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Editorial

A Vision for the Next Vanguard of Sport for Development

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A Vision for the Next Vanguard of Sport for Development

The Journal of Sport for Development (JSFD) was founded in 2012, with the first issue published in early 2013. In light of this ten-year anniversary, we reflect on the current state of the field and highlight important opportunities for strengthening Sport for Development (SFD) knowledge and practice.

The growth of the SFD field is undeniable in terms of practice, policy, and research. Yet, growth – defined as the amount of programs, organizations, money, or stakeholders involved – does not always correlate with more meaningful or impactful solutions. Instead, it can result in duplication or redundancy. An important question to consider is whether there is enough innovation in the field? Historically, SFD organizations have drawn on the work of other SFD organizations when designing, implementing, or restructuring their initiatives. However, the COVID-19 pandemic forced many organizations to pivot their operations on short notice to sustain programming (LeCrom & Martin, 2022). Funders, like Laureus, Beyond Sport, and Comic Relief, also pivoted to create special funding mechanisms including the Sport for Good Response Fund (Chalat & Fraser, 2021).

Now—three years into the pandemic—there is a growing recognition that the SFD field is in a precarious point in time where we ought to consider how the field can be transformed. The SFD field has a strong foundation upon which we must build, yet the innovation shown during the pandemic proved just how resilient and adaptable stakeholders can be – and how much the field might benefit from more innovative approaches. With this in mind, we propose three topics in this editorial which can advance SFD practice, policy, funding, and research, provided that stakeholders are willing to embrace innovation and collaboration at all levels (Svensson & Loat, 2019; Whitley et al., 2019). We recognize these are not the only changes that should be considered, and so we call on stakeholders across the SFD field to share their ideas, experiences, and approaches. JSFD was designed to serve as an open hub of evidence, information, and commentary, with a wide range of submission categories for all audiences.

Ten years ago, JSFD was founded with the intent to serve as a platform for not only researchers, but also practitioners, funders, and other stakeholders. The former editors challenged us to "embrace innovative approaches to research and novel ways to communicate with JSFD's target audience" (Schulenkorf et al., 2018, p. 39). In response, we created a new submission category entitled "Thought Leadership from the Field", which serves as an outlet for industry leaders to share their experiences and ideas in publications that stimulate meaningful dialogue on how to transform the field. Ultimately, there is the space for a diverse range of publications that stimulate meaningful dialogue on how to transform the field, both on the topics proposed below and far beyond.

Funding

Funding models remain one of the most common challenges for SFD organizations, which in many cases remain heavily dependent on a limited number of external funders. Despite the growth of the SFD field over the past 10 years, SFD-specific funders are still uncommon, and most grant programs are built around short-term funding cycles (Lindsey, 2017) . Moreover, few existing grants allow for practitioners to take on risks and try new ways of operating in pursuit of potentially transformative ways of organizing. The small-scale Sport for Development Innovation Fund was one of the few exceptions. In response to the lack of funding, some SFD organizations have successfully developed their own alternative funding models to achieve greater financial self-sufficiency (e.g., Kick4Life in Lesotho, Street League in the United Kingdom, and Alive and Kicking in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia).

As we think about different funding approaches that might better serve the SFD field, there are several important questions to consider: How can risk taking and change be enabled within existing funding programs? How can funding support place-based solutions? How can funding support emerging local leaders who are positioned to design and lead programs to address local needs? Why have new funders not emerged in the SFD field? And how can multi-year funding programs be supported?

Let's dig a bit deeper into this last question. There is a huge challenge that comes with piecemeal funding. A smorgasbord of funding to different programs and organizations does not lead to meaningful, sustainable change, especially if it is only provided for short-term support. It is difficult to be strategic with such funding. Instead, let's imagine what could happen if funders pooled their money for the next 5 or 10 years? What if the shared funding model used for the Sport for Good Response Fund was employed on a larger scale? What kind of change could be achieved through a collective approach, recognizing that each funder brings a unique set of skills, knowledge, and connections to the table? Ultimately, if personal and organizational agendas can be set aside, with a focus instead on innovative, evidence-based, collective action – then there is the potential to see real, meaningful, sustainable change.

Environment

Another area worthy of consideration is the relationship between SFD and the environment. Although many SFD stakeholders draw on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to frame SFD efforts, an emphasis on the environment (central to the SDGs) is still rare in existing SFD organization models (Giulianotti et al., 2018). This is concerning given the significant risks posed by climate change and human impact on the natural environment. There are some exceptions where local organizations have creatively developed SFD methodologies focused on environmental stewardship and education, such as the Coaching Conservation program focused on education and conservation of biodiversity, PITCHAfrica's community integrated rain harvesting facilities for local SFD organizations, and Society Empowerment Kenya's SFD curriculum on sustainable agriculture. Additionally, the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation was among the signatories of the United Nations Sports for Climate Action Framework. Yet these examples are the exception, rather than the norm.

Important questions remain. How do current practices impact the natural environment? How can environmental curricula be embedded into SFD practice? How can SFD organizations leverage social entrepreneurship to address local environmental issues? As Giulianotti (2021, para. 23) suggested, SFD social enterprises could "pursue eco-friendly commercial activities such as plastic recycling businesses that employ or support marginalized young people." The relationship between SFD and the environment is somewhat different from some other SFD thematic areas in that it is both a cause and a set of values. Social enterprise models may be used to develop approaches to reduce environmental impact by upcycling materials for sport, but organizations that do not directly focus on environmental impact can still embed greener decision making to drive environmental change.

Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility

The historical roots of the SFD field have been linked to colonialism and racial hierarchies, and existing processes can unintentionally perpetuate these issues without critical reflection on policies, programs, and practices. In many instances, the phenotypical and cultural identities and backgrounds – along with the lived experiences – of those working in leadership roles within SFD organizations do not align with that of the program participants. Likewise, are the programs themselves accessible to residents who may experience marginalization and oppression due to post-colonial and settler colonialism relations, racism, sexism, ableism, classism, ageism, heterosexism, and transphobia, just to name a few? To build a more inclusive field, it is imperative that residents with similar identities, backgrounds, and lived experiences have leadership roles, not just as organizational leaders but also as policymakers, funders, researchers, and beyond.

One possible strategy for doing so is to create SFD-specific accelerator programs centered around supporting emerging leaders within their communities (Whitley & Welty Peachey, 2022). Additionally, accessible pathways must be created for SFD program participants to achieve more diverse, equitable, and inclusive practices.

CONCLUSION

We conclude with a call to action for different stakeholder groups associated with the mission of JSFD. For the field to advance, there needs to be a collective step forward from researchers, practitioners, and funders. Researchers, we call on you to explore organizational resilience and different models for building a more inclusive field that is both financially and environmentally sustainable. Practitioners, the need for innovation in our approaches, organizational structures, and delivery models is greater than ever. Expanding thematic areas of practice, exploring new sports (traditional, indigenous, and/or digital), and modernizing how we achieve impact through sport will lay the foundation for our field's future. Funders, invest in innovation and organizational capabilities as much as you prioritize impact. The SFD field did not develop into what it is today with funders who were only intent on maximizing impact returns. To achieve greater, deeper, and more systemic impact, there needs to be investment beyond the tried-and-tested models. There is often as much value in discovering what does *not* work, as there is in discovering what does. The potential upside to investing in new models and learning from failure in the long term is greater than if we simply continue to only fund what we already know works. Strategic risk-taking and experimentation should be celebrated, provided there is a focus on learning – both internally and externally. For 10 years, JSFD has provided a platform for stakeholders to share experiences and lessons learned; we look forward to your contributions in the next ten years and beyond as SFD continues to grow and evolve.

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Original Research

A contemporary perspective on the traditional gap between 'clean minds' and 'dirty hands' in the sport and refugee movement

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ABSTRACT

Sport for Development (SfD) literature tends to focus on and value bottom-up, grassroots projects and realities, and criticize top-down (i.e., from high- to low-authority) approaches. This is also true when considering the intersection of sport and refugees. With millions of people displaced every year, a new perspective is needed to reconcile bottom-up and top-down approaches. In this conceptual paper, we provide literature that frames traditional and contemporary issues embedded in the refugee and sport domains with a specific focus on the top-down, bottom-up approaches SfD stakeholders adopt. From these stakeholder configurations, associated challenges, and complexities, we present a contemporary effort to challenge the 'top' and 'bottom' dichotomy; namely, by drawing parallels to the concept of clean minds (top) and dirty hands (bottom). We interrogate this discrepancy in two ways: first, through our experiences and interpretations as members of the Olympic Refuge Foundation's Think Tank; second, by merging the "clean minds, dirty hands" concept with Lefebvre's (1991) theory of social space. Ultimately, the clean minds, dirty hands dichotomy is better represented as a spectrum that interacts with Lefebvre's theory in unique ways. Implications for influencing the sport and refugee movement, as well as the broader field of SfD, are discussed.

A contemporary perspective on the traditional gap between 'clean minds' and 'dirty hands' in the sport and refugee movement

The field of Sport for Development (SfD) focuses on achieving wider social outcomes through sport such as social inclusion, economic development, public health, and conflict resolution (Lyras & Welty-Peachey, 2011), as well as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2015). In the last ten years, global circumstances forcing people to flee their homes have offered SfD a unique opportunity to engage with refugee contexts. Such opportunities exist in refugee camps and in host countries, where refugees ultimately attempt to seek asylum and resettle. Turkey, Colombia, and Germany each host over 2 million refugees, and Lebanon hosts the most refugees per capita (one refugee for every four nationals) (UNHCR, 2021a). In 2022, the number of displaced people around the world reached an unprecedented high of over 100 million. Many host countries are thus experiencing an influx of refugees, stemming from both ongoing and more immediate unrest. The Syrian political crisis, for instance, has caused thousands of citizens to relocate to Turkey, Jordan and Palestine since 2015 (UNHCR, 2021b), and the recent Russian invasions of Ukraine have forced millions to seek safety across Europe. People in power (e.g., policymakers, extreme political groups) and media outlets have created a negative rhetoric around refugee populations (Philo et al., 2013), leaving them marginalized and misunderstood. Metaphors have been used in print and in speech to reference people seeking refuge en masse, such as *waves*, *swarms*, and *invasions*, all of which are portrayed as large-scale problems in need of control (Serafis et al., 2019).

Keywords: conceptual advancement; sport innovation; refugee context; production of space

It is best practice, however, in the field of SfD to take a humanizing approach towards those who have been forced to migrate (Cárdenas, 2013), viewing and treating them as valuable individuals, ones who have assets and strengths that can contribute to the broader community in which they resettle (Ryu & Tuvilla, 2018; Spaaij et al., 2019; Weng & Lee, 2015). Further, research has shown refugees to be civic-minded, wanting to engage with their host communities (Weng & Lee, 2015), as well as hopeful and resilient despite the challenges and adversity they face (Keles et al., 2018; Ryu & Tuvilla, 2018). With Russia's invasion of Ukraine, for example, a UN survey found that Ukrainian refugees "want to play a more active role in their new communities, but need support such as language classes, formal recognition of skills, and, importantly, assistance with childcare services" (UN News, 2022). Others note that due to the increase in work-age individuals in Europe, the labor market would significantly increase in countries proximal to Ukraine (e.g., Czech Republic, Poland) and host countries' economies would be boosted by additional people in the workforce (Bahar et al., 2022; Dumont & Lauren, 2022).

Nonetheless, constant small changes in political situations across the world—in both host and origin countries—make for a refugee context that is too complex and dynamic for SfD to address on its own. The field needs innovative solutions that allow sectors to collaborate and create new knowledge (i.e., transdisciplinarity) (Whitley et al., 2022), as well as innovative perspectives on traditional and contemporary issues. This paper thus contributes to the SfD field by (1) critically reconfiguring Makhoul et al.'s (2013) 'clean mind, dirty hands' concept using the Olympic Refuge Foundation's Think Tank as an example of innovation in the sport and refugee movement, (2) confronting the current dichotomous nature of the 'top' (clean minds) and 'bottom' (dirty hands), and (3) offering an analysis of the Think Tank using Lefebvre's (1991) theory of social space. SfD scholars have yet to analogize the top and bottom as clean minds and dirty hands, and Lefebvrian theory is infrequently utilized in the sport domain (cf. Marchesseault, 2016). We argue the following: the clean minds at the top and dirty hands at the bottom do not have to be dichotomous or mutually exclusive; in its best form, the two constantly inform one another in the overlapping spaces amongst thought, production and action. Importantly, it must be recognized and dispelled that associating the terms 'top-down' with 'clean minds,' and 'bottom-up' with 'dirty hands' may improperly assign moral notions of 'good' and 'bad,' respectively. It is the authors' intention with this paper, rather, to neutralize these connotations and offer a new way of thinking about how SfD interacts with these terms and the individuals and organizations that are associated with them.

This manuscript follows what Jaakkola (2020) outlines as a "theory adaptation" approach to a conceptual paper. It "uses an established theory to explore new aspects of the domain theory" (p. 23). The adaptation put forth in this paper is meant to set the foundation for practitioners, scholars, and high-level authorities to rethink the way that the sport, refugee, and mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) sectors can harmonize and provide adequate care for refugee populations. We begin with a brief review of literature on the refugee context and what makes it unique, then move into SfD literature as it relates to the so-called top (clean minds) and bottom (dirty hands). We then discuss how Makhoul et al.'s (2013) clean mind, dirty hands concept works, in theory, and how Lefebvre's understanding of social space works, in theory. The two come together in the final section and are applied to the inner workings of the ORF Think Tank.

Positionality

Both authors are women from high-resource countries, and are active members of the Olympic Refuge Foundation Think Tank. The first author has experience conducting research with (former) refugees, and the second author is a world-leading anthropologist in SfD. The second author invited the first into the Think Tank to conduct research for her PhD. It was the first author's engagement with the Think Tank that forms the basis of this paper.

The Unique Refugee Context

We recognise that the term 'refugee' is sometimes defined as one who has successfully applied for and been granted asylum in a country different from their own. For the purpose of this paper, we define a refugee as one who has been forced to flee their home country and seek safety in another, due to war, violence, conflict or persecution (UNHCR, 2021c). While refugee populations are often grouped into conversations and debates about broader marginalized groups, the refugee context is entirely unique. Literature on the refugee sector points to two common contributors to this uniqueness: liminality and resilience. It is the combination of these factors that separates the refugee context from other contemporary issues and makes it an intriguing avenue for the SfD field to pursue. For those in the process of finding refuge, home is impermanent, which leaves refugees in limbo, or a state of liminality (van Gennep, 1960). The majority of refugees who have fled to a different country to apply for asylum are at risk of being denied refuge and sent away (UNHCR, 2021a, Hartonen et al., 2022), which exposes an additional layer of liminality

compared to when they were en route.

In other words, refugee groups are in a physical liminal space between two countries, as well as a figurative liminal space of being awarded or rejected the human right to seek asylum (Hartonen et al., 2022).

While liminality engenders uncertainty and a lack of security for refugees, there is the additional element of not knowing when liminality will end (uncertainty within uncertainty) (Benezer & Zetter, 2015; Hartonen et al., 2022). The fact that refugees are frequently in transit and in tenuous circumstances makes them unique compared to other types of migrants who may have more agency and control over their circumstances.

The other common element in refugee literature that contributes to the context's uniqueness is resilience. An increasing breadth of research in the past decade has found that hope and resilience are hallmarks of a refugee's experience, despite the liminality and trauma they may have endured before, during, and after their journey (Keles et al., 2018; Pieloch et al., 2016; Rivera et al., 2016; Sleijpen et al., 2016). Resilience has been shown to be a skill one learns and practices, rather than a trait that is either possessed or lacked (Rivera et al., 2016), suggesting anyone, or any refugee, can become resilient and enhance it. According to Sleijpen and colleagues (2016), factors that contribute to a young refugee's resilience include social support, how one acculturates, education level, engagement with religion, and hope. The authors indicated that the promise of a better life compared to previous circumstances was an empowering tool for young refugees.

Physical activity can also help build resilience through relief and recovery from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Nilsson et al., 2019). Importantly, resilience and liminality are linked: gaining certainty in an aspect of one's refugee journey, such as heritage and host cultures, or a favorable decision on an asylum application, is linked to resilience (Keles et al., 2018). There are, however, many instances in which refugees' trauma leads to PTSD, depression, or another clinical mental health issue (Hadfield et al., 2017; Keles et al., 2018). Trying to escape war, torture, persecution, or imprisonment, in addition to experiencing family separation, bombings, property loss, and homelessness can have a lasting impact on a refugee's mental health (Hadfield et al., 2017; Marshall et al., 2016).

The unique refugee context is thus relevant to multiple disciplines (e.g., sport, mental health, psychosocial development), as refugee needs and concerns cut across the public, private, and third sectors. For example, in 2007 the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, a humanitarian group, coined the phrase *mental health and psychosocial support* (MHPSS). MHPSS is used to "describe any type of local or outside support that aims to protect or promote psychosocial well-being and/or prevent or treat mental disorder" (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, p. 16). The concept was defined and utilized by humanitarian aid organizations thereafter so that their responders were using a broad spectrum of support including mental, emotional, and physical health, for people in need such as refugees. MHPSS recognizes the specific holistic health needs of refugees on a profound level, which are unique to other types of migrants or marginalized groups. Like the refugee context, MHPSS is also connected to several disciplines, including but not limited to health, protection, psychology, and sociology/society, which have been woven into the refugee context in addition to the sport, exercise, and physical activity disciplines.

Looking at the unique aspects of the refugee context illuminates the fact that SfD is best structured to do what it intends: strive towards social and developmental outcomes through sport (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011), as opposed to comprehensively help people affected by displacement and address the unique aspects of their journeys. In other words, making an impact through quick responses to different crisis points is just beyond the boundaries of SfD because the field has a broader scope than those who have been forcibly displaced. Scholars in this field have continuously promoted the intentional and thoughtful planning of sport programmes, bespoke to local needs and conditions (Collison & Marchesseault, 2018; Dagkas et al., 2011; Giulianotti et al., 2019; Whitley and Welty Peachey, 2020), which is incompatible with the dire, fast-paced, and transient aspects of the refugee context.

The humanitarian sector, on the other hand, is inherently mobile, includes rapid response mechanisms, and is thus better placed to address the immediate, survival-based needs of refugees (Beresford & Pettit, 2021); however, it lacks a sport-based component. Sport has yet to be fully embedded in the humanitarian sector (Cheung-Gaffney, 2018), but can address the holistic well-being of refugees where humanitarianism cannot. The siloed nature of sport from other disciplines is not a new issue, however.

The Sport and Refugee Movement

Academics in SfD have frequently called for deeper integration of, and connections across, different disciplines to help the field strive towards wider social outcomes such as the SDGs (Haudenhuyse et al., 2020; Whitley et al., 2022; United Nations, 2015).

To reach for transdisciplinary harmony, however, sport scholars, practitioners, and policymakers must establish and nurture connections beyond the confinements of SfD.

The sport and refugee sub-discipline of SfD has gained traction in the past several years (Spaaij et al., 2019) in response to the increase of displaced people globally and the wider recognition of the human rights shortcomings this population endures. For the purposes of this paper, this paralleled increase is one aspect of what the authors term 'the sport and refugee movement'.

The movement includes the surge of academic literature on sport and refugee populations, the expanding recognition by international and national organizations that sport is a viable mechanism for refugee populations to achieve well-being and social outcomes, and the growth of grassroots sport programs (and branches of extant programs) focusing on those who have been forcibly displaced. In naming the movement, we hope to inspire said programs and research to engage with and progress it. With that said, a growing number of sport programs and interventions have been established that focus on young refugees (e.g., Capalbo and Carlman, 2022; Doidge et al., 2020; Robinson et al., 2019), and specifically refugee girls and women (e.g., Luguetti et al., 2021; Mohammadi, 2019). Sport programs and interventions for refugees are often hosted in refugee camps (e.g., GIZ Sport for Development program in Kakuma Camp; Live Together program in Za'atari refugee camp) and community settings (e.g., Palestine Sports 4 Life in Ramallah; Soccer Without Borders in United States communities). Additionally, there are refugee-led SfD programs such as the Africa Youth Action Network (AYAN) and Corner65 that work towards development goals at the individual and community levels. Overall, there are many sport programs for refugees worldwide than academia may ever know about or study. Thus, the lack of knowledge and representation given by scholarly accounts is not reflective of the tremendous increase of sport-for-refugee sites and interventions. Although more knowledge about these programs is needed, the ones documented in academic literature are oriented towards social outcomes such as integration (e.g., Doidge et al., 2020), social inclusion (e.g., Block & Gibbs, 2017; Dukic et al., 2017), well-being (e.g., O'Donnell et al., 2020), and/or employment (e.g., Pink et al., 2020) of young refugee populations, but evidence of their effectiveness is mixed (Spaaij et al., 2019). In this way, scholarship on the sport and refugee movement will inevitably lag behind the pace of SfD program creation worldwide.

An additional issue within the sport and refugee movement is that it is inherently slow to react to the ever-changing refugee landscape; this is because addressing refugee dilemmas and evolving crises as they arise requires structure and customization from SfD, a combination it slightly lacks. In other words, SfD's focus on developing, managing, monitoring and evaluating programs takes time, when political climates can elicit shifts in the refugee context in a matter of days. These points illustrate that the refugee context suffers from the same limitations and structural complexities that other SfD sub-disciplines and the broader development sector have experienced; in particular, the age-old dilemma of top-down versus bottom-up interactions, participant engagement, and measured impact. The sport and refugee movement is still largely dominated by entities and countries considered to be at the 'top'. For example, Western European countries, the United States, and Australia are the largest contributors to research on the sport and refugee movement (Spaaij et al., 2019). Others at the top, by Black's (2017, p. 9) definition include "national, inter-governmental and corporate development actors" that have power and influence over what happens on the ground. With this in mind, we provide the following question to guide our account of the refugee and SfD sub field: How should initiatives in the sport and refugee movement be approached (e.g., top-down, bottom-up, a combination of both) to achieve or strive towards wider social outcomes? We propose that the sector needs a new way of conceptualizing and managing top-down and bottom-up relationships and tensions.

Top-Down, Bottom-Up Tensions in SfD

Scholarship on what top-down versus bottom-up approaches entail is generally stable. Whitley and colleagues (2021) concisely define top-down as "governmental support" (p. 10), and use inside-up, or locally owned, as another phrase for bottom-up. An additional type of effort they offer is outside-in, which signifies externally supported approaches. Here, the scope of this paper narrows to top-down and bottom-up (or inside-up) efforts. In SfD, much of its academic attention has inherently focused on development at the local, grassroots level and the impacts of interventions on target populations (bottom-up). The discipline has confronted internal scrutiny about its Western skewed composition and neo-colonial efforts in low- and middle-income countries (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Welty Peachey et al., 2018), which has reinforced a desire to be inclusive, youth-oriented, and up-close-and-personal to tangible change. Scholars and practitioners alike thus seem to have developed an affinity towards local, community-bred organizations (Garamvölgyi et al., 2022; Whitley & Johnson, 2015), which has distanced actors who work on the broader, higher levels, such as policymakers.

Such top-level individuals and organizations of international authority have been known to perpetuate and condone neo-liberal and neo-colonial policies that impact the grassroots level; it might be suggested that the top 'contaminate' otherwise 'clean-minded' sports programs. As a result, SfD scholars typically illuminate the work of those who are getting their hands dirty and doing work on the ground with often-marginalized people. The knowledge generated at this level is invaluable to the field, compelling to those researching broader aspects of SfD, and of interest to practitioners and actors striving towards the SDGs. Seeing the world through the lens of those at the 'bottom' gives insight credibility and acts as a rite of passage (van Gennep, 1960) for scholars in the discipline.

Currently, in SfD there are limited mechanisms in place that bridge 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches, though scholars have discussed the downsides of the top-down approach of sport interventions and policy (Black et al., 2017; Darnell, 2014; Garamvölgyi et al., 2022; Whitley & Johnson, 2015). Sport programs are rarely created with the intention of having a majority top-down or bottom-up flow of information, but typically the top-down approach dominates, leaving youth participants with lived experience in a position of little to no authority. This is especially true for refugee populations who are often considered vulnerable or less capable (Edge et al., 2014; Parrott et al., 2019).

Top-down approaches can be slow to provide physical and mental health services to refugee groups because of extensive protocols and legal hoops to jump through; perhaps more importantly, they do not always provide what is actually needed by those on the ground (Kang & Svensson, 2019; Lyras & Welty-Peachey, 2011; Rosso & McGrath, 2016; Thorpe & Ahmad, 2015). As Thorpe (2016, p. 105) explained: "care must be taken to avoid top-down approaches that prioritize the interests of stakeholders over the needs, experiences and voices of local residents".

Bottom-up approaches, on the other hand, can suffer from a lack of resources or pathways to appropriately address their needs (Black et al., 2017). With that said, those immersed in a specific context know their context best. Often, community-based organizations are the best placed groups to conduct an intervention. Whitley and Welty Peachey (2020) talked about pushing SfD programs forward through place-based accelerators, or small-scale programs that train local staff to run culturally sensitive, community-based sports. They suggested that training come from NGOs rather than from the 'top'. For people such as young refugees who are an often-marginalized group with specific needs, their perspectives and needs should be at the forefront of SfD initiatives. Recently, more co-creation studies are being conducted, which involve refugees as equal partners in program planning (Luguetti et al., 2021; Luguetti et al., 2022; Robinson et al., 2019; Simonsen & Ryom, 2021). While this is best practice for working with marginalized groups, it is not yet the norm for interventions in SfD. Even though top-down and bottom-up approaches in SfD should be, and are said to be, symbiotic, "it is also, very obviously, an unequal symbiosis, with top-down actors and interests routinely predominating" (Black et al., 2017, p. 14). It has thus been asserted that a combination of top-down and bottom-up tactics are needed to be the most effective in meeting program goals and working towards the SDGs (Kang & Svensson, 2019; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011).

In academia, top-down and bottom-up approaches have been managed by different scholars across disciplines. In the 'top' realm, such as policy, Iain Lindsey has written on policy coherence and the SDGs (see Lindsey & Darby, 2019), while Oliver Dudfield contributed to the Kazan Action Plan, an agenda that reconstructs previous sport policy so it now inherently aligns with the SDGs (see UNESCO, 2017). Contrarily, the discipline of anthropology has addressed the 'bottom' realm, with scholars such as Holly Collison-Randall and Cora Burnett focusing on the local level (see Burnett, 2015; Collison et al., 2017).

In sociology, there is a combination of literature catering to the meso- and bottom levels, with scholars like Richard Giulianotti researching the middle ground between local populations and higher authorities (see Giulianotti et al., 2016), and Ramón Spaaij often publishing empirical work from the ground (see Spaaij & Schailleé, 2020).

Despite the disciplines in which SfD experts reside, the same gap between the top-down and bottom-up approaches exists. As Black (2017, p. 8) pointed out, however, "The challenge faced by scholars and practitioners is not the lack of connections, but rather the form and effects of these connections." It is thus time for an innovative way of establishing and maintaining connections that revolutionize the dichotomous top-down or bottom-up approach.

Innovation in the Sport and Refugee Movement

As can be seen in the increase in co-creation interventions with refugee populations, SfD as a sector is growing significantly in terms of innovation. Also indicative of such trends in novel thought are disciplinary connections beyond SfD, such as psychosocial support (Ley & Barrio, 2019), pedagogy (see Luguetti et al., 2021; Luguetti et al., 2022), and ethics (Cain & Trussel, 2019), amongst others.

Outside of academia, the sport and refugee movement is burgeoning as well. For one, elite sport invested in refugees with the inaugural Refugee Teams competing in the 2016 and 2020 Summer Olympics and Paralympics, which intends to be sustained for future Games. Further, an all-refugee women's football team from Kakuma refugee camp now plays in the Kenya National League (sportanddev.org, n.d.).

Professional sports clubs have also opened their teams to refugee players and celebrated their membership (e.g., footballers Nadia Nadim and Alphonso Davies; swimmer Yusra Mardini; former basketballer Luol Deng), and youth sports programs are becoming more inclusive for young refugees (e.g., African Youth Action Network; Brighton Table Tennis Club; LACES; Soccer without Borders).

Innovation is also happening at the policy level, with initiatives such as the Kazan Action Plan being implemented (see UNESCO, 2017). Each of these examples presents a new way of thinking that extends sport's reach to different sectors and experts in the sport and refugee movement. The final innovative contribution to the movement comes from the Olympic Refuge Foundation (ORF), which was created in the wake of the 2016 Olympics and has created sport programs worldwide for young people affected by displacement. It also has three branches, or extensions, including the Sport for Refugees Coalition, a Community of Practice, and a Think Tank, the latter on which our scope narrows for this paper.

The Olympic Refuge Foundation Think Tank

In early 2020, the ORF established a Think Tank of 26 experts in the domains of sport, refugees, and MHPSS. The Think Tank's main aim is to support the ORF's worldwide sport programming by providing and strengthening the evidence base of sport's utility as a humanitarian mechanism for the holistic well-being of young people affected by displacement. The Think Tank is an extension—rather than part of—the ORF, which sits under the umbrella of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The Think Tank meets virtually each month and is organized into three working groups including Guidance and Tools, Research and Evaluation, and Advocacy and Thought Leadership. The Guidance and Tools group focuses on identifying and collating best practices for sport programs for refugee and displaced young people. The Research and Evaluation group identifies and attempts to close gaps in the literature on the nexus of sport, refugees, and MHPSS. The Advocacy and Thought Leadership group is more outward facing, and considers how other individuals and organizations can potentially learn or gain from the inner workings of the Think Tank. Within the virtual Think Tank space, every member's extant knowledge, thoughts, and values merge, everyone is able to learn from one another, and steps are taken to further strengthen the literature on the intersection of sport, refugees, and MHPSS. Despite the tension between the top-down and bottom-up ends of the spectrum, we admit there is merit in the experiences and journeys of those at the top. In this paper, we spotlight a high-level Think Tank replete with experts in the areas of sport, refugees, and MHPSS.

Clean Mind, Dirty Hands: The Concept, In Theory

One way of conceptualizing this notion of the top and bottom in SfD is through Makhoul et al.'s (2013) concept of 'clean mind, dirty hands'. In 2013, Makhoul and colleagues led a community participatory action research study that applied the concept of "clean mind, dirty hands", or in its original Latin, "manus sordidae, mens pura" (Coggon et al., 1997, as cited in Makhoul et al., 2013).

According to the authors, the clean mind represents a researcher's effort to conduct academically rigorous work, while the dirty hands represent the practical side of research, where theory is put into practice, which can be challenging and messy. In any practical fieldwork endeavor, the duality of this concept can be experienced on a profound level. Within SfD particularly, grassroots work—or the dirty hands side—is highly encouraged and praised in the academic community, and it is generally believed that the 'doers' are on the ground. Scholars in this field have a proclivity to work with non-governmental organizations (NGOs; e.g., Giulianotti), and marginalized populations in grassroots settings (e.g., Spaaij, Collison) as they are often inclusive by nature and may have limited resources to collaborate or conduct their own research. Conversely, in SfD there seems to be a general dislike or aversion to powerful policymakers and business moguls, perhaps because their decisions can have negative trickle-down effects on grassroots programs.

Further, the fact that they are less accessible to those at the community level might make them more mysterious and intimidating. While people at the top represent the 'clean mind' in this analogy, there are different ways of applying Makhoul's concept.

The 'clean mind, dirty hands' concept can be applied in different ways, for instance, by viewing the grassroots organizations as having the clean minds in that they are morally and ethically inclined to provide positive sport experiences for young people. Those at the top, on the contrary, could have dirty hands in the sense that they do not seem to consider the implications of their policies and decisions. Nicholson (2010) offers another interpretation of this concept, stating a 'clean mind' is used to "judge the evidence" that those with dirty hands brought from collecting data. Additionally, in the literature we see that honest accounts of research projects expose the expectations of the fieldwork and the reality of the specific situation. In Makhoul et al.'s (2013) study, for instance, they discuss how they involved a Palestinian refugee camp community in creating a mental health program for young people.While their clean mind theoretically involved community members in all stages of the research process, the result was that "real-life conditions of the camp and its residents, youth and adults alike, stood in the way of rigorous participatory research" (p. 515). Similarly, Amara and colleagues (2005) found that policies relating to sport as a mechanism for the social inclusion of young refugees could be difficult to implement: "While policy outputs may signpost good practice, the reality 'on the ground' may be somewhat different" (p. 28). In this case, the policy acts as the clean mind rather than academic rigour in Makhoul et al.'s study.

The lack of consensus on how Makhoul et al.'s concept could be applied makes room for innovative interpretations and applications. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, clean minds refer to individuals and organizations at the top; that is, international program directors, policymakers, or Executive Directors of NGOs. Conversely, dirty hands refer to people with lived experience of forced displacement, as well as practitioners who work with people who have been forcibly displaced. The Think Tank contains individuals who are predominantly, but not completely, aligned with clean minds compared to dirty hands. It is therefore crucial to note that there is ambiguity around how those with both clean minds and dirty hands are considered; some individuals and organizations do not clearly fit into either category. It is also the case that the degree to which one identifies with a clean mind or dirty hands may change, depending on the circumstances. The rest of this paper is dedicated to explicating the nuances and complexities of the unexplored 'dichotomy' of clean minds and dirty hands in SDP.

Lefebvre and Social Space: In Theory

Henri Lefebvre was a French philosopher whose work crossed over into social science and geography, hence the 'social' production of space. He spoke at length on capitalism and the economy in general, but this is less related to the Think Tank. Though a Marxist at heart, scholars have compared his work to the likes of his contemporaries, including Sartre, Althusser, and Foucault, amongst others (Stewart, 1995). Lefebvre opposed structuralism and existentialism, and was a humanist who saw space as simultaneously concrete and abstract (Fuchs, 2019). Though he was less commonly known compared to other philosophers alive at his time, Lefebvre's *La Production de l'Espace* (1991) is thought provoking work on which our analysis is based.

The Lefebvrian Perspective

Lefebvre saw space in extraordinary ways. For instance, he theorized that at the core of space are humans; we are both its creators and by-products. By this he meant humans create space physically, and the space or environment in which we grow up plays a critical role in making us who we are—space produces us. In a broader sense, societies are constructed from space, and "every society…produces its own space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 31). The result is a site where abstract creations can become reality (Karplus & Meir, 2013). Stanek (2007, p. 75) calls this process "becoming true in practice," which means that space is "produced by material, political, theoretical, cultural, and quotidian practices". These sites are linked in a relational, rather than linear, way, thus embodying the 'social' aspect of Lefebvre's social space. As humans create, are created by, and relate to one another in space, Lefebvre sees space as dynamic and active (Kohe & Collison, 2020), rather than stagnant, as some of his contemporaries saw it. We see his viewpoint on space as akin to Coakley's on sport (2011); he called sport an empty signifier, that it only had as much meaning as humans ascribed to it.

Something we struggled with while applying this theory of space is whether it was concrete or abstract. But in fact, it is both! Gottdiener (1993, p. 130) explains this duality succinctly:

Space was a concrete abstraction. That is, space was both a material product of social relations (the concrete) and a manifestation of relations, a relation itself (the abstract). It was as much a part of social relations as was time.

Again, we can see how human interactions create and influence space. Put another way, "space is a mental and material construct" (Elden, 2007, p. 110). While space can have tangible or material properties such as four walls, its abstract or mental properties would be how the people within those four walls relate to one another. In short, it's impossible to truly capture and define space. Like a cloud in the sky, sometimes we can pinpoint where it starts and ends, but other times it is more difficult. Clouds, like space, are always moving and shape-shifting depending on environmental or external factors. For clouds, these might include wind, temperature, pressure, and humidity. For space these factors might include the characteristics of the people who are creating the space, and societal norms, for instance.

Said another way, space can be better understood if we can genuinely grasp the cultural, geographic, temporal, and social components of a space (Kohe & Collison, 2020). Lefebvre saw how various aspects of one's life (e.g., physical, mental, social) could harmonize with and in one's surroundings (Elden, 2007); his ideals certainly align with the holistic approach of SfD.

Lefebvre (1991) conceptualized social space into three components: representations of space, spatial practice, and representational spaces. Some scholars have used alternative names such as thought / conceived space, production / perceived space, and action / lived space, respectively. Speaking in terms of thought, production and action is more germane and understandable for the purpose of this article, so these will be used hereafter. In brief, the thought space is a 'pre-condition' for production and action, where a group's experiences, thoughts, and knowledge come together. The production space—which in this case is the Think Tank itself—is comprised of social relationships and physical (or here, virtual) space. Finally, the action space is where life happens, where topics can be debated, dismantled, and reconstructed. These three dynamic spaces of Lefebvre's theory are interconnected, interdependent and holistically comprise the social space. In the next section, each part of the triad will be explained, as well as how each is analogous to the Think Tank and Makhoul et al.'s (2013) concept of clean mind, dirty hands.

Lefebvre and Clean Mind, Dirty Hands: In Practice

This section clarifies how the three components of social space (i.e., thought, production, and action spaces) interact with the clean mind, dirty hands concept and the ORF Think Tank. These comprise what Lefebvre calls the 'social space,' which in this case we refer to as 'the sport and refugee movement'. We show how Lefebvre and Makhoul et al.'s concepts come together in a practical, more tangible way by applying them to the ORF Think Tank. Figure 1 below offers a visual of the interaction between these concepts in the Think Tank.

Thought Space / Representations of Space

Although the conceptual triad of thought, production and action does not function linearly, the thought space is like a basis or precondition for the production and action spaces. According to Hayday et al. (2020), the thought space is "a metaphysical starting point for understanding spatial construction" (p. 3). This is where knowledge and power come together in a constructive manner, including individuals' shared values and interests, points of understanding, and morality and ethics. There is therefore an abstract thought space for any entity, group, or discipline. An SfD organizational thought space, for instance, would be inclusive of a variety of perspectives, beliefs, and backgrounds within the discipline.

In the case of the Think Tank, the thought space is exclusive to invited members and thus, purposive, based on members' backgrounds. Thus, the multidisciplinary origin of the Think Tank is where people from various backgrounds, nationalities, and careers come together using their expertise. The thought space is the intersection of sport, displaced populations, and MHPSS that brought all 26 members to the Think Tank to work towards progress in the sport and refugee movement. Consequently, there are individuals who have expertise in any of these three areas, but are not Think Tank members due to its confinements.

Another aspect of thought spaces is that they are "not only socially constructed, but they are representations of power and ideology, of control and surveillance. They are the 'ideal' of how society should be" (Marfell, 2019, p. 594). This is a direct link to Makhoul et al.'s (2013) clean mind, which concerns itself with theory and how, in their case, research should be used and conducted.

Both clean minds and the thought space impose order and expectations, as well as imagination, or "*imagined space*" (Elden, 2007, p. 110, emphasis in original). The thought space is where the Think Tank and clean minds can visualize a future based off of success in their field and the potential impact their work can make; it is where we can think, plan, theorize, and create (Elden, 2007). We note, however, that a clean mind is not comprehensively synonymous with the thought space. In fact, as mentioned above, our conceptualization of clean minds is different from that of Makhoul et al. (2013). With a clean mind representing those at the 'top' of SfD and the sport and refugee movement, it mainly overlaps with the thought space in that both are symbols of power and what could be. Beyond this, we invite future research to build upon the foundations set out in this paper.

Production Space / Spatial Practice

While the thought space is representative of the brain-based work of the Think Tank, the production space is akin to the Think Tank itself. The production space is a physical form, a site that is generated and used. This is a unique aspect with the Think Tank as its international members and intersection with the global pandemic meant it exists in a virtual production space. Also called 'perceived space' by Lefebvre, this space includes the behaviors, dispositions, and overt interactions of people, in this case, the Think Tank members, within the space (van Ingen, 2003). The social relationships, formalities, and potential hierarchies that exist in the group are thus perceivable, and part of the production space.

In addition to the social relationships within the Think Tank, the Think Tank as a whole has relationships with other entities which count as part of the production space: its existence as an extension of the Olympic Refuge Foundation, its connection to the International Olympic Committee, the Sport for Refugees Coalition, Community of Practice, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and more. Lefebvre notes that this space works best when these social relationships—in and out of the Think Tank—are cohesive. The harmony of the relationships is what makes the space one of production. However, we believe there is significant value in the process of getting to that place of harmony or cohesion. In other words, the contestations, discussions, and meticulously planned projects are part of the production space as well. In one sense, this is the clean-minded Think Tank shifting to a more dirty hands orientation. For instance, the authors collaborated with another Think Tank member on a small, internal project which took months of planning, analyzing, gathering feedback, and publishing. Thus, both clean minds and dirty hands can have a seat at the table in the Think Tank production space, but no individual, nor the Think Tank itself, is always aligned with either a clean mind or dirty hands. Rather, a spectrum of clean minds (top) to dirty hands (bottom) exists, challenging the traditional dichotomy.

Action Space / Representational Space

Lefebvre's final space is the representational, or action, space. This space lends itself perfectly to 'dirty hands' (Makhoul et al., 2013), as it is largely based on how we can bring thought and production together to create action. Also called the lived space, it is "shaped by the symbolism and meaning vested in space by society. It can be seen as the emotional bonding agent between society and its space, a produced ideology of space and sense of place" (Karplus & Meir, 2013, p. 26). In a given society, group, or in this case, Think Tank, the action space will look differently, with informal or local forms of knowledge (Elden, 2007) forming the vital basis for action to occur. Similar to how Elden referred to the thought space as 'imagined,' he refers to the action space as 'real'. This realness, this reality, is exactly how Makhoul and colleagues (2013) define dirty hands.They represent what truly happens in research, what happens at the 'bottom,' despite our 'clean mind' effort to collect data smoothly.

Simply put, the action space, and dirty hands, are messy. Hayday et al. (2020) discussed this third space as a site for advocacy and activism, for "challenging power relations, disrupting structural hierarchies and rebuilding democratic conditions for spatial membership" (p. 4). While the production space houses any potential power structures that exist, the action space is where it can be eliminated or reinforced. The critical thought that goes into the action space, the lived space, can pave a path for new ways of thinking, producing, and even acting (Kohe & Collison, 2020). Similar to how the thought space is not exclusive to clean minds, the action space is not exclusive to dirty hands; the movement between the spaces by those with clean mind or dirty hands orientations is what warranted the creation of a spectrum to counter dichotomous thinking. The culmination of the clean minds, dirty hands concept and Lefebvre's theory of social space are presented in Figure 1 below.

Lefebvre and Clean Mind, Dirty Hands: A Visualization

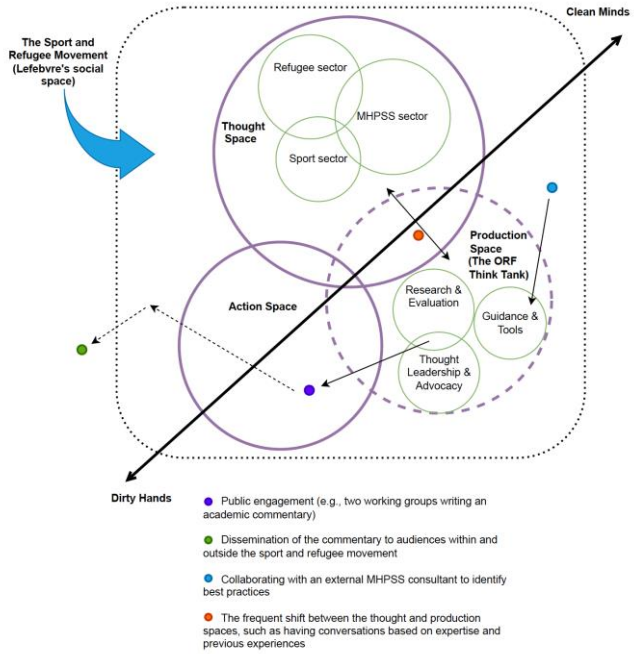

Figure 1. A Conceptualisation of Lefebvre's Theory of Social Space as Applied to the formation of the ORF Think Tank. The clean minds, dirty hands spectrum runs through all three spaces, with dirty hands being most closely associated with the action space.

Figure 1 is a visual of how we conceptualize and interpret Lefebvre's theory of social space in regard to the status quo of the ORF Think Tank in 2022. The dotted outer boundary represents Lefebvre's social space, which in this case is representative of the sport and refugee movement. As discussed, the thought space is the foundational precondition filled with Think Tank members' expertise, values, and previous experiences. It contains the three sectoral backgrounds in which members are experts. The Think Tank itself comprises the production space, which inherently contains social relationships, networks and hierarchies within the group.The thought and production spaces significantly overlap because the production space is dependent upon the thought space; without Think Tank members' values, beliefs, experiences, and thoughts, the entity would not exist. Though the action space was quite siloed from the thought and production spaces early on in the Think Tank's tenure, in 2022 it is more integrated, and thus overlaps with the other two spaces.Think Tank's inception, sport was more disconnected from them. This represents a shift in discourse from heavily MHPSS and refugee focused to a more balanced focus that includes sport.

Similarly, in the production space there is overlap—in this case, collaboration—between the thought leadership and research sub-groups, which was non-existent a year earlier. The guidance and tools group was interpreted to be more disconnected with the other two sub-groups.

Within the three spaces, there are siloes and overlaps as well. In the thought space, for instance, Figure 1 shows the sport sector barely overlapping with the MHPSS and refugee sectors; at the In addition, Figure 1 presents four key moments in the Think Tank's tenure that align with different spaces. The creation and dissemination of an academic commentary, for example, is a project that started in the production space, moved through the action space and extended beyond it, exemplifying that action occurs beyond the confinements of the group as a result of in-group discussions and learning. The arrows emanating from the production space, through the action space and beyond, are representative of the potential of Think Tank work to move into the broader refugee and sport movement, as well as beyond it. Finally, the bi-directional arrows between the thought and production spaces demonstrate a cycle of discussion about certain topics. Members seem to frequently connect their values, beliefs, expertise and thoughts to what they say and propose during monthly meetings. This reflects a merging of the two spaces that was less apparent in the Think Tank's early days.

The other crucial component of Figure 1 is the thick arrow running through all three spaces; this is the clean minds, dirty hands spectrum. Throughout this paper, we have mentioned that the thought space and clean minds were not completely synonymous but had shared traits, as well as the heavy similarities between dirty hands and the action space. And, the production space is where those with clean minds and dirty hands come together. The spectrum allows SfD scholars, practitioners, directors, and policymakers to recognise that one may fall on any point of the spectrum depending on what a situation requires of them.

For example, top-oriented, clean-mind officials may shift towards the dirty hands end of the spectrum if they thoroughly engage at the community level. In the same way, a practitioner with dirty hands may temporarily 'wash their hands' and shift towards the clean minds end of the spectrum if they are trying to influence government officials to enact better policy.

No one and no organization thus has only a clean mind or only dirty hands; varying degrees of each can coexist, which the spectrum exemplifies.

Finally, it is important to note that the spectrum purposefully extends beyond the sport and refugee movement, simply to establish the potential of the spectrum to be applied to other contexts, disciplines, and/or entities like the Think Tank.

DISCUSSION

So far in this manuscript we have laid out Lefebvre's theory of social space and explained how it interacts with the clean mind, dirty hands concept in SfD. We challenge, however, that the latter concept is dichotomous. With Lefebvre's theory being so dynamic, it would be unjust to ignore the thought that an individual—in this case, a member of the Think Tank—could have both a clean mind and dirty hands, doing work with those at both the top and the bottom. That said, it may not be feasible to have or embody both simultaneously. For Think Tank members who do work on the ground, this would imply that an internal process occurs where they change from the dirty hands side to the clean mind side before engaging with the Think Tank. They first 'wash their hands', or detach themselves slightly from their practical work, before having a clean mind.

A benefit of going through this internal washing process is that it can minimize power dynamics within the Think Tank. However, by those with dirty hands getting clean and detaching from their work, those with clean minds can't quite be aware of what tools and resources are needed on the ground, in the action space. Could those doing work on the ground bring their dirty hands into the clean mind space and be heard? Said another way, what happens when we move from the action space to the production space, instead of the (typical) other way around?

Ideally we are left with a cycle where clean minds inform dirty hands, and the results from getting one's hands dirty then inform a clean mind. But we want to emphasize that a single individual can have varying degrees of both. In fact, we argue this is necessary for the field of SfD. Currently, it seems that those doing work on the ground mostly do just that. And those with clean minds at the top just stay there. The mixing of the two is rare, and when they do mix it can be laden with power imbalances skewed towards those with clean minds. But shifting the narrative, as the Think Tank is attempting to do, means abiding by a model where people with dirty hands have the opportunity to wash them and think with a clean mind, or simply come as they are. One way to concretize this mixing of clean mind and dirty hands is through the term "glocal," coined by Giulianotti and Robertson (2004). Glocal is the connecting of global and local issues, and can thus be analogized to the merging of the global clean minds and local dirty hands. Garamvölgyi and colleagues (2022) claimed that social change can be achieved by complementing culturally-sensitive sport programs with top-down interventions at the grassroots level. In practice, this is what we would hope to see in the coming years in SfD. However, this would seem much more realistic if we were confident that those at the top had, at some point, dirty hands experience that informed their clean minds.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Both individuals and organizations, no matter where they identify on the spectrum of clean minds to dirty hands, can benefit from this novel conceptualization. Those doing work mostly on the ground can use this concept to recognise potential pathways to the top. By connecting with people who have a mixture of clean mind and dirty hands experience, for instance, a grassroots organization could then create a partnership or advocacy plan with people in the middle of the spectrum. In Lefebvrian verbiage, those heavily invested in the action space need to, temporarily, shift their focus and resources to the production space to have a greater impact at the top. On the other end of the spectrum, high-level organizations and individuals should look to organizations and individuals doing work on the ground to inform top-down policies and decisions. From the overlap of the production and action spaces, for instance, researchers could look to employ methodologies such as participatory action research, which involves doing research with, rather than on, a phenomenon. The thought and production spaces must be managed in such a way that the action space can properly overlap with each of them.

Amplifying the voices of those doing work with refugees and internally displaced people will add crucial perspective to policies; the impact will then reach those who had input on said policies.

Given that many may find themselves somewhere in middle of the spectrum, having both a clean mind and dirty hands has its benefits and drawbacks. It means these individuals and organizations have the opportunity to be part of the link or bridge between those working on either end of the spectrum.

As mentioned earlier, they can be the vessels through which information gets passed from the top down and from the bottom up.

For example, top-oriented, clean-mind officials may shift towards the dirty hands end of the spectrum if they thoroughly engage at the community level. In the same way, a practitioner with dirty hands may temporarily 'wash their hands' and shift towards the clean minds end of the spectrum if they are trying to influence government officials to enact better policy. No one and no organization thus has only a clean mind or only dirty hands; varying degrees of each can coexist, which the spectrum exemplifies.

In addition, being in the middle means having the influence to effect more direct changes at either end. It is possible these individuals and organizations are more credible and influential because they have a broader range of experiences than those who stay at the spectrum's ends. In a way, those who find themselves in the middle have the most dynamic shifting of spaces. They are more frequently moving amongst the action, production and thought spaces. A downside of this, however, is the likelihood of not being able to fully immerse oneself in any of the spaces—or either end the clean mind, dirty hands spectrum. With fixed amounts of time and resources, it may not be possible to get a comprehensive sense of what is happening at the top and the bottom. Nonetheless, there is great import for all individuals and organizations at any point on this spectrum, and in any of Lefebvre's spaces. It is the communication and connections amongst the spectrum and the spaces that will determine how impactful SfD can be for young refugees.

Thus, the crux of this model demonstrates that space is not static and can be influenced and changed by the people within those spaces. Similarly, the dirty hands, clean mind concept is not at all dichotomous and should be treated and considered as a spectrum on which individuals and organizations can move. An essential implication of Lefebvre's theory of space is that if change is to happen, the first order of business is to change the space. Only then should the pathways and next steps be pursued. The challenge, then, is ensuring that opportunities to connect and build bridges along the spectrum and within the three spaces are utilized to their full potential. What could the SfD sector look like if this were the case?

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there were no potential conflicts of interest in relation to this research.

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Original Research

The Value of Sport Sampling as an Influence and Intervention in a Sport-Based Youth Development Program

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ABSTRACT

Through engagement with sport and physical activity, sport-based youth development (SBYD) programs aim to support the development of youth toward a positive sense of self, enrich their human and social capital, and enhance their personal skills, development assets, and competencies. The purpose of this study is to explore the role, programmatic strategy, and impact of sport sampling opportunities offered in a SBYD program. To this end, we interviewed 19 racially and economically marginalized youth, ages 10-17 years old, participating in an after-school SBYD program on the campus of a large university in the Southeast United States. Data revealed four themes (sampling sport, emotional management, development outcomes, and sports mentoring) comprised of 12 sub-themes. We discuss each against the backdrop of the racially and economically marginalized community in which participants live. Implications of our study can be used to help advance sport-sampling as a development intervention in campus-community partnerships, as well as expand our conceptual understanding of sport sampling.

The Value of Sport Sampling as an Influence and Intervention in a Sport-Based Youth Development Program

Sport is a valued environment offering unique challenges and opportunities in which physical, cognitive, and emotional skills can be learned and practiced, as well as personal development outcomes realized (Turnnidge et al., 2014). Sport has also been recognized as a platform from which societal issues, particularly those disparately impacting disadvantaged groups, can be addressed in a socially just manner (Camiré et al., 2021) to provide opportunities for equity, social inclusion, and community development (Cohen et al., 2014; Skinner et al., 2008). Understanding and utilizing sport as an instrument to facilitate social cohesion, a sense of connection, and local capacity development contributes to physical and socially healthy communities (Shilbury et al., 2008). Likewise, empirical research has demonstrated, albeit to varying degrees, that sport has the potential as both a context and intervention to positively influence youth development (Bruner et al., 2021). Thus, sport-based youth development (SBYD) programs utilize the unique appeal and effectiveness of sport and physical activity to design curriculum that best supports youth in their advancement of life skills, human and social capital, emotional intelligence, as well as positive engagement with their community, and enhanced sense of self (Coakley, 2011; Perkins & Noam, 2007; Petitpas et al., 2017).

Keywords: sport-based youth development, sport sampling, physical activity

However, to capitalize on the utility of sport toward these ends, programming must be deliberate in its efforts (see Jones et al., 2017). The potential positive gains of SBYD programming will be largely dependent upon the delivery of curriculum and interventions, as well as how they are received or experienced by participants (Bruner et al., 2021). Within this design process, SBYD administrators (e.g., coaches, parents, volunteers, etc.) must be cognizant of their role in creating and maintaining a supportive environment that provides sport-based interventions and physical activities that reinforce and encourage confidence and a positive sense of self (Holt & Neely, 2011; Hornor, 2017; Jones et al., 2017). Sport mentorship, the use of sport and physical activity to develop relationships that contribute to youths' attainment and advancement of personal and interpersonal life skills, has been found to "be a unique context and tool for developing self-management and growth skills" (Choi et al., 2015, p. 270). Along with the integration of nontraditional and innovative youth development models, sport-based interventions have resulted in making physical activity more "accessible and appealing for underprivileged populations" (Cohen & Ballouli, 2018, p. 367).

For instance, when interviewing youth who have experienced trauma and are coming from under-resourced communities, Whitley et al. (2018) found sport can serve as an optimal context and intervention toward the development and transference of life skills. Similarly, Wegner et al., (2022) found the teamwork often inherent in competition and the sporting space can facilitate positive interactions and relationships between participants, peers, coaches, and mentors that further integrate necessary community and family elements into the program. Sport has also been found to be a catalyst for change agents and cause champions, who from their own experiences with trauma or marginalization, desire to "give back" through social entrepreneurship and sport-for and youth development initiatives (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015). Thus, it is important that SBYD programs in sociocultural and economically marginalized communities offer opportunities for positive relationship building among youth and local peers, adults, mentors, and community leaders; social engagement with whom will lead to the development of life skills through individual, familial, sociocultural, and community strengths and resources (Arinze & McGarry, 2021; Clauss-Ehlers, 2008; Johns et al., 2014; Seccombe, 2002; Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012). In this study we provide insight into how one SBYD program utilized the sampling of sports toward this end. As a result, we additionally expand upon the conceptual understanding of sport sampling.

Sport Sampling and SBYD

The practice of sport sampling is typically understood as participating in more than one sport per year, or different iterations of the same sport, to participating in multiple sports or activities to enhance physical and motor development rather than the pursuit elite skill development in one sport (Côté et al., 2020; Jones & Chang, 2021). Sport sampling has been linked to positive sport outcomes, such as fundamental motor skill competency, lower frequency of athletic injuries, decreased rate of burnout, and psychosocial outcomes, such as improved social skills, leadership skills, and positive identity development (DiStefano et al., 2018; Fransen et al., 2012). Moreover, engagement with varied sports (i.e., sampling) affords participants prospects to develop diverse skill sets across a variety of affective, cognitive, physical, and even psychosocial environments (Côté et al., 2009). Although recent scholarship has suggested the wide-ranging benefits and challenges of sport sampling, little has occurred as to whether, and if so how, these benefits are being afforded to and experienced by youth from under-resourced communities (Whitley et al., 2018). The extent to which sport sampling is engendered and fostered within the sporting realities (e.g., through SBYDs and similar programs) of racially marginalized youth communities requires additional examination. Still, youth development programs that utilize sport to emphasize and reinforce the attainment and enhancement of assets and resources are appropriate, given the proclivity of sport and physical activity to provide various learning opportunities (Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012).

As it concerns SBYD and the likes of after-school programs, Côté et al. (2009) argued the merits of encouraging youth to engage in a variety of sports and physical activities throughout the course of their development. For those youth "who are afforded the chance to participate in multiple activities [they] will be less likely to drop out and will also gain the psychosocial benefits associated with [sport] sampling" (Côté et al., 2009, p. 10). In this understanding, the sampling (i.e., engagement) of various sports aid youth in the attainment and enhancement of skills and assets that are practiced and applied across a variety of affective, cognitive, physical, and even psychosocial environments. For instance, "different sports and physical activities may facilitate the development of different components of neuromuscular control, including endurance, stability, movement quality, power, agility, strength, flexibility, and speed, to varying degrees,"

whereby the underdevelopment of any of these components may lead to increased "risk of injury and compromise future physical activity participation" (DiStefano et al., 2018, p. 161). It is this understanding of sport sampling, as a practice to reduce physical injury, lower burnout symptoms, extend engagement with sport and physical activity, and increase performance satisfaction among youth athletes that seems to be most proliferated (Carder et al., 2020; Giusti, 2020).

In noting that a developmental outcome of sampling was connecting youth to more diverse peer groups, Côté et al. (2009) argued that "peer acceptance becomes an important aspect of a positive self-concept," whereby sampling benefits youth "who do not make friends in one [sport] program by providing them a chance to be accepted in another" (p. 10). For instance, coed and nontraditional sports such as quidditch have been found to reduce gender stereotypes, increase inclusivity, and enhance feelings of self-confidence pride among marginalized groups (i.e., women) who might otherwise be excluded (Cohen et al., 2014). However, due to structural factors and socialization effects, certain youth may be restricted from the benefits of experiencing different sports and not afforded acceptance within sporting spaces. If youth from racially and socioeconomically marginalized communities are barred from diverse sporting experiences and/or siloed into sports that reinforce their identity, there is an increased risk of furthering racial disparities in sport-based and physical activity outcomes, such as health and psychosocial developmental skills, needed to positively engage with sport across one's life course (Sagas, 2013). Thus, the primary purpose of this study is to examine the role and outcomes of sport, and more specifically sport sampling, in the programmatic strategy of an afterschool SBYD program serving racially and economically marginalized youth. Knowing that outcomes of SBYD programs are contingent on a combination of social contextual factors and how curriculum activities (i.e., sport) are both utilized and experienced, our study was guided by wanting to learn more about 1) what constitutes sport sampling, 2) how sport sampling materializes, 3) facilitators of sport sampling, and 4) experiences with and outcomes of sport sampling within an SBYD program. Additionally, we propose sport sampling be conceptually extended to account for more inclusive types of engagement with and consumption of multiple and diverse sports.

METHODS

Wanting to learn from individual experiences with sport sampling in an SBYD program and curate a holistic understanding of sport sampling, we conducted a basic qualitative study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

The Program

The primary context in which the participants were asked to consider their sport and physical activity experiences, along with the subsequent impact of said experiences, was during their time in a SBYD afterschool program. The program was initiated in 2016. In addition to grants, donations, and fundraising, financial support is provided by a national sport foundation focused on developing tennis and educational outreach. In its infancy, the program met at a local recreation center, to which participants could walk, and were granted access to meeting rooms and the outdoor tennis courts. Not long after, the program's Executive Director and the principal investigator forged a research services agreement that provided the program with daily access to a gymnasium on the campus of a large, public, predominantly White institution (PWI) in the southeast United States. Students and their families had to apply to be admitted into the program and commit to attendance for the full school year. An arrangement was made with the local school district to bus children from several middle and high schools to the campus gymnasium at the end of each school day. Once present and accounted for, the program participants were offered a curriculum of academic assistance, character and life skills development, and sport and physical activity opportunities. One day of programming was spent learning and playing tennis, one day involved unstructured free time in which participants selected their sport or physical activity (e.g., dancing, walking, basketball, football, soccer, etc.), and the remaining three days are intermittently scheduled around academics, personal development, and various planned or unstructured physical activity opportunities. The interventions relevant to this study consist of sport facility tours, attending sporting events, and engaging with the institution's varsity (occasionally) and recreational sport programs. The intent is to take a holistic approach toward sport sampling and utilize it to promote and reinforce program participants' developmental assets and protective factors in academic, physical, health, cognitive, and psycho-social domains (Bailey, 2016; Whitley et al., 2019).

Data Collection

Previous research on sport sampling and youth development has been homogenous, primarily, and quantitatively focusing on the athleticism and sport performance(s) of boys and young men (Murata et al., 2021). Given this, we take a qualitative approach via interviews, and consider participant responses and experiences against the backdrop of the racially and economically marginalized community in which they live. Based on the exploratory nature of our work, we conducted semi-structured interviews to inquire how experiences with sport sampling impacted the program's youth, was integrated into the program's curriculum, and informed program development. A semi-structured interview guide was developed with 14 questions aimed at learning more about the participant experiences, reactions to, and potential impact of the various sport and physical activity opportunities provided through the program. To help ensure questions were programmatically and culturally relevant to the participants, as well as to minimize the potential influence of our race(s), cultural values, and gender identities on the questions and direction of the interview, input on the interview guide was collected from the executive director. Examples of questions and subsequent probes include: 1) When you have free time in the program, do you play sports or try to be active? If so, what do you do and why? and 2) Thinking about of your sport and physical activity experiences here, have you been more physically active since joining this program? How has the program influenced this change? Are you aware of any health benefits associated with sport and physical activity? Are you physically active in any other ways (e.g., walking, hiking, etc.) outside of the program?

At the time of data collection, the program had 51 youth participants, four full-time administrators, and approximately 20 volunteer coaches. Participants were recruited based on attendance and time in the program. Prior to the recruitment of participants and conducting interviews, university IRB approval was obtained. Accordingly, both parental consent and participant assent were gathered. Interviews were conducted and recorded via Zoom (2019) and Google Hangouts (2020). An administrator from the SBYD program also joined the interviews to ensure compliance. A total of 19 interviews were conducted by two members of the research team, averaging 29 minutes and 53 seconds. The longest interview lasted 49 minutes and 29 seconds while the shortest took 13 minutes and 19 seconds.

Participants

At the time of data collection, 51 youth were active in the SBYD program and invited to participate in this study; 19 of whom agreed. The participants ranged in age from 12-17 years old, as well as time in the program, 0.5–4 years. Five (26.3%) of the participants identified as male and 14 (73.7%) as female. Fifteen (78.9%) of the participants racially identified as Black or African American, 3 (15.8%) selected Other (identifying as Puerto Rican or Multiracial), and 1 (5.3%) identified as Hispanic/Latinx. The household income of all 19 participants fell below the United Way ALICE (**A**sset **L**imited, **I**ncome **C**onstrained, **E**mployed) threshold, "the average income that a household needs to afford the basic necessities defined by the Household Survival Budget for each county in Florida" (United Way of Florida, 2020, p. 2).

Data Analysis

Our analysis undertook a process akin to that of Braun and Clarke (2006; 2021): transcriptions of all 19 interviews underwent deep reads by each of the three researchers; after which two of the researchers independently coded the raw data (Saldaña, 2013). The principal investigator (PI) was the most involved and knowledgeable with the SBYD program and research project, and thus, collected the initial codes from the two researchers, reviewed their coding results, and developed themes. To improve coding reliability, the themes were returned to the coders, who then grouped words, sentences, and/or phrases in accordance with the nascent themes. In accordance with a codebook analysis, new themes were developed and suggested by the coders when thought appropriate (Braun & Clarke, 2021). The research team reconvened and after several rounds of reviews and discussion of the data, confirmed the data's themes and sub-themes through a negotiated agreement process, in which codes were compared and disagreements discussed to minimize discrepancies and strengthen intercoder agreement (Campbell et al., 2013; Thomas, 2006). As a result, the number of established themes and sub-themes devolved from 30 to 19 to a final tally of 16 (Table 1).

Table 1

Themes and Sub-Themes Identified From Youth (n = 19) Interview Data

Theme	Sub-Themes
Sampling Sport	Positive Affect Toward Sport
	Positive Affect Toward Tennis
	Sport Event Attendance
	Varsity and Club Team Visits
Emotional Management	Sport/Physical Activity as an Emotional Release
	Anger Management
Development Outcomes	Confidence
	Motivation
	Interpersonal Assets
Sports Mentoring	Positive Relationships
	Sense of Connection
	Role Models

Reflexive Practice

Throughout this entire process of data collection, analysis, and interpretation we were mindful of our respective positions (formally and informally), existent power dynamics, and identities in relation to the program and its participants, as well as one another (Vadeboncoeur & Bopp, 2020). The research team was comprised of three individuals identifying as heterosexual, cisgender males, with two racially identifying as White and the third as Black. The PI (White) had a previous working relationship with the executive director from which an institutional research-service agreement with the SBYD program evolved. The two members of the research team were the PI and program's graduate assistants, respectively.

We recognize and were considerate toward the potential influence of our racial, cultural, and gender identities on participant responses, as well as our understanding and sharing of their lived experiences. Moreover, we acknowledge our educational upbringings and epistemological lenses influenced not only the questions asked, but also the perception and interpretation of participant responses and experiences through a singularly focused and privileged lens. (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2021). In doing so, we engaged with the data in an interpretive manner that resulted in complimentary and contradictory understandings and inferences, facilitating critical discussions that led each researcher to examine his values, assumptions, prior experiences, and frames of reference in relation to his analysis and interpretations of the data (Emery & Anderman, 2020). This reflexive practice was largely maintained through self-awareness of our perceptions and biases, self-reflection on said biases, and purposes for our interest and engagement with work in this space.

RESULTS

Aiming for our work to contribute to literature on sport sampling and SBYD programs, our thematic analysis of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2021) resulted in four themes (sampling sport, emotional management, development outcomes, and sports mentoring), comprised of 12 sub-themes. Supporting evidence can be found in the following extracts.

Sampling Sport

Sampling sports can occur in a variety of settings with different levels of engagement Côté & Vierimaa, 2014). In the case of this program, participants pointed to participation in various sport and physical activities, attendance at several sporting events, visiting (and playing) with several campus club and varsity sport programs, as well as the program's use of professional athletes and sport vernacular in programming. These sampling opportunities resulted in the cultivation of more positive affect toward sport in general, with a particular emphasis on tennis. The interventions used in this process were also found to be noteworthy.

Positive Affect Toward Sport

Overall, the various sport sampling occurrences resulted in enhanced positive affect toward sports. Simply put by Jade, "it made me want to look into it and play more, play harder and want to get into different kinds of sports." But it was not just playing sports in which participants' interest grew, she went on to add that the program encouraged physical activity, "I've seen a lot of people go there not liking sports, not liking being physical…and that's the only thing they want to do now." Maggie supported such sentiments, adding "It made me more interested in sports because now I actually would love to play the game(s) when I get to high school." While Cindy doesn't have specific plans, she:

always wanted to be in an extracurricular activity, but when it comes to sports, never really got the chance to. So, when I joined [program name], I was like, oh wow, a sport, exciting. After that, I kind of got interested in doing sports and stuff like that.

Being introduced to formally unfamiliar sports also had a positive influence on perceptions of said sports. When sampling quidditch, a club sport adapted from the Harry Potter film series (Warner Bros., 2022), Marcus was suspicious at first, "I was like, what's this? This game looks weird. It don't even look fun. Then, when we finally got to play it, I was like, oh, this is actually pretty interesting and fun." Lisa was also more open to sampling different sports because of being in the program: "I haven't ever tried another sport but tennis and track, so this year I'm trying to open my options up and see what sport I really, really want to take on in my life or when I go to college." Likewise, Carl's attitude positively shifted because of the program's sport sampling opportunities, admitting "I thought it was going to be boring, but definitely try new things because you don't know if you're going to like it or not. And so far, I'm really enjoying being here." For many of the participants, tennis was a new sport and a focal point of the program.

Positive Affect Toward Tennis

It was not surprising that participants spent time reflecting on their experiences with tennis, as it was the primary sport on which this program focused. Despite minimal experience with the sport, several participants began playing tennis recreationally, and even for their school teams, like Mindy who shared:

When I first started playing tennis, of course, I didn't really know how to do anything. And I went on to play, I would play it for fun. I just wanted to get better to beat people in games, and then that drove me to actually wanting to play the sport.

The program was also good for Adrian: "I actually enjoyed that [tennis]. I mean, I wasn't that good, but I actually enjoyed that. I guess that's what made me want to play a little bit." Even if the participants did not engage with tennis outside of the program, their perceptions of the sport seemed to improve. Lebron was not ready to totally commit to the sport but admitted, "I mean, I ain't going to say like, I'm INTERESTED, interested, but at the same time, it's kind of cool. Kind of straight." Though it was not always the sport itself that endeared participants to it; the way the coaches (i.e., program administrators) introduced and taught the sport was beneficial. Mindy went on:

I like playing tennis with [program name] because it's like we all get to have fun, even though a lot of us, we didn't know how to play at first. They always taught us and made sure that we knew what we were doing in the end and all that stuff like that. They made sure that if we wanted extra help, they put us one-on-one with coaches. We would play games all together; always trying to make it fun.

The sport sampling opportunities were not strictly limited to playing the games, but also attending several live sport events such as basketball, football, soccer, and tennis.

Sport Event Attendance

The overwhelming sentiment toward the live sport event experiences was positive, and for several different reasons. The direct outcome of engaging with sports as fans was not readily apparent in participants' responses, but it was evident that being there was a positive influence on them. For many of the participants, attending various events was their first time to experience a sport in person, which stood out to Sherry:

I usually don't go to college games or professional games, just because my parents won't take me. So, I mean, it was nice to actually get the experience of being able to go with [program name], since I never got the experience before. My first football game was with [program name], and my first volleyball, college volleyball game and swimming and gymnastics and basketball. I never knew about gymnastics, and I didn't know anything about it. And swimming because I never been to a swim meet before.

Mindy enjoyed how different sports had different environments:

tennis was just different than [football and basketball] because we have to be quiet for most of the round. After the point is over, that's when we can cheer, and we can make noise and all. But that was a good experience to me.

Cindy enjoyed the atmosphere of the football game enough to want to go back:

I'm not really a football girl…But when I went there, it was like, everybody's just cheering, and they're so happy. And they're excited about who's winning, who's losing and stuff like that. And then half time. All of that, I was like, "Okay, this is like, this is very thrilling to see. I want to come back.

The impact of being at the football game was positive for Lisa as well:

just to see the experience, how people take the game so serious. I can just see [the game] on TV, but I can't see the peoples' reactions and stuff. But just seeing them up and close, people really will die for this game...it just was a good time."

The integration of live sporting events into the SBYD program not only had a positive influence on participant experiences, but this finding contributes to our conceptual characterization of sport sampling.

Varsity and Club Team Visits

Another means by which the program offered sport sampling opportunities was through engagement with several of the university's varsity and recreational sport teams:

It's been a couple of them that come out and teach us something new and productive to do…Sometimes I wouldn't be in the mood, but when I really get into it, then it's just like, "Oh, wow, okay. I like this. I mean, I'm going to keep on doing it. I like it." So, it's not all bad as I'm making seem when I have first impressions. (Cindy)

The quidditch club team visit also helped Jade, who is not interested in mainstream sports, feel more included and appreciated: "I'm a big Harry Potter fan, so to think I could actually play that in the real world was kind of fun; just to watch everyone have fun with it and experience some of the things that I like." Other sports were specifically mentioned as well. Cindy "always wanted to play volleyball, but never really got the chance. So some days, they have people come and teach us how to play volleyball. I really enjoyed that because that's a sport I've always wanted to play." LeBron "learned way more about soccer than I knew before, [and] still want to play it."

Aside from learning about and experiencing different sports, these visits had the supplemental benefit of educating participants on how sport can contribute to personal development and other benefits of interscholastic play. Adrian liked to hear from the players "what they did to make it that far, and what advice do they have for their younger selves" in school. Similarly, Sherry appreciated learning "what it takes to be an athlete in college, that was a very big day. They were telling us, besides teaching us how to play the sport itself." She went on to describe how the quidditch club team was not about fiercely competing and winning, but "was more for fun. They were basically telling us, how, even though you're in college, you could still have fun and have time to rest, just leisure." This further elucidates how and why athletes are often looked up to as role models (discussed in a later theme).

Emotional Management

Participants revealed how their involvement with sport and physical activity in the SBYD program provided them with a space and opportunities to constructively manage their emotions. Specifically, sport participation and physical activity manifested as a means toward emotional release and anger management.

Sport/Physical Activity as an Emotional Release

A consistent benefit of the program were the opportunities for youth to utilize sport and physical activity as a means of emotional release. Terri appreciated the chance to "get out my energy," while Cindy enjoyed playing sports to "keep me going" and "make my energy run a little bit". Lisa found playing tennis to have a "calming" effect, allowing her to "get a lot out". In this regard, tennis specifically served as a stress release for many participants, providing a space to unburden themselves from the day's worries and personal cares. For instance, Maggie played to "get all my stress out" and Tasha capitalized on the sport to "take [her] stress away". Adrian just "liked the feeling of hitting [the ball]". Later in the interview, Lisa provided insight into how tennis served as both a release and a means to help manage her anger:

Imagine a problem is on the ball and I hit it as far as I can to get it out to release my stress or if a person makes me mad or if a coach, I just put their name on the ball and just hit it as far as it goes.

Anger Management

Lisa went on to add, "I just let all the anger come out of me." In this manner, sport and physical activity served as a lesson on how to restrain, re-orient, and/or manage angered emotions. Marcus shared that when he gets mad, he used to "be ready to fight. But now, I just take my anger out on the court or the field", and that this approach "felt good.

I feel better than I have". Cindy learned that when she's angry with someone, she does not "have to let it out on other people. I can let out with the sport that I'm doing." Similarly, when Alan plays basketball, "if I am mad, it lets me take my anger out." JJ put it most succinctly when asked what he liked about the program's sport and physical activity opportunities: "Let me see, you get to control your anger."

Our findings suggest that this SBYD program successfully utilized sports and sport sampling to help participants understand and navigate their emotional skillsets in a culturally relevant and socially responsible manner "based on youth's social realities" (Camiré et al., 2021, p. 9).

Development Outcomes

As a SBYD program, the administrators were intentional in their efforts toward the development of psychological-based assets and positive outcomes through sport. This was conveyed in the participants responses as they spoke of increased confidence and motivation to engage with sport and physical activity. The development of individual and interpersonal assets was also prominent among the discussions.

Confidence

Program administrators and coaches are trained to be encouraging and supportive; the outcome of which is a positive influence on the participants confidence, particularly relative to their sport and physical abilities. Shanice said she "used to just be bad at everything, but now that I'm confident, I can play sports with other people". Similarly, Alan "used to not be confident playing with the older kids…but [the program] pushed me to be better. I feel now that I'm better. I feel like I'm able to play with the bigger kids." In reference to sampling a new sport (i.e., roller hockey), Jade revealed that "it was super hard. I wanted to give up and stop playing but watching everyone else and having everybody else encourage me boosted my confidence and wanted to keep going and keep trying". Moreover, Jade appreciated coaches:

staying by my side and not letting me think any less of myself with challenges. Just knowing that I can do it. Once I put time into it and I learned everything that I need to do, that nothing can stop me.

Tammy found strength from the "activities I do. It's made me more confident, like when, when I look back to what I did. It encouraged me too…if I did that, then I can deal with this, what I'm doing right now". These last two sentiments demonstrate that the skills and assets youth were developing through sport and physical activity, could be applied and were transferable to other aspects of their lives, not just sport.

Motivation

Likewise, the encouragement and positivity demonstrated by program coaches and volunteers during physical activities motivated the participants to be more active and not give up. "By just hearing the coaches talk about striving, and doing better, and working hard to get where you want to get in life" has had a positive influence on Adrian. Lisa added, "Just the talks. They be like, 'Just do it and good things will come out of it'." This helped Maggie to overcome her self-perceived lack of athleticism; "My motivation has somewhat increased. I'm not really a sporty type of girl, but I will get up to play some sports." But it was not just the coaches and volunteers serving as motivators, the diversity of program activities had a positive influence. In reference to the program schedule, Marcus said "the sports and rec time make me feel more active, make me want to go out there even more to practice". Jade has gotten:

more interested in physical activity. Before I wasn't really physically active. I was more liking to relax kind of person, but now I just want to get up. I want to be physically active because the program has inspired me to want to be. By activities and field trips. Just seeing how fun physical activity is, makes me want to do it more.

Similarly, Sherry shared that the sampling of sports:

opened me up to new experiences, sports that I never learned about before, sports I've never played before. So, them helping me experience these sports, I got to learn, a lot of these are fun. A lot of them I enjoy. So now you have something to do, that's definitely motivated me to be more active.

Interpersonal Assets

The youth participants also spoke to the development of interpersonal skills through their engagement with sport and physical activity. Specifically addressing tennis, Jade appreciated:

the important life lessons it teaches me, like discipline, patience, understanding. Because there's just so many things about tennis. It's not just a sport. It makes you yourself. It teaches you about things about yourself that you just didn't know you needed to know.

Tennis also taught Adrian "how to do other things too. Like, stay focused, pay attention to where the ball is going, and stuff. Communicating with other players." More generally speaking, LeBron shared a similar sentiment, "I liked that you were able to have fun, and at the same time, be like disciplined, learning life skills, other than basketball or whatever sport you're playing". The development of communication and social skills was also addressed by Cindy:

I need to stop pushing myself onto people. You know? I also need to learn how to isolate myself in certain situations. I've learned when to talk when not to talk to people. So that has helped me with those types of social skills because I did have a bad habit of throwing myself on people and they didn't want to be bothered, stuff like that.

The practice of sport mentoring was an intervention utilized throughout the program to help participants recognize, reflect upon, and reinforce their development of interpersonal and life skills.

Sports Mentoring

At the center of the program's vision is family. Utilizing sport, particularly tennis, the program aims to develop and support youth, their families, and the local community through holistic and unified efforts. Thus, it was not surprising to hear participants discuss the sense of connection they have to the program, as well as the relationships with individuals within it, that were facilitated and enhanced through sport participation (Wegner et al., 2022).

Positive Relationships

A major reason why participants feel so connected to the program results from the relationships they develop with coaches and volunteers. Trauma-informed training helped provide the coaches and volunteers with the tools needed to build a report with the participants on a deeper level. Said Lisa, "I just was going through a lot, I guess. They really helped me because I got close to [anonymized coach] and she really helped me, and then I met Coach G. I'm close to them now." She went on to recall the "close bonds" she has with people in the program and specifically addressed how "you can get really close with the coaches. You just feel more comfortable…I like bonding with the coaches because they're always going to be by your side."

Capitalizing on the opportunities for sport mentorship further strengthened these relationships. Coaches would utilize sports to "talk about striving, and doing better, and working hard to get where you want to get in life (Lisa)." Alan gave the example of how he likes to talk with a particular coach before he plays, "I ask for their help. They always give me the correct support." Such support comes in different forms, Tammy says, "they have been encouraging me to do more activities" and Shanice appreciates that "they discipline you when you need to be disciplined."

Such positive relationships were also reinforced through sport and physical activity outside of the program, partly because of familiarity and skill development from sports sampled while in the program. Becoming more knowledgeable with various ways of being physically active, and gaining the health benefits of doing so, resulted in program participants being more active with their families when at home. This was particularly important for participants when facilities and resources were inaccessible (e.g., lack of finances, COVID-19 shutdown). Tammy discussed how she would "walk around the block in our neighborhood a lot, and me, my brother and my dad, we ride our bikes together". In fact, many of the youth in this study would go on walks (Kersey and Lisa) and/or bike rides (Jade and Mindy) with their parents or siblings. Other examples of being physically active with family included Terri exercising with her sister, who also "let's me play basketball with her"; Alan working out with his cousin and friend at the neighborhood gym; and Tasha having races, running around a field, and playing basketball and kickball with her sister. Even when family members were not active with the youth, they still offered support. Maggie's mom "motivates me to actually get into a sport and keep playing sports". And even though she does not like to walk, Sherry's mom "still tries to urge me to go anyway". Sampling sports can manifest in a variety of ways, and regardless of whether it was watching, discussing, or being active together, the relationships developed in and out of the program were enhanced through their shared interest and participation in sport and physical activity. This further led to a greater sense of connection with the program and people there within.

Sense of Connection

There were several examples given to describe how participants feel connected to the program. Jade discussed how engaging with sport in different spaces opened her eyes to the bonds being developed. Of particular relevance is her mention of the program participants and volunteers as a "team". Thinking back, she said:

it was great to go through all of those experiences and everything that I could there because we're a family. And it was nice to see like, we're actually a family. All of us had our different places, but at end we still came together as a family and encouraged the team and got to spend time with each other.

Lisa reiterated the feeling of family and care, "If something happens to you, they'll be sick worried about you. That's what I love. That family." JJ also liked being a part of the program "because it's like family" and "a good way to meet new people." LeBron corroborated and appreciated the opportunity to "make new friends." Alan shared how participating in sports while at the program strengthened relationships:

he's didn't really like me in school. So, he came up to me. My jump shot was not working, I was missing all my shots. I thought he was going to take the ball and start playing with it. But he took the ball out of my hand when I was about to do my jump shot, and he told me how to grip the ball, then how to flick your wrist when you shoot it.

Jade also mentioned the development of positive relationships forged through sport, "We dance. We play. We just connect with each other on a more physical level…I like the teamwork; you just feel like you're connected with everyone."

Role Models

Lastly, the use of sport figures as role models aided in the sport mentoring process. Many of the study participants named professional Black athletes, particularly players in the National Basketball Association (May, 2009), as their favorite players and role models. With tennis promoted as the program's primary sport intervention, it was also not surprising that many participants named Serena Williams as an influence on their interest in and desire to play tennis. Knowing this, the SBYD program capitalized (Re: sampled) on diverse role models to introduce, teach, and reinforce some of the intangibles learned in various sports. For instance, Shanice was drawn to Serena's "motivation" and Jeff acknowledged appreciation for "her passion, her strength, and she's good". Lisa found strength in the Black female athletes that she considered role models. She admired Serena's place in and impact on tennis history as one of (if not the) best, "I like her because she just put a mark on tennis" and proved that "girls can do what men do". And she identified with Simone Biles, "I like gymnastics too. I like Simone because she has the same... She has the same problem as me, so I just look up at her even more". Tasha also identified with Biles, "she has a story, and it's a movie, and I like the movie". Admitted Mindy, "I always say Serena Williams, but that's kind of being biased". She went on, "Serena Williams was the first tennis player I ever heard of. I didn't think tennis was exciting; I thought it was boring before". In addition to making the game of tennis exciting for Mindy, Serena's perseverance also had a positive influence: "She's been playing for a really long time. You rarely see her giving up too easily. And on top of that, she just had a child and then she got back on the court".

The use of commonly shared sport vernacular and role models facilitated the sport mentoring process and facilitated personal connections. The resultant positive relationships allowed for coaches, volunteers, and family members to better relate to the program participants and tailor program activities and interventions to better meet the development needs of each youth and further enhanced the relevance and transference of skills (Choi et al., 2015; Shiver & Jacobs, 2020).

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the program design, curriculum, and resultant impact of sport sampling opportunities offered in an afterschool SBYD program working with racially and economically marginalized youth. Overall, the sport sampling experiences of the participants were a positive influence on their engagement with sport and physical activity. From attending games, interacting with sport teams, and learning about and participating in (relatively) new sports, participant responses revealed that youth were afforded opportunities to engage with and understand sport and physical activity on a personal level. In doing so, the participants enhanced their interpersonal and socioemotional development.

It was evident from participant responses that the primary result of sampling diverse sport and physical activities sparked an interest and nurtured a desire to continue being active. This positive affect displayed toward sport extended beyond the program boundaries, with several participants sharing how they were or had intentions to play for their school teams (e.g., tennis). With school being purported as the primary "societal vehicle for young people's regular physical activity" (Bailey, 2016, p. 15), school-based interventions are critical in the development and the promotion of healthy physical activity and personal fitness among youth (Yuksel et al., 2020). However, diminishing resources (e.g., time, finances) needed to supplement physical education and movement during the school day are contributing to an increase in sedentary lifestyles among children, disparately impacting youth from disenfranchised communities (Bernal et al., 2020). Our study demonstrates that when schools do not have the resources to provide the appropriate inclusion of physical activity and education in their curriculum, afterschool SBYD programs can serve as a critical external development asset for youth.

The transformative and intentional use of nontraditional sports to engage youth was beneficial in creating a more inclusive space, individually and at the communal level. For instance, Jade did not consider herself a "sporty" girl, but the quidditch team visit provided her with an opportunity to open, share some of her interests, and be a more active participant in the program. This in turn helped strengthen her sense of connection to the program and her peers. Moreover, sampling nontraditional sports and physical activities (i.e., quidditch) reinforced important life lessons about first impressions of activities and the groups of people who might populate them, demonstrating how sport and physical activity, when appropriately planned, can serve as a vehicle for social change and inclusion (Cohen et al., 2014; Trussell, 2020). Here, the operative notion of "appropriately planned" undergirds our primary contention, which is that (positive) youth development through sport is contingent on the careful consideration and balance of how a sport is delivered and experienced, as well as the social contextual factors present within the lives of participating youth (Cohen & Ballouli, 2018). Sport sampling youth sport as an antecedent to exercise and activity in adulthood reveals variety in sport and physical activity experiences and opportunities serves as a psychosocial mediator to foster a physically engaging lifestyle (Sylvester et al., 2020). To be mindful of this reality is to acknowledge and see to it that wide-ranging benefits of sport sampling are afforded to racially marginalized youth, in turn providing these youth with the health and psychosocial developmental skills needed to engage within and outside of sport.

For example, we found that individual development assets were enhanced through our youth's participation in and sampling of sports. Though they may have been contextualized within the frame of physical activity, assets such as confidence and motivation had progressed among many of the youth and were revealed to transfer into other areas of participants' lives. Similarly, participants shared that the sports and physical activities offered in this program had beneficial effects on their mental health and wellbeing. This was an intentional goal of the program, as many of its youth have experienced some level of socioeconomic or familial trauma. Sport and physical activity are utilized to facilitate opportunities for youth to (re)engage with their emotional selves, overcome emotional barriers via protective assets, as well as learn to better navigate, regulate, and cope with emotional stress and trauma (Whitley et al., 2018). Conflict resolution and anger management are just two of individual assets that were taught, practiced, and enhanced through purposeful participation in sport. With the varying levels of physicality and action, youth were able to sample different activities to find the most appropriate ways for them to (re)direct their anger and other emotions toward healthier outcomes.

Previous work has found that one's lifelong engagement with sport and physical activity can be intensely influenced through the alignment and formation of racial identity development and self-schema (Harrison et al., 2002; Newman et al., 2021). Accordingly, we found the athletes to whom these youth look up were racially similar and manifest many of the life skills, individual assets, and personal strengths that are central to the educational curriculum of the SBYD program. Due to both overt and covert socialization processes, African American teens are socialized into sports at a heightened level compared to their White counterparts (Beamon, 2010). This can result in deleterious effects on, and disparate outcomes associated with, academic achievement and experiences (Cooper et al., 2017), increased pressures for sport achievement and lower levels of career readiness, and hampered identity development (Brewer & Petitpas, 2017). Knowing this, the program was intentional to increase educational resources and provide experiential learning opportunities about other non-sport careers (e.g., computer engineering and programming), yet did capitalize on the participants' favorite athletes to articulate and

demonstrate important values and character traits such as perseverance, hard work, and professionalism. Such activities and curriculum afforded students with dual identity development opportunities that highlighted and encouraged both their academic and athletic potential (Dexter et al., 2021).

Moreover, being in the safe space of a trusted SBYD program, we found that youth were not hampered by racialized sport stereotypes and felt free to try new activities. This lends credence to the value of sport sampling in SBYD programs as we infer from this that the more sports with which youth engage, the more opportunities they are provided to learn from nontraditional role models and cultural influences (Rockhill et al., 2022). Additionally, the more varied sport and physical activity offerings are, the more likely it is the needs and interests of youth with diverse identities can be satisfied (Cohen et al., 2012). Thus, we recommend the practice and conceptual understanding of sport sampling be expanded to encompass an array of engagement with and influence from sport-participating role models.

Program administrators strategically utilized sport terminology to align and reinforce the sport-based development aspects of the program. Volunteers were referred to as "coaches" and documents such as progress reports and daily motivations were sport themed. To aid youth development, particularly in the space of emotional regulation and intelligence, all coaches had to successfully complete trauma-sensitive training; a program facet critical to maintain a feeling of welcomeness and culture of caring for youth participants. This can be particularly important for SBYD programs that work with racially and economically marginalized youth, yet acquire assistance from volunteers primarily from White, middle-class backgrounds (Shiver & Jacobs, 2020). External assets such as parents, siblings, friends, other relatives, and non-family connections were also found to be of influence on our participants, which aligns with extant literature on how these assets can influence and be influenced by, both positively and negatively, engagement with and outcomes derived from youth sport development programs (Jones et al., 2017).

Limitations and Future Research

As researchers, we recognized and took steps to minimize the potential influence of our racial, cultural, and gender identities on the interpretation of participant responses. Through the practice of reflexivity, we were diligent in maintaining awareness of our perceptions and biases toward participants and made efforts to avoid examining participant experiences through a singularly focused and privileged lens. Yet, we acknowledge it is likely that not all bias was able to be negated. Another limitation stems from the timing of the data collection, which required participants to recall their sport sampling experiences rather than curating them in real time. However, this also provided time for the outcomes of such experiences to manifest in the daily lives of participants. Regardless, future studies would do well to collect data longitudinally, as well as prior to and after the sport sampling interventions. The robustness of our data revealed findings that were considered outside of the scope of this project (e.g., health and nutrition, program administration, and cultural competency). Thus, we recommend future research focus on these aspects of SBYD programming, as well as the experiential learning opportunities afforded to undergraduate and graduate students working on campus with the program.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the role, programmatic strategy, and impact of sport sampling opportunities offered in an afterschool SBYD program; with consideration given to the backdrop of the social contextual factors that influence the sporting realities of racially and economically marginalized youth. Our findings support previous literature speaking to the unique context of sport to afford participants practical applications and opportunities to acquire and improve skills, attitudes, and knowledge toward development of a positive sense of self, greater human and social capital, and enhanced personal skills and competencies (Coakley, 2011; Jones et al., 2017; Perkins & Noam, 2007; Petitpas et al., 2017; Turnnidge et al., 2014). Our study also contributes to literature (Ivy et al., 2018; Riley & Anderson-Butcher, 2012; Wegner et al., 2022) speaking to the unique environment(s), capacities, resources (e.g., human, financial, infrastructure, facilities, etc.), local communities and institutions of higher learning can provide by collaborating with SBYD programs. Such campus-community partnerships serve to the development of youth program participants as well as provides educational and experiential benefits for volunteering undergraduate and graduate students (Whitley et al., 2017).

Additionally, our findings add to current literature on sport sampling which has been generally understood as participating in more than one sport, or different iterations of the same sport, as well as staving off deliberate practice and an all-encompassing pursuit of successful (often elite) skill development in a single sport (Côté et al., 2020).

Results from our study suggest sport sampling to include more than simply participating in various sports. That is, we propose sport sampling be conceptually extended to account for all types of engagement with multiple and diverse sports. For instance, youth in this program benefitted from a myriad of designed and intentional sport and physical activity engagement opportunities, including sport participation, attending sport events, and interacting with (student) athletes that they might not otherwise be aware of or given the chance. Being in-person to feel the "thrilling" atmosphere of a sporting event or witness the beauty and power of athletic performances instilled a feeling of wanting more, which we argue has the capacity to create a foundation for future healthy engagement with sport and physical activity (Gallant et al., 2017). Understanding sport sampling in this manner provides SBYD programs with another resource to enhance the enjoyment, interpersonal development assets, and emotional intelligence of participants through their involvement with sport and physical activity.

Conflicts of Interest

At the time of data collection, the principal investigator had an existing research services agreement with the SBYD program. In addition to undertaking reflexive practice with all members of the research team, the authors remained aware of their position and followed IRB-approved protocol to alleviate any relevant competing interest.

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Thought Leadership From the Field

From *Sport for* to *Sport as* Sustainability: Confronting the climate crisis in sport for development

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ABSTRACT

Recently, there have been calls to understand better the relationship between sport and climate change, and to communicate the severity of the climate crisis to as wide an audience as possible. However, given the current climate crisis, we argue that the challenge facing the Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) sector is not to know more about climate change and the place of sport therein, but to imagine a better future and what to do to get there. In this paper, we discuss some specific ideas and approaches that SDP stakeholders might take in doing so. Specifically, we argue for moving beyond the idea of SDP as a *tool* for responding to or promoting environmental sustainability, as articulated in some policies and frameworks including the Sustainable Development Goals, and to move instead towards a reconceptualization of SDP as itself an ecological endeavor. In so doing, we draw on contemporary ecological notions like the New Climatic Regime and Buen Vivir, that can help to position sport and SDP not as a solution to the climate crisis, but as a fundamental aspect of ecological life on Earth in the years ahead.

What more do we need to know?

The International Day of Sport for Development and Peace (IDSDP), organized and initiated by the United Nations (UN), takes place annually on April 6th to "recognize the positive role sport and physical activity play in communities and in people's lives across the globe" and to "strengthen social ties and promote sustainable development and peace" (United Nations, 2022a, para. 1-2). In 2022, the theme of the IDSP was "securing a sustainable and peaceful future for all," (United Nations, 2022a, para. 4) with an emphasis on sport's ability to:

> *display leadership, to take responsibility for its carbon footprint, engage in a climate neutral journey, incentivize action beyond the sporting sector, and play a major role in amplifying awareness among its billions of spectators, facilitators and participants at all levels (United Nations, 2022a, para. 4).*

Despite these ambitions, the 2022 IDSDP was also accompanied by a caution that:

> *with the need for urgent action growing more dire every day, the relationship between sport and climate must be better understood and ways of developing policies and taking concrete action to help reverse the impact of climate change through sport must be communicated to as wide an audience as possible (United Nations, 2022a, para. 6, emphasis added).*

To a degree, then, the UN highlighted the need to "know more" about the role of sport in sustainable development and communicate the urgency of the climate crisis in and beyond sport.

This perspective stands in some contrast to recent scholarly assessments of sport and environmental sustainability. For example, in the introduction to their recent edited collection entitled *Sport and the Environment: Politics and Preferred Futures* (2020, p. 2), Brian Wilson and Brad Millington challenged sport stakeholders with a simple, yet direct question: "*What more do we need to know?"* That is, what more do we actually need to know about the risks and threats of climate change and environmental degradation, and of the complicity and complacency of sport therein, before we acknowledge the necessity to act differently? Wilson and Millington (2020, p. 2) further proposed that, given the

Keywords: Climate crisis, Sustainability, SDGs, Eco-justice, New Climatic Regime

scientific consensus about climate change, "…maybe 'knowing more' is not all that is needed" and instead the challenge facing sport and its stakeholders is to "'imagine' what a better future could look like, and the steps we might take to get there."

This is the task now facing the Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) sector. How can we, as advocates and researchers of sport-for-development, take what we know, imagine ways to act differently, and then change our behavior? We know that human-caused climate change is a direct and imminent threat to sustainable human life on Earth, and that the climate crisis requires an urgent re-thinking about how to interact with nature and our consumption of its resources. We also know that responding to this threat will require navigating the Anthropocene, the current era "in which humanity, through the massive impacts of the world economy, is creating major disruptions of Earth's physical and biological systems" (Sachs, 2015, p. 37). Relatedly, the impact of sport on the environment is also well-known, and has been for some time. Indeed, sport sociologists have long tracked the environmental footprints of water-sports (e.g., kayaking), winter-sports like skiing and hockey, and golf for their impacts on local ecosystems via the reconstruction of local landscapes, air, water and noise pollution, and the use of chemicals in ice-resurfacing or pest-management, for example (see Chernushenko, 1994; Dingle & Stewart, 2018; Millington & Wilson, 2013, 2016; Andrade, Dominski & Coimbra, 2017; johnson & Ali, 2018). The environmental impact of sport mega-events like the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup have similarly received attention in the field (see Cantelon & Letters, 2000; Gaffney, 2013; Hayes & Horne, 2011; Karamichas, 2013; Lenskyj, 1998; and Miller 2016; Kim & Chung, 2018; McLeod et al., 2018), as have efforts to mitigate the environmental impacts of the sport sector (see McCullough, Orr & Kellison, 2020; Sartore-Baldwin & McCullough, 2018; Orr & Inoue, 2019). And a recent study from 'Rapid Transition Alliance' authored by David Goldblatt (2020) provides an up-to-date synthesis of environmental impacts, estimating 10 million tonnes of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions per year from global sport, with the majority (approximately 7-8 million tonnes) coming from the Olympics and the World Cup (Goldblatt, 2020).

These numbers are jarring and hold profound implications not only for the future of sport, but for the planet as well. Indeed, the world of sport has already begun to feel the impact of climate change: of the 19 most recent Winter Olympic host cities, only ten would be able to reliably host winter sports in 2050 and just six by 2080 because of warming conditions; heat waves have disrupted recent events such as the 2018 US Open in New York; air pollution from fires saw players struggling to breathe during the 2020 Australian Tennis Open; rains and storms have caused the cancellation of events including the 2019 Rugby World Cup in Japan; and if present trends continue, professional sport clubs in Miami, New York, Toronto, as well as football stadiums throughout England can expect flooding on an annual basis (Goldblatt, 2020).

Further, and more relevant for the global SDP sector, we know that environmental crises (in sport and beyond) have major implications for international development, particularly with respect to conserving and sharing the resources of the planet in ways that are both sustainable and equitable. In this regard, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has made clear the need for far-reaching and unprecedented changes to all facets of society in order to limit the rate of global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, with failure to do so significantly worsening the frequency and magnitude of droughts, floods, extreme heat, food scarcity and poverty (IPCC, 2018). And while climate change does not discriminate, and poses a significant threat to humanity as a whole, the IPPC also makes clear that the effects of a warming planet will not be, and have not been, born equally, with vulnerable populations, many Indigenous communities, those dependent on agricultural or coastal livelihoods, and small island, developing states, and least-developed countries facing a disproportionately higher risk (IPCC, 2018).

Below, we discuss some specific ideas and approaches that SDP stakeholders might take in response to the climate crisis. Here, we reiterate that the need for "far-reaching" and "unprecedented" changes within the sport sector, and inclusive of SDP, is evident, not only given the scope of the crisis and sport's existing environmental impact, but also recognizing that sport has been positioned as a potential leader of sustainable development, praised for its ability to raise awareness of climate change and sustainability initiatives (United Nations, 2022b). The United Nations' 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), offers the clearest articulation of sport's sustainable development promises. Article 37 of the SDG preamble recognized and defined a role for sport directly, calling sport an "important enabler of sustainable development", a statement that has afforded organizations and stakeholders across the SDP sector with the opportunity to conceptualize, frame and structure their work in the service of sustainability (United Nations, 2015, para. 37). In subsequent policy documents, including *Sport and the Sustainable Development Goals: An overview outlining the contribution of sport to the SDGs,* the UN detailed sport's contribution to each of the 17 Goals, including: '[ensuring] availability and sustainable management of water and

sanitation for all' (Goal 6); '[ensuring] access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all' (Goal 7); '[promoting] inclusive and sustainable industrialization' (Goal 9);'[ensuring] sustainable consumption and production patterns' (Goal 12); and '[combatting] climate change and its impacts' (Goal 13) (United Nations, n.d., pp. 8-14). Following the UN's lead, a range of organizations have begun to incorporate environmental and sustainability components into their SDP programming. For example, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has made clear its commitment to SDP through its *Olympism in Action* program, and its support of the IDSDP and the SDGs (International Olympic Committee, 2020), the Kenyan-based SDP organization *Green Kenya* has initiated a 'kick and conserve' project which promotes environmental literacy through soccer (Green Kenya, n.d.); and the Canadian-based *Right to Play* has pledged to promote the SDGs within and through their SDP initiatives in the global South (Right To Play, n.d.).

Thus, there would appear to be a clear articulation about the possible contribution of sport to sustainable development and combatting climate change, within international development policy and among some SDP actors. Yet, from our perspective, it is important to think clearly and openly about sport's contribution to sustainable development and the place of the environment in SDP, particularly given the aforementioned dubious environmental record of sport (see Millington, Darnell and Smith, 2020). Ultimately, it is our contention that despite recent changes, the issue of climate change and its implications has still received inadequate attention within SDP, and the critical study thereof. As we discuss below, the reasons for this are myriad, but what is evident is that environmental issues have often been preempted by SDP's more recognized development priorities, like peace building, gender empowerment or health promotion (Giulianotti et al, 2018). Yet, the fact remains that the existing approaches to climate change and environmental issues in sport broadly, and the SDP sector specifically, are now (quite literally) unsustainable, and the global SDP sector, such as it is, has little choice but to respond to the climate crisis head on. Therefore, we argue that the time has come to move beyond thinking of SDP as a *tool* for responding to or promoting environmental sustainability, as articulated in policies and frameworks like the SDGs, and to move towards a reconceptualization of SDP itself as an ecological endeavor. That is, while much of the sustainability discourse within SDP to date has focused on positioning sport as a tool to promote sustainable development, we suggest that the existential crisis posed by climate change requires a more fundamental shift so as to re-conceptualize the environment as a governing principle (rather than an externality to be managed) and to re-politicize SDP in a manner that challenges neo-liberal and neo-colonial proclivities that maintain climate injustice. This is wholly necessary in the current context, even though we recognize that SDP stakeholders are not, in most cases, the primary causes of climate change. To make our case, we draw upon Bruno Latour's concept of a New Climactic Regime that prioritizes a Dark Ecology approach to sustainable development.

The remainder of this paper takes three parts. In the next, we discuss the politics of climate change within international development and outline the context for prioritizing eco-justice within the SDP sector, in both policy and in practice. Thereafter, we discuss ways of reconceptualizing the connections between sport, the environment and international development within a New Climatic Regime. Finally, we conclude by offering insights into how SDP stakeholders, advocates and officials might move beyond sport as a *tool* of sustainability and sustainable development, and towards the pursuit of sport as sustainable, and socially and ecologically just, in and of itself.

Social and eco-justice in policy & practice

That major development actors like the UN have touted the sustainable development potential of sport in policy marks an important advancement. How such policies have informed development practices, however, remains difficult to pinpoint. In most cases the challenge of policy coherence posed by frameworks like the SDGs has led some SDP actors to focus on a narrow set of development issues – gender equity, HIV/AIDS education, poverty alleviation – which usually exclude, or at least overlook, the natural environment (Lindsey and Darby, 2019). Further, when sustainability is prioritized by sport and/or SDP organizations, it is often done so without critical assessment of the negative environmental impacts of sport itself (see Miller, 2017; Darnell, 2019). One might say, therefore, that while sport and SDP stakeholders know about the climate crisis, environmental sustainability is often viewed as something that cannot be prioritized, and when it is considered, the dominant approach tends to focus on managing that which is known to be unsustainable in the hopes of maintaining it for as long as possible (see Blühdorn and Welsh, 2007). Indeed, these concerns are reflected in the views of SDP practitioners operating in the global South; in one of the few studies on the topic to date, Giulianotti et. al (2018) found that SDP organizations in Jamaica, Kosovo, Rwanda, Sri Lanka and Zambia did not view the environment as a primary concern in comparison to matters of poverty or pandemic illness, and that the development policies proffered by organization like the

UN tended to focus on processes that conflicted with sustainable development, by emphasizing industrialization, urbanization and increasing production and consumption. Further, given neo-liberal tendencies within the SDP sector, whereby the responsibility to address issues of gender inequity, pandemic illness, and underdevelopment have been downloaded onto SDP practitioners at the expense of addressing the systemic issues that maintain such inequalities (see, Hayhurst, Wilson & Frisby, 2011; Hayhurst, Giles & Wright, 2016; Burnett, 2015), it is important to question to what extent responsibility for sustainable approaches to and through SDP are being similarly individualized.

At the same time, and as we discuss in further detail below, when environmental sustainability is incorporated in SDP it often takes the form of one-off events, such as a garbage-clean-up following a soccer game, for example. This reflects a broader trend, whereby climate change is also still too often reduced to a problem to be resolved by just out-of-reach technocratic solutions (see Sealey-Huggins, 2017), instead of a matter of social and eco-justice. This is important because, as Giulianotti et. al (2018, p. 44) note, while "developing or marginalized countries are already starting to disproportionately bear the costs of a changing climate, they are also the ones who can least afford to ignore the promises of economic growth." For its part, the IPCC has similarly emphasized the disproportionate effects of climate change on developing polities, arguing that poverty and climate change are "inextricably linked" and that:

poor people and poor countries are least responsible for climate change, and yet, due to their vulnerability, are affected most by the consequences. Rich countries have an obligation to take a lead in climate change mitigation and adaptation, and to bear an equitable burned of the associated costs. (cited in Saunders, 2008, p. 1510)

Further, many scholars and activists have noted the neo-colonial and racist underpinnings of climate change inaction. For example, in his book *To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and the Climate Crisis in Africa,* Nnimmo Bassey (2012) argues that ongoing resource extraction and land-grabs have continued to exacerbate the climate crisis in Africa and also the hindered the ability of local communities to withstand its effects. Similarly, Marcia Ishii – Director of Grassroots Science Programme at the Pesticide Action Network – has argued that:

Climate injustice is the manifestation of racism that has, for centuries, been directed at Indigenous communities and peoples of colour; it is the misogyny directed at women that also shows up as brutal disregard for life on Earth; and it is the institutions and structures that perpetuate the notion that it's okay to dominate, destroy, extract and commodify nature in the pursuit of profit regardless of the expense. (Cited in Mersha, 2018, p. 1422)

A similar line of critique has been mobilized by activists like Naomi Klein, who argues that environmental racism has made it possible to ignore the threat of climate change for decades, in both international theatres (including through policy debates at the United Nations) and domestic contexts like North America, illustrated in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in Louisiana (Klein, 2014, para. 13), or the fact that at the time of this writing 34 First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities in Canada lack clean drinking water (Lalonde, 2021).

The irony here, of course, is that the processes of colonial exploitation and industrialization in late capitalism not only expropriated wealth and resources from colonies, but also created the environmental conditions that now threaten marginalized communities and developing states. In his analysis of such imperial histories in the Caribbean, Sealey-Huggins (2017, p. 2445) notes that the "reliance of many Caribbean economies on sectors that are threatened by climate change, notably, tourism, agriculture and fishing, is not merely a feature of geography, but a condition with historical antecedents inseparable from unequal contemporary social relations." Contemporary responses to the impact of climate change similarly reflect such neo-colonial practices: "Imperialist underpinning of carbon offsetting practices," Sealey Huggins (2017, p. 2445) writes, "are imperialist in the sense that unequal global power relations allow 'carbon-neutral' consumption in the North to continue, at the expense of high social and ecological costs in the South." Indeed, scholars have made similar connections between neo-colonialism, resource extraction, and environmental racism and the 'under-development' and un-sustainability that have given rise to the 'need' for development programs and policies, including SDP (see Gardam, Giles, & Hayhurst, 2017; Millington et al., 2019, 2022).

Concerns about issues like the unequitable distribution of carbon offsets point to the need to reconsider environmental management strategies in a context where ecological modernization predominates. Ecological modernization refers to the belief in emergent, technocratic solutions to climate change that will allow patterns of production and consumption to continue, or at least not stymie economic growth in the name of environmental protection (see Wilson, 2012). Such market-driven responses tend to overlook the fact that proposed solutions like carbon-offsetting are impossible to implement in a standardized way, are not regulated, and ultimately do not reduce the amount of

carbon emissions entering the atmosphere (see Al Ghussain, 2020). Ecological modernization is still dominant in sport; as Wilson (2012) recounts, in the sporting world much of the (light-) green approaches to sustainability rely upon schemes like carbon offset credits implemented in developing countries but in ways that do not adequately mitigate local environmental harms. For example, organizers of the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany purchased 500,000 Euros-worth of carbon offsets in India where "900 farms and their families in Tamil Nadu are getting bio-gas cooking fuel for cow dung instead of using fuel wood or fossil fuels" (see Wilson, 2012, p. 99).

Our point here is that while a strong critical analysis of SDP's neo-colonial and neo-liberal underpinnings has emerged in recent years, this approach now needs to include an appreciation of environmental issues and the policies and politics of climate change within international development. And while SDP programs themselves likely do not carry a large carbon footprint, the broader sport sector still does, and, more importantly, SDP programs operate in a development context in which climate change is of fundamental importance. Overall, then, given the challenges of prioritizing environmental sustainability within SDP, there is an urgent need for a renewed conceptual basis for environmental justice within SDP policy and practice.

Thinking anew in the New Climatic Regime

The good news is that there are a host of ways to imagine a better future with regards to the environment, and development, or, as David Korten (2015) articulates, to think about a 'new story' of the earth, humans and the economy. These new stories might in turn offer a frame in and through which to shift our actions in SDP. As scholars and researchers working in this space, we continue to be inspired by a variety of such thinkers, like Bruno Latour (2017), who argues that in the New Climatic Regime in which we find ourselves, the *natural* and the *cultural* can no longer be seen as separate domains, but rather as a single concept that has always been tightly bound. From this perspective, nature/culture becomes "the topic on which to focus our attention and not at all, any longer, as the resource that would allow us to get out of our difficulties" (Latour, 2017, p. 19). Thinking within a New Climatic Regime requires the reconceptualization of the divide between human and non-human, so as to move away from dominant understandings of nature as exterior to politics, or indeed as exterior to sport and/or SDP. Environmental issues need to be embedded in SDP, or, as we have argued elsewhere:

> *any sustainable future for sport (and for the SDP sector) can exist only in and through a political framework that includes non-humans and the planet as equal stakeholders. In such a framework, sport and SDP would not be viewed as external forces or agents that can be mobilized to address or overcome environmental emergencies, but would be understood as themselves deeply implicated in the environmental crisis (Millington, Darnell & Smith, 2020, p. 40)*

Indeed, re-imagining sport as a social practice whereby the relationship between human and non-human actants are re-synchronized within a New Climatic Regime holds potential to create an approach to sport that is *itself* ecological, and not just a tool of environmental management or stewardship. Further, given the above noted context, such a synchronized approach is of particular importance in the development and SDP contexts.

Such an approach will no doubt require strong policy initiatives that have firm and actionable measures to hold stakeholders accountable. While firmly setting these measures is beyond the scope of this short paper, the key point here is that the guiding principles of this policy agenda should include a move away from *stewardship* over the environment and towards *connection* to it and *embeddedness* within it. The idea of Buen Vivir (or living well) proposes an such a vision, for both international development and SDP, in which growth and consumption are no longer the conceptual bases of development, but in fact deserving of critical assessment for their complicity in the climate crisis. Similar to the New Climatic Regime, Buen Vivir rejects the separation of society and nature, instead proposing "a notion of expanded communities" (Gudynas, 2015, p 202) that includes all living beings and elements of the environment. In place of hegemonic neo-extractivist approaches to development, Buen Vivir sees a more holistic model of sustainable growth, one that is grounded in land-based knowledge and proposes a rights-centered approach that includes the rights of nature, ecological sustainability, and the elimination of poverty (see Escobar, 2011). In the same vein, and following the work of philosopher Timothy Morton, a move to genuine environmental sustainability, or Dark Ecology, will need to be predicated on radical self-awareness of the ongoing entanglement between the human and the ecological. At the same time, it is important here to be reminded of the critiques of Deep/Dark Ecology from post-colonial scholars like Guha and Martinez-Alier, who argue that such approaches can ignore or overlook the agency and sovereignty of Indigenous and Subaltern groups in the name of protecting the environment and preserving wild-life (see Guha & Martinez-Alier, 1997).

While theoretical debates continue, overall, we see shifts in thinking – from dominion *over* the environment to recognition of humanity's embeddedness *within* it – as

urgently needed within the SDP sector for two main reasons. On the one hand, we need to continue questioning the role of sport, including the broad, global sport sector in which SDP is uneasily situated, within processes of environmental degradation. Indeed, recent research continues to expose sport's negative environmental impact, from the destruction of natural habitat in order to build facilities (Kim and Chung, 2018), to sport's large carbon footprint (Wicker, 2019). In turn, the seduction of ecological modernization in sport has clearly undermined efforts towards sustainable sport by encouraging the status quo (Millington et al, 2018), as have greenwashing practices that trade on the popularity and power of sport to cover up its complicity in the climate crisis (Miller, 2017), including by organizations like the IOC that now position themselves as leaders in the SDP sphere. We need to continue to acknowledge and reflect on these negative environmental impacts of sport, beyond but also within the SDP sector.

This, then, points to the second reason to embrace new environmental thinking in SDP, which is that sport, including its organization, policies, and cultures, does not (and likely cannot) offer a *solution* to the climate crisis because it is, in itself, of the climate crisis. Whereas the logic of policy frameworks like the SDGs might ask us to think of sport as a tool for redressing climate change, what is more needed in SDP is to reconceptualize sport itself as an activity of the environment, and one that needs to be guided by sustainability ethics and practice. In other words, since we know that much of global sport as it is currently constructed is unsustainable in the face of climate change, the objective for SDP should be to embrace and where appropriate to (re)politicize debates about sport's role in environmental degradation within a New Climatic Regime. In this way, we take the kind of frameworks put forth by Latour and others to mean that sport does not offer a fix for the environment, and that we need to move ever closer to understanding sport as embedded in the environment itself. It is in this new approach that we as humans might begin to rebuild and re-materialize our belonging to the world by recognizing that the natural and the cultural are literally connected. Further, there remains potential to re-imagine sport's contribution to sustainable development within a New Climatic Regime that re-synchronizes not only the relationship between sport and the environment, but also between development and decolonization. Such an approach could reconcile the ostensible need for development (and the concomitant discursive construction of who is 'developed' and who is in need of 'developing') with the environmental impacts of (neo-liberal) development practices, so as to prioritize local, postcolonial, feminist and Indigenous perspectives.

Conclusion: Taking Steps towards Sport *as* Sustainability

In this short commentary, we have argued against claims that any of us connected to sport-for-development and the SDP sector 'need to know more' about the climate crisis, and have advocated for reimagining the role of sport and SDP within meaningful commitments to sustainability and environmental justice. This conceptualization can hopefully form the basis of future policy development in the SDP sector, at a relatively macro level.

We also acknowledge that there is still an important, ongoing and more micro-level role for environmental advocacy, action and education within SDP. In Botswana, for example, TUSK's Coaching Conservation program uses football/soccer as a metaphor to teach young people about the importance of conservation and animal welfare (TUSK, 2021). These kinds of actions can, we would hope, help to illuminate and ground the importance of the environment within sport and SDP activities. We also take real inspiration from sport-based activists and organizations that have grounded themselves in ecology. For example, Surfers Against Sewage, a UK-based charity started in the 1990s, continues to advocate for the health and well-being of the planet's oceans and water systems, and does so using a perspective similar to what we are advocating for here (Surfers Against Sewage, 2021). For example, in describing their work, Surfers Against Sewage connect their mandate to a physical presence in water "What has always remained though is our unique identity, shaped by the same forces from which we were borne. Our shared love for and contact with the ocean. We are part of the ocean".

Similarly, Protect our Winters, founded in 2007 by professional snowboarder Jeremy Jones and now boasting an international network of actors and organizations, works to encourage outdoor enthusiasts to protect and preserve natural spaces, supporting them to draw on their literal connection to the outdoors as a force for sustainability (Protect our Winters, 2021). In this way, it is important to recall that sport can be a positive force for good, particularly in moments of crisis, by serving as an 'attractor discourse' (Mol, 2010) for social movements, including sustainable development. Or, as Wilson and Millington (2020, p. 6) argue, sport can be an 'indicator practice' by using its global reach to draw attention to environmental issues, and offering a barometer of "how well or quickly we are adapting to the need for environment-related change; [or] why seemingly 'easy' adaptations (e.g., rethinking sport event hosting) are not as easy as we would think."

If sport is to make a positive contribution to sustainable development initiatives, however, such actions require significant political engagement, so as to re-politicize what has largely been a de-politicized approach to climate change within SDP, as well as global sport more broadly. While the promises of ecological modernization can too easily lead to a 'wait-and-see' approach, given the aforementioned forewarning of the IPPC, what is needed is immediate action on behalf of the sport sector and SDP organizations. In this regard, David Goldblatt (2020) offers a range of recommendations, including the cancellation of sport events that are not carbon zero by 2030; requiring of sport federations, leagues, and sponsors to commit to carbon zero plans; and that all sport organizations sign the United Nations 'Sport for Climate Action Framework' in which signatories commit to adhere to a set of five sustainability principles:

- Undertake systematic efforts to promote greater environmental responsibility.
- Reduce overall climate impact.
- Educate for climate action.
- Promote sustainable and responsible consumption.
- Advocate for climate action through communication.

Such approaches can and should, we argue, be taken up by SDP actors and organizations as well. In turn, SDP might consider even more radical interventions, particularly in the context of international development. Borras & Franco (2018), for example, advocate for a 'five R's' approach to deep social reforms and climate justice: The redistribution of wealth and land monopolized by the few; the recognition of forms of social exclusion and marginalization particularly with respect to agrarian and Indigenous land-rights; the restitution of lost land from corporate resource grabs; the regeneration of economic and environmental autonomy in; and support for global resistance struggles that align with social and eco-justice movements. While it will take courage and determination, SDP organizations can, should they choose, begin to adopt these principles into their work, particularly in the global South.

Finally, while all policy-based and programming recommendations for SDP need to be taken up in context, we reiterate here that the re-imagining of SDP within a New Climatic Regime should be informed by several key principles, which are relevant to practitioners, policy-makers, governments, and funding-partners alike:

1. Environmental degradation and the climate crisis should no longer take a back seat to other development goals or issues within SDP policy. Instead, the issue of sustainability should be front and center in all SDP thinking, advocacy, activity, and funding from here on;
2. Sport can no longer be seen as an external tool to manage the environmental crisis, but rather of the environment, with positive and/or negative implications, none of which are determined;
3. SDP can be a leader in its activism and advocacy around a Dark Ecology, eco-justice approach that challenges the neo-colonial and neo-liberal underpinnings of SDP approaches and policies to privilege social, economic, and environmental justice.

As we write this, we are looking at the climate clock as it counts down. And a report from the World Meteorological Organization released at the time this writing forecasts a 40% change that at least one of the next five years will reach the 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, the sustainability target set by the 2015 Paris climate accord (Borenstein, 2021). The clock is ticking. We know enough. Now is the time to think differently and to act accordingly.

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Systematic or Integrative Review

Trauma- and violence-informed physical activity and sport for development for victims and survivors of gender-based violence: A scoping study

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Abstract

Recent literature has highlighted the need for trauma-informed programming and research in sport. Specifically, studies have noted the importance of developing trauma-informed approaches to sport for development (SFD) initiatives that work with victims and survivors of gender-based violence (GBV). The purpose of this scoping review was to: (1) examine the synergies between trauma-and violence informed physical activity (TVIPA) programs and sport for development (SFD) programs globally for survivors/victims of GBV; and 2) assess the implementation of TVIPA in future SFD programming for survivors and victims of GBV. Guided by Arksey and O'Malley's scoping review framework, we systematically reviewed three electronic databases: ProQuest, EBSCO, and Web of Science. Following thematic analysis of the selected articles revealed that TVIPA should be further explored in SFD programming as a possible approach for victims and survivors of GBV. Taken together, we suggest the need for trauma-and violence-informed SFD, especially: 1) for vulnerable SFD program participants; and 2) to better understand and prevent GBV experiences in SFD and sport more broadly. This is one of the first studies to explore the synergies between TVIPA and SFD, contributing to novel trauma research in the context of sport, development and physical activity.

Trauma- and violence-informed physical activity and sport for development for victims and survivors of gender-based violence: A scoping study

In recent years, organizations in the sport for development (SFD) sector that work with populations who have experienced violence have increasingly recognized the need for trauma-informed approaches to sport (e.g., Doc Wayne, Swiss Academy for Development). The SFD sector is comprised of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), corporations, communities, international organizations (e.g., United Nations), and individuals who adopt sport to intentionally achieve development priorities often associated with the Sustainable Development Goals (e.g., gender equality, conflict resolution) (Kidd, 2008; 2011). Organizations use SFD as a tool to help support marginalized and impoverished communities (Whitley et al., 2013). Notably, numerous SFD organizations seek to work with populations who may have experienced violence and trauma, particularly women, including cis, transgender and nonbinary people, and members from the 2SLGBTQIA+ community (e.g., AKWOS, Kolkata Sanved, Women Win). Relatedly, there has been growing empirical research into sport, gender, and development (SGD), a substream of SFD focused on the gendered dynamics, relations, and (in)equalities within SFD programs (Chawansky, 2011; Collison et al., 2017; Hayhurst et al., 2021; Oxford & McLachlan, 2018; Zipp, 2017). Indeed, SFD programs have aimed to challenge gender and health inequities by improving gender relations and reducing gender-based violence (GBV).

GBV is defined as violence against people based on their gender expression, gender identity or perceived gender (Cotter & Savage, 2019; Government of Canada, 2022). Some common forms of GBV include intimate partner violence, violence against women, sexual violence, sexual harassment, and domestic violence. Emerging data about lockdowns and COVID-19 stay-at-home orders have revealed that violence against women and girls, including both domestic violence and sexual abuse, has increased in several countries, such as France, Argentina, Singapore, Canada, the UK, and the USA (Sri et al., 2021). The

Keywords: trauma-informed, trauma- and violence-informed physical activity, gender-based violence, sport for development

COVID-19 pandemic has thus resulted in a 'shadow pandemic' or 'a pandemic within a pandemic', whereby GBV has intensified and been exacerbated. At the same time, Hall et al. (2021) have suggested that there is now a pandemic of physical inactivity and sedentary lifestyles that "will persist long after we recover from the COVID-19 pandemic" (Hall et al., 2021, p. 108). With the onset of COVID-19 'shadow pandemics' and physical inactivity trends, the need to create and manage safe and equitable sport and physical activity interventions for people who have experienced GBV is thus a pressing issue.

Researchers have recently investigated the use of trauma- and violence-informed physical activity (TVIPA) to support individuals who have experienced GBV (Darroch, et al., 2022a; van Ingen, 2021). TVIPA is an approach to physical activity programming, adapted from a trauma- and violence-informed care (TVIC) perspective in health care (Darroch et al., 2018; Darroch et al., 2022a). TVIC accounts for the intersecting impacts of: (a) broader structural and social conditions, (b) ongoing violence, and (c) institutional violence (Wathen et al., 2021). TVIPA utilizes a TVIC approach to prevent re-traumatization of participants and staff involved in physical activity programs (Darroch, et al., 2022a). Despite the growing research on the use of TVIPA and the prevalence of GBV around the world, there have been no comprehensive studies examining the ways in which TVIPA is utilized by, or taken up within, SFD programs serving people who have experienced GBV.

In light of these gaps, our two research questions guiding our scoping review included: 1) What are the synergies between SFD and TVIPA programs serving victims/survivors of GBV; and 2) How has TVIPA been used within, or to inform, SFD programs for people who have experienced GBV? We conducted a scoping review of existing literature on SFD and TVIPA, focusing on programs that serve survivors and victims of GBV. The purpose of this scoping review was thus to summarize the research that has taken place within this area and offer future directions for research, policy, and practice. Given that many SFD programs and organizations aim to respond to social issues and – as will be evident from this review – work with populations that have experienced GBV, several recommendations from this review are applicable to SFD management and practice. We hope that these recommendations will be useful in stimulating discussions among stakeholders of SFD, regarding how TVIPA can inform programming for victims/survivors of GBV.

In the next section, we provide an overview of our methods for the scoping review. Following this, we describe the results of our scoping review, including common themes identified across the 21 articles examined in relation to TVIPA and SFD for survivors of GBV. In conclusion, we discuss key recommendations based on the scoping review that are relevant for policy-makers, researchers, and practitioners, and suggest future directions for empirical analysis.

Methods

While there is no universal or clear-cut definition of scoping reviews, they are generally understood to map out key concepts and research in an area that has not been comprehensively reviewed before (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). Scoping reviews are defined generally to, "map *rapidly* the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources and types of evidence available" (Mays et al., 2001, p. 194, emphasis in original). As Arksey and O'Malley suggest, a key difference between a systematic and scoping review is that the latter focuses on examining a wide variety of studies without an analysis of the quality of studies (as in a systematic review) to better respond to guiding research questions and provide insights into a specific area of study. Regardless of the differences between scoping and systematic reviews, both studies must be conducted in a rigorous and transparent way (Mays et al., 2001). For this study, we followed the recommendations outlined by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) for scoping reviews, which we detail in the following sections.

Stage 1: Identifying the Research Question

In this study we used two research questions to guide our review of the literature:

1. What are the synergies between SFD and TVIPA programs serving victims/survivors of GBV?
2. How has TVIPA been used within, or to inform, SFD programs for people who have experienced GBV?

It is important to highlight which terms or components of a research question are significant for a scoping review (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). For these questions, we define GBV, SFD, and TVIPA as outlined in the Introduction section. While there is no universal term for GBV, SFD, or TVIPA, we adopted these terms to determine the extent of the literature included in this review. At the same time, the definitions we utilized are broad in nature – thus allowing us to begin our review with a wide lens and limit the possibility of overlooking potential articles for the review.

Stage 2: Identifying Relevant Studies

Identifying relevant studies progressed in two phases. Following a consultation with a research librarian, the

authors conducted a search across three databases including Web of Science, ProQuest, and EBSCO in August 2022. Using the search terms (trauma* OR "trauma- and violence-informed" OR “trauma-informed” OR “trauma-sensitive”) AND ("sport development" OR "sport for development" OR sport* OR "physical activity") AND ("gender-based violence" OR "domestic violence" OR "sexual violence" OR “violence against women”) yielded 144 results.

Third, as described in Arksey & O’Malley’s (2005) framework for scoping reviews, we utilized existing networks to identify additional articles that may have been missed in the previous phases. This included discussing with Author 2 and 5 any existing literature, organizations, and conferences related to GBV, TVI, and sport and physical activity, as they have done work in this area. An additional 14 peer-reviewed articles were retrieved based on this phase. The various phases of identifying the literature led to 158 articles being identified for the review (prior to inclusion/exclusion criteria and elimination of duplicates).

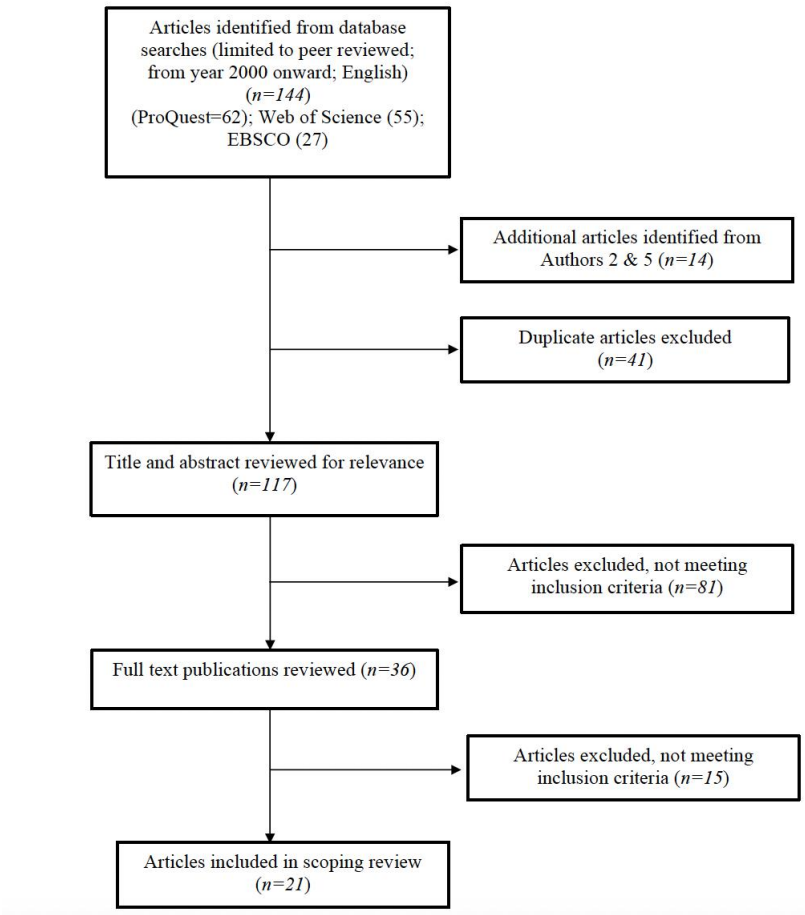
Stage 3: Study Selection

For this study, the eligibility criteria for articles included in the scoping review was as follows: (a) Articles published between the year 2000 and August 2022; (b) English language peer reviewed articles; (b) studies that focused on (1) trauma- and violence-informed approach (including trauma-informed and trauma-sensitive practices); and/or (2) served communities with experiences of GBV; and (c) studies using SFD, physical activity (e.g., yoga, exercise), or a sports-based intervention/program. The decision to restrict the language of the study to English was due to the extra time commitment and costs required for translation. The selected timeframe of 2000-2022 reflects the emergence of TVIPA terminology and literature on SFD programs specifically designed for survivors of GBV.

Based on the literature search, a total of 144 articles were identified. After excluding duplicate articles (n=41), Authors 2 and 5 identified additional articles (n=14) that met the eligibility criteria but were not identified in the literature search. Therefore, a total of 117 articles were eligible for review, including those identified in the literature search (n=103) and those identified by Authors 2 and 5 (n=14). The remaining articles were independently reviewed by Authors 1 and 4. Article abstracts that did not meet the inclusion criteria were excluded (n=81). Authors 1 and 4 read the remaining articles (n=36) full-text publications and excluded an additional 15 articles based on inclusion criteria. When uncertainty arose, Authors 2 and 5 determined the final inclusion of an article in the scoping study given their experience and knowledge in GBV, TVI, and sport and physical activity. Following the full article review, 21 peer-reviewed articles remained in the scoping study. Figure 1 summarizes the results of the search strategy and our study selection approach.

Figure 1

Article Selection Flow Chart



Stage 4: Charting the Data

Authors 1 and 4 entered study information for each article (e.g., title, year/author/region, objective/aim, study population and sample size, method(s), theoretical and conceptual framework, type and duration of study, and terminology used) into a Word document. This table was then used to collate, summarize, and report the results of the scoping review.

Table 1

Articles Selected for Review

Author & Year	Location of Data Collection	Aims	Study population and sample size	Method	Program Type
Smith-Marek, Baptist, Lasley & Cless (2018)	United States	To explore and describe the lived meaning of the experience of exercise among women survivors of sexual violence	Eight women aged 31 - 61 years old who self-identified as survivors of sexual violence	Qualitative	A trauma-sensitive yoga and mindfulness informed program at a rape crisis center
Maniccia and Leone (2019)	United States	To evaluate the effectiveness of Strong Through Every Mile (STEM), a 10-week structured running (exercise) program designed to increase psychological, social, and physical well-being among survivors of intimate partner violence	Persons receiving services from domestic violence shelters in the Capital Region of New York	Mixed methods	STEM is a trauma-informed running program specifically for survivors of intimate partner violence
Shors, Chang & Millon (2018)	United States	To determine whether the combination of meditation and aerobic exercise during mental and physical (MAP) training would reduce trauma-related thoughts, ruminations, and memories in women and if so, whether the combination would be more effective than either activity alone	105 adult women aged 18 – 32 years old. Thirty-two women had a history of sexual violence	Mixed methods	Meditation and aerobic exercise sessions
Özümerzifon, Ross, Brinza, Gibney, & Garber (2022)	United States	To explore the feasibility and benefits of a 12-session dance/movement program for intimate partner violence survivors' mental	45 women aged 23-48 years old who were survivors of intimate partner violence	Mixed methods	A dance/movement program for intimate partner violence survivors

		health and post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms during the COVID-19 pandemic			
Gammage, van Ingen, & Angrish (2022)	Canada	To measure the health-related outcomes of participation in a 14-week trauma-informed non-contact boxing program known as Shape Your Life	56 women-identified (cis and trans) survivors of gender-based violence aged 18 years or older	Quantitative	A non-contact trauma-informed boxing program for survivors of gender-based violence
van Ingen (2020)	Canada	To examine how boxing has been redesigned, through a trauma-informed approach, into a non-contact sport so that it plays a role in the lives of women recovering from gender-based violence (GBV)	11 women-identified (cis and trans) survivors of gender-based violence aged 18 years or older	Qualitative	A non-contact trauma-informed boxing program for survivors of gender-based violence
van Ingen (2016)	Canada	To explore a series of paintings completed by Shape Your Life participants, a project called "Think Outside The Ring"	63 Shape Your Life participants and two assistant coaches	Post-qualitative inquiry	A recreational sport for development and peace (SDP) program
van Ingen (2011)	Canada	To articulate the spatiality and sociality of emotion through a research project that teaches recreational boxing to women and transgender survivors known as Shape Your Life	78 women and trans participants aged 16 – 58 from diverse social locations and who identified as survivors of violence	Qualitative	A recreational boxing program for women and transgender survivors of violence
Frisby, Reid & Ponic (2007)	Canada	To discuss the interaction between poverty and policies in hindering women from participating in health-promoting recreation and physical activity	Women living in poverty	Qualitative	A community organization known as Women Organizing Activities for Women (WOAW) that organized recreational activities for other poor women in the community

Rhodes (2015)	United States	To explore the role of yoga in healing for adult women with complex trauma histories	39 women with complex PTSD aged 18-58 years old	Qualitative	A trauma-informed mindfulness-based hatha yoga class
Clark, Lewis-Dmello, Anders, Parsons, Nguyen-Feng, Henn, & Emerson (2014)	United States	To evaluate the feasibility of a trauma-sensitive yoga in group therapy for female victims of partner violence – study testing for improved symptoms of anxiety, depression, PTSD, beyond what was achieved with therapy alone	Women aged 18 or older who has completed Domestic Abuse Project (DAP) group therapy seeking DAP's aftercare group Exclusions: pregnancy unable to read/write English, behavioural issues, injury, heart condition	Quantitative	A trauma-sensitive yoga program adjunct with group therapy sessions
Hayhurst & del Socorro Cruz Centeno (2019)	Nicaragua	To explore the experiences of young Nicaraguan participating in a sport, gender and development (SGD) program used to promote environmentalism and improve their sexual and reproductive health rights	Three organizational staff members from local non-government organizations (LNGOs) and eleven young women in the LNGO program were interviewed 18 young women participants took part in photovoice and poster collaging	Qualitative	LNGO focused on empowering young women through futbol by also including curriculum and workshops
D'Andrea, Bergholz, Fortunato, Spinazzola , & Pond (2013)	United States	To examine the sports-based intervention model known as Do the Good (DtG) for adolescent females in residential treatment with complex trauma histories	88 adolescent females from residential treatment facilities, 62 enrolled in DtG and 26 enrolled in treatment as usual	Quantitative	A trauma-informed sports curriculum adjunct with residential treatment
Spaaij, & Schulenkorf (2014)	Brazil, Israel, and Sri Lanka	To examine three sport for development (SFD) programs in Israel, Sri Lanka, and Brazil, involved in cultivating safe spaces	Local community members, international organizers, program participants and staff members, and other sports event stakeholders (volunteers, sponsors, etc.)	Qualitative	SFD programs

Staempfli & Matter (2017)	South Sudan	To examine the impact of project's trauma-informed sport and play-based intervention on women's mental health and perceived availability of social support	353 women taking part in "Women on the Move" activities	Quantitative	Trauma-informed sport and play-based activities
Whitley, Donnelly, Cowan & McLaughlin (2021)	Scotland & United States	To explore the lives of soccer players taking part in two SFD programmes that serve populations with high rates of trauma exposure	7 female and 9 male SFD participants	Qualitative	SFD soccer programs
Seal and Sherry (2018)	Papua New Guinea	To explore women's experiences of an SFD program delivered in Papua New Guinea	Young women aged 12 to 18 years old	Qualitative	Girls' empowerment through sport cricket program
Hayhurst, Sundstrom, & Arksey (2018)	Nicaragua	To explore the barriers and enables to norm change in SDP program in Nicaragua that use soccer to empower girls and improve gender relations	Seven organizational staff members and 19 young women involved in the SDP program	Qualitative	SDP soccer programs
Hayhurst, MacNeill, Kidd & Knoppers (2014)	Uganda	To explore how gender relations are influenced by girls only martial arts-based SGD program	Eleven SNGO staff members who were young women, eight of which were martial arts trainers	Qualitative	Martial arts-based SGD program
Zipp (2017)	St. Lucia	To critically examine sport as a tool for youth development among 'at risk' girls	16 at-risk adolescent girls participating in SFD programs	Qualitative	SFD girls-only dance programs and mixed sex, unsupervised football play
Kahan, Noble, & Stergiopoulos (2018)	Canada	To report on the psychosocial intervention known as "Peer Education and Connection through Empowerment" for girls and women ages 16-24 who have experienced GBV	23 service users	Qualitative	A trauma-informed, peer-based program. Psychoeducational sessions interspersed with weeks of recreational activities to promote health, empowerment, resilience and quality of life

Stage 5: Collating, Summarizing and Reporting the Results

The research team adopted a qualitative thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to summarize the results and findings of the studies included in the scoping review to identify key themes and areas that were similar across studies. The definitions of TVIPA, SFD, and GBV used in the introduction were applied to code studies and identify relevant themes. In the following sections, we outline the results of the scoping review based on Table 1, before discussing key recommendations and ways forward to explore TVIPA and SFD for survivors of GBV.

RESULTS

Below, we describe our most pertinent findings. This includes a description of the articles' year of study, location, population and sample size, and program type. Thereafter, using thematic analysis, we describe the key delivery elements and shared perspectives of sport for development and TVIPA serving populations experiencing GBV.

Year of Study

The nascent academic interest in TVIPA and SFD programs for survivors of GBV is immediately apparent based on the year of study publication for the articles included in this scoping review. Six studies were published between 2007 and 2014, whereas 15 of the 21 studies were published in the year 2015 or later, pointing to the area of TVIPA and/or SFD programs for people who have experienced GBV receiving increasing attention by researchers. In addition, the study publication date of articles suggests that, since there has been limited work prior to 2010 based on our knowledge of existing literature, the areas of TVIPA and/or SFD for survivors/victims of GBV not only has received recent attention in empirical analysis, but requires more fulsome and in-depth work in the future, particularly given the ramifications of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Location of Data Collection

Research focused on TVIPA and/or SFD programs for people who have experienced GBV was almost exclusively conducted by global North researchers, with data collection taking place in both global North contexts (n=13) and global South contexts (n=8). This suggests that despite much of the research taking place in the global South, very few global South researchers are involved in this research. Most studies focused on one geographic location as seen in Table 1 on page 12. Two studies (Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014; Whitley et al., 2021) focused on several geographical areas. What is clear based on the findings is that there are a variety of different geographical locations where work in TVIPA and/or SFD related to GBV is carried out. Each study must therefore be considered contextually based on location and social, cultural, political, and economic norms.

Population and Sample Size

The study populations in this scoping review were also wide-ranging and diverse. Study populations included: women aged 31–61 who self-identified as survivors of sexual violence (Smith-Marek et al., 2018); individuals receiving services through domestic violence shelters (Maniccia & Leone, 2019); women aged 18–32 with a history of sexual violence (Shors et al., 2018); women aged 23–48 who are survivors of intimate partner violence (Özümerzifon et al., 2022); and women and trans survivors of violence aged 16-58 (Gammage et al., 2022; van Ingen, 2011; 2016; 2020). Study populations also included women with complex post-traumatic stress disorder aged between 18-58 (Rhodes, 2015); women aged 18+ who have completed domestic abuse project group therapy (Clark et al., 2014); and young women in an SFD program (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Hayhurst et al., 2018; Hayhurst & del Socorro Cruz Centeno, 2019; Seal & Sherry, 2018; Zipp, 2017); adolescent females aged 12–21 in residential treatment facilities (D'Andrea et al., 2013).; and women between the ages of 18 and 40 traumatised by war and violence (Staempfli & Matter, 2017). The sample sizes of studies ranged from 8 to 353 total participants.

Research Methods Utilized

The scoping review revealed that varying research methods are utilized to study TVIPA and/or SFD related to GBV. Qualitative studies (n=12) utilized focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews, observational data, photovoice,
field notes, and artwork. Qualitative studies utilized narrative inquiry (n=2), feminist participatory action research (n=1), postcolonial feminist participatory action research (n=1), participatory action research (n=2), community-based participatory action research (n=1), and phenomenology (n=2). Mixed method studies (n=3) utilized pre- and post-test evaluation of the program, focus groups, clinical interviews, and questionnaires. Quantitative studies (n=4) mostly utilized surveys and questionnaires. There was one comparative analysis and one study using post-qualitative inquiry.

Type of Program

Studies in this scoping review investigated a wide range of programs and interventions which varied in duration. In terms of type of program or intervention, the articles included: trauma-informed or sensitive yoga (n=3); trauma-informed and SFD running (n=1); meditation and aerobic exercise (n=1); dance and movement (n=1); trauma-informed and SFD boxing (n=3); local SFD football (soccer) programs (n=4); a multi-sport program including basketball, soccer, and softball in a residential trauma treatment centre (n=1); trauma-informed bi-weekly sport activities (n=1); girls empowerment through cricket (n=1); martial arts (n=1); football and girls-only dance (n=1); recreational-based activities (n=2); and non-competitive multi-sport and games (n=1)

Table 1

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Maniccia and Leone (2019)	United States	To evaluate the effectiveness of Strong Through Every Mile (STEM), a 10-week structured running (exercise) program designed to increase psychological, social, and physical well-being among survivors of intimate partner violence	Persons receiving services from domestic violence shelters in the Capital Region of New York	Mixed methods	STEM is a trauma-informed running program specifically for survivors of intimate partner violence
Shors, Chang & Millon (2018)	United States	To determine whether the combination of meditation and aerobic exercise during mental and physical (MAP) training would reduce trauma-related thoughts, ruminations, and memories in women and if so, whether the combination would be more effective than either activity alone	105 adult women aged 18 – 32 years old. Thirty-two women had a history of sexual violence	Mixed methods	Meditation and aerobic exercise sessions
Özümerzifon, Ross, Brinza, Gibney, & Garber (2022)	United States	To explore the feasibility and benefits of a 12-session dance/movement program for intimate partner violence survivors' mental	45 women aged 23-48 years old who were survivors of intimate partner violence	Mixed methods	A dance/movement program for intimate partner violence survivors

		health and post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms during the COVID-19 pandemic			
Gammage, van Ingen, & Angrish (2022)	Canada	To measure the health-related outcomes of participation in a 14-week trauma-informed non-contact boxing program known as Shape Your Life	56 women-identified (cis and trans) survivors of gender-based violence aged 18 years or older	Quantitative	A non-contact trauma-informed boxing program for survivors of gender-based violence
van Ingen (2020)	Canada	To examine how boxing has been redesigned, through a trauma-informed approach, into a non-contact sport so that it plays a role in the lives of women recovering from gender-based violence (GBV)	11 women-identified (cis and trans) survivors of gender-based violence aged 18 years or older	Qualitative	A non-contact trauma-informed boxing program for survivors of gender-based violence
van Ingen (2016)	Canada	To explore a series of paintings completed by Shape Your Life participants, a project called "Think Outside The Ring"	63 Shape Your Life participants and two assistant coaches	Post-qualitative inquiry	A recreational sport for development and peace (SDP) program
van Ingen (2011)	Canada	To articulate the spatiality and sociality of emotion through a research project that teaches recreational boxing to women and transgender survivors known as Shape Your Life	78 women and trans participants aged 16 – 58 from diverse social locations and who identified as survivors of violence	Qualitative	A recreational boxing program for women and transgender survivors of violence
Frisby, Reid & Ponic (2007)	Canada	To discuss the interaction between poverty and policies in hindering women from participating in health-promoting recreation and physical activity	Women living in poverty	Qualitative	A community organization known as Women Organizing Activities for Women (WOAW) that organized recreational activities for other poor women in the community

Staempfli & Matter (2017)	South Sudan	To examine the impact of project's trauma-informed sport and play-based intervention on women's mental health and perceived availability of social support	353 women taking part in "Women on the Move" activities	Quantitative	Trauma-informed sport and play-based activities
Whitley, Donnelly, Cowan & McLaughlin (2021)	Scotland & United States	To explore the lives of soccer players taking part in two SFD programmes that serve populations with high rates of trauma exposure	7 female and 9 male SFD participants	Qualitative	SFD soccer programs
Seal and Sherry (2018)	Papua New Guinea	To explore women's experiences of an SFD program delivered in Papua New Guinea	Young women aged 12 to 18 years old	Qualitative	Girls' empowerment through sport cricket program
Hayhurst, Sundstrom, & Arksey (2018)	Nicaragua	To explore the barriers and enables to norm change in SDP program in Nicaragua that use soccer to empower girls and improve gender relations	Seven organizational staff members and 19 young women involved in the SDP program	Qualitative	SDP soccer programs
Hayhurst, MacNeill, Kidd & Knoppers (2014)	Uganda	To explore how gender relations are influenced by girls only martial arts-based SGD program	Eleven SNGO staff members who were young women, eight of which were martial arts trainers	Qualitative	Martial arts-based SGD program
Zipp (2017)	St. Lucia	To critically examine sport as a tool for youth development among 'at risk' girls	16 at-risk adolescent girls participating in SFD programs	Qualitative	SFD girls-only dance programs and mixed sex, unsupervised football play
Kahan, Noble, & Stergiopoulos (2018)	Canada	To report on the psychosocial intervention known as "Peer Education and Connection through Empowerment" for girls and women ages 16-24 who have experienced GBV	23 service users	Qualitative	A trauma-informed, peer-based program. Psychoeducational sessions interspersed with weeks of recreational activities to promote health, empowerment, resilience and quality of life

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Thematic Findings: Key Delivery Elements and Shared Perspectives of SFD and TVIPA Serving Populations Experiencing GBV

After conducting a thematic analysis guided by Braun & Clarke's (2006) approach across the studies included in this review, we identified four prominent themes that aligned with the key tenets of TVIPA and were evident across the 21 articles. This included: 1) understanding the prevalence and effects of trauma and violence; 2) providing safe spaces; 3) offering opportunities for choice and collaboration; and 4) providing capacity-building approaches to support participants.

Understanding the Effects of Trauma and Violence

A trauma- and violence-informed approach ensures program providers understand the prevalence of structural and interpersonal experiences of trauma and violence, and their impacts on peoples' lives and behaviours (Ponic et al., 2016; Wathen et al., 2021). TVIPA requires all individuals in organizations to develop an awareness of how various forms of oppression, such as racism, poverty, and sexism, can marginalize individuals from engaging in physical activity (Darroch et al., 2022a). All 21 studies provided background on the type(s) of trauma and/or violence experienced by participants. Thirteen studies also focused on socio-cultural structures that generate conditions of discrimination and violence, including differing societal and gender norms (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Hayhurst et al., 2018; Hayhurst & del Socorro Cruz Centeno, 2019; Frisby et al., 2007; Kahan et al., 2018; Seal & Sherry, 2018; Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014; Staempfli & Matter, 2017; van Ingen, 2011; 2016; 2020; Whitley et al., 2021; Zipp, 2017). It is unclear whether all 21 studies addressed both structural and interpersonal understandings of trauma and violence amongst staff and participants, or if these tenets were included solely for contextual purposes. Some studies, such as Seal and Sherry's (2018) analysis of the 'girls empowerment through sport' SFD cricket program, discussed both the structural and interpersonal aspects of GBV. This was accomplished through interactive sessions covering various topics, including self-defence and domestic violence, to increase participants' awareness of complex issues and encourage critical reflection on personal experiences (Seal & Sherry, 2018). The integration of critical pedagogies in GBV allowed participants to become more aware of broader systematic and structural inequalities such as sexism and poverty (Seal & Sherry, 2018).

In nine of the studies, it was unclear if an explicit understanding of trauma and violence was provided to participants (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Hayhurst et al., 2018; Hayhurst & del Socorro Cruz Centeno, 2019; Clark et al., 2014; D'Andrea et al., 2013; Oxford & Spaaij, 2019; Rhodes, 2015; Staempfli & Matter, 2017; Zipp, 2017). Eight of these studies clearly discussed how program staff were aware of the traumas and/or violence affecting program participants (Gammage et al., 2022; Kahan et al., 2018; Seal & Sherry, 2018; Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014; Whitley et al., 2021; van Ingen, 2011; 2016; 2020). To illustrate, the "Women on the Move" program targets women traumatized by war and violence in South Sudan (Staempfli & Matter, 2017). The program intersperses group sport activities with group counselling sessions and awareness-raising meetings (Staempfli & Matter, 2017). However, SFD programs that aim to manage post-traumatic symptoms in persons experiencing GBV often refer to these approaches as trauma-informed or trauma-sensitive, rather than using the more nuanced term trauma- and violence-informed (e.g., Kahan et al., 2020; Staempfli & Matter, 2017).

Providing Safe Spaces

The second tenet of a TVI approach is to create emotionally, culturally, and physically safe spaces for service users and providers (Ponic et al., 2016; Wathen et al., 2021). Fifteen programs provided safe spaces violence and intimate partner terrorism, and complex that embodied different dimensions of safety, including emotional, physical, and cultural (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Hayhurst, et al., 2018; Hayhurst & del Socorro Cruz Centeno, 2019; Clark et al., 2014; D'Andrea et al., 2013; Kahan et al., 2018; Rhodes, 2015; Seal & Sherry, 2018; Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014; Staempfli & Matter, 2017; van Ingen, 2011; Whitley et al., 2021; Zipp, 2017). For instance, trauma-informed hatha yoga fostered a safe space for participants to claim peaceful embodiment (Rhodes, 2015). This was accomplished by creating new, present-oriented, positive embodied experiences through yoga (Rhodes, 2015). The SYL boxing program provided a social space that enabled survivors and victims of GBV to claim their anger (van Ingen, 2011; 2016; 2020). Interestingly, people who have experienced GBV are often discouraged to express anger or direct it constructively, highlighting the need for more research on emotions and their role in shaping experiences and driving social change (van Ingen, 2011).

Offering Opportunities for Choice and Collaboration

Offering opportunities for participants and staff to make authentic choices through connection and collaboration is an essential pillar to a TVI approach (Darroch et al., 2022a; Wathen & Varcoe, 2021). Twelve studies explicitly discussed participant opportunities for collaboration, choice, and connection with programming (Hayhurst et al., 2018; Hayhurst & del Socorro Cruz Centeno, 2019; Clark et al., 2014; Kahan et al., 2018; Rhodes, 2015; Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014; Staempfli & Matter, 2017; van Ingen, 2011; 2016; 2020; Whitley et al., 2021; Smith-Marek, 2018). For example, Street Soccer helped participants connect with employment and housing opportunities (Whitley et al., 2021). Further, Street Soccer programming gave participants the freedom to express and process their emotions through conversation and play with other members (Whitley et al., 2021). The PEACE program incorporated a peer-supported and trauma-informed approach, providing flexibility and choice based on participant-identified needs and preferences (Kahan et al., 2020). The Vencer program ensured daily changes in team compositions to reduce competitiveness, and modified rules to vary the physical and emotional demands of the games (Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014).

Providing Capacity-Building Ways to Support Participants

The fourth tenet of TVI is to provide strengths-based and capacity-building to support participant coping and resilience (Ponic et al., 2016; Wathen et al., 2021). This tenet emphasizes that programs need to be tailored to the specific needs of the community to reinforce self-care, confidence, and social connections, which subsequently strengthens communities' abilities to cope with trauma (Darroch et al., 2022a; Darroch et al., 2022b). Sixteen studies provided a strengths-based or capacity-building approach to support participants (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Hayhurst et al., 2018; Hayhurst & del Socorro Cruz Centeno, 2019; D'Andrea et al., 2013; Kahan et al., 2018; Oxford & Spaaij, 2019; Rhodes, 2015; Seal & Sherry, 2018; Staempfli & Matter, 2017; van Ingen, 2011; Whitley et al., 2021; Zipp, 2017; Maniccia & Leone, 2019; Özümerzifon et. al, 2022). For instance, the GET program enabled female staff to assume development officer and managerial roles, as described by participant narratives, which helped build their leadership capacity and increasing their sense of self-efficacy (Seal & Sherry, 2018). Additionally, Street Soccer programming fostered a growth mindset, defined as understanding their abilities can be developed through dedication and hard work, among participants (Whitley et al., 2021). Growth and resilience were recurring themes across players' narratives, with many seeking new possibilities (Whitley et al., 2021). Trauma-informed hatha yoga also provided capacity-building opportunities for participants, by increasing strengths and capacities through yoga, including their capacity for self-care and emotional and physical intimacy (Rhodes, 2015). On another note, despite the significant and compounding challenges of conducting a virtual dance/movement program during a global pandemic, participants still benefitted from community building through the Zoom chat feature, where they could have side conversations and affirm one another (Özümerzifon et.al, 2022).

Discussion

Using a systematic approach, the goal of this scoping study was to explore peer-reviewed literature on TVIPA and SFD programs targeting populations who have experienced GBV. The scoping review revealed that SFD programs that aim to serve people experiencing GBV were diverse and wide-ranging, underscoring the need for a consistent approach to SFD programs that can be empirically tested and assessed for its appropriateness and feasibility in serving populations experiencing GBV. While considerable scholarship has examined the prevalence of trauma-informed yoga (Darroch et al., 2020), little research has been carried out on the use of trauma-informed approaches outside of yoga, and there is a dearth of research that examines trauma- *and* violence-informed approaches to physical activity. Scholars have called for an important shift in language by referring to practice as trauma- and violence-informed (TVI), rather than only trauma-informed, to bring into focus acts of violence and their traumatic impacts on victims (Browne et al., 2015; Ponic et al., 2016). And yet, no studies included in this review explicitly used a trauma- and violence-informed approach; rather, studies more commonly employed approaches defined as trauma-informed or trauma-sensitive. However, all studies mentioned specific type(s) of violence impacting program participants, including sexual violence, violence against women, GBV, domestic violence, intimate partner trauma. Thus, it is essential to consider the context in which SFD and TVIPA programs take place and how different forms of violence compound on each other and broader sport and physical activity settings to to uniquely impact program participants. TVIPA offers an approach that can be implemented in SFD address

structural, systemic, and interpersonal forms of violence impacting all program participants, and especially communities experiencing GBV. Literature has suggested SFD programs should foster autonomy-supportive environments that help create a safe and supportive climate for participants (Whitley et al., 2017). Implementing a trauma- and violence-informed approach in SFD programs responds to this need and provides a nuanced approach to best help serve the needs of marginalized communities.

Practical Implications

As evident by this review, working to integrate TVIPA in SFD programs for people experiencing GBV requires the adoption of a multi-sectoral approach in developing a comprehensive GBV prevention and response plan that focuses on the roles and needs of people who have experienced GBV. On another note, this scoping review underlined how SFD programs serving people who have experienced GBV have indeed used many of the tenets of TVIPA (e.g., trauma and violence awareness). These tenets have been useful for ensuring safe spaces and for upholding the agency of program participants. And yet, there remain no SFD programs (that we are aware of) that have yet to formally adopt a TVIPA approach. Organizations and practitioners should thus be particularly interested in integrating the tenets of the TVIPA approach within SFD to ensure that individuals who have experienced GBV will feel comfortable participating in programs (Darroch et al., 2022a).

With the exception of one SFD program, Shape Your Life, programs for people experiencing GBV did not account for gender-diverse social groups, including (but not limited to) transgender, Two-Spirit, queer, gender-fluid, and gender non-conforming people. A TVIPA approach to SFD would thus enhance attention paid to the needs of diverse social identities and prioritize meaningfully engaging gender diverse people in the development and implementation of SFD policy, research and practice. Without upholding the integral viewpoints and lived experiences of gender diverse people, TVIPA and SFD programs serving populations of GBV run the risk of missing the mark entirely and potentially causing more harm than good. For instance, the study conducted by Hayhurst et al., (2014) on a martial arts program in Uganda pointed out that homosexuality is a criminal act in Uganda, and "it seemed dangerous for staff to move away from the heteronormative assumptions that provided justification for their focus on teaching self-defences to only young women and girls" (p. 164). Within communities, substantive discussions need to involve those most vulnerable, which is crucial to amplify voices that critique inequitable gender norms and other oppressive practices.

Given how the pandemic has changed SFD delivery (Dixon et al., 2020), continued efforts should be made to make virtual SFD programming accessible to all, including finding optimal ways to provide the programming on more inclusive virtual platforms (Özümerzifon et. al, 2022). For example, gendered responsibilities, in conjunction with technological barriers like unstable Internet connection and lack of access to digital devices, may hinder the attendance and desired impact of virtual programming interventions (Özümerzifon et. al, 2022, p. 12).

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on this scoping review, we offer five recommendations for future research, policy, and practice related to utilizing TVIPA in SFD programs serving populations experiencing GBV.

First, we suggest that organizations, researchers, and policy-makers seeking to address GBV and using TVIPA in/through SFD to consider the array of populations that are affected by violence, and to work with multiple actors – most especially those who have experienced GBV – in order to more effectively implement programming that suits the needs of particular populations. For example, while community intervention partners are helpful in creating debate within communities about TVIPA, SFD, and GBV, support from local and national actors are needed. Therefore, we particularly advocate for policy-makers to work more closely with community intervention programs to build a multi-sectoral approach.

Second, we suggest that TVIPA training of staff, volunteers, managers, and other program leaders be implemented, especially since many SFD participants may be, or have, experienced violence as evident from the different studies in this review. Training should be context-specific and incorporate the perspectives and suggestions of program participants. This approach enables opportunities of choice, collaboration and connection, as outlined in a TVIPA approach (Darroch et al., 2022a).

The third recommendation is that, SFD organizations should strive to deliver complementary resources that would enable intended

participants the ability to fully engage in virtual program activities, such as by supplying user-friendly devices like tablets or computers, reliable Wi-Fi access, and vouchers for childcare services. It is vital for managers and practitioners within SFD to recognize the way in which violence may still permeate virtual spaces. Thus, a TVIPA approach should continue to inform decision-making and delivery of virtual SFD.

Fourth, SFD organizations may consider applying intersectional, anti-oppressive approaches to their work – in line with TVIPA – to better consider how different forms of oppression (e.g., sex, race, class, etc.) contributes to GBV. Notably, only one trauma-informed SFD program included in the review, Shape Your Life (SYL) (Gammage et al., 2022; van Ingen 2011; 2016; 2020), explicitly stated using an anti-oppression framework.

In line with this suggestion, future research may also explore the conceptual approaches and theoretical perspectives being taken up in research on TVIPA in SFD to address GBV. This could involve examining how different theoretical frameworks inform the research on TVIPA in SFD, and how this research can be used to create more effective interventions for GBV. Additionally, exploring theoretical perspectives of intersectionality and how TVIPA can be used as a tool to address the intersectional aspects of GBV may provide valuable insight into how to reduce the incidence of GBV. By conducting further research in these areas, we may be able to develop more effective targeted interventions that address the complex and multifaceted nature of GBV. SYL is one of the few SFD programs that have made efforts to reach out to women in diverse contexts, including immigrant and refugee committees and participants of colour (van Ingen, 2011). In line with TVIPA, SYL aims to address the multiple realities of GBV, particularly facing low-income and racialized women and trans individuals, by offering boxing as a form of anti-violence work within an anti-oppressive framework (van Ingen, 2011). Hence, using an anti-oppressive theoretical framework within TVIPA could aid in holding SFD organizations and practitioners accountable in ensuring that program participants are not homogenized and reflect the multiple realities marginalized communities experiencing GBV face. By expanding our understanding of TVIPA in SFD, we can better address the complex issue of GBV around the world.

Finally, this scoping review highlights the need for future research to investigate the feasibility and acceptability of TVIPA in SFD programs for people who have experienced GBV and in different geographical contexts. Particularly, further research presents an opportunity to investigate how scholarship in the global South is being adopted by global North scholars, and whether these studies involve local experts to ensure cultural and contextual understandings of GBV from an outside perspective.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is the restrictions placed on our literature search including only reviewing articles between 2000 to 2022 and those written in English, however this was the best solution considering costs and time constraints. This scoping review also focused on peer-reviewed literature, omitting grey literature on TVIPA and SFD programs serving survivors of GBV. In addition, inconsistencies with the use of TVIPA, SFD, and GBV terminology may have unintentionally limited the number of articles included within this scoping review – for instance, if terms such as 'development and sport' were used rather than SFD. However, such inconsistencies of terminology, including within the studies reviewed, demonstrate the vital need for the adoption and integration of a consistent framework for GBV in SFD organizations and practice, which we have argued throughout the TVIPA approach is appropriate for.

Conclusion

This research builds on other recent scoping reviews within the SFD field that examine advancements in the sport for development in relation to Indigenous youth (e.g., Gardam et al., 2017); health promotion interventions in Africa (Hansell, et al., 2021); and health-based programming for women and girls (Pederson & King, 2023). To our knowledge, the study herein is the first study to explore the overlaps and synergies between peer-reviewed literature on TVIPA and SFD programs for victims and survivors of GBV. In turn, this work illuminates the possibilities and potential of TVIPA and SFD programs to work collectively to provide more comprehensive GBV support mechanisms for participants. Based on our findings, we have deduced that – with the exception of one SFD program, Shape Your Life – the exclusion of diverse gender identities in SFD for victims/survivors of GBV has only further entrenched hegemonic ideologies within the sector, with this maintenance of the status quo making a safe space for all illusive. Apart from one SFD program, Shape Your Life, programs for victims/survivors

of GBV did not account for gender-diverse social groups, including (but not limited to) transgender, Two-Spirit, queer, gender-fluid, and gender non-conforming people. TVIPA accounts for structural, systemic, and interpersonal forms of violence that has led to the exclusion gender diversity within SFD. Widening whose experience is accounted for is beneficial for everyone and as such programming, research and policy needs to reflect this. Thus, SFD programs can benefit from adopting a TVIPA approach. There are many complexities in how programming was delivered to victims and survivors of GBV, hence there is a need to develop a conceptualized TVI framework that can be utilized across SFD and physical activity programs.

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Original Research

An Exploration and Reflection of Mexican Perceptions of the United States and Americans Following a Short-Term Sport for Development Initiative

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Abstract

The present study explored the role of sport in citizen diplomacy efforts using the voices of Mexican participants involved with an international sport for development and peace (SDP) program between the United States and Mexico. Collectively, participants' experiences and cultural perspectives highlighted the promising potential of sport to foster citizen diplomacy, while also emphasizing the importance of constructively critiquing such programs. In semi-structured focus group interviews, Mexican participants reflected on connecting with Americans through a sense of shared humanity, expressed optimism for continued and future partnerships with Americans in sport, and described the United States and Americans in idealistic terms. Reflection of these findings yield additional insight on how SDP researchers and practitioners can design and implement future programs to increasingly foster, and prioritize, equitable contributions across groups while also promoting and celebrating the strengths of each culture.

An Exploration and Reflection of Mexican Perceptions of the United States and Americans Following a Short-Term Sport for Development Initiative

The United States and Mexico have had a mercurial diplomatic history over the past 200 years. Following prolonged periods of armed conflict and rebellion in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the two countries forged a prosperous diplomatic and economic partnership that facilitated the growth of both nations (Domínguez & De Castro, 2009). Tensions between the two countries resurfaced in the 1990s, as illegal immigration into the United States through the border with Mexico became a highly publicized and controversial sociopolitical and economic subject (DeLuca et al., 2010; Huber, 2016). Scholars have noted that hostility regarding illegal immigration has, for example, motivated acts of racism toward Mexicans and Latinos in the United States (Sabo et al., 2014; Schubert, 2017; Wood, 2018).

The geo-political tensions between the United States and Mexico have contributed to heated sport rivalries, particularly in men's soccer (Apostolov, 2017). Although these rivalries have the potential to inflame animosity between supporters, sport is also considered a globally shared activity that transcends social barriers and unifies diverse groups (Collison et al., 2016; Kidd, 2008; Murray, 2012). Since 2000, sport for development and peace (SDP) initiatives have become a popular approach for promoting positive change in non-sport domains, such as in public health, social inclusion, gender equity, and economic development outcomes, to meet community needs (Giulianotti, 2010; Kidd, 2008; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Webb & Richelieu, 2015). As part of these objectives, SDP endeavors are also well-suited to promote citizen diplomacy, which focuses on the development of meaningful interpersonal relationships between citizens of different countries, communities, and cultures to improve perceptions and understanding that support collaboration and partnership toward mutual goals (Bhandari & Belyavina, 2011; Cárdenas, 2013). Baker et al. (2018), for example, conducted a two-week SDP program in the United States with participants from Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Ecuador, Jamaica, and Panama. Following the program, participants' perceptions of the United States, Americans and American sport culture improved, including greater understanding and

Keywords: sport diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, sport, intercultural exchange, cultural perceptions

more tolerant attitudes. In another two-week SDP program between the United States and China, LeCrom and Dwyer (2013) found that, although perceptions of the United States were initially negative and largely influenced by media sources, the Chinese participants described the United States as more stable, friendly, and peaceful following the program. Participants in both these SDP initiatives reported the relationships they formed with Americans were positive and increased their willingness to engage in similar intercultural exchanges in the future (Baker et al., 2018; LeCrom & Dwyer, 2013). Thus, SDP initiatives between the United States and Mexico could similarly provide a promising opportunity to improve citizen diplomacy outcomes between American and Mexican citizens.

Deporte y Cambio Social

Deporte y Cambio Social—which translates to 'Sport for Social Change'— was an SDP initiative designed through intercultural collaboration between citizens of the United States and Mexico. The aims of the initiative were two-fold: (a) to develop and implement a program that used soccer as a platform for promoting women's empowerment and leadership by training sport coaches who work with girls and women on developing an inclusive team culture using a values-driven approach and (b) to facilitate citizen diplomacy between Americans and Mexicans through the development, implementation, and participation in the SDP initiative – the focus of the present study.

Deporte y Cambio Social was developed and implemented through a partnership between a team of faculty and graduate students at two large public universities in the United States and Mexico. American team members, three of whom were fluent in both English and Spanish, focused on program development (e.g., content, materials, activities) while Mexican team members, one of whom was fluent in both English and Spanish, focused on logistical elements required for program implementation (e.g., participant and translator recruitment, facilities, equipment). Mexican and American team members regularly communicated via text message and email and met virtually on a bi-weekly basis to provide ongoing progress reports and address challenges. Deporte y Cambio Social was implemented in two phases; the first phase occurred over an eight-day trip to Mexico and the second during a 13-day trip to the United States. All program workshops were delivered by American professionals affiliated with either higher education or sport programming in the United States and who were trained in the program protocol. The program (España-Pérez, 2021) consisted of four 90-minute workshops, each comprised of two parts – (a) an interactive classroom lesson and (b) a field-based soccer experience – which aligned with the major components of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM). The SCM is a values-based model that views leadership development and social change as a dynamic process involving seven values within individual (consciousness of self, congruence, commitment), group (collaboration, commitment, controversy with civility), and societal (citizenship) dimensions (Higher Education Research Institute [HERI], 1996)(HERI, [HERI], 1996). The SCM emphasizes the vital role of leadership and empowerment in the development of a collective social responsibility to initiate positive social change.

Theoretical Frameworks and Evaluation

Researchers have highlighted the importance of aligning SDP initiatives with a guiding theoretical framework (Darnell et al., 2018; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Welty Peachey et al., 2019). Deporte y Cambio Social was conceptualized based on sport for development theory (SFDT), which posits that embedding intercultural and interdisciplinary learning into the sport experience is a powerful way to promote positive personal and social change (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011) and uses theory O, theory E, and Allport's (1954) contact theory as foundations (Baker et al., 2018; Beer & Nohria, 2000; Dixon et al., 2019).

Theory O refers to a top-down approach that leverages the expertise of external change agents, such as funders, non-governmental organizations, and policymakers, to develop programs for communities. In contrast, theory E refers to a longer-term, bottom-up strategy for sustaining collaboration in which community members are actively involved in the creation and implementation of a program. Researchers have encouraged a balance between bottom-up and top-down processes to promote strong, positive, and sustainable intercultural partnerships that prioritize local customs, norms, and forms of knowledge (Collison et al., 2016; Dixon et al., 2019; Hayhurst et al., 2021; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). Contact theory posits that interactions between individuals from different groups must meet five specific criteria to maximize impact: (a) having groups of individuals be of equal status; (b) having common goals related to the program; (c) having both groups work toward these goals collaboratively; (d) having institutional support; and (e) increasing the potential for individuals to develop friendships with members of the other group (Allport, 1954; Dixon et al., 2019). In relation to these theoretical underpinnings, the present SDP initiative sought to involve a mixed group of American and Mexican professionals and students who engaged in both program development and implementation; focus on the shared goals of women's empowerment and leadership development; involve

collaboration between Mexican and American representatives toward those goals; receive institutional support from each collaborating university; and prioritize engagement among members of the program design team, program facilitators, and program participants to build professional relationships and friendships.

Further, the rapid nascent of SDP initiatives has led to calls for researchers to provide empirical support for theoretically driven SDP programs (Coalter, 2010; Giulianotti, 2011; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004; Hansell et al., 2021; Harris, 2018; Kaufman et al., 2013). In their review, Schulenkorf et al. (2016) noted that only 10% of studies evaluated an international program involving stakeholders from multiple countries. While international endeavors entail more complicated logistics, higher costs, and a larger time commitment, researchers have acknowledged the potential that sport can play in international citizen diplomacy and highlighted the importance of additional research in this area (Pamment, 2016). Although much of the SDP literature has relied upon Likert-type quantitative assessment tools to measure program effectiveness (e.g., Fuller et al., 2015), researchers have increasingly advocated for flexible and creative, namely qualitative, approaches to explore the perspectives of participants within the community of interest (Hayhurst et al., 2021; Sherry et al., 2017). These additional calls for empirical evaluation, particularly regarding citizen diplomacy and the nature of intercultural perspectives that develop from interacting via sport-based platforms (Baker et al., 2018; Bhandari & Belyavina, 2011; LeCrom & Dwyer, 2013), prompted the current study. Our purpose was to qualitatively explore citizen diplomacy, specifically Mexican participants' perceptions of the United States and Americans, following a theory-driven, international SDP initiative in Mexico. These findings are used to explore perspectives and experiences that can underpin the development of citizen diplomacy through SDP programs as well as elucidate opportunities to strengthen citizen diplomacy by noticing, and disrupting, the societal power imbalances that can be otherwise reflected in SDP programs.

Method

Research Design and Positionality

Working within the realities of a short-term international SDP program, we used focus groups to garner diverse perspectives (Rabiee, 2004) while easing participant burden and maximizing efficiency (Jackson, 1998). A social constructivist epistemological framework was used to frame the study. Conceptually, social constructivism involves a blend of cognitive and behavioral ideals that suggest human learning and meaning are constructed through active engagement with the environment (Amineh & Asl, 2015). Our decision to use a social constructivist framework stemmed from the program's mission and structure, as well as its reliance on interactive workshops involving participants from different cultural backgrounds.

The first and third authors, who collected and analyzed the data, share experiences in meaningful intercultural collaboration and beliefs in the power and importance of leveraging the strengths of girls and women in the sport context. The first author identified as a White American man pursuing his doctoral degree in the United States. During the program design phase, he used his soccer career and experience as a volunteer in Ghana to provide guidance on how to connect soccer-related themes to the intended outcomes of the program. While in Mexico, he served as a translator, facilitated workshops, and co-conducted focus group interviews. Although not a native Spanish speaker, he has studied extensively and is fluent in Spanish. All his interactions with Mexican participants were in Spanish, though the first author openly acknowledged his role as a cultural 'outsider' throughout the program and during the focus groups. The third author identifies as a Mexican woman who was studying towards her doctoral degree in the United States at the time of the program. During the program design phase, she used her experience as a Mexican citizen and knowledge of Mexican culture to align the program materials with Mexican cultural norms. While in Mexico, she similarly served as a translator, facilitated workshops, co-conducted focus group interviews, and served as a cultural 'insider' who facilitated interactions between Mexicans and Americans.

The second author identifies as an American White woman in a professional academic position in the United States who became a doctoral advisor to the first author amid the project. Not involved in the initial design and implementation of Deporte y Cambio Social, she was well-positioned to pose novel and challenging questions and encourage and support reflection. Accordingly, she served as a critical friend and auditor of the data analysis process while involving other authors as key informants of the programmatic and cultural experience for which she was not a part. She further examined and critiqued the data collection and analysis process, post-hoc, using her collective experiences in qualitative research design, program development and evaluation, and intercultural collaboration.

Participants and Procedures

This study was approved by an Institutional Review Board. Participants (n = 18; M_{age} =23 years) were men (n = 8) and

women (n = 10) Mexican undergraduate students at a university in Mexico who participated in the first phase of Deporte y Cambio Social in Mexico. Although some participants were also involved in the second phase in the United States at a later timepoint, the data for the present study were collected after the first program phase in Mexico. All participants were training to become sport coaches and had participated in all program activities. Due to logistical challenges (e.g., time, access), both random and convenience sampling were employed. First, we used a lottery sampling method with a random number generator to select approximately one-third (n = 23) of the total number of program participants (n = 74) and invited them to partake in focus group interviews via email. However, a low response rate (n = 13; 56%) forced an iterative recruitment strategy in which additional participants (n = 5) were approached during short breaks between workshops. Interested participants were told about the purpose of the focus groups and that participation was voluntary. The interviews occurred in the evening on the Mexican university's campus three days after the program workshops were completed.

Semi-structured questions served as prompts for participants during the focus group interviews which, for this study, focused on Mexican participants' qualitative perceptions of the United States and Americans following the program as part of the program's emphasis on citizen diplomacy. Given the potentially sensitive nature of some program activities as they pertained to the lived experiences of girls and women in Mexico, we conducted three focus group interviews. One focus group was conducted with men only (n = 3), one was conducted with women only (n = 7), and one with men and women (n = 8; 5 men, 3 women). The first author facilitated the men's focus group, the third author facilitated the women's focus group, and the mixed-gender focus group was co-facilitated by both. All focus group interviews were conducted in Spanish, took place in classrooms in the absence of others not involved in the study, and were 56 minutes long on average, with each interview lasting between 43 and 63 minutes. Each facilitator explained the purpose of the interview, defined their roles in the program, and self-disclosed relevant identifying information (e.g., American or Mexican citizenship). Both facilitators fostered transparency and rapport by encouraging the full range of discussion, including sentiments of both support and criticism. Interviews were audio-recorded by the facilitators after they received verbal consent from each focus group member, and each facilitator documented personal reactions and reflections immediately after each interview. The interviews were transcribed and translated into English by a professional editor fluent in both languages.

Data Analysis

Interview data were analyzed using a reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019) involving six fluid phases of familiarizing, coding, theme development, refinement, naming, and writing (Braun et al., 2016), which was catered to fit a constructivist framework. The first and third authors familiarized themselves with the data and documented initial impressions using analytic memos as they read the transcripts. Next, they inductively generated codes to capture the meaning of each segment of text and inductively organized codes into higher-level themes. As part of a reflexive and iterative process, the first and third authors met weekly to review their ongoing analytic memos and discuss their interpretations of the data in their roles as a 'cultural outsider' and 'cultural insider,' respectively. The second author served as both auditor and critical friend in which she mentored and critiqued the analytic process (e.g., encouraging re-engagement and reflexivity with positionality and the research question) and posed additional interpretive possibilities (e.g., examining latent in addition to semantic meaning), resulting in collaborative conceptualization and continued refinement of themes across data analysis and writing.

Results and Discussion

Three higher-level themes were generated from Mexican participants' responses in the focus group interviews. Each major theme is described with supporting quotes from participants and discussed in the context of the extant literature. Together, these ideas demonstrated opportunity for intercultural connection and collaboration while motivating critical reflection of how best to approach these opportunities in ways that foster equitable exchange and celebrate the strengths of diverse cultures.

Mexicans and Americans Can Connect Through Shared Humanity

Participants reflected on developing meaningful connection with Americans over the course of the program by challenging their pre-existing "fixed" beliefs and learning that Mexicans and Americans experience common struggles. One participant shared:

The truth is that I had a very fixed idea of the American type, and [the Americans] who came did not have those characteristics. It seems a more diverse environment than I thought with many ways of thinking; not just one like I thought.

Another participant explained:

I thought that [Americans] had everything, that nothing happened to them. I had a very closed mind myself, but I realized that they are almost the same. Regarding their way of living there is a lot of difference, in their government too, but I realized I could feel the same fear that they have. I realized that we are the same; it is so amazing!

Aligned with contact theory (Allport, 1954), these sentiments suggest that meaningful interactions between different groups can help them question stereotypes, foster understanding, and develop relationships. Beyond contact theory, other scholars suggest that a sense of shared humanity, described as the recognition that suffering is universal and a primary feature of compassion (Neff, 2011), is conducive to improving intergroup relations, conflict resolution, and a shared identity between different groups (Morton & Postmes, 2011). Participants' sentiments highlighted the unifying potential of shared humanity:

Regardless of which country you live in, everyone suffers. It is not given that in one country it happens and in another it does not. We don't realize what [Americans] go through every day, to have everything they have. They have to work all day and they don't see the family all day. Here, in Mexico, we may be a country that works a lot, but we have more time for the family.

Another participant chimed:

It's a matter of perception, but I feel that [Americans] suffer the same in the sense of not seeing the family due to work and school. I do not have much knowledge of what they are like in schools, but they are in school all day, and in Mexico, it is the other way around. In my case it was the other way round; my mom was working all the time, and I did not see her because of her work. It is the other way around in the United States.

Participants' descriptions of their experiences in the program indicate that despite cultural differences, Mexicans felt connected to Americans through the shared importance of balancing responsibilities related to family, work, and school. Although limited in scope, previous research suggests many cultures share similar values such as work and family, yet groups may prioritize life domains differently (Aycan, 2008; Watson, 2002). While acknowledging these differences, participants leveraged their common values and shared struggles of human existence. These sentiments align with reflections from participants in other international SDP initiatives in Latin America, the Caribbean (Baker et al., 2018), and China (LeCrom & Dwyer, 2013) who connected with the beliefs, values, and behaviors of Americans they met through the program. These findings are particularly promising given that each exchange involved participants from three distinct regions of the world, which may support international SDP endeavors toward citizen diplomacy.

Mexicans and Americans Can Collaborate Towards a Shared Purpose

When reflecting on their experiences in the program, participants reported contentment with their interactions with Americans, commenting on notions of feeling equal, which was coupled with a belief in the promising potential of future intercultural partnerships. One participant shared:

People came from the United States and they treated us equally. There is a lot of importance about having equity and working together. It doesn't matter if you are Mexican or American because you work equally to reach the goal.

Participants further commented on the sense of team cultivated through the program:

As my partner [in the workshops] says, we saw how [the Americans] treated us, how they were more linked up to the team. We integrated cultures, theirs with ours, and because we exchanged ideas, we were all completely sure what we were doing and what we were going to do.

Another participant echoed:

I once lived in America and there, America belongs to its people. In America, if you help someone else the other person helps you because it is collaborative work. I saw this in this program because [the Americans] helped me as much as I helped them. That type of cooperation with clear objectives was of great value for all of us.

Despite the historically turbulent diplomatic relationship between the United States and Mexico, the two countries have enjoyed prolonged periods of diplomatic and economic symbiosis (Domínguez & De Castro, 2009). Their geographic proximity lends itself to establishing intercultural collaborations, and despite political tensions, person-to-person programs aligned with contact theory could facilitate the formation of reciprocal partnerships that benefit both countries. Several participants further shared they are open to partnering with American coaches and athletes in the future despite the infamous heated sport rivalry between the two countries:

Yes, there is the rivalry, but I believe that we should collaborate with Americans more, because it means more opportunities for both Mexicans and Americans…if [Mexicans and Americans] connect they could do such impressive things because sometimes it is only a matter of having an opportunity.

Another participant chimed, "Americans have their differences but [Americans and Mexicans] would complement each other very well with [Americans'] energy and the talent that Mexico has could solve any problem…Americans and Mexicans make a good match." These sentiments suggest the program experience demonstrated how Mexicans and Americans could leverage their unique strengths to solve common sport concerns in a cohesive, complimentary way. Longer-term SDP experiences may be further powerful in building increasingly sustainable intercultural partnerships that foster citizen diplomacy outcomes (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Schulenkorf, 2012).

Despite Shared Humanity and Purpose, American Resources and People Were Deemed Ideal

When reflecting on the program, participants made comparisons between life in Mexico and assumed truths about life in the United States. Despite connecting over a shared humanity and believing in the potential of future collaborations, participants used idealistic language to describe the United States and Americans as the gold standard from which everything and everyone else is compared. Presently, the United States is considered the world's most powerful nation according to an annual assessment evaluating economic, political, diplomatic, and militaristic characteristics (U.S. News, 2020). Although Mexico has the second largest economy in North America, it is ranked 37th in the global power rankings with an annual GDP that is nearly 20 times smaller than the United States. It was evident that participants perceived the United States as a country with more resources and opportunities. One participant stated, "I feel that most of the United States is the best, because they really have a lot more things than Mexico. In the sense of sports, they are much ahead of us." Several participants echoed this notion, including one who shared, "[Americans] improve any human being because in the United States there are more possibilities for them to excel more widely." Another participant specifically discussed the difference in sport training resources and opportunities between the United States and Mexico when discussing the prospect of working as a Mexican coach with American athletes:

The truth is I think it is very difficult. I think it is difficult for a Mexican coach to work there, at least one who was born [in Mexico]. It's complicated, but I see it more feasible for a Mexican athlete to be trained by Americans…because in America they have better academic training and better trained staff, which the athlete prefers. The languagebarrier can be set aside if you learn, but I also do not know how comfortable it is to insert yourself into a new culture. It will depend on the person.

Participants also described Americans as possessing more ambitious and desirable intrapersonal characteristics compared to Mexicans:

The [American] attitude is superior, their attitude is always going to be superior. I don't know what it's due to, but I've always seen them with a motivation. I've always noticed that people from the United States always seem very motivated.

Another participant stated:

I think that as Mexicans we should copy their mindset. In Mexico if you are number five on the list, you feel comfortable. You don't fight to be the first…the willingness to both say it and do it is very different for Americans and Mexicans.

These aspirational descriptions reflect a common view of the United States as the exemplar in relation to work ethic, motivation, and content expertise (Hayhurst et al., 2021), which has been explored and contemplated in SDP work (e.g., Chawansky, 2015; Schulenkorf et al., 2016). Collison et al. (2016), for example, critically examined the geo and ethnopolitical tensions associated with conducting SDP research as members of the Global North in Global South contexts. Specifically, while the perceived expertise and contributions of Western governments and organizations can be positive, Collison et al. (2016) explained "being understood as separate from or privileged in relation to local people" (p. 893) can reinforce mistrust and undermine the relationships upon which SDP work is built. Dao and Chin (2020) showed how American values and beliefs are easily threaded throughout the design and implementation of SDP work and, in turn, can contribute to deference and idealism felt by members of the local culture. Within the present study, participants' responses underscored the intricate ways in which aspirational views and idealization of the 'knowledgeable other' can be formed despite intentions for a collaborative, balanced partnership between stakeholders.

General Discussion

The popularity of SDP programs has increased substantially since the United Nations endorsed their use in 2005 to address global inequities and, upon initial design and implementation, that was the intention. Mexican participants' favorable perceptions of Americans were expressed with enthusiasm and optimism which, on the surface, would suggest all parts of the program were implemented successfully. However, recent literature has indicated that, notwithstanding the promising potential of SDP initiatives toward citizen diplomacy, the possibility for critical shortcomings and pitfalls exists within these programs (e.g., Darnell et al., 2018; Dao, 2020; Dao & Chin, 2020; Harris, 2018; Oatley & Harris, 2020; Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Svensson & Loat, 2019; Welty Peachey et al., 2019).

Indeed, sport-based platforms may have a unique role in promoting citizen diplomacy, as its universal popularity provides a common ground through which different groups can connect over a shared passion and discover common values and experiences that can be applied both within and outside the sport domain. Mexican participants' desire for future collaborative endeavors with Americans highlights the long-term potential of SDP initiatives despite the relatively short duration of typical programs conducted internationally. This finding is particularly hopeful, as international perceptions of the United States and Mexico, both domestically and abroad, could engender future intercultural partnerships and strengthen diplomatic ties. Toward realizing the potential for longer-term intercultural engagement, focusing on friendship potential and relationship development through regular, virtual exchange is a realistic way to facilitate sustained collaboration and opportunity beyond the constraints of time- and resource-limited grant funded SDP programs.

Despite findings illustrating the potential for SDP programs to develop meaningful intercultural relationships that support citizen diplomacy, Mexican participants also offered sentiments suggesting they did not believe they could be an equal, contributing member of that partnership – a finding that provided an opportunity to reflect on how programs like Deporte y Cambio Social may be approached differently. Researchers have asserted that SDP programs are often developed, structured, and implemented in ways that reinforce existing power imbalances, especially when those programs involve stakeholders from the Global North (e.g., the United States, Europe, Oceania), who are typically the providers of SDP experiences, and stakeholders from the Global South (e.g., Africa, Latin America), who are typically the recipients (Giulianotti et al., 2019). In the present program, efforts made to mitigate these possibilities included holding regular planning meetings with members of both countries; conducting the program and collecting the data using the local language; and using a train-the-trainer approach in which Mexican program participants designed and facilitated their own workshops in local Mexican high schools. Anecdotally, several Mexican and American project team members, students, and coaches still communicate in both personal (e.g., on social media) and professional (e.g., research collaborations) capacities, which is indeed reflective of some sustained relationship development. Within the program, members of the American contingent were aware of their privileged position in relation to their Mexican counterparts, yet, despite efforts to align all phases of the project with contact theory, as well as achieve balance between theories E and O to promote citizen diplomacy, some criteria were only partially fulfilled. Specifically, Americans played a larger role in the program development phase while most program participants were Mexican (93%) – a dynamic that likely perpetuated views of Americans as 'experts' and Mexicans as 'recipients' of that expertise and, in turn, leveraged idealistic views of American resources and people over and above those of other cultures. With considerable reflection, we acknowledge that the sociocultural and sociohistorical context within which Deporte y Cambio Social occurred requires deeper and increasingly intentional co-construction across cultures and that identifying the full range of factors that contribute to any real or perceived imbalances is vital to the future of SDP programming.

Numerous authors have expressed the SDP sector is at a pivotal point and urged the field to improve and adjust amid a constantly evolving global, political, and economic landscape (Ahmad, 2021; Darnell et al., 2018; Giulianotti et al., 2019; Hayhurst et al., 2021). The results of the present study further support these recommendations; although the semantic meaning of participants' voices supported the promising potential of international SDP programs, the latent significance highlights a critical need to explore how best to construct programs that share power. To this end, researchers have highlighted the importance of creative, collaborative, and holistic qualitative approaches, such as participatory mapping (e.g., Sobotová et al., 2016), participatory evaluation (e.g., Dao, 2020; Oatley & Harris, 2020), realist evaluation (e.g., Harris, 2018; Giulianotti et al., 2019), and autoethnography (e.g., Chawansky, 2015) that emphasize the input of all relevant stakeholders (e.g., funders, program facilitators, participants, locals, community leaders, researchers, policymakers) using a critical lens (Darnell et al., 2018; Hayhurst et al., 2021; Svensson & Loat, 2019). Such approaches to evaluation are more complicated and time consuming than traditional, positivist methodologies, which have been criticized for prioritizing voices, experiences, and forms of knowledge

emanating only from the Global North (Ahmad, 2021). However, these complex qualitative approaches also reflect the convoluted, messy reality of SDP programs in action (Darnell et al., 2016; Hayhurst et al., 2021; Welty Peachey & Cohen, 2016).

Among the strengths of the current study, we sought to give voice to Mexican program participants using a qualitative approach in a local setting. We purposefully included both an American and Mexican citizen to facilitate the focus groups who spent time building rapport and invited dissenting viewpoints to promote honest responses. Still, additional strategies to balance power in evaluation, as well as program design and implementation of which evaluation is inherently a part, is vital to explore in future research (Collison et al., 2016). Further, a research study that also captured the sentiments of American program participants, as well as the fuller range of stakeholders involved in the project, would have helped us to holistically understand the bi-directional nature of citizen diplomacy. However, despite our plan to also conduct focus groups with American program facilitators and participants, logistical issues (e.g., illness, visa complications) prohibited a portion of the American project team from traveling to Mexico, which greatly limited the sample from which American perspectives could be gathered as well as staffing for the research portion of the project. In the future, the development and readiness to engage in contingency plans, such as virtual communication (Hayhurst et al., 2021), could help mitigate some obstacles, such as travel restrictions. In conducting an international SDP initiative, it can also be difficult to balance data collection efforts with program development and implementation duties. Thus, developing a research evaluation team comprised of representatives from all involved countries whose sole responsibilities are to plan and conduct empirical evaluations would help protect time and effort toward data collection while promoting cultural representation. Because research evaluation is not typically a priority for funders of SDP initiatives, allocating alternative resources to these activities is vital to meet the various calls for more formal and holistic evaluation of SDP programs, including those that are qualitative.

Conclusion

The current study evaluated Mexican participants' cultural perceptions of the United States and Americans following a short-term SDP program. Our team conducted semi-structured focus group interviews after the first program phase in Mexico, which were analyzed using a reflexive thematic analysis from a social constructivist lens. As part of three semi-structured focus group interviews, Mexican participants indicated that their interactions with Americans helped them connect over a sense of shared humanity. Through these connections, Mexican participants suggested that future intercultural collaborations in sport would be advantageous and that identified cultural differences could function in a complimentary way. However, Mexican participants also described the United States as an idealistic country compared to Mexico and Americans as having more ideal and ambitious intrapersonal qualities related to work ethic and motivation compared to Mexicans. The enthusiasm and optimism shared by Mexican participants around the possibility for collaboration comes with a significant responsibility for Americans to be positive stewards of power through, for example, relationship development and partnerships that leverage the strengths of diverse cultures. The reflection and recommendations of the present study serve to further inform the future of SDP programming by highlighting the promise, while informing the improvement, of SDP programs irrespective of the well-meaning intentions of program stakeholders.

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Original Research

Menstrual Health Education in Sport for Development: A Case Study from Zambia

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ABSTRACT

Menstruation impacts people around the world, yet this topic is shrouded in taboo, undermining our ability to understand experiences of menstrual health and well-being. Research and activism on menstruation experiences in the Global South has grown dramatically in recent years. However, menstrual health research in the field of sport for development (SFD) is largely absent.

The purpose of this study was to better understand the lived experience of menstrual health amongst adolescent girls in SFD, the impact of menstrual health education through SFD and in what ways SFD might serve as a platform for menstrual health education. The participants took part in four lessons on menstrual health through the National Organisation for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation (NOWSPAR) of Zambia. These sessions included sport-based activities, menstrual health lessons, and journaling with adolescent participants (n=79). The adult facilitators (n=3) also completed journal exercises. The data yielded three key themes: (1) understanding and learning about the menstrual cycle; (2) pain, discomfort and coping with menstrual symptoms; and (3) stigma, fear and embarrassment surrounding menstruation. We conclude that menstrual stigma is a root cause to many of the challenges girls face and that SFD can be an impactful environment for menstrual health education.

Menstrual Health Education in Sport for Development: A Case Study from Zambia

Despite its universal nature, menstruation is cloaked in strong cultural taboos and stigma that often leave adolescent girls[1] across the globe uninformed, misguided, and unprepared to navigate their menstrual cycles (Bobel, 2019). The consequences of poor education on menstrual health can contribute to disengagement from social activities, school absenteeism and disengagement from sport and physical activity (Tingle & Vora, 2018; Zipp & Hyde, 2023). These impacts are often more severe in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC) of the Global South, where factors such as poverty and poor health care can exacerbate these challenges (Goolden, 2018). With such high stakes, scholars, activists, and policymakers have called for more research on the lived experiences of people who menstruate (Bobel, 2019).

The relatively limited research on the menstrual health and well-being is predominantly focused on menstrual hygiene management (MHM), particularly in LMICs. MHM is about supporting effective, accessible methods to collect or conceal blood during the menstruation period (Sommer & Sahin, 2013. Whilst MHM is important, critical researchers have found that the broader beliefs, attitudes, practices, and knowledge on the menstrual cycle are foundational to understanding girls' experiences (Bobel, 2019; Zipp, et al. 2019).

The sport for development (SFD) context is particularly challenging for many young people who menstruate, as the fear of leaking through clothing is often exacerbated during physical activity (Women in Sport, 2018).Studies show that menstruation and reaching puberty are barriers to engagement for many SFD participants (Burtscher & Britton, 2022; Marcus & Stavropoulou, 2020; Zipp, et al., 2022). However, research is lacking on the overall impact of menstruation in SFD. A scoping review on menstruation

Keywords*:* gender, sport for development, menstruation, menstrual hygiene management, Global South

and SFD found only eleven (11) papers on this topic, with most of them focused on MHM specifically (Harrison, 2018).

Developed from grassroots and local organizing to address social, political and economic issues, SFD is now an established movement within international development strategies. Non-governmental organizations (NGO), governments and sport organizations use sport as a platform to address social issues. The SFD movements have deliberately aligned with the United Nation's (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), a set of 17 goals for international development that range from eliminating poverty, providing universal access to education, gender equality to environmental sustainability, and access to clean water. Common themes in SFD programming include education, health, job/skills training, disability rights, peace-building, and empowering girls and women (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Mwaanga, 2013; Zipp, et al., 2019).

This study draws on two key themes of research in SFD – gender and health. Research indicates that SFD has the ability to promote positive gender role attitudes, help girls and women build skills (leadership, communication, financial literacy, etc.), develop self-efficacy, support social affiliation and make new networks available to participants that are often unavailable to other girls and women (Hayhurst, et al., 2021; McDonald, 2015; Meier, 2015; Oxford & Spaaij, 2019; Zipp, et al., 2019). SFD research on health is often focused on HIV/AIDS prevention, nutrition and healthy lifestyles, mental health, vaccine promotion and the prevention of various diseases (e.g. malaria) (Hansell, et al., 2021; Schulenkorf & Siefke, 2019). SFD researchers studying gender and health themes in Zambia have called for more focus on lived experiences and local voices (Lindsey, et al., 2017; Mwaanga & Prince, 2016) and more research on menstrual health in SFD (Zipp, et al., 2022).

Of course, SFD has its limitations and risks. Critical scholarship reveals that many of the broad claims of SFD are unsupported by rigorous research or may be overstated (Banda, et al., 2008; Sanders, 2016). Research is often dominated by people from the Global North, which may overlook local voices and lived experiences (Hayhurst, et al., 2021; Lindsey, et al., 2017; Mwaanga, 2010; Nicholls et al., 2011 Zipp & Mwambwa, 2023). Critical feminist researchers have also shown that SFD can reinforce restrictive gender norms and marginalize girls/women and non-binary people (Chawansky & Hayhurst, 2015; Forde & Frisby, 2015; Saavedra, 2009; Oxford & Spaaij, 2019; Zipp & Nauright, 2018). Including girls in SFD programs can be problematic due to social norms, religious beliefs and other restrictions. Namely, SFD is shown to underplay the impact of gender norms and sport (Hayhurst, et al., 2021; Zipp, et al., 2019). We contend that the absence of menstruation in SFD research is a reflection of how girls' and women's experiences are overlooked in SFD research.

This project builds from critical feminist research in SFD and research on menstruation in development studies. The purpose of this study is *to better understand how adolescent girls in Zambia experience menstruation and menstrual health education in sport for development programming (SFD).* Specifically, what are the challenges, attitudes, approaches, support and resources for menstrual health and well-being? We also examine the impact of a physical activity-based menstrual health education program.

Our study took place in the city of Lusaka, the capital of Zambia. Our project partner, the National Organisation of Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation (NOWSPAR), is a lead actor in SFD in Zambia. The authors of this paper are part of the research team, with backgrounds in academic research and teaching, as well as sport for development practice. As a team, we also bring perspectives from Global North and South, with one co-author working at NOWSPAR and living locally in Lusaka.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Menstruation and MHM in the Global South

MHM efforts align with Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) on good health and well-being (Goal 2), gender equality (Goal 5) and access to clean water and sanitation (Goal 6). The UN program for Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) has led the way in MHM advocacy in the Global South (Bobel, 2019). Research and programming in MHM include various interventions, such as supplying (and/or producing) menstrual products (e.g. pads, cups), improving toilet facilities, and education on the menstrual cycle and MHM (Hennegan & Montgomery, 2016). MHM can support psychosocial outcomes for all people who menstruate while helping them to participate in public life, including sport. Nevertheless, the direct relationship between MHM interventions and outcomes like school attendance is unclear. Critics contend that MHM efforts are steeped in restrictive gender norms and serve largely to reproduce neo-liberal hegemonies that govern women's bodies. MHM teaches girls and women to control and sanitize their menstrual periods so they can continue engaging in public activities and institutions (e.g. school and work) (Bobel, 2019; Hennegan & Montgomery, 2016; Sommer & Sahin, 2013). In SFD more broadly, such "biopedagogies" are ways to incorporate girls and women

into sport structures that are designed for boys and men (Hayhurst, et al., 2016).

To better understand the impact of menstruation on peoples' lives, researchers from across many disciplines have called for more in-depth studies that include girls' family and social circles (e.g. teachers, church leaders, coaches, health care providers, etc.) (Bobel, et al., 2020). This study is designed to contribute to this area of knowledge and practice on the experiences of people who menstruate.

Menstruation and MHM in Zambia

Zambia is a country in southern Africa, home to nearly 18 million people. A former British colony, Zambia became an independent country in 1964 and is considered a stable democracy. With more than 70 different ethnic groups, the rich and varied traditions of Zambia have endured through colonial rule. English is the official language, yet many ethnic languages are spoken across the country.

According to the UN, Zambia is a "medium" development country, albeit, on the very low end of that category. Zambia ranked 146 out of 189 countries in the 2020 Human Development Index (HDI)[2] (United Nations Development Programme). When adjusted for various inequalities, the Zambian HDI drops by over 30%, reflecting the colonial legacies and neo-colonial economic system that exploits indigenous labor for foreign gain (e.g. copper mines owned by UK and Chinese entities) (Human Development Report, 2020). Expected years of schooling is one of the measures that Zambia scores lower in than similar countries, (10.7 years) (Human Development Report, 2020). Researchers and activists in Zambia have argued that one factor for girls leaving school is menstruation and that more in school menstrual health education is needed (Chinyama, et al., 2019; Matunda Lahme & Stern, 2017; Person, et al., 2014).

Traditionally, families bore the responsibility for menstrual health education as elder women handed down knowledge to girls in preparation for marriage (Gondwe, 2017; Jammeh, 2020; Matunda Lahme & Stern, 2017). The rites were celebrated as menarche signaled the entry into adulthood. These rites have been discouraged as now the legal age for marriage was moved to 18, an important protection of human rights for girls. One event in rites of initiation into adulthood such as the Chisungu ritual can be described as a form of women's education retreat (Mushibwe, 2013; Tamale, 2006). Notwithstanding the roles of these practices in entrenching gender inequality, there are several methodological aspects of these rites that could be useful today. The rites are conducted as an educational community activity, with time and resources allocated to the girls. Methods include role play, demonstration, songs, riddles, illustrations and physical objects crafted for use as teaching aids (Mushibwe, 2013; Richards & La Fontaine, 2013). One study on menstrual health education in Lusaka, explained that:

For the girls' menstruation is more than pads, pains and stains but a moment to become a woman, to be part of a group, to bond with mothers by receiving teachings, gifts, love and care. The moment to imagine or start romantic relations and to dream about the future. (Jammeh, 2020, p.i)

Researchers at the University of Zambia investigated MHM at five primary and secondary schools in the capital city of Lusaka, reaching 200 schoolgirls, 25 parents, 20 female teachers and 5 head teachers (Sakala & Kusanthan, 2017). They revealed that most schoolgirls (93.6%) felt that menstruation negatively impacted their school engagement. They reported low concentration, distraction, worry and embarrassment over leaking, reluctance to stand in front of the class or participate, and fear of being teased (mostly by boys). Two-thirds of the participants reported missing lessons due to their period. The girls identified lack of private, suitable toilet facilities at school as the most common reason to cut school during menstruation. The study also revealed that the girls lacked basic information on MHM, such as how to use and change pads.

Teachers and students reported that embarrassment, shame and other aspects of stigma were clearly perceived because many girls felt "shy," "stressed," or "embarrassed" at school due to their menstrual periods (p. 56). Overall, the study reported that girls felt "long-standing social stigma attached to menstruating bodies, many become isolated from family, friends and their communities, and often missed school or even drop out completely" (p. 62). Misconceptions, stigma and myths surrounding menstruation included that it was "dirty" and "unhealthy," (p. 62). Sakala & Kusanthan (2017) recommended more MHM education at schools.

Previous studies in Zambia have also focused on MHM over broader menstrual health education and tackling stigma (UNICEF, 2017, UNAIDS, 2016). A 2014 study supported by World Vision International's (a Christian-based NGO) WASH program examined "perceptions and barriers" to MHM in Zambia (Person, et al., 2014, p. 1). Their study focused on MHM practices specifically, but included aspects of stigma, shame, and menstrual taboo that were discussed in the Sakala & Kusanthan study. In Person's study, most of the knowledge, beliefs and practices discussed in focus groups and interviews centered

on understanding menstruation, restrictive traditions (that prevent girls from participating in cooking, social activities), and keeping menstruation a secret.

The researchers proposed three areas of improvement for schools and communities: increased education and mentoring, providing menstrual product supplies, and improving toilet facilities and adapting practices. While much of the focus is on 'hardware' (menstrual products, toilets), the study clearly recommended 'software' approaches to breaking down menstrual stigma, such as engaging girls, parents, teachers, and community members in more discussion about menstrual health and MHM.

Menstruation, sport, and SFD

The school-based curriculum in Zambia includes lessons in primary and secondary school on the biological mechanisms of menstruation and recommendations for managing menstrual blood. This is, however, very limited in scope and research shows low quality of the sessions and learning outcomes (Jammeh, 2020). This gap in life-skills education, due to state inefficacy or the disappearance of traditional ritualistic methods, may be substituted by SFD programs which provide menstrual health education, albeit with less comprehensive reach. Therefore, SFD can address a service gap in a form that is acceptable in existing cultural and political contexts, although government programs are generally better suited to provide these services (Banda, 2017; Mwaanga, 2013; Zipp, et al., 2022). SFD programs that use peer leadership and participatory learning approaches may encourage free exploration and questioning about sensitive topics.

NOWSPAR of Zambia is a key provider of SFD for girls and women, offering many programs for all age groups across rural and urban Zambia. One of these programs is called Goal, a multi-sport, educational program for adolescent girls uses sport as the primary learning method for development initiatives across the Global South. The Goal curriculum is designed and coordinated by the Women Win foundation, an international NGO. NOWSPAR facilitates the lessons from the Goal program, with sessions on health, human rights, communication, and financial literacy. The health module includes a lesson on menstrual health and MHM, an often neglected issue. In this way, the Goal program at NOWSPAR helps fill a critical gap in education for Zambian girls. According to a review of the Goal program, learning outcomes on menstrual health are among the most impactful lessons in the program (Marcus & Stavropoulou, 2020).

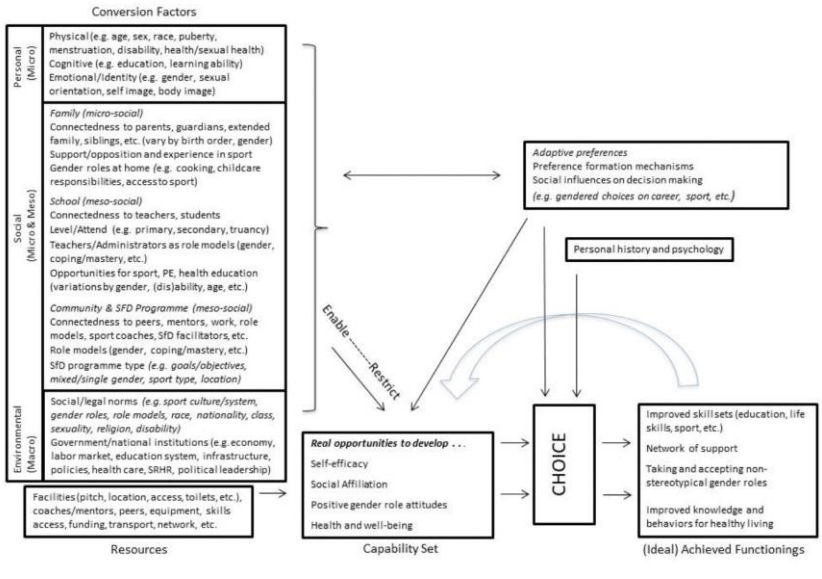
Overall, however, SFD has largely overlooked the role of menstrual health in participants' experiences (Zipp & Mwambwa, 2023). Goal is one of the few programs in the SFD movement that includes menstrual health as a key component, along with Moving the Goalposts (MTG) in Kenya and the Naz Foundation's Young People's Initiative. New research has highlighted the impact of menstruation, menstrual health and puberty on engagement in SFD with scholars calling for more research and practice on this important topic (Marcus & Stavropoulou, 2020; Harrison, 2018; Zipp & Hyde, 2023; Zipp, et al., 2022).

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

To analyze and understand the participants' experience, we applied the capabilities approach (CA), which is drawn from Amartya Sen's ground-breaking research in the field of development studies (Sen, 1999). Sen's work is applied to SFD via the CA in the SFD model proposed by Zipp et al. (2019) and presented here in Figure 1. The CA shifts the focus of development research from outcomes toward the process of supporting peoples' freedoms to live the life they desire, free from coercion and restriction (Sen, 1999). These "capabilities" are the crux of the model (Figure 1) amongst resources, conversion factors, and functionings (outcomes). The CA in SFD model is built from diagrammatic models proposed in Ingrid Robeyns' work, where she examines the real opportunities people are "able to be and do," (Robeyns, 2017, p. 38). The CA in SFD model also expands upon recent research in SFD that employs the CA (Darnell & Dao, 2017; Suzuki, 2017; Svensson & Levine, 2017).

Figure 1

HCA Model in SfD (Zipp, et al., 2019)



(Example of common Resources, Capability Set and Achieved Functionings in SfD. Individual programmes would insert/replace with own elements.)

This model flows from left to right on the bottom level. The resources (left) serve as the starting point, with achieved functionings as an outcome (right) and capabilities as the process (middle), reflecting the goals of individual programs. The upper level of the model (conversion factors, adaptive preferences, and personal history/psychology) serve as factors influencing the process, either restricting or enabling capability development.

This model layers a critical feminist "gender lens" that illuminates some of the key issues for adolescent girls in SFD. Namely, the tiered "conversion factors" (personal, social, and environmental) that intersect and impact participants' experience of menstruation (Zipp et al., 2019, p. 443). At the personal level, a participant's own experience is key (age of menarche, experience of symptoms, etc.). On a social (micro and meso) level, family, school and community are key influences. For example, as discussed above, family members have traditionally taught young girls about menstruation in Zambia. These traditions tend to include restrictive norms (e.g. not playing sport while menstruating), but may also be an important source for girls to discuss their experiences, worries and questions. Lessons on puberty, menstruation and sex education at school are also important parts of girls' experiences. At the environmental (macro) level, the cultural stigma surrounding menstruation is a fundamental problem that causes stress, embarrassment, and shame. Finally, national policies regarding menstruation, such school health curricula and other policies on taxing menstrual products are environmental factors.

These conversion factors all influence (restrict or enable, to varying degrees) a person's capability development. In this study, the capability set is drawn from the Goal program objectives – the opportunity to *understand menstrual health and well-being.* If this capability is developed, the participants are empowered to achieve the desired functionings of the program: increased knowledge of the menstrual cycle, methods to cope with symptoms, increased knowledge on MHM, and overcoming stigma to discuss menstrual health.

METHODS

Methodology

With the CA as a theoretical framework, our methodological approach is drawn from research in Development Studies, the home discipline of the CA. Namely, research methods were designed to capture experiences, emotions, ideas, and understandings rather than outcomes of an intervention. In this way, we can better capture how participants can 'be and do' rather than evaluate program outcomes. Using mixed methods, we focused on developing a narrative of lived experiences, providing a framework of concepts (delivered as word choice options), while allowing for free exploration and expression (open-ended questions and expressive activities). The research instruments and analysis examined personal and micro/meso social factors such as age, onset of menses, family members and peers they talk about menstruation with etc. We focused on creating meaningful, engaging and rewarding experiences as a responsibility of doing research with children (Huijsmans, et al., 2014). From Punch (2002), we designed data collection instruments (diaries, physical activities) that were understandable for children and had relevance to their lives. Drawing on Zipp (2017), we developed diaries as an effective instrument for capturing the perspectives of adolescent participants in SFD.

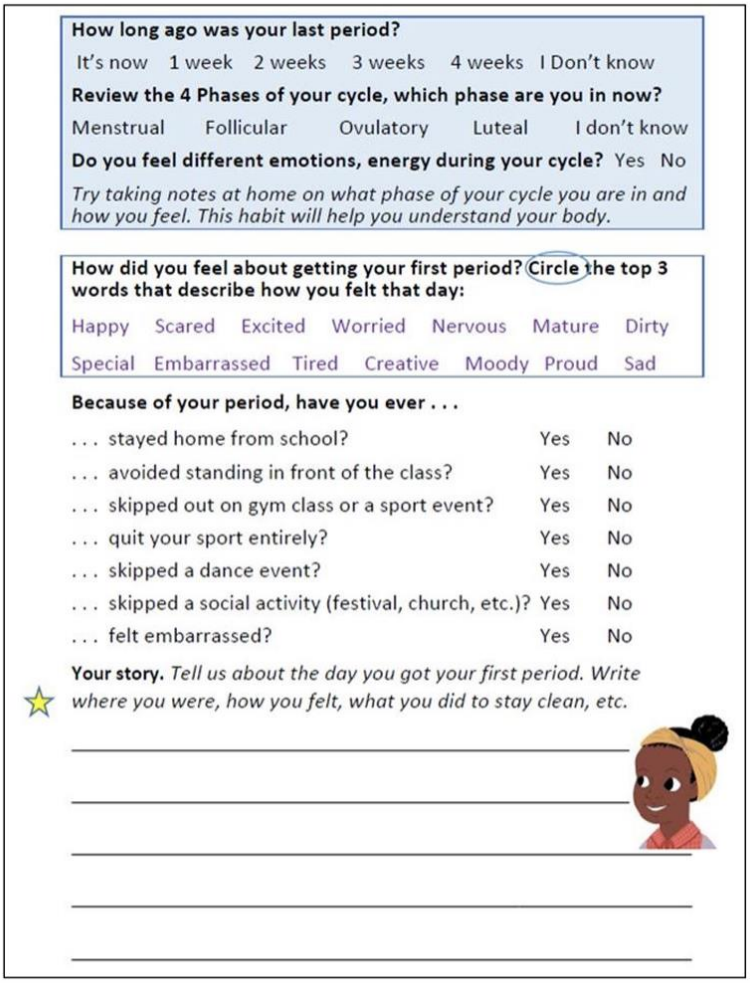
Project design

This study was co-created with NGO partner NOWSPAR. NOWSPAR is the leading SFD agency in Zambia working with girls and women. For this study, NOWSPAR leaders and facilitators helped design the data collection tools, a sport-based learning activity, and managed the data collection process. The program was delivered by experienced NOWSPAR facilitators as a part of their weekly programing, meaning the adolescent participants did not experience any sessions outside of their normal program routine. Local NOWPAR facilitators delivered the lessons and distributed the diaries weekly during an after-school Goal program at two primary schools in Lusaka. There were no interventions from the outside research team directly with the adolescent participants.

This project included adolescent participants (n=79) and three (n=3) program facilitators. Each of the adolescent participants completed a diary used during lessons and the facilitators completed a diary that accompanied their lesson guidebook. The diaries included yes/no and fill in the blank questions, answers/items to select amongst a word cloud of choices, open-ended questions/storytelling, and more (see Figure 2), providing both qualitative and quantitative data (120 questions in total). The research design was two-fold; the menstrual health education program (four lessons) and participant/facilitator diaries designed as data collection tools. The lessons were drawn from a variety of education materials, namely the existing NOWSPAR lessons on menstrual health and the www.firstperiod.org website by Dr. Liita Iyaloo Cairney. These materials were embedded into the data collection instruments. The Goal facilitators settled on a basic concept for the spiral-bound, colorful diaries.

Figure 2

Example diary page



The adolescent participants (n=79) ranged in age from 10 to 17, with a median age of 14 and a mean age of 13.58. Most girls were in grade 8 (n=58) or grade 6 (n=13). Although some of the Grade 8 participants were held back in school due poor academic performance. Six participants were in grade 5 and 1 in grade 3. The wide range of ages and grade levels, as well as the variation of slow and normally progressing pupils created a very diverse participant sample for this study. Participants wrote in their diaries during each of the four (4) lessons over the course of 3 months. Additionally, program facilitators (n=3), all of them adult women from Zambia who worked for NOWSPAR, completed journal entries with each lesson.

For data analysis, the facilitators transcribed responses from diaries into a secure digital file, allowing the diaries themselves to be returned to all participants (with the educational material included). The primary investigator (UK) and co-investigator (Zambia) analyzed all data. We ran descriptive statistics across quantitative data. To analyze the qualitative material, responses were coded into relevant themes and sub-themes based on keywords (e.g. hurt & cramps under the theme for pain) and in relation to the lesson topics (e.g. MHM questions/responses were in the lesson on managing your period). Responses were further coded as positive (e.g. I felt happy to learn new things), negative (e.g. I was scared), neutral (e.g. It was different) and mixed. Coding techniques and thematic analysis techniques were drawn from qualitative data analysis approaches by Braun & Clarke (2006) and reflect common practices in qualitative research in SFD (Zipp, 2017).

KEY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

From the varied and complex data, three key themes were identified: (1) understanding/learning about the menstrual cycle; (2) pain, discomfort and coping with menstrual symptoms; and (3) stigma, fear and embarrassment surrounding menstruation. Throughout the lessons, the participants indicated a strong desire to learn about the full menstrual cycle, changes in their bodies and what is "normal" menstrual health. In the first lesson, they were given an open-ended question: *what is your biggest question about menstruation?* Of the 70 responses, most of them, 46 (66%), were focused on understanding various aspects of the menstrual cycle, from practical questions about periods to understanding why they happen.

The second most common group of responses was about pain and menstrual symptoms (n=13, 19%) (see next section). Other questions/entries centered on approaches to learning about menstruation (n=4, 6%), talking to others about menstruation (n=3, 4%), managing menstruation (n=2, 3%), and general questions about what to do during menstruation (n=2, 3%). Participants were also asked to select from a menu of questions about menstruation (Table 1). Again, concerns about understanding their cycle, other people knowing about their period, and coping with pain appeared to be prioritized over questions about MHM and menstrual products.

Table 1

Participant responses to questions about menstruation (as selected from diary options)

Check any other questions you still have about menstruation (check all that apply, multiple answers are accepted) N=79

	N=	%
How will I know when my period is about to begin?	47	59.5
Can other people tell that I have my period?	47	59.5
How can I deal with period pain?	44	55.7
Can I play sports or dance during my period?	43	54.5
How long do periods usually last?	43	54.4
My friends had their periods, but not me. Is something wrong?	37	46.8
When is it a normal age for a girl to get her first period?	35	44.3
How can I handle my emotions during my period/cycle?	34	43
What should I do if I can't afford to buy a pad or product?	30	38
How should I use pads, tampons or other products?	26	32.9

(1) Understanding and learning about the menstrual cycle

What are periods and why do they happen?

Many participants asked practical questions about the physical experiences of the menstrual cycle. For example, when should periods begin (at what age), how long should menstruation last, can I play sports on my period, is it normal to get two periods per month etc. Many of these questions began with the words "is it normal," which is how we coded this type of question. Additionally, some participants asked about why periods happen and how it begins. For example, they asked where the blood comes from, why menstruation happens (to girls and not to boys) etc.

Better to learn earlier.

One of the most critical findings was that most of the participants did not understand what was happening to them when they experienced menarche (n= 46 of 72, 63.9%). In total, 41 of 79 (51.9%) of the participants did not learn about menstruation until after their twelfth birthday yet believed that girls should learn before the age of 12. This is a key finding as 12 was the median age for menarche, with 44 out of 69 (63.4%) reporting their first period before age 13. The preferred answer to when girls should learn about menstruation was before age 12 (n=65 of 79, 82.3%), with 10 as the median age. Their responses stress the importance of learning about menstruation at an early age in order to avoid the shock, fear, confusion, and embarrassment described in many of the stories about first period experience.

Discussion on understanding and learning about the menstrual cycle.

Examining these responses, we gain an understanding of how the conversion factors in the CA in SFD model impact the capability these participants have to *understand menstrual health and well-being*. Namely, age (personal factor) is key to enabling greater understanding and reducing fear about menstruation. Access to menstrual health education, in this case through an SFD program designed for adolescent girls, is a key social factor.

(2) Pain and coping with menstrual symptoms

Concerns about pain

Many participant's diary responses reflected concerns about coping with common period pain and physical symptoms: "Sometimes when (I) am on my period, I develop menstrual pain and can't even walk," (Participant, age 15). Questions about coping with pain were the second most common "biggest question" about the menstrual cycle (n=13 of 70, 18.6%). The topic of pain and pain relief figured widely in their stories (n=11 of 49, 22.4%, Table . The girls wanted to know more about why they felt pain and cramps, how to cope with the pain and in particular if medication was good.

Breathing and stretching for pain reduction.

The final lesson of the program was about using stretching and breathing exercises to cope with menstrual pain and focus on "listening to your body." We consider this an "embodied" approach, one that connects understanding of menstrual health concepts with how our bodies feel, move and are related to our emotional selves. Participants were taught exercises and how to pay attention to the sensations in their body (pain, relief from pan, breathing process, muscles stretching, etc.). The response to this lesson was very positive. Of the 77 responses to "how did the breathing activity and stretches make you feel?" they selected "relaxed" (n=70), "calm" (n=48), and "energized" (n=10) above all other options (stressed (n=0), tired (n=3), embarrassed (n=2), happy (n=2), fun, (n=1), and focused (n=1). On a follow up item, all 70 respondents said they would try the exercises at home. The breathing and stretching activity was also the second most popular choice of lessons that "should be taught in school" (n=58 of 78, 74.4%). However, further questions such as how often the exercises should be done and how effective they were at reducing pain were raised. Some participants felt "embarrassed" doing the exercises (n=2).

The input from all three facilitators (in their diaries) aligns with the participants' responses. They felt the exercises were the "best part" of Lesson 4 and that it was "important to learn new ways of how to deal with the pain and how it helps through during different phases." Unfortunately, one of the three groups was unable to do the stretching activities for the lack of a suitable room. One group facilitator reported that a number of girls did not participate in the exercises because they felt "uncomfortable" stretching during their period. It is not clear if they meant physically uncomfortable or if they felt embarrassed. Their refusal to participate is noteworthy and important in understanding their hesitation to do physical activity during menstruation. On the other hand, the fact that they shared their menstrual phase with their facilitator demonstrates an openness to discussing this taboo topic.

Discussion on pain and coping with menstrual symptoms.

This topic of pain is important for several reasons, but mainly because it negatively impacts their quality of life. Studies from the United Kingdom (Tingle & Vora, 2018; Women in Sport, 2018) and Global South (Bobel, 2019) indicate that menstrual pain may contribute to bad feelings about menstruation and support harmful myths and restrictions. Specifically, they reveal that menstrual pain can be a distraction making it difficult for people who menstruate to focus or fully engage in and/or enjoy activities such as school, sport, dance, etc.

There is evidence in sport science that exercise can help to reduce cramping, stress, fatigue and improve mood (Bruinvels, et al., 2017). Although it is not possible to directly connect these activities to pain reduction, the positive response to this activity is encouraging. Furthermore, encouraging physical activity throughout menses may dissuade people from quitting sport or skipping physical education lessons during their periods.

In relation to the CA in SFD model, we can see how pain as a personal factor, impacts their lived experience of the menstrual cycle. More specifically, we see that Lesson 4 seemed to enable more *understanding of menstrual health* and provided practical exercises toward their (ideal) achieved functioning of *methods to cope with symptoms*. Beyond the practical implications, we note that this lesson focused on how to "listen to your body." This is an innovative, embodied approach that supports capability development (self-awareness) beyond the specific learning outcomes of the program. For menstrual health-education, this approach might be particularly well-suited for SFD programs, which use physical movement as a key aspect of learning.

(3) Stigma, fear, and embarrassment

This theme was the most prevalent across the participant diaries and facilitator feedback. We have organized data from this theme into four sub-themes: *Menstruation stigma, fears about leaking, activities and social engagement during periods, talking about menstruation with others.*

Menstruation stigma

In our study, the participants discussed aspects of stigma, fear and embarrassment more than any other theme. It is well-documented that the secrecy, stigma and fear of embarrassment about menstruation are problems for people everywhere and lead to negative consequences. The challenges of menstrual stigma in the Global South explored by Bobel (2019) are reflected in the data from this study, with many girls accentuating feelings of embarrassment and fear regarding menstruation. Most girls, 63.7% (n=44 of 69), "felt embarrassed" because of their periods. In one diary session (Lesson 2), participants were asked to "Tell us about the day you got your first period. Write where you were, how you felt, what you did to stay clean, etc." Their responses (n=63) were varied and complex, reflecting the three main themes. The participants' stories of menarche were dominated by feelings of fear, worry, and being nervous to talk about it. One passage from a 14-year-old demonstrates this quite clearly:

"Because I was scared that maybe they (family) would shout at me for telling or not telling them, I was so scared to death. How I felt that day was that I was in so much pain that I can't explain myself on this piece of paper, right now what I can say is that managed to face my fears of not telling them. I just forgot about them shouting at me, went ahead and told my mom and sister that I have started my periods…"

She went on to describe how her family (mother, sister and aunt) had supported her. Her fear was expressed by others, although with less intensity. In many cases (n=30), girls described how someone stepped in to tell them they were menstruating, provide a pad and/or offer comfort and explanation. As discussed above, many participants did not understand menstruation before they had their first period, which seems to contribute to confusion and fear.

Sisters, mothers, grandmothers, teachers, aunts, friends and even strangers were all helpers to these girls. Although, many girls (n=16) expressed a negative emotion such as fear, embarrassment, nervousness, sadness, etc., others were more positive, identifying excited or happy amongst their feelings (n=7). Six (n=6) of the participants had trouble understanding what was happening to them and identifying the blood as menstrual blood. Four (n=4) identified it as a painful experience. Three (n=3) were sent home from school. Three others (n=3) had not yet had their periods. Two (n=2) discovered they were leaking during a sport or physical activity session.

The stories below explain their experience more vividly than numbers: "...I was scared and I kept it to myself to avoid embarrassment," (Age 15), "I was at school first time I started and I was very scared, I then told my teacher as she told me to go home and clean myself," (Age 14). Other participants stated:

"The day I got my first period was very happy day and nervous at the same time happy because I felt mature and I become a lady or woman nervous because I didn't know much about it my friend at school taught me how to stay clean and use a pad," (Age 14)

"I was on a bus going to school then ...one of the women I was with on that bus saw that I made my uniform dirty then she called me back and gave me a pad and a chittenge (cloth pad) and asked me to go back home I was scared because I didn't know what happened," (Age 13)

"I started my periods this year I did not know what it was its at school when we were playing at the ground and I was in white my one if my classmate came and told me that I had blood on my shorts, she told me to go and see the teacher I went the teacher gave me something to cover myself with I went home and told mom who later called my Grandmother. Grandmother talked to me on how a girl need to take care of herself," (Age 12)

"When I started I did not tell anyone about it I stayed for two days without me telling but when I saw the blood was not stopping I told my sister about (it) who then she give a pad and told me that I have become a big girl and that is what big (girls) do," (Age 14).

"My first period was at home when I saw the blood I felt happy about them coming I went to the bathroom after that I got a pad from my sister and she showed me how to put it," (Age 16).

In the final lesson, the girls were asked the following: *People often think the topic of menstruation is taboo – that it is a secret we shouldn't talk about. Do you agree or disagree? Why?*. We later recognized that the disagree/agree option may have been confusing, and therefore did not analyze which box they ticked. However, their written responses were much clearer and we were able to code and analyze all of them. The majority of participants (n=29 of 45, 64%) clearly indicated that menstruation *should not* be taboo in their written responses. Of those participants, twenty-two (n=22) wrote that menstruation should be talked about so that people can learn about their bodies, growing up and how to manage their menstrual blood. A 16 year-old participant said "...when we keep it a secret, no one will help you." Other responses that supported talking about menstruation included:

"All girls and boys should learn about menstruation so that they can understand." (Age 14),"...the more we talk about it the more we learn about menstruation." (Age 14),"... we need to share so that others may learn." (Age 15), and "... we need to teach our friends about what we have learnt." (Age 15).

By contrast, five (n=5 of 45, 11%) participants wrote that it was a taboo topic and should be kept secret. Their responses included; "Because if you tell others you will even tell wrong people" (Age 14), "...because it is so embarrassing to girls" (Age 13), and "...it is a secret we should not talk about" (Age 14). Clearly, many participants felt that the taboo should be broken because it was preventing people from learning more about menstruation. Some of the responses were neutral (e.g. "I don't know").

Fears about leaking

Many of the menarche stories included discussions about leaking. In many cases, someone noticed a stain on their clothing and offered help (e.g. got them a pad, told them to go home from school, etc.). Most girls had had a leak on their clothes (85.7%, n=60 of 70), worried about leaking (90.1%, n=64 of 71) and felt embarrassed to change menstrual products at school (75.7%, n=56 of 74). Many had been teased by boys (49.3%, n=34 of 69) and others had noted that both boys and girls tease others about their periods (more boys than girls).

Throughout the lessons, fear about leaking or being discovered were common stories. Amongst their open-ended stories, eight (8) of the 49 responses were about concerns of leaking or being revealed publicly revealed to be menstruating. One 12 year-old shared a story about her friend being teased and asked how to cope with the situation: "One of my friends her periods started and everyone started making fun of her, how can one deal with such situation?" These stories and their questions reflect the larger problem of stigma and shame surrounding menstruation. Although menstrual health education programs, like the present project, do not address larger social and environmental factors from the CA model that maintain the menstrual taboo, they may be valuable in supporting girls at a personal and micro-social level.

Activities and social engagement during periods

Lessons 2 and 4 included questions about participation and engagement in a variety of school and social activities. In one section (Lesson 2), participants were asked "because of your period, have you ever …" followed by a list of items (Table 2). Most girls (n=43 of 72, 59.7%) reported staying home from school and 39 of 73 (53.4%) avoided standing in front of their classes. They were more likely to skip PE class or sport events than any other activity (n=51 of 72, 70.8%). Twenty seven of 73 quit their sport entirely

because of their period (37%). Most girls also skipped other social activities (n=45 of 69, 65.2%) and most had felt embarrassed (n=44 of 69, 63.8%). Clearly, menstrual periods are a significant influence on their decisions to attend and engage in sport, school, and social activities.

Table 2

Participant responses to diary question about coping with menstruation

Because of your period, have you ever …

Question	Yes	%	No	%	N=
…stayed home from school?	43	59.7	29	40.3	72
…avoided standing in front of the class?	39	53.4	34	46.6	73
…skipped out on a gym class or a sport event?	51	70.8	21	29.2	72
…quit your sport entirely?	27	37	46	63	73
…skipped a social activity (festival, church, etc.)	45	65.2	24	34.8	69
…felt embarrassed	44	63.8	25	36.2	69

A person's interest and willingness to engage in social activities, school or sport may be influenced by many factors. It is possible pain, discomfort or fatigue were just as or more influential than stigma or fear of leaking. However, this research highlights that their first period stories were about leaking and feeling embarrassed or leaving school/activities to go clean themselves and nearly all the participants worried about leaking at school or in public (n=64 of 71, 90.1%). Other issues relating to girls' dignity and prevention of embarrassment, such as lack of adequate space with privacy for changing and washing as well as unsuitable clothing may be barriers to participation in sport and PE. It is not uncommon for girls to play sport and physical activity in their uniforms, often skirts or dresses. Therefore, certain activities that involved extensive mobility may be considered risky depending on the menstrual products available.

Talking about menstruation with others

The taboo that surrounds menstruation prevents people from openly discussing this topic. In Lesson 1, participants were asked about who they were talking to about menstruation, which gave better insight as to how they experience menstrual stigma. Most girls relied on older female family members, but many girls also discussed it with friends, making peer education an interesting concept to explore. Program leaders (e.g. Goal facilitators) and teachers were also important sources. In Lesson 4, when questioned if these lessons had prompted them to talk to others about menstruation, 56 of 68 (82.4%) responded that they had spoken to someone "because of these lessons." In a follow up question, they identified many of the same people (mother (n=11), sister (n=6), grandmother (n=2), etc., but were now much more likely to have talked to a friend (32 of 54, 59.3%). It is possible that they were talking to each other during and after these lessons.

Discussion on stigma, fear and embarrassment

Across each of the sub-themes, shame and embarrassment are woven into the girls' feelings, knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors. Fears about leaking and reflections on how embarrassed they felt when they had their first period were vividly and frequently expressed in their diaries. These feelings about menstruation appear to be drawn from strong cultural and social norms about gender, modesty, and sexual/reproductive health. Altogether, menstrual stigma functions as an environmental (macro) conversion factor, with menstruation practices (e.g. education, school setting, etc.) functioning at a social (meso, micro) level in the CA model. For example, menstrual stigma restricts the capability development of understanding menstrual health because it hinders the participants' willingness and opportunity to openly discuss concerns about menstruation.

LIMITATIONS AND RISKS

There were several limitations to this research design. It was difficult to conduct this research with rural communities, as was originally planned. Many of those participants do not attend programs or school regularly enough to complete the diaries, so we did not include them in this study. Life in the rural villages is very different from the urban setting in Lusaka and having input from these participants would have brought valuable insight. Future studies should be expanded to the NOWSPAR rural Goal programs for girls who may or may not be enrolled in schools.

Secondly, with participants ranging from age 10 to 17 and enrolled in grades from 3 to 8, there were clearly vast differences in physical, emotional and mental development. Hence, it is difficult to draw nuanced conclusions from the aggregated quantitative data. Furthermore, at least one of the questions was unclear (see above). Younger children or participants with learning disabilities may have struggled to understand all of the material. However, these data are still helpful in identifying themes and, in combination with the richer qualitative data.

Finally, as menstruation is such a taboo topic, it may have been difficult for the participants to share their thoughts and feelings openly in the diaries. Some participants may have felt too embarrassed to share their experiences openly in their diaries.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

This study has provided important insight into understanding how girls in Zambia experience menstruation and the impact of a menstrual health education program. The most significant challenges faced by participants are related to menstrual stigma, particularly feelings of embarrassment due to the taboo nature of the topic. Menstrual stigma underlies all of the themes and sub-themes presented and restricts the capability for the participants to understand menstrual health and well-being. Within the CA in SFD framework, this study demonstrates that menstrual stigma is a pervasive and restrictive conversion factor across all levels of evaluation (personal, social, and environmental).

This conclusion is aligned with recent critical research on menstruation in developing countries (Bobel, 2019). The data shows that understanding menstruation through menstrual health education, coping with menstrual symptoms, managing menstrual hygiene, engaging in public life during menstruation, and overcoming the menstrual taboo are all restricted because of the encompassing negativity and stigma of menstruation.

This study highlights the taboo of menstruation within the broader context of SFD and girls. Although menstrual health education is a part of the Goal program curriculum (one lesson), other Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) topics are prioritized in the *Be Healthy* module. Three lessons are devoted to HIV/AIDS compared to the one on menstruation. While it is agreed that HIV/AIDS is an important topic, it is equally important to learn about the complete menstrual cycle. It is a key foundation for other lessons about sexual and reproductive health and can serve as a rather natural first step in SRHR education. Many SFD curricula focus on sexually transmitted diseases (STD), contraception, and reproductive health. These are all important lessons, but very few include lessons or activities on the menstrual cycle (Harrison, 2018; Zipp, et al., 2022).

SFD may be an effective and important platform to teach menstrual health. As discussed throughout this paper, the *listening to your body* approach is well-aligned with SFD methods of learning through physical movement. Furthermore, SFD is a relevant context for challenging restrictive norms and myths about menstruation, such as not exercising during menstruation. In demonstrating that movement can be helpful in relieving physical pain and emotional stress, menstrual health lessons in SFD can challenge these broader restrictions. The results in this study show that this SFD menstrual health education program made the girls feel "more empowered" and "more confident" to engage in school, sport and other social activities. More research on this concept will help scholars and practitioners to better understand participants' experiences and needs.

Recommendations

Menstrual health and adolescent health education should be provided in and out of schools by the age of 10, in order to reach more children before they begin menstruating. Lessons should have a holistic focus on understanding the full menstrual cycle (four phases), approaches to coping with pain and discomfort (e.g. stretching and breathing exercises, medication) and challenging the stigma of menstruation that begets feelings of embarrassment and shame. Leaders in SFD should take a "train the trainers" approach, providing menstrual health education to program facilitators, coaches and teachers. Such programming should be designed by/with local persons, including; educators, health specialists, researchers, social workers, SFD practitioners and other relevant experts in their fields. Menstrual products should be supplied, but with careful steps taken to avoid commercializing education by product brands, a common pitfall in MHM activism (Bobel, 2019). Wherever possible, environmentally friendly products, such as reusable pads and undergarments, should be sought (Zipp et al., 2023).

Research should include adolescent participants of all genders, along with their micro and meso social circles, including family members, teachers, school staff, sport coaches and other community leaders (e.g. religious leaders). Research and programming should also examine relevant policy factors, such as education curriculum, health policies and commercial policies (e.g. taxes on menstrual products). This recommendation aligns with calls across the SFD movement to advocate for broader, macro-environmental change (Darnell & Dao, 2017; Sanders, 2016; Zipp, et al., 2019). Finally, menstrual health education should not be limited to methods for keeping clean and using menstrual hygiene products.

In sum, learning about the complete menstrual cycle is important to the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of adolescents. The girls in this study expressed their desire to learn more about the menstrual cycle and to be taught about it at an earlier age. It is necessary to listen to their voices to support their learning, while engaging families, teachers, community leaders and government officials to reduce the stigma surrounding menstruation.

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