findings are bound by the researchers’ interpretations. Even so, findings from this study provide one of the first systematic overviews of SDP practice to complement recent reviews of SDP research.^{15, 17, 18, 33, 34} The discussion of findings in this manuscript is also limited to scholarly work published in English. We further acknowledge that academic research represent only one type of knowledge within SDP and encourage others to consider alternative perspectives⁵³ including practitioner reports and other forms of knowledge.

The sample in this study was also limited to organisations that belonged to a SDP network, registered on the International Platform for Sport and Development, or previously submitted a nomination for the Beyond Sport Awards. These databases provided insight into many SDP entities. From a critical perspective, however, it would be naïve to suggest that any online directory encapsulates all SDP practice.²³ As such, we recognise the blurring of SDP boundaries make it difficult to identify and account for grassroots SDP efforts on a global scale. It is also important to note that government-led SDP initiatives were also excluded in this study. However, this systematic review provides a foundation of SDP practice, which others are encouraged to build upon for advancing our understanding of the SDP landscape.

CONCLUSION

Findings from this study provide an overview of the current landscape of SDP practice. Although over 3,000 organisational entries were reviewed, only 955 were identified to take part in SDP practice at the grassroots level. Our analysis of the geographical location of organisations, type of SDP area undertaken, and type of sport or physical activities used in these efforts point to considerable discrepancies between research and practice. These findings indicate critical avenues for future research. In addition, football was overwhelmingly found as the most popular structured sport to deliver programmes, although significant differences were found across different thematic areas of SDP practice. Even so, the current state of SDP practice is characterized by a narrow definition of sport. Therefore, researchers, policymakers, and practitioners alike are encouraged to critically examine the benefits and potential dangers associated with a given sport or activity. This, in turn, would allow for a more balanced and realistic understanding of sport, and how sport—broadly defined—can contribute to development and peace-building efforts.

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Original Research

Sports-for-development gender equality impacts from basketball programme: Shifts in attitudes and stereotyping in Senegalese youth and coaches

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ABSTRACT

Despite the increasing popularity of sports-for-development programmes worldwide, little research has examined how these programmes shape gender attitudes, a key component of positive youth development. This study examines how participation in a sports-for-development programme in Senegal is associated with the gender equality attitudes of youth and coaches. A repeated cross-sectional design is utilized to examine how measures of gender equity and stereotypes among 87 youth and 32 coaches with no experience in the programme (Time 1) differ from the same measures among youth and coaches with at least one year of programme participation (Time 2). Findings indicated that youth endorsements of gender equity and non-traditional gender roles were significantly higher for some participants at Time 2 compared to the reported attitudes at Time 1. When compared to female youth, male youth reported greater endorsement of non-traditional gender roles at Time 1, with lower levels of endorsement reported at Time 2. Coaches' gender equity attitudes did not differ significantly between Time 1 and Time 2. With minimal programme exposure, the LLP programme may potentially increase gender equity attitudes and decrease gender stereotyping among youth, particularly females in southern Senegal. Future sports-for-development programmes should increase programming prioritization of coaches, a group that appeared to show no benefit from the programme.

BACKGROUND

Since the United Nations first included sports as a development tool in the Millennium Development Goals in 2003,¹ organizations and agencies throughout the developing world have implemented “sports-for-development” programmes targeting a range of youth development and peace goals.¹ Sports-for-development, referring to the use of sports to foster occasions for positive development at the individual- and community-level, are believed to have benefits extending beyond physical health and athletic skills.¹ For example, sports-for-development programmes have been correlated with higher levels of youth engagement in community activities and education and improved health outcomes, which includes higher self-efficacy, increased sense of purpose and autonomy, and fewer symptoms of depression.^{1,2,3,4} The documented benefits of participation in these programmes include physical activity growth, educational gains, poverty reduction, and decreases in gender inequity.^{5, 6, 7}

A central focus of many sports-for-development programmes is the advancement of positive health, economic, and societal outcomes among girls and women.⁸ ⁹ Examples of these positive advancements for girls and women include improved mental health status⁸ and increased citizenship skills such as respect, self-control, and discipline.⁹ Despite political and theoretical attention to the use of sports-for-development to advance the well-being of girls and women, little research has examined how these programmes may impact gender norms and attitudes within developing countries. The purpose of the present

Keywords: gender; attitudes; sport for development; youth; coaches

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study is to demonstrate how a sports-for-development programme may impact gender equity, stereotypes, and norms among youth and coaches in southern Senegal where gender inequities in education strongly disadvantage females.

As in many African countries, Senegal's population is young and characterized by high levels of educational disadvantage.¹⁰ Sixty-two percent of Senegal's population is under the age of 24, and the median age of males and females, respectively, is 17.7 and 19.4 years.¹⁰ Although Senegal's primary school enrolment increased significantly from 1999 to 2014, secondary school enrolment remains low, and the country's illiteracy rate is 40%.¹⁰ Females in Senegal face significant educational disadvantages. Although 24% of males in Senegal are enrolled in secondary school, just 18% of girls are enrolled.¹¹ Relatedly, almost three-quarters of males (74%) aged 15 to 24 were literate in 2012, compared to 56% of their female counterparts.¹² This gender inequity is demonstrated on a national level; Senegal's gender gap index score of 0.69 places the country 77 out of 142 countries for the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Rankings.¹³ These data underscore the need for increased academic promotion as well as gender equality programming in Senegal.

Although many organizations in developing countries have implemented activities to discourage harmful gender norms and promote the empowerment of girls,^{2,3} little research within an African context has demonstrated how such activities change harmful beliefs using validated and reliable scales previously used in Africa. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) awarded the Live, Learn and Play (LLP) project to John Snow Research and Training Institute, Inc. (JSI) with the charge to build the capacity of a local non-governmental organization (NGO) in Senegal to implement a sports-for-development programme. The project is a public-private partnership between USAID and the National Basketball Association (NBA) with the aim of increasing citizenship, self-efficacy, leadership and other positive behaviours for youth and coaches through a basketball programme. The three-year long project started in 2013 and trains coaches using a training of trainers model to equip Senegal with a team of coaches that can educate youth and market the programme nationwide. The project collected three annual time points of qualitative and quantitative data to examine how programme participation may improve factors (e.g., conflict resolution skills, academic excellence) important to youth's positive development and social responsibility. The present study seeks to identify how the programme may influence factors related to gender attitudes and beliefs.

Specifically, this study will investigate how gender equality attitudes among youth and coaches differ from before exposure to the programme (May 2014, baseline or Time 1) and after at least one year of programme involvement (November 2015, Time 2). Using sports as a tool to change development and peace indicators is a relatively new programmatic approach; thus, peer-reviewed and rigorous evaluation literature on this topic is limited.^{14,15} Increasingly, evaluators have recognized the paucity of research in this area and aimed to contribute more substantiated evidence to support sports-for-development programmes. Educators and activists are progressively using sports as a platform to engage youth in community activities, build relationships, increase healthy behaviours, and improve academic performance.^{16,17,18,19,20,21,22} Programmes utilizing sports to positively change behaviours have ranged in activities, target populations, specific aims, and overall intended impact.

Programmes looking to affect overall development and peace and strengthening communities using the sports-for-development platform included a broad range of curricula and activities. Much of the community strengthening programming and movement towards sports-for-development and peace originated from using sports to impact HIV transmission and education. Kicking-Aids-Out! was one of the first sports-for-development organizations that used sports to impact development indicators and increase attention for HIV programming.¹ Several other sports programmes followed suit with implementing sports programmes to tackle HIV/AIDS, as funding for HIV/AIDS increased with support of global campaigns like the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria.²³ Other community strategies using sports included Football United's programme, which used football to positively influence prosocial relationships for youth as a way to positively impact the larger-scale school and community environments.²

Focusing on specific development or peace themes in sports-for-development, some programmes have examined the ways in which sports can influence health, social support, and behaviour change.^{1,2,5} A study in South Africa evaluated sports participation among young black adults to show positive correlations between participation and psychosocial well-being and psychological development.⁵ Australia utilized sports programming to engage homeless youth in a sporting programme to improve mental health and reduce exposure to crime and drug and alcohol abuse.²⁴ Additional health promotion activities using sports include healthy living education²⁵ and overall physical activity promotion.¹⁷ As well, other sports-for-development

programmes have included peer support and relationship building,² risk reduction,² and, more recently, gender-equality education and girls' empowerment.^{9,15,25}

Sports-for-development interventions have been implemented in developed and developing countries, low-income and high-income states, and in nearly every region across the world.^{1,2,16,17} However, many of the projects using sports programmes for development are located in Africa and Asia.²⁶ Interventions have chosen to examine specific minorities or underperforming populations in choosing sports programming to impact their intended objectives.^{5,14,15,24} Evaluators have overwhelmingly directed these activities at youth and young adults.^{1,2,25} This is largely due to the unique opportunity of adolescence and young adulthood in shaping cognitive, social, and moral development.⁵ During this time period, many young individuals cultivate their sense of self, self-efficacy, and identity.⁵ While aimed at changing youth and young adults' development, the programmes expend a large proportion of resources for training coaches and mentors to model and train youth to produce the anticipated growth. However, no programmes to date have evaluated the trained coaches for similar changes in self-efficacy, gender, or any of the development indicators examined for youth.

The target population of focus for many sports-for-development interventions has been boys and young men.^{1,2,9,15} Programmes that have included both sexes have noted limitations in having too small of a sample size of girls to evaluate the data at a rigorous level.² With the United Nation's push to focus on adolescent girls through their creation of The Girl Fund, the Coalition for Adolescent Girls, and Girl Up, many more organizations are starting to invest funds into girls empowerment and adolescent girl-specific sports-for-development programming.^{20,25,27} This movement has been termed the "Girl Effect" by many agencies and organizations and has reminded implementers and donor agencies of the importance and inclusion of gender equality in the Sports-for-Development and Peace Mandate launched in 2005.^{1,25} However, much of the increased attention to girls and gender equality in sports-for-development activities has simply meant including girls in programmes to increase visibility of girls in sports.²¹ Other programmes focusing on gender have looked at changing boys and young men's views on girls and women's roles.¹⁶ These programmes aiming to change gender perceptions, roles, and stereotypes have routinely been limited to post-conflict settings where females are disproportionately exposed to and victims of violence.²⁶

Summary

Among the sports-for-development interventions focused on gender equality and that have been evaluated, most utilize qualitative research methods and only a small number have used survey tools validated for use with populations in Africa.^{2,15} Virtually no sports-for-development programmes have examined both male and female youth, as well as male and female coaches, in evaluating programme impacts on gender equality. Addressing these gaps, this study will advance knowledge about sports-for-development programmes by providing a more comprehensive understanding of how this kind of programme may affect gender attitudes and beliefs across different age groups and sexes. The first study aim is to assess changes in gender attitudes and beliefs among youth and coaches involved in the LLP programme for at least 12 months. Informed by the programmatic activities aimed at endorsing gender equity, it is hypothesized that youth involved in the programme for at least one year will report higher positive gender equity and higher rejection of harmful gender attitudes compared to a sample of youth assessed at baseline. The study's second aim is to identify variations in levels of, and changes in, gender attitudes and beliefs between male and female youth and between male and female coaches involved in the LLP programme for at least 12 months. Based on the supposition that programmatic activities endorsing gender equity will resonate with females more strongly than for males, it is hypothesized that (1) female youth will report higher positive gender equity than male youth and (2) female youth will report higher rejection of harmful gender attitudes than will male youth. This study examined independent samples t-tests for youth by sex; gender-specific models were not run for coaches due to the small number of female coaches included in the sample.

METHODS

Study Design

Using a repeated cross-sectional evaluation, this study examines how gender equality attitudes for 87 male and female youth (aged 13-18) and 32 coaches (aged 18-56) surveyed in May 2014 (Time 1) compare to gender equality attitudes among the same numbers of youth and coaches in November 2015, after at least one year of involvement in the Live, Learn, and Play (LLP) Programme in Senegal. The ages and gender composition of Time 1 and Time 2 samples were identical. The LLP Programme developed two survey tools with questions adapted from validated scales used in Africa, including the Attitudes towards

Women Scale for Adolescents²⁸ and the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale.²⁹ The present study's sample comprised larger proportions of female youth and coaches compared to the entire LLP population (gender differences likely stemmed from the fact that an all-girls school was included in the study sample at baseline). Attendance at LLP, which was tracked quarterly, increased through the study period.

Designing and Adapting the Survey Tools

The youth and coach survey tools assessed demographics as well as several attitude and behaviour change components, including citizenship, self-efficacy, personal aspirations, and gender equity and culture. For coaches, the survey also asked the number of years the coach had played basketball and/or coached basketball to assess their level of experience with basketball. No personal identification information was requested or recorded from the respondents to allow for anonymity and privacy.

The survey was translated into French before distributing to youth and coaches at Time 1 in May 2014 and at Time 2 in November 2015. Translation was performed by a certified professional translator with more than 10 years of experience translating into French that is suitable for Senegalese. Following prior work conducted successfully in this country context, the native-French speaking translator, who is fluent in English, began by translating our English-language study materials into French. Next, we combined this translation with a review team approach where native-French speaking Senegalese youth reviewed the documents for accuracy, comprehension, and clarity. Subsequent to this review, the bilingual project staff reviewed documents and consulted with the translator on discrepancies to come to an agreement around translations that ensure semantic meaningfulness for the study population.

Study Sample Selection and Recruitment

Youth and coaches involved in the LLP Programme were asked to participate in a voluntary survey to share their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours related to citizenship, self-efficacy, and gender. Prior to programme launch, 87 youth and 32 coaches with no prior experience with a sports-for-development programme completed the voluntary surveys. At Time 2 assessment, 87 youth and 32 coaches with at least 12 months of programme involvement were randomly selected and matched based on sex and school affiliation. Lists of each school's LLP participants with at least one year of involvement were matched to baseline participants' sex and school affiliation data. At each school, the research

team chose every third person that matched the criteria from baseline to randomize the Time 2 selection and avoid threats to selection bias. The project's budget limitations coupled with challenges of locating participants who graduated from school after the initial time point of data collection prohibited our ability to follow baseline participants throughout the time period of the study. Youth from Time 1 and Time 2 included 62 girls and 25 boys. Time 1 and Time 2 coaches included 24 males and 8 females. Youth ranged in ages from 12 to 19 years old with a mean age of 15 years old. Coaches ranged in age from 18 to 57, with 32% under age 28, 33% between 28 and 37, 19% between 38 and 47, and 16% over age 47.

Data Collection Process

Beginning in May 2014, the research team collected information on the age, school or youth centre site, and sex of youth and coaches. No confidential information was collected that could link youth or coaches to the data results collected. For all youth, parent consent forms were required before starting the programme, which included consent to participate in research activities. All of the surveys and consent forms were collected and kept in secure locations for the entirety of the research study. The information collected to match the Time 1 and Time 2 participants' data included sex and school site. School site location was recorded on the first page of each survey. Other identifying information collected, which included sex, grade, and age, which were coded in SPSS 22.0³⁰ to run frequencies and descriptive data analyses. In order to qualify for the Time 2 data collection sample in November 2015, youth and coaches had to have at least one year of programme involvement.

Measures

Youth's gender attitudes were assessed by 13 items from the Attitudes Towards Women Scale for Adolescents, a tool tested and validated in African contexts.^{28,31} Five items assessed positive gender attitudes and eight items assessed harmful gender attitudes (responses ranged from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*; the eight harmful gender attitude statements were reverse coded). Principal component analysis with Varimax rotation was used to examine construct validity for items at Time 1 and at Time 2 and for males and females. Results identified two dimensions valid at both time points and across genders: (1) a five-item measure of harmful gender attitudes and (2) a two-item measure of gender equity. Remaining items were distributed across other dimensions differently by gender and time and, thus, were not retained for the measurement

of youth's gender attitudes. The five-item non-traditional gender roles measure was assessed by the following items: "Men make better political leaders than women and should be elected;" "It is more important for boys than girls to do well in school;" "When jobs are few, men should have more right to a job than women;" "Boys are better leaders than girls;" and "Girls should be more concerned with being good wives versus focusing on a professional career" ($\alpha = .79$ at both Times 1 and 2). Thus, the non-traditional gender roles measure assesses rejection of harmful gender norms and stereotypes. The two-item gender equity measure was assessed by youth responses to: "Women and girls should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment" and "Girls should have the freedom as boys" ($r = .26, p < .05$ at Time 1; $r = .55, p < .001$ at Time 2).

For the coach survey, we used 14 items from the Gender-Equitable Men Scale,²⁹ which had been tested and validated in African contexts. The 14 items were evenly divided into positive and harmful gender attitudes (four responses ranged from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*; remaining ten responses ranged from 1 = *do not agree*, to 3 = *strongly agree*). Harmful gender attitude items were reverse coded. Due to differences in results from principal components analysis from Time 1 to Time 2, a single two-item measure of non-traditional gender authority was identified as valid across time. Items that were summed and averaged included: "Men should have more right to jobs than women when jobs are few" and "Men make better political leaders than women and should be elected" ($r = .67, p < .001$ at Time 1; $r = .74, p < .001$ at Time 2).

Analysis Plans

Although the study design included matching by age and gender, analyses were not conducted on matched pairs due

to insufficient level of matching rigor. To address the first study aim, we used independent samples t-tests to examine differences in Time 1 and Time 2 scores of youth and coach gender attitudes. Similarly, for the second study aim, we ran independent samples t-test to examine gender differences in gender equity and non-traditional gender roles scores at both time points.

RESULTS

Youth Results Comparing Gender Equity and Non-Traditional Gender Roles

Youth's gender equity and non-traditional gender roles scores were significantly higher at Time 2 as compared to Time 1 (T2: $M = 2.93, SD = .93$; T1: $M = 2.62, SD = .88$; $t(171) = -2.20, p < .05$ for gender equity; T2: $M = 3.02, SD = .73$; T1: $M = 2.34, SD = .84$; $t(172) = -5.69, p < .001$ for non-traditional gender roles). These findings are consistent with our hypothesis that one year of involvement in the LLP programme would be associated with a higher non-traditional gender roles score for youth. Results for the independent samples t-tests for youth variables are shown in Table 1.

Youth Results Comparing Gender Equity and Non-Traditional Gender Roles by Sex

As shown in Table 2, there were no significant differences in gender equity scores between male and female youth at either time point (Male T1: $M = 2.48, SD = .77$; Female T1: $M = 2.68, SD = .93$; $t(84) = -.95, n.s.$; Male T2: $M = 2.78, SD = .86$; Female T2: $M = 2.98, SD = .96$; $t(85) = -.93, n.s.$). However, we did find significant gender differences with respect to scores for non-traditional gender roles. Findings in this regard differed at each time point. At Time 1, results for non-traditional gender roles were significantly

Table 1 – Youth Gender Equity and Non-Traditional Gender Roles Independent Samples T-Test Results

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	95% Confidence Interval (lower, upper)	t-score	df	Significance (2-tailed)
Gender Equity Score Results						
Time 1	2.62	0.884	-0.575, -.031	-2.20	171	0.029
Time 2	2.93	0.929				
Non-Traditonal Gender Roles Scale Results						
Time 1	2.34	0.839	-0.915, -.444	-4.28	172	<0.001
Time 2	3.02	0.733				

Table 2 – Youth Gender Equity and Non-Traditional Gender Roles Independent T-Test Results by Sex

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	95% Confidence Interval (lower, upper)	t-score	df	Significance (2-tailed)
Gender Equity Time 1 Results						
Males	2.48	0.77	-0.618, 0.218	-0.953	84	0.343
Females	2.68	0.927				
Gender Equity Time 2 Results						
Males	2.78	0.855	-.642, 0.234	-0.925	85	0.357
Females	2.98	0.958				
Non-Traditional Gender Roles Time 1 Results						
Males	3.15	0.719	0.823, 1.449	7.215	85	<0.001
Females	2.02	0.642				
Non-Traditional Gender Roles Time 2 Results						
Males	2.47	0.78	-1.076, -0.466	-5.03	85	<0.001
Females	3.25	0.587				

Table 3 – Youth Gender Equity and Non-Traditional Gender Roles Independent Samples T-Test Results by Sex

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	95% Confidence Interval (lower, upper)	t-score	df	Significance (2-tailed)
Gender Equity Female Results						
Time 1	2.68	0.927	-0.640, 0.033	-1.786	121	0.77
Time 2	2.98	0.958				
Gender Equity Male Results						
Time 1	2.48	0.77	-0.763, -.163	-1.304	48	0.199
Time 2	2.78	0.855				
Non-Traditional Gender Roles Female Results						
Time 1	2.02	0.642	-1.45, -1.009	-11.112	122	<0.001
Time 2	3.25	0.587				
Non-Traditional Gender Roles Male Results						
Time 1	3.15	0.719	0.253, 1.107	3.205	48	0.002
Time 2	2.47	0.78				

higher among males compared to females (Males: $M = 3.15$, $SD = .72$; Females: $M = 2.02$, $SD = .64$; $t(85) = 7.22$, $p < .001$). At Time 2, in contrast, results for non-traditional gender roles were significantly higher for females compared to males (Males: $M = 2.47$, $SD = .78$; Females: $M = 3.25$, $SD = .59$; $t(85) = -5.03$, $p < .01$).

Time 1 to Time 2 changes in non-traditional gender roles differed between females and males (see Table 3). Among females, scores for non-traditional gender roles increased from Time 1 to Time 2 (T1: $M = 2.02$, $SD = .64$; T2: $M =$

3.25 , $SD = .59$; $t(122) = -11.11$, $p < .001$); whereas, among males these scores decreased from Time 1 to Time 2 (T1: $M = 3.15$, $SD = .72$; T2: $M = 2.47$, $SD = .78$; $t(48) = 3.21$, $p < .01$).

Coach Results Comparing Non-Traditional Gender Authority

Among coaches, results indicated no statistically significant difference in Time 1 to Time 2 scores over time for non-traditional gender authority (T1: $M = 3.31$, $SD = .70$; T2:

$M = 3.04$, $SD = .78$; $t(62) = 1.43$, n.s.). Thus, there was no support for the hypothesis that Time 2 coaches would report higher non-traditional gender authority scores compared to Time 1.

DISCUSSION

Results from this cross-sectional study indicate potential promise for sports-for-development programmes potentially changing gender attitudes within a relatively short amount of time for female youth. The results from our study mirror the outcomes produced from the limited number of prior sports-for-development programmes that focused on gender equity.^{2,7-9,15,16,26} This handful of studies utilized predominantly qualitative measures to evaluate the impact of sports-for-development in decreasing harmful gender norms and promoting female empowerment;^{2,15} their results showed a positive effect in minimizing destructive gender attitudes and encouraging positive gender beliefs and empowerment of girls.^{2,15} The results from the Live, Learn & Play project provide further evidence of the positive influence of sports-for-development upon gender equity.

Youth results showed increased positive gender attitudes and decreased harmful gender stereotyping at Time 2, compared to Time 1. Gender equity and empowerment represent just one of several components taught to youth throughout the LLP programme year. Focusing specifically on reducing harmful gender attitudes for youth, the non-traditional gender roles variable showed statistically significant results in a favourable direction for the Time 2 sample compared to the results at Time 1. Females' non-traditional gender roles results were nearly 40% greater at Time 2 compared to Time 1. Many of the variables used for these two scales were looking not only at gender beliefs, but also at culturally embedded practices and roles within society. Changing these beliefs within a short time frame is difficult. Thus, the higher non-traditional gender roles scores for youth after one year of programme engagement shows that changing cultural gender beliefs for female youth may be feasible.

Some of the differences in gender attitudes shown for male versus female youth and for coaches did not support study hypotheses. For example, unlike at Time 2, Time 1 findings showed that males reported a higher mean score for non-traditional gender roles than did females. Although results indicate that the programme may have had a positive effect on empowering females, it is unclear why non-traditional gender roles among males were over 20% lower than for females at Time 1. These results suggest the need to adjust programme content and approach to more effectively reach males. Specifically, the programme brought in several

female basketball leaders to speak about female empowerment and the importance of women in sports. While the programme also brought in male basketball leaders, the male leaders focused on the importance of education, citizenship, and other life skills development components. The programme may need to refocus the content of male guest speakers to highlight the importance of increasing gender equity and decreasing harmful gender stereotypes. Additionally, programmes should add youth workshops that provide smaller, more personal atmospheres to discuss controversial questions and topics of gender equity and gender norms with gender specialists, outside of coach discussions and weekly trainings. Finally, we speculate that the lack of significant results for the coaches' non-traditional gender authority variable may be due to the fact that coaches received only one session on gender equity and empowerment during the training year. A dedicated programme is needed for coaches, beyond the currently adopted once-a-year session.

Limitations

Some of the differences in gender attitudes shown for male versus female youth and for coaches did not support study hypotheses. For example, unlike at Time 2, Time 1 findings showed that males reported a higher mean score for non-traditional gender roles than did females. Although results indicate that the programme may have had a positive effect on empowering females, it is unclear why non-traditional gender roles among males were over 20% lower than for females at Time 1. These results suggest the need to adjust programme content and approach to more effectively reach males. Specifically, the programme brought in several female basketball leaders to speak about female empowerment and the importance of women in sports. While the programme also brought in male basketball leaders, the male leaders focused on the importance of education, citizenship, and other life skills development components. The programme may need to refocus the content of male guest speakers to highlight the importance of increasing gender equity and decreasing harmful gender stereotypes. Additionally, programmes should add youth workshops that provide smaller, more personal atmospheres to discuss controversial questions and topics of gender equity and gender norms with gender specialists, outside of coach discussions and weekly trainings. Finally, we speculate that the lack of significant results for the coaches' non-traditional gender authority variable may be due to the fact that coaches received only one session on gender equity and empowerment during the training year. A dedicated programme is needed for coaches, beyond the currently adopted once-a-year session.

The limitations identified do not discount the value of results from this assessment. Much of the previous literature looking at sports-for-development programmes have not focused on gender equity and empowerment.^{16,25-27} The few published studies on this topic have had much smaller sample sizes than this study² and have targeted young men and boys.^{2,9,15,16} This study is also one of the few interventions to employ and evaluate validated tools tested in Africa.^{1,2,15} Furthermore, no sports-for-development programmes have looked at the instructors or coaches of the programme in addition to the youth participants. Thus, the results from this study provide more evidence for sports-for-development and gender programming integration for both youth and adults. The youth data results show significant improvements in equity, empowerment, and reversal of harmful gender stereotypes and roles. The results from this study will add to the paucity of research available for sports-for-development and provide future areas to explore, such as gender equity attitudes amongst coaches, differences between male and female gender attitudes, and the level of programme involvement required to influence significant changes in gender attitudes.

Future Research Directions

Implementation research often lacks significant results due to difficulties in planning, pressures from donor reporting, and abrupt changes in the programme. These barriers are the realities evaluators must acknowledge when working in low-resource settings and implementing new programmes. Fortunately, all of the limitations addressed in this study can be eliminated with proper planning and supervised execution. With the significant results observed in the youth data using larger sample sizes compared to previous studies, future interventions can use this study as a barometer for minimum adequate sample size. Though the coaches' data did not produce significant results, future studies could increase coach sample sizes to observe whether there is a positive effect on gender attitudes among the trainers (i.e. coaches) after receiving LLP or a similar sports-for-development training. Future implementers could also prioritize matching the sample sizes more comprehensively to avoid threats to selection bias and use the same instrument tool for Time 1 to Time 2 to avoid instrumentation bias. As well, future studies should examine the gender measurement tools in the African context to provide further evidence of causality. Results from our analyses examining construct validity also point to the need for developing more valid measures of gender attitudes in this context. Overall, these research directions provide ample evidence that sports-for-development interventions seeking to change gender attitudes deserve more attention and require additional evaluation to inform implementers and the sports-for-development field.

CONCLUSION

Sports-for-development programmes provide a tremendous opportunity for engaging an often-neglected population of gender and health development programming – adolescents. Adolescents comprise the majority of the population around the world and specifically in Africa.¹² Exploring interventions that can integrate gender into attractive and meaningful opportunities for youth should be promoted and supported, especially given the unique and opportune period of development adolescence presents.⁵ The data from LLP's repeated cross-sectional study provides evidence for investing in sports-for-development programmes as a means to change gender attitudes and beliefs. With minimal exposure, the LLP programme has already achieved higher gender equity attitudes and reduced the perpetuation of destructive gender stereotypes and roles for female youth in southern Senegal

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Original Research

Decolonisation in practice: A case study of the Kicking AIDS Out programme in Jamaica

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ABSTRACT

Similar to traditional development, neo-colonial tendencies are apparent in the sport-for-development and peace (SDP) movement. As a result, a large majority of SDP scholars perceive the notion of 'decolonisation' as displacing the antecedents of colonialism. SDP scholars are advocating for a postcolonial approach to future SDP initiatives that will help decolonise the structures of hegemony that are in place. Although the authors of this article agree with these sentiments (and many more), and that the cause is justified, we however postulate that the postcolonial critique presented only offers an early foundation from which to decolonise SDP. Therefore, to build upon these foundations, there is a need for a methodological approach to guide critical engagement in SDP policy and research. Thus we propose the critical-participatory-paradigm (CPP) for consideration in this regard, using Darnell & Hayhurst's¹ points that the time is ripe to pursue a decolonising process that challenges structural inequalities. Through a qualitative evaluation research study of the Jamaican Kicking-AIDS-Out programme, we highlight how the CPP provides an alternative philosophical and methodological framework for decolonisation. Even though decolonisation is not instant, the principles of the CPP resulted in certain principles that could be followed allowing for consciousness raising and the enhancement of control in the research process by all vested interests.

INTRODUCTION

Many will agree with Smith² who suggests that decolonisation is the process of handing the mechanisms of

power, influence and governance back to the indigenous population of a former colony. Although Smith's assertion is a reasonable view of decolonisation, we recognise that it presents an oversimplification of the decolonisation phenomena. So in building from Smith, we turn to Huygens³ who points out that in many former colonies, the original colonisers now form part of the colony and as such Smith's recommendations may no longer be wholly feasible, if indeed they ever were. Further Huygens³ writes that decolonisation should be considered as a long-term process involving the divesting of power in various aspects of bureaucratic, political, linguistic, cultural, spiritual, psychological and social domains. As such we can ask whether sport for development and peace (SDP) initiatives, which tend to be finite and short term⁴ are the right vehicles to deliver longitudinal processes such as decolonisation. Undoubtedly, the enthusiasm laden early years of SDP are slowly settling down, giving way to more realistic criticism that questions whether the SDP movement can actually decolonise and deliver authentic development. In fact SDP has been likened to historical colonial practices resulting in neo-colonial tendencies and many have advocated for decolonising research methodologies.¹ Mwaanga⁵ points to the neo-colonial development discourses, which repeatedly emphasize sport as the vehicle for development and constantly understates people, especially indigenous leaders as the drivers of social transformation in SDP interventions.⁶

In addition, Levermore and Beacom⁷ note that the 'power imbalances' that surround the global northⁱ and global south maintain the orthodox hierarchical partnerships or "vertical partnerships"⁸, (p. 158) where northern experts speak

i The binary of Global North and Global South is 'of course, geographically inaccurate and too generalised to encompass the complexities within and between nations, but it is perhaps the least problematic means of distinguishing between relatively wealthy countries and continents [Europe] and relatively poorer ones [Africa]'.⁽⁶⁾

on behalf of the south in SDP. Banda *et al.*⁹ confirm this point suggesting that the large majority of 'partnerships' in SDP are of a vertical nature. Hence Giulianotti¹⁰ notes that SDP programmes and policies developed in the global north or by global northern experts represent the unfinished business of neo-colonialism, the "cultural legacy of colonialism".⁵ (p. 22) Admittedly, there are some exceptions to this. Lindsey and Grattan's¹¹ empirical study of two local communities in Zambia details a progressive example of an SDP methodology further intent on the inclusion of local people and knowledge to additionally reduce the positivistic dimension of global northern research results.¹¹

However, there is a scarcity of such progressive methodologies in SDP. Most research that claims to place people at the forefront of knowledge creation or have an ethnographic perspective are either not related to the SDP field or their methods are not applicable in the same way.¹¹ To address this, the paper firstly presents our understanding of how neo-colonialism permeates SDP, proposed recently in our recent chapter,¹² whilst using the Critical Participatory Paradigm (CPP) as a means to mitigate these critiques in our research practice and attempt to decolonise our SDP practice. Additionally, the paper will reinforce some of the elements of the CPP and elaborate some of its tenets by providing practical examples of how the CPP was utilised in the research and development work on the Kicking AIDS Out Jamaica (KAO-J) programme. In conclusion, this paper then follows the guidelines of Huygens³ who argues that decolonisation must firstly be presented as a theoretical process but emphasised through practical examples. However before continuing, we consider the Kicking AIDS Out (KAO) network and give a brief but necessary context to the views presented in this paper.

KICKING AIDS OUT NETWORK

KAO is a leading international development network within SDP that aims to utilise the power of sport and physical activity as tools to raise awareness and educate about the HIV/AIDS epidemic.¹³ It was established in Zambia in 2001 with the first author of this paper being directly involved and writing the first KAO manual.¹³ Since that point KAO has grown, comprising of 20 organisations worldwide with an aim to increase HIV/AIDS life skills within communities. The KAO network is funded and supported by a number of multinational organisations including UK Sport, Commonwealth Games Canada and the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Confederation of Sports (NIF).¹⁴ These organisations facilitate the development of coaches and peer leaders who are expected

to deliver the KAO curriculum.¹⁴ Peer leaders deliver a curriculum containing integrative games that not only encourage participation and enjoyment but also deliver HIV/AIDS prevention messages.¹⁴ Through the current peer leaders on a particular programme, new peer leaders are continually identified and trained for their respective programmes and localities.¹³ New peer leaders at first are trained and receive a level leader one designation, and once they can correctly answer certain questions in regards to HIV/AIDS, assist in the discussions around the topic of prevention and threats they may be recommended for level leader two.¹³⁻¹⁴ Level leader twos are then tasked with identifying and training more level leader ones from their programmes, while master trainers are responsible for training level leader twos and further growing the KAO curriculum.¹⁴ There are fewer than ten master trainers in the entire KAO network.¹⁴ This organisational structure is one which is replicated throughout many of the KAO networks worldwide. Although, given the current landscape of SDP, there is further requirement for KAO networks across the globe to justify their effectiveness usually through empirical scientific evidence.¹⁴ Nevertheless, this evidence is frequently privileged towards the powerful to justify the effectiveness of sport as a successful development tool, which invariably displays the antecedents of neo-colonialism, thereby forming the basis of our overall critique of SDP.¹⁵⁻¹⁷

A CRITIQUE OF (NEO)-COLONIALISM IN SDP

To begin, we detail this critique of SDP in three inter-determinant parts. The first part of our critique is adapted from the work of Rankin¹⁸ who suggests that the recent history of critical development studies presents a form of colonial impression. Such colonial impressions are replicated in many (but not all) current SDP practices which often prescribe sport as the panacea, resembling the historical orthodoxy associated with colonialist practices.^{1, 19-20} For instance if we take the United Nations (UN), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the optimism in which sport was promoted to meet wide ranging goals²¹ from tackling education deficiencies and poverty deprivation to eradicating environmental damages,²¹⁻²² we begin to see the homogeneous viewpoint of neo-colonialist thinking to solving heterogeneous problems. This is frequently perpetuated by inter-governmental organisations and corporations who embody the belief that inhabitants of the global south share the same identity and henceforth share the same problems that require the same solutions.²¹⁻²³ One typical example of this homogenous viewpoint permeating SDP is the nature of volunteer tourism or voluntourism, where volunteers are sent to the global south

to educate through sport, in turn helping to satisfy one of the MDGs.^{17, 21, 24} However, the social, political and cultural differences of individual countries presents an unavoidable challenge to the successes of the international voluntourism model in SDP.²⁵ Furthermore, the MDGs as a whole serve as an arena in which the social and economic discourses of the UN have permeated the development field.²⁶ Ilcan and Phillips further note that the MDGs are a calculated practice attempting to reshape development problems of the past, allowing a repositioning of the global north as answers to those problems surface.²⁶ Whilst overtly viewed as positive, the MDGs are actually a form of neo-colonial rationality operating as a "mentality of rule" reworking people and connecting them to particular programmes of choice,^{26 (p. 845)} in this case SDP programmes.²¹

SDP programmes have been recognised as a tool for change prior to the UN's MDGs, however the MDGs marked a definitive point in which the wider international community started to consider the full magnitude of sport as a tool for development.²² Proof of this can be seen in the upsurge of literature dedicated to MDG/SDP research post 2000.⁵ In turn this has increased the institutionalised relationship between sport and development.²⁷ Certainly, within the context of HIV/AIDS, Mwaanga²⁸ argues that the power of sport does not lie precisely in sport itself but actually in people within the local context using sport innovatively as a tool whose transformed (or untransformed) lives is the paramount measure of authenticity in SDP interventions. Consequently, this study proposes alongside Darnell and Hayhurst¹ that the time is ripe to pursue a decolonising research process which displaces the antecedents of colonialism. The radical and literary works of Bhabha²⁹ and Said³⁰ cements an already comprehensive postcolonial critique of colonial practices, which can and has been applied to SDP. The way in which this critique has been built in some factions of SDP, even though it offers enlightening and instructive information, is largely theoretical and only in some cases offering practical examples (see Hayhurst³¹) on how to dislodge the neo-colonial compression of SDP. We contend that to continually develop SDP, there is a requirement for additional philosophical and methodological approaches and frameworks to guide the critical engagement and emancipation of SDP programme practitioners and participants.

The second part of our critique brings to the fore the undemocratic research propensity of SDP, especially within the knowledge creation process where northern voices are "privileged at the expense of other discourses".^{32 (p.175)}

Spaaij and Jeanes³³ highlight the historical hierarchy of researchers as a limitation to authentic dialogue and genuine democratic action in SDP research because those who consider themselves knowledgeable rarely consider the advice of those they consider to know nothing.³³ This historical hierarchy further prevents the development of critical consciousness in SDP programme participants.³³ It should be noted that the aim of this paper is not to simply discredit all SDP researchers and their research. There are certainly many SDP scholars who have advocated and/or included their research subjects in the research process. For example, the work of SDP sociologist Ramon Spaaij³⁴ clearly promotes the inclusion of marginalised people in research programmes by encouraging participants to contribute to the local programme with ideas, information and resources fostering a sense of ownership in the community. This would allow participants to become more than just receivers or consumers of the programme but collaborators and contributors to the process and any subsequent evaluation and knowledge garnered from the programme therein.

The third part of our critique recognises the naivety of some researchers and practitioners in SDP where we (the global north) neglect or deny to subjectively critique our biographical background in the knowledge creation process. Without doubt, this lack of encouragement to emancipate ourselves severely hinders the possibility of emancipating others through our research. This has been termed as critical reflexivity. As a framework, it helps us expose our social position as researchers and consider to what extent this influences our research. This paves the way to alternative framings of reality and grappling with the comparative outcomes of multiple standpoints.³⁵ As both Finlay³⁶ and Forde³⁷ argue, a lack of reflexivity can lead to a nihilistic disposition in research outcomes. Therefore, throughout the study both authors have attempted to engage in critical reflexivity continuously. As an example, the authors' views are framed from a privileged and socially dominating African Diaspora males' position, which is in contrast to those of the research participants under the KAO-J programme that do not enjoy the same privileges. Within decolonising methodologies, the critical reflexivity framework allows the research participants to equally contribute to the liberation of all those involved in the research process, including the researchers.³⁸ Thus, we stand in agreement to Bob Marley's 1980 hit song 'Redemption Song', which calls upon Jamaicans to emancipate themselves from mental slavery. But at the same time we question ourselves: to what extent does our involvement in the research project support our own

colonial emancipation? For us to consider these critical reflexive questions we must step out of our "comfortable zones of privilege".^{5, p.295} A plea reflected in Freire³⁹ suggests that all merchants of revolutionary change must first deconstruct themselves with reflexivity to attain the knowledge of reality before they can deconstruct the current practice at hand.

The further engagement in reflexive, self-examination methods will help to reduce the naivety discussed previously.³⁷ To further elaborate our critiques, we will describe the KAO-J programme in order to give contextual understanding.

KICKING AIDS OUT - JAMAICA

Jamaica is an island country situated in the Caribbean with the capital city of Kingston and an approximate total population of 2.7 million people;⁴⁰⁻⁴² like most Anglophone countries, it is a former British colony. While under British colonial rule, sport and physical education were paramount and advocated within the school system. Consequently, the affinity towards sport continued in post-independent Jamaica.⁴⁰ For instance, Jamaica was the first nation outside of Great Britain in 1966 to host the Commonwealth Games, four years after the country's own independence. The games were a perfect opportunity to showcase its new found identity and national motto 'Out of Many, One People'.^{40, 42} This motto spoke directly to the diversity of Jamaica, which had been influenced by four centuries of slave trade and colonial rule.⁴² Arguably, Jamaica represents one of the many former colonies mentioned by Huygens³ where the former colonisers now form part of the colony. Indeed, Dawson⁴³ argues that much of the resistance to colonial rule in the late fifties and early sixties in Jamaica did not include a refusal of British heritage nor did it include a refusal of the British monarchy or Britons. Hence, the continuing post-independent decades in Jamaica have been somewhat of a continuum filled with an atmosphere of bipartisanship.⁴³ Perhaps, the independence of 1962 did little to restore the nationalist ideals of Jamaican solidarity and Jamaica has limped on ever since under a kind of unofficial colonialism.⁴³ As a result, Jamaica is well suited for a postcolonial (and more probably a decolonising) framework such as the one proposed. However, even with outlining the socio-historical makeup of Jamaica, it is still prudent to explain how KAO-J fits into the neo-colonial model described earlier, thereby requiring decolonisation.

The KAO-J programme falls under the auspices of the Caribbean Sport and Development Agency (CSDA) based

in Trinidad and Tobago. CSDA was the funder and facilitator for the research project and one of the key research partners of the evaluation study of KAO-J. Similar to the wider KAO network, an important characteristic of the KAO-J programme is promoting recreational sport through a non-sport rewards system, where the attempt is to integrate HIV/AIDS life skills in the hope that the right balance between sport and HIV/AIDS education are effectively reached.^{5, 44} Nevertheless, as part of a previous evaluation of a number of KAO networks, Kruse⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶ notes that there is no systematic analysis that has proven a positive relationship between sport alone and HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, Kruse⁴⁵ warns that the strong beliefs that sport positively affects HIV/AIDS prevention is based on perception and intuition.^{45, 47} Perhaps these warnings are ignored due to the "mythopoeic world of sports evangelists often fuelled by elite sports people who clearly have benefitted from sport".^{47 (p. 309)} In return this mythopoeic status promotes the ideology that sport is enough to address HIV/AIDS in many SDP organisations.^{28, 32, 37} Equally Kaufman et al.⁴⁶ has referenced the notable increase of organisations within the global south now dedicated to using sport-based approaches in HIV/AIDS prevention. Unfortunately, the socio-economic crises of many global southern societies has led to a weakening of the state, resulting in the increase of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) whose operational ambition is spread across health, education, poverty and discrimination, mirroring the operational ambition of the MDGs.⁴⁷ In this case, it has been argued that the influence NGOs have gained in global southern societies mirrors the influence gained by powerful independent global northern organisations such as the UN.⁴⁸ To this end, Coalter⁴⁷ suggests local sporting NGOs such as KAO-J represent new forms of neo-colonialism because their models and strategies are formed and based on western *modus operandi*. Arguably within the KAO-J programme, this *modus operandi* can be seen in the way that sport is predominantly used in all activities and education-based sessions. The view leads us to question the amount of discussion between donors and recipients, or in this case CSDA, their funding partners and KAO-J.⁴⁸

Consequently, to displace the critiques presented above and in an attempt to decolonise the KAO-J programme, we propose the Critical Participatory Paradigm (CPP) as an additional framework for SDP practice. The CPP is framed from the foundations laid by Heron and Reason⁴⁹ who present the participatory action research (PAR) methodology as an alternative research approach and emphasise its focus on social transformation and co-operative inquiry whereby researchers conduct research with people rather than on them.

METHODOLOGY

The research consisted of 2 focus groups of participants, 2 Level two peer leaders of the KAO-J programme, alongside perspectives offered from the Jamaican Ministry of Health's project officer and a minister from the local church that KAO-J participants frequently visit. All participants were between the ages of 18 and 57. Semi-structured interviews were the method of choice for the research programme, as interviews offer a means to in-depth dialogue that facilitates reflexivity.²¹ In total, nine individual interviews were conducted with a further two focus group interviews, across a total of eight individuals including five females and three males. The focus group interviews consisted of four KAO-J participants each allowing interactive discussions between participants and an opportunity to cross examine others' views. Two further interviews were conducted individually by the Level Two peer leaders on the first author to serve two main purposes: firstly, to help the author expose his own biographical history, his experiences and truths with HIV/AIDS. His biographical history will hopefully help disarm the first author from his privileged position to some extent and secondly; to assist in framing the researchers' ontological and epistemological departure point, helping the peer leaders understand why the researcher approached the programme from a particular perspective. Through the guiding imperatives of the CPP framed as ontological, epistemological and political, a loose semi-structured interview protocol was designed: to gain truthful information about the programme from participants and peer leaders in regards to the implementation of sport (ontological); to develop knowledge and engage with the wider community (epistemological); and to encourage reflection on both the part of the participants and researchers in a bid to awaken critical consciousness on both sides (political).

However, we should point out some study limitations. Access could not be gained to funding partners and so their voices are not heard within this critical framework. As such their views on the philosophical standpoint of SDP and use of sport within KAO-J could not be considered. Additionally, KAO-J participants were not interviewed individually simply because of their preference of a group discussion as opposed to one-to-one interviews. Despite these limitations, the use of the CPP did allow for extensive discussions on the use of sport within the overall programme with peer leaders and participants and enabled further critical discussions regarding programme design and focus.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION - THE CRITICAL PARTICIPATORY PARADIGM (CPP)

This section highlights how the CPP, through its underlying philosophical principles framed as ontological, epistemological and political imperatives, provide an additional framework for decolonising SDP practice in KAO-J. The CPP emerged from the PAR methodology, which is a convergence of two separate research approaches: action research and participatory research.⁴⁹ Action Research's (AR) genesis is found in the work of Kurt Lewin, as a tool to progress society and engage people in the struggles of their own life after World War II.⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ Participatory Research (PR) origins are found in community development approaches within the fields of health and agriculture.⁴⁹ Together they formulate the PAR methodology, which according to Walter,⁵¹ is the tool for facilitating social change as it positions the researcher at the forefront of research to collaborate with the indigenous or, as Whyte⁵² suggests, the researcher becomes the research coach. Like many SDP practitioners and researchers, we are concerned with the applicability of this methodology to SDP as it positions the researcher at the centre of knowledge creation in so replicating some of our early critiques of SDP.^{5, 53} Moreover, even if the PAR methodology proves successful, SDP researchers at some stage usually leave the locality in which they are working. Therefore, the locals must be able to continue development work by themselves, and the PAR does not offer a post intervention framework after a researcher's departure.

As a result, the CPP offers SDP researchers a methodology that attempts to bridge the methodologies of PAR and the Freirean critical pedagogical framework⁵ to deliver both collaboration as well as the awakening of critical consciousness by placing indigenous participants at the forefront of knowledge creation.³⁹ In essence, unlike PAR, the CPP further emphasises critical consciousness for both the indigenous individual and the researcher. It is this critical consciousness that will arm indigenous individuals in carrying out their own studies after the researcher has departed; it is this critical consciousness that will allow the researcher to recognise that indigenous individuals are capable of doing so.³⁸ For Freire, the awakening of critical consciousness facilitates the collaborative enterprise between research participant and researcher.³³ Admittedly, the success of the CPP cannot be measured through a single programme in Jamaica, nor can it be fully judged by the authors of this paper or anyone involved with the research programme. Furthermore, given that the CPP is built on the foundations of the PAR model, it is still subject to the same

critiques and concerns of externally imposed methodologies.⁵¹ Our wish is by no means to propose or profess an infallible paradigmatic framework but merely a paradigmatic framework which, given the reliance on PAR over the last 15 years,⁵⁴ we feel is more applicable than the PAR to SDP development work.

To begin, the CPP ontology is how we theorise about what it means to exist in the social world and it champions the idea of a subjective ontology.⁵⁵ This ontological stance submits that "underneath our literate abstraction, there is a deeply participatory relation to things and to the earth, a felt reciprocity".⁵⁵ (p. 124) In this subjective ontology, Heron and Reason⁴⁹ contend that to experience anything is to participate and to participate is to mould, alter and shape. Indeed, we come to know the world at an interactive and participatory interface, which exists between the researcher and what is encountered.⁵⁰ To this end, the deep appreciation and involvement of the research participants in this study is underpinned by the ontological imperative. This subjective ontology aids the connection 'felt' between people and communities, allowing the foundations of trust to be built.⁵⁰ It is only when these foundations of trust are laid that the indigenous will begin to share truthful information with the researcher.³⁹ Therefore, this ontological imperative becomes the democratic bedrock for ensuring that the participants trust us and in turn are likely to be more open with the researcher.^{5, 37, 39}

To contextualise this imperative within the Jamaican study experience, the first author allowed himself to be interviewed by the peer leaders and shared his own family and community struggles with HIV/AIDS, thus demonstrating a reciprocal approach to research. He was willing to be truthful with the peer leaders in the hopes that they could be truthful with him. Both peer leaders seemingly expressed this within their articulations of their concerns with HIV/AIDS and with the KAO-J programme. As Redding stated,

And we go back to my environment and the stereotype here because you know when we want to talk about HIV/AIDS even within a sport environment, because maybe cause of the society of the religious or whatever, not many people are talking, you know like you said with where you come from. (Redding)

Aretha also noted:

Like you said when you started working with HIV/AIDS you were doing what you are here to do but people tell you, you are doing a good job and people always tell me you doing a

fantastic job but I don't think I am doing a fantastic job...I just think I am doing what I am here for...this is my purpose and so I am fulfilling my purpose.

The first author's previous personal engagement with HIV/AIDS and KAO seemed to make the researcher more relatable to their experiences. Moreover, to develop Redding's comments, if the aim of sport within KAO-J was simply to reduce exposure to dangerous behaviours in relation to HIV/AIDS, it would stand to reason that sport could manage this task by offering a space where youth could utilise their time and energy playing sport rather than engaging in unprotected sex. However, with cultural differences such as religious beliefs, it is debatably beyond the purview of sport to account for such cultural idiosyncrasies:

As Redding noted,

I feel really uncomfortable to some extent to speak about the success stories because we have so many challenges right, you know we keep talking sport but I think we need to appreciate, we need to appreciate that people need intervention at different levels.

Jaime also stated that:

But we have to realize sport can't do it alone, you know just like in playing sport you have to rely on others you have to depend on your brothers you understand you have to work as a team.

In reality, these viewpoints show that there was a clear demand to build up the KAO-J programme beyond a sport-focused intervention but, for Redding, without the previous proactive voices of the peer leaders or participants of KAO-J being heard, sport remained a central focus despite the external challenges being faced. Arguably the ontological imperative which focused on the first author building a bedrock of trust with the participants allowed such imperative thoughts to be articulated by the participants. Hence the ontological imperative helps to understand the construction of such programmes and the authentic views of those affected by it. This process sets foundations for the further inclusion of research participants and knowledge in the research process.¹⁷ Once the ontological realities have been ascertained, arguably one's epistemological interaction must follow.⁵⁶

Accordingly, epistemology is what we think can be learnt about the social world.⁵⁶ CPP epistemology is explained as the extended epistemology because it extends beyond the

obvious to engage in the wider social world around. In effect, it obliges the researcher to engage in research *with* the community as a whole in an attempt to understand its rituals, day-to-days and nuances. The extended epistemology encourages the researcher to spend time in the locale they are investigating, echoing the recommendations of Spaaij and Jeanes.³³ This imperative sees the production of knowledge as an interactive process between the researcher, the research participants and the community in a collaborative exercise in search of change.⁵

The collaborative and interactive production of knowledge was centralised in the Jamaican study experience through the input of various vested interests. For example, in respect to spending time in the community, the researchers attended services at the local church that many of the participants of the KAO-J attend, owing to Redding's previous comments regarding religious influences. Whilst our ontological imperative seeks to gain truth directly from peer leaders and participants within the programme, the epistemological imperative seeks to gain further knowledge from influential people in the wider community through an extended or deepened integration into local social processes.⁵ Within the Jamaican context, in their first visit to the locality, the researchers spent the first two weeks conducting observations and field notes, learning what they could about the programme before initiating the interviewing process. In addition to this the researchers have continually visited the KAO-J programme post research, to continue interaction with peer leaders and to continually advise, should the KAO-J programme request it. This last point was directly influenced through the comments of the local minister, Kirk:

But I think they have knowledge, knowledge of what can be and how you can prevent this thing but what they need is to be continually told, by Aretha by Redding, by us by you, so if you can continue to help them and how you can work, it will help them, it does help.

Kirk's comments show an interrelated and community approach to KAO-J where the church also looks to advise the KAO participants without being officially involved. Given Redding's earlier comments in regards to religious stereotypes, the church's involvement in helping to deliver a successful programme that contributed to changing HIV/AIDS knowledge made the researchers sceptical. As such, Aretha responded to our questions to this effect:

It is extremely important because while growing up in a church I found that the topic of sex is taboo and swept under the carpet. Pastors would not speak about it parents would not speak about it and so a number of my friends were becoming pregnant and their parents are Christian and they

were singing at the choir and I said to myself you know something is wrong and because I had exclusive HIV information a lot of friends did not but now one of my co-workers said to me you know let us try a church and so we tried and it was absolutely wonderful I went to the church, the pastor was good with it, the information that we pass on, the games that we played is okay they just don't want their young person's to be exposed, but my thing is right we already have lots of information about HIV and sex but I have no reservations with the church.

In effect, Aretha is referring to KAO-J only providing knowledge on HIV/AIDS, whether from them alone or by other sources such as the church, and suggests a need to move beyond this in programme delivery. Cooke raises a similar point:

You know right, we need more than just games and knowledge, we need to show them hope, show them they can be more, we need to give them skills that makes them want to be more.

This last point relates to the need to develop transferable skills within the KAO-J programme and moving beyond the global model of the KAO network that simply focuses on developing HIV/AIDS education through sport.²⁸ To reach this conclusion requires the extended epistemological imperative that promotes attention to the wider community beyond the individual programme being investigated. Arguably, this form of decolonisation recognises the influence of all actors and structures in the process and seeks to investigate through engagement, commitment, communication, action and reflection.⁵⁷ By forcing us to engage with people outside the KAO-J programme, the extended epistemology exposes us to see knowledge creation as a community exercise requiring us to spend time in the wider community in question as per the previously cited advice of Spaaij and Jeanes.³³

Lastly, the political imperative represents the subjective consciousness of the CPP, underpinned by the philosophies of praxis and reflexivity, and challenges the third section of our critique of SDP. Praxis, according to Freire,^{33, 39} is the reason for existence, a practice of freedom that advocates authentic liberation through awakening the critical consciousness of research participants, so that they might act and reflect upon their world in order to transform it. Essentially, our ontological imperative has so far allowed us to gain truth from the perspective of the knowledgeable whilst the epistemological imperative allowed us to further investigate by immersing us closer to the wider community. The political imperative, therefore, allows a reaction to what we have seen and heard, while retaining closely the

perspectives of reflexivity in order to remind us who should be the drivers of this reaction. Participants within the focus group interviews highlight the need for an instant reaction to the way the KAO-J programme ran. For example, a male participant from Focus Group 2 asked:

“They say you need to buy condoms, but what you gonna buy first when you no money again, when you no job or opportunity to get a job, condom or food”?

A female participant from Group 1 stated:

“Me like coming here, me like gaining knowledge, but there is no opportunity, you know I am not promiscuous but I have friends who live promiscuous because that’s how they get their money right and they will tell you that the guys that they are with them don’t like to using condoms, but that’s how they get their money.”

Redding further notes a need to develop employment skills within KAO-J as opposed to learning about HIV/AIDS through sport. A peer leader, Redding stated:

*But there are some success stories that come from KAO, take ***** I would like to use her as an example in Kicking Aids Out helped her to find her identity beyond giving her HIV knowledge which she can replicate and which she does a very good job and she does a very good Job also in Trinidad but help her as an individual to find her identity so when she was settling to become an air hostess her dream was to become a pilot she was settling to become a air hostess cause she couldn't see where the money was coming from, she couldn't see where the opportunity was coming from....through kicking aids out we continue to ignite or sustain that fire and that belief that this is what we're telling young people....but there is not enough of that happening, there is not enough avenue for that, we need to build avenues, build skills so that the young people now can find go do that, go build their dreams.*

The statements all equally speak of a need to develop further skills, namely employability skills beyond knowledge gained from the KAO-J programme. Indeed, the traditional KAO model, which is reflected in KAO-J, seems to drive HIV/AIDS knowledge through a form of ‘plus-sport’ model where the popularity of sport is used as a “fly-paper” to attract young people to gaining HIV/AIDS knowledge.⁴⁶ (p. 298)

Admittedly, neither author is an employment expert nor do we claim critical consciousness is equivalent to employment skills or will lead in the end to achieving employment. We are of the mind-set that developing critical, analytical

thinking skills does allow you to mitigate some of the complexities of the employment barrier such as filling in an application form more competently and being more adept at answering interview questions.⁵⁸ In this regard, the collaborative and interactive development of praxis was centralised in the Jamaican study experience through three separate approaches. Firstly, peer leaders and all participants were supported to interview each other during focus group interviews. This allowed for critical discussions to arise amongst peers with individual personal experience about community needs and the technical research to blend and therefore generate knowledge that reflects the realities of the programme target groups. Secondly, KAO participants were given the opportunity and training to transcribe their own focus group interviews and decipher common codes and themes. By working together with different participants to transcribe and identify codes, it allowed all participants to be researchers in the research process. Also, as Dey⁵⁹ suggests, different researchers with varying intrinsic understandings and subjective ambitions derive different things from research data. Therefore, in some cases, the research process sheds new light on our thoughts of social reality while at the same time allowing multiple voices to be heard.⁶⁰

Thirdly, the first author given his unique position as arguably the first master trainer of the KAO Network supported the training and identification of new peer leaders for the KAO-J programme. Supporting the two already established KAO-J programme peer leaders in identifying further participants to be trained in the roles of Level One and Two peer leaders. This would allow three things: the first being that participants of the KAO-J programme would be able to take on more responsibility and develop critical skills such as organisation, management and communication, which are all desirable for employers. In theory, this process of training participants to level leaders could continue after the researchers had left with Level Two leaders training New Level leaders once others had left or once they felt participants were ready. The increased number of peer leaders meant that KAO-J could cast a greater net in the community, allowing the programme to reach more people. This starts to consolidate our attempt to make KAO-J programme self-reliant upon our departure from the programme. Whether these reactions to developing employability skills within the KAO-J programme proves successful is subject to an extensive monitoring and evaluation process over a substantial period of time.

Admittedly, in developing critical consciousness we worked from the springboard of our own understanding and capabilities. We recognise our own limitations in this regard owing to our own reflexive stance throughout the research

process. Indeed, reflexivity urges the researcher to continually question their biographical make-up in relation to the construction and suggestion of research policies and ideas, allowing the researcher to acknowledge their contribution ultimately as a novice within the complex topic of development issues.^{5, 39} Given the subjectivity of praxis, owing to its two component stages of self-reflection and action, it is accepted that oppressed people can acquire critical awareness of their own accord, and, with their allies, struggle for liberation without necessarily the need for an external intervention.³⁹ However, Freire does note that when externals recognise with their oppressed counterparts a need for transforming the un-just order, the speed and barriers of social change are often reduced.³⁹ Therefore, reflexivity further emancipates the researcher to attaining the knowledge of reality, to trust in their research participants and discover themselves simply as collaborators to the transformation. It is this reflection that moves us closer to bridging the dichotomy of the researcher and researched.³⁹ Ultimately, the political imperative of the CPP functions as an instrument through praxis and reflexivity to view SDP from an additional dimension. Building from the foundations of the PAR, the CPP reminds the researcher to factor in their backgrounds, while attempting to awaken the critical consciousness of participants to struggle for their own liberation.^{39, 48-49}

CONCLUSION

Spaaij and Jeanes,³³ in their paper titled “Education for Social Change? A Freirean Critique of Sport for Development and Peace” concluded that SDP programmes often do not go far enough in providing truly transformative change for their participants. Referencing the uncritical use of sport employed by many SDP programmes that leave various unanswered questions and unfulfilled promises. In our opening, we questioned this approach generally in SDP and argued that similarities of this approach exist in the KAO-J programme where the methodology is one based on the wider KAO network, which relies on sport as its central methodology.¹³ This deployment or over reliance on sport within KAO-J extends the neo-colonial blanket in the name of HIV/AIDS reduction and social change.²¹ The last point may give the impression that we would advocate removing sport from development programmes for fear of reproducing neo-colonial relations. However, that simply is not our desire. In truth, we take a more cautious and balanced approach to sport similar to that of Levermore,⁶¹ who suggests that the use of sport should be considered equally alongside other engines of development. So, in answering one of our earlier questions of whether sport is a suitable vehicle for addressing social issues such as HIV/AIDS. In short, addressing HIV and AIDS through sport programmes

can have many advantages. Firstly, it can be a tool through which to address the discrimination of People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) and other target populations.^{28, 37} In addition, sport can contribute towards HIV/AIDS preventative education and advocacy.^{28, 32, 37} However, as revealed in this paper, it is possible that sport can be suffocating in relation to the real needs of its programme participants. Hence, we pursued a decolonising methodology within KAO-J with an approach based on the “de-reification of sport” and a change of focus to developing critical skills that may, for example, lead to employment.⁴⁶ (p. 311)

However, to be honest in our attempts to decolonise, we have probably failed. We argued that the CPP presents a philosophical and pragmatic methodology that permits locals a sizeable input in documenting their existence and future, which is something we still advocate. However, on reflection Huygens² originally suggested that the processes of decolonisation requires many aspects of consideration including, for example, psychological formations of the coloniser and the colonised—a task far beyond the remit of this paper and methodology. Though, the CPP through its underlying imperatives, has elucidated some of the weaknesses of the KAO-J programme namely the assimilation and dominant use of sport²¹ and ignited a process of critical discussions with a view to moving towards decolonisation. Further research needs to be conducted into the psycho-social processes which form colonisation and how this may be reversed.²

The need to adopt a methodology that engages with locals as the key players in policy development has been stated and the CPP is only *one* means to achieve this. Through the vantage points of praxis and reflexivity, the CPP allows researchers to turn research into a legitimately transitive process.^{33, 39} It is in this show of solidarity that the indigenous will discover that they are themselves the praxis of their own liberation centring themselves as the foundational sources of knowledge, information, enterprise and labour.³⁹ Still, it is necessary here to offer important caveats regarding the study and the proposed methodology. The CPP in its ontological imperative argues that a foundation of trust must be built to gain truthful information from research participants, which can be achieved through common experiences. In this case, the first author opened up and shared his own familial struggles of HIV/AIDS with the participants, which we understand may not always be possible for all researchers, especially those looking to adopt this methodological approach. Still, a researcher opening-up to their own vulnerabilities and real life challenges that relate to the research at hand is encouraged. Indeed, the act of gaining trust and engaging in honest and

true dialogue is crucial but an infinitely complex endeavour. As researchers, we must explore ways to achieve this very important task. Accordingly, Freire⁶² notes that the scope of trust can be nourished through more than one avenue. However, this is not an avenue that can be fully explored within the remit of this paper and we acknowledge that in regards to the methodological framework proposed, there is a limitation here. Moreover, the CPP was specifically utilised within the KAO-J programme and, as such, no claims are made that the framework is easily applicable to other indigenous communities. To make such a claim would not only compromise the proposed methodology, it would also undermine the philosophical standpoint of this paper. Nonetheless, we finish as we began with Smith,² who reminds us that regardless of what methodology you use during the research process, indigenous research should be a humble and humbling activity.²

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