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Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln  
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**“...the Power to Change the World”?**  
—  
**Analysis of Sport-in-Development Programmes in  
Khayelitsha, South Africa and its Challenges for Research(ers)**

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Versicherung gem. § 7 Abs. 2 Nr. 4

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Marie Anna Biermann

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Hierdurch erkläre ich, dass ich die ‚Leitlinien guter wissenschaftlicher Praxis‘ der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln in der aktuellen Fassung eingehalten habe.

Marie Anna Biermann

And every hour of every day I'm learning more  
the more I learn the less I know about before  
the less I know the more I want to look around  
digging deep for clues on higher ground.

UB 40

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You will never be completely at home again, because part of your heart will always be elsewhere. That is the price you pay for the richness of loving and knowing people in more than one place.

M. Adeney

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## Abstract in English

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In the last three decades, sport has gained impressive momentum as a tool for development – supported by international, national and local actors. Sport is seen as having the ability to improve social, cultural, educational and psychological circumstances that frame the lives of marginalized and poor communities. Others have been more critically posing questions about the impact of sport to reach the proclaimed goals and about the ways to prove such. To shed light on the often broad and inscrutable sport-in-development field, this study analyses the value of sport for generating or inhibiting development, and which factors of sport-in-development projects in instable environments are decisive for success or failure. Additionally, the study generates knowledge regarding the challenges (Global North) researchers come across when conducting research in sport-in-development projects in poverty-stricken and marginalized areas.

The study is underpinned by a sound theoretical framework. The theory on critical left-realism builds the philosophical superstructure of this study and guides the researcher to consider existing power relations within the society and to assess what can realistically be achieved by sport-in-development programmes regarding individual and wider social development. Building on this, Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological theory on human development allows a systematic analysis of factors that influence the individual and the programme as well as their mutual interactions. The social development model complements the theory of human development by exposing a framework that offers further explanatory approaches on how behaviour is coined. It also aims to examine what role sport-in-development programmes and/or sport on its own plays in this regard. The theory of social change furthermore offers an orientation on how change processes may come about and shows that in any case these are not linear and depend on a range of factors that are reciprocally determined. The theory, therefore, presents a flexible approach for the study to uncover and classify change processes.

In-depth data is gathered in and around four sport-in-development projects in Khayelitsha in South Africa over two six-month visits. The major focus is on participants, coaches and significant others as well as the socio-political context. In line with the need for a culture-sensitive and context-specific methodology, an ethnographic approach is adopted that employs a plurality of methods. Participant observation, including informal and formal conversations, as well as general field observations and researchers' experiences are captured in field notes. A semi-structured interview guideline is used in this study to obtain information that is of major interest in the interviewees' lives which allows for unanticipated themes to emerge.

The study finds that beneficiaries living in a marginalized community with many socio-economic drawbacks benefit from sport-in-development projects that offer opportunities that are otherwise hardly available – and thereby increase beneficiaries' well-being, at least during the time the beneficiaries are involved in the project. This positive change is not only found in beneficiaries, but also in the majority of their significant others. Among other reasons, this is due to significant others knowing where the participants and coaches are busy in a safe place. Findings furthermore indicate that when sport-in-development programmes are well-designed and consider a range of enabling factors, programmes can partly influence skill development and behaviour change. Sport itself thereby plays a rather subordinate role. Besides the factors within the programmes, the impact strongly depends on the infrastructural, political and socio-economic circumstances in Khayelitsha that also affect the community. These contextual conditions influence the performance of the programme as well as on the capacity to transfer learnt skills and behaviour into real-life situations. Therefore, any wider impact on other levels than the individual one is the exception and is subject to the individual's unique biography, contextual circumstances, and structural inequalities. In essence, the study concludes that the high claims of sport being an effective tool for development cannot be met as there is no one-dimensional cause-effect-relationship.



Regarding research in poverty-stricken and marginalized areas, findings indicate that the contextual influences in Khayelitsha strongly impact on the research process. The demands for research – often based on Western thought systems – cannot easily be transferred in the existing environment. Other influential factors for conducting research are the set-ups of the projects and the value placed on research at all levels. Additionally, the privileged background of the researcher, the underlying power structures between the researcher and the researched, the legacy of apartheid, isiXhosa culture, dominant gender ideologies and individual experiences personally challenge the researcher, and therefore influence the research.

## Abstract in German

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In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat Sport als Mittel der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit auf internationaler, nationaler und lokaler Ebene erheblichen Zuspruch gefunden. Sport hat den Ruf, die Lebensumstände von marginalisierten Gruppen zu verbessern, indem er nicht nur die Gesundheit, sondern auch die Bildung, die individuelle und soziale Entwicklung und den Frieden fördert. Über diese positiven Zuschreibungen hinaus gibt es auch Stimmen, die kritische Fragen zur Wirksamkeit des Sports stellen und wie die Effekte des Sports bewiesen werden können. Um Licht in das breite und oft unergründliche Feld von Sport und Entwicklung zu bringen, untersucht diese Studie, welchen Stellenwert Sport im Hinblick auf die Förderung von individueller und sozialer Entwicklung einnimmt und welche Faktoren in Sportprogrammen entscheidend für Erfolg und Misserfolg sind. Zusätzlich generiert diese Studie Wissen über die Herausforderungen, denen Forscher (aus dem Global Norden) bei Untersuchungen von Sportprojekten in komplexen und instabilen Umgebungen gegenüberstehen.

Vier Theorien bilden das theoretische Grundgerüst der Studie. Die Theorie ‚critical left-realism‘ stellt dabei den philosophischen Unterbau dar. Sie hält den Forscher an, die in der Gesellschaft existierenden ungleichen Machtbeziehungen kritisch zu beleuchten, um herauszufinden welchen Einfluss Sport bzw. Sportprojekte realistisch auf individuelle und soziale Entwicklungen haben können. Darauf aufbauend ermöglicht Bronfenbrenners ökosystemische Theorie eine systematische Analyse der Faktoren, die Sportprojekte und deren Teilnehmer/-innen beeinflussen unter Berücksichtigung ihrer wechselseitigen Interaktionen. Das ‚social development model‘ ergänzt die Theorie zur menschlichen Entwicklung und liefert Erklärungsmuster, wie Verhalten geprägt wird. Es gestattet auch zu untersuchen, welche Rolle die Sportprogramme und der Sport an sich dabei spielen. Die ‚theory of (social) change‘ bietet darüber hinaus eine Orientierung, wie Veränderungsprozesse entstehen können. Sie zeigt auf, dass diese nicht linear verlaufen, sondern von vielen einander bedingenden Einflüssen abhängig sind.

Damit stellt sie einen flexiblen Ansatz für die Studie dar, Veränderungsprozesse aufzudecken und einzuordnen.

Die Datenerhebung findet über einen Gesamtzeitraum von einem Jahr in vier Sportprojekten im Township Khayelitsha in Südafrika statt. Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf den Teilnehmern, Trainern und ihnen nahestehenden Personen sowie auf dem gesellschaftspolitischen Kontext, der das Leben in Khayelitsha prägt. Um der Notwendigkeit einer kultursensiblen und kontextspezifischen Methodik nachzukommen, wird ein ethnographischer Ansatz mit einer Vielzahl von qualitativen und quantitativen Methoden angewandt. Teilnehmende Beobachtung, einschließlich informeller und formeller Gespräche, und allgemeine Feldbeobachtungen sowie Erfahrungen des Forschers werden in Feldnotizen erfasst. Ein semi-strukturierter Interview-Leitfaden wird ebenfalls in dieser Studie verwendet, um detaillierte Informationen zur Bedeutung der Sportprojekte im Leben der Teilnehmer, Trainer und ihnen nahestehenden Personen zu erhalten und erwartete sowie unerwartete Wirkungen aufzudecken.

Die Ergebnisse der Studie zeigen, dass die Sportprojekte den Teilnehmern und Trainern eine Vielzahl von Möglichkeiten bieten, die im Township Khayelitsha ansonsten kaum vorhanden sind. Die Nutzung der unterschiedlichen Angebote führt, mindestens für den Zeitraum der aktiven Teilnahme (bei vielen auch darüber hinaus) zu einer Steigerung ihres Wohlbefindens. Diese positive Veränderung ist nicht nur bei den aktiv Tätigen festzustellen, sondern auch bei vielen der ihnen nahestehenden Personen. Unter anderem liegt dies oftmals an der Gewissheit, dass die Teilnehmer und Trainer gut und sicher im Projekt aufgehoben sind. Die Ergebnisse zeigen weiterhin, dass, wenn die Sportprojekte gewisse Gelingensfaktoren beinhalten, sie bei einigen Personen die Entwicklung von Fähigkeiten und Verhaltensänderungen hervorrufen. Der Sport bzw. die sportliche Betätigung an sich spielt dabei eine untergeordnete Rolle. Neben diesen projektinternen Faktoren hängen die Effekte stark von den infrastrukturellen, politischen und sozioökonomischen Gegebenheiten in Khayelitsha ab. Diese beeinflussen nicht nur die Sportprojekte und ihre Teilnehmer selbst, sondern sind auch der Rahmen dafür, das im Projekt Erlernte ins „echte“ Leben zu übertragen.

Jede Auswirkung über die Mikroebene hinaus ist daher individuell und hängt von der Biographie des Einzelnen, den kontext-spezifischen Umständen und strukturellen Ungleichheiten in Khayelitsha ab. Im Wesentlichen zeigt die Studie, dass Sport dem hohen Anspruch per se ein effektives Mittel zur Förderung von Entwicklungszusammenarbeit zu sein, nicht gerecht wird.

In Bezug auf die Durchführung von Forschung in weniger privilegierten Gebieten und mit marginalisierten Bevölkerungsgruppen zeigen die Ergebnisse dieser Studie, dass die Lebensbedingungen in Khayelitsha auch den Forschungsprozess stark beeinflussen. Die – meistens von westlichen Denkmustern geprägten – Anforderungen können in einem solchen Kontext kaum umgesetzt werden. Weitere Faktoren, die die Durchführung der Studie in Khayelitsha beeinflussen, sind die Strukturen der Sportprojekte sowie der geringe Stellenwert, welcher der Forschung auf allen Ebenen in den Organisationen beigemessen wird. Zusätzlich stellen die ungleichen Machtverhältnisse zwischen Forscher und Studienteilnehmern, die fremde isiXhosa Kultur, dominant vorherrschende Geschlechterideologien sowie Menschenrechtsverletzungen Herausforderungen für den Forscher dar, die den Forschungsprozess beeinflussen und die Interpretation bedingen.

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## 1. Introduction: Sport – a Tool for Development?!

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All over the world, sport has become fairly well established as a tool in development schemes. The last decade, especially, “has seen a substantial increase in the use of sport to assist specific development programmes” (Levermore, 2008, p. 56). A rapid explosion of sport-in-development projects (van Eekeren, 2006) supports this observation. Hayhurst & Frisby (2010), for example, mention more than 400 sport-in-development non-government-organizations<sup>1</sup> that operate programmes in more than 125 countries. Not only NGOs, but also national governments, international organizations and locally based community organizations put great efforts and financial support in these sport-in-development projects (cp. Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009a/b), that use sport to “achieve social, economic and developmental goals” (Beutler, 2008, p. 365). And indeed, looking at sport’s reputation in society, statements that highlight sport as *the* means to “bridge social, religious, racial & gender divides, hence contributing to lasting peace” (p. 365), can be found very often.

One often cited quote is from Nelson Mandela (at the ‘Laureus World Sports Awards’ in Abu Dhabi on March 10, 2010), who – pointing to the role of sport in his home country of South Africa – said that “sport has the power to change the world”. The UN is similarly convinced of the value of sport-in-development programmes, presenting sport “as an important tool in helping the United Nations achieve its objectives, in particular the Millennium Development Goals” (UNESCO, 2009, p. 22) and the more recent ‘Sustainable Development Goals’ (UNOSDP, 2015). To put this ‘tool’ into action, representatives of the UN established five UN Thematic Working Groups (cp. SDP IWG, 2008 and UN, 2016): *Sport and Child & Youth Development* (promoting child and youth development); *Sport and Gender* (promoting gender equality and empowering girls and women); *Sport and Peace* (preventing conflict and building peace); *Sport and Health* (promoting health and

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<sup>1</sup> In the following, the term ‘non-government organization’ will be shortened to NGO.

preventing disease) and *Sport and Persons with Disabilities* (including persons with disabilities). Additionally, together with the International Olympic Committee, they established an International Day of Sport for Development and Peace, to be celebrated yearly on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April – emphasizing once more sports' importance as a tool for social change (UN, 2013).

South Africa is no exception. Since the right to organize the World Cup was given to South Africa, many projects that use sport as a means to foster a diverse set of social, political and economic issues were implemented and augmented (Chappelet, 2005; Cornelissen, 2011). This is due to the fact that, despite being labelled as the rainbow-nation<sup>2</sup>, the country faces a “long history of inequality and injustice. The policies of the pre-1994 government marginalised the majority of South Africans, excluding millions of people from the political, social and economic base of our society and denying them long-term accumulation of land, assets and sustainable livelihoods” (Frye & Kirsten, 2012, p. 1). The population was split into Black African, Coloured, Indian and Asian as well as White – with serious degrading consequences for everyone who was not white. Furthermore, black people were deprived from their citizenship (Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970, later named Black States Citizenship Act, 1970).

Although apartheid has been officially over since 1994 and the South African Constitution, in force since 1996 (with the 17<sup>th</sup> amendment in February 2013), guarantees everyone the right of “human dignity, equality and freedom” (Republic of South Africa, 1996, section 2/#7), South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world (South African Human Right Commission & UNICEF, 2011). Due to a complex set of reasons (most of them deep-rooted in South Africa's history), the picture of South African society today remains a picture of racial disparity (i.e. Routledge, 2007; Proudlock et al., 2008; Maarmann, 2009; Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; South African Human Right Commission & UNICEF, 2011).

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<sup>2</sup>Rainbow Nation is a term created by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to describe the coming together of people with different origins and cultures in post-apartheid South Africa.

Looking at poverty throughout different population groups after applying different poverty lines<sup>3</sup>, black people in South Africa are always the poorest (Statistics South African, 2012b).<sup>4</sup> While these objective poverty lines give an initial impression of the level inequality, there is so much more that comes with it. Most black South Africans live in informal dwellings, with no running water, no electricity, overcrowding and shared sanitations. High unemployment and very limited economic opportunities lead to malnutrition, disability and sickness and negatively influence social and psychological well-being. Social and physical isolation, depression, frustration and lack of prospects, with some seeing violent behaviour and delinquency as their only solution, are far more often found in black communities than in non-black population groups. Other social problems such as drugs, alcohol abuse, high drop-out rates, family break-ups and gangsterism make a secure daily living impossible. Lack of access to good education and services contribute to the difficult living conditions black South Africans face. The ones that suffer most are children (Hall & Chennells, 2011, p. 1). Hall & Wright (2010) state that “two-third of children live in income poverty” (p. 45) – with children under nineteen making up about 40 percent of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2013). Concretely, this means almost 14 million children live in conditions that do not meet basic human needs. Again, in line with the general socio-economic conditions, there is a racial inequality. African children represent the majority of poor children (68%), followed by coloured (33%), Asian (6%) and white (4%) children. High levels of childhood poverty are mainly found in apartheid-era homelands<sup>5</sup> (Hall & Chennells, 2011, p. 2).

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<sup>3</sup>Poverty lines were developed to measure and compare the in- and decrease of poverty over the course of time and space. Indicators are i.e. poverty headcount, poverty gap and severity of poverty (Statistics South Africa, 2008; Statistics South Africa, 2012b).

<sup>4</sup>While these poverty lines measure the absolute poverty, which “are well suited for long-term statistical use” (Statistics South Africa, 2008, p. 9) they do not reflect the multi-dimensional picture that comes with poverty. Therefore, other studies refer to relative poverty, capabilities poverty, subjective definitions of poverty and social exclusion add more insights (Magasela & Frye, 2005).

<sup>5</sup>The Group Areas Act (#41 in 1950) denied various ‘race’ groups access to particular areas. Therefore, non-whites were removed from ‘white’ areas by force and brought into so-called ‘homelands’ or self-governing Bantustans. They are nowadays called townships and are characterized by formal, and, more often informal, overcrowded dwellings.

One of these places, with its physical character retained, is the former homeland Khayelitsha in Cape Town. With an estimated number of one million inhabitants it is the second largest township in South Africa – and “the largest poor urban area in Cape Town in the Western Cape province” (Thompson, Conradie & Tsolekile, 2012, p. 3). In Khayelitsha “almost the entire population (97%) can be categorized as Africans with Xhosa as their first language” (Poswa & Lewi, 2006, p. 7). High levels of urban poverty and unemployment, missing basic sanitation, water delivery, electricity, pollution and very high levels of crime (cp. Poswa & Lewi, 2006; Thompson, Conradie & Tsolekile, 2012) characterize the daily struggle Khayelitsha’s residents’ fight. Newspaper headlines such as *Teen gangsters kill second victim in a week* (Cape Argus, 23.05.2013), *Khayelitsha residents warned not to walk at night* (Cape Argus, 01.10.2013) or *Pupils ‘terrorising’ township residents* (Cape Argus, 13.05.2013) present only the tip of the iceberg - with far more complex problems underneath.<sup>6</sup>

With the problems that South Africa, and, more specifically, Khayelitsha, face, statements praising sport as a panacea seem to be rather idealized. While many sport-in-development programmes in Khayelitsha address issues like life skill development, employability, HIV/AIDS awareness and violence prevention, it’s hard to believe that sport can deal with these complex problems in such a socio-economically deprived community. Concerning this matter and looking at the sport-and-development movement more broadly, three relevant strands for this study must be acknowledged.

(1) Regarding the role that sport could play in in disadvantaged areas such as Khayelitsha, Haudenhuyse, Theebom & Coalter (2012) argue that “societal structures and social arrangements [that] are the sources of exclusionary and discriminatory processes” (p. 439) and greater attention needs to be paid

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<sup>6</sup> Townships generally and Khayelitsha specially play a prominent role in South African newspapers, for instance *Why Khayelitsha is turning into mob justice* (Cape Times, 26.03.2012), *Shack demolitions fuel fires in Khayelitsha* (Cape Times, 18.08.2011), *Sanitation plan goes down the drain* (Mail & Guardian, 19.10.2012), *Blood ‘sports’ traps Cape Town’s teen gangsters* (Mail & Guardian, 21.09.2012) or *60 % black students failing every year in higher education* (Africa Business, 24.08.2013).

towards existing power relations. Also Swatuk et al. (2011) claim that “poor people are usually found at the margins of mainstream society not by accident but by design: valuable resources have been captured and they have been left with what little remains” (p. 470). However, many sport programmes concentrate on individual agency only (Haudenhuyse, Theebom & Coalter, 2012, p. 439) and “few have really considered the potency of sport beyond these individual components” (Schinke & Hanrahan, 2012, p. 2). Coalter (2013) for example adds that connections between individual self-assessments and development are rarely outlined (p. 44), although structural contexts such as the politics of development and power structures have to be studied and considered in sport-and-development research (Darnell, 2012; Maguire, 2013). For Spaaji (2011) these contexts are the ones shifting how sport-in-development programmes are positioned and for understanding the role sport can play with regard to personal and social change.

Also, it is “through the working of entire systems of social relationships that any changes in behaviours, events and social conditions are effected” (Pawson & Tilley, 2006, p. 4; cited by Coalter & Taylor, 2010, p. 25). Therefore, it is not sport alone, but sport embedded in certain structures such as social organization, peer leaders, trainers, adequate arrangements and a material context that might support positive outcomes and effects (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). Many studies in the sport-and-development field however are “confusing potential micro-level individual outcomes with community and broader macro-level impacts; ignoring wider socio-political contexts within which sport-for-development organizations have to operate” (Coalter, 2010, p. 295).

- (2) With most of the stakeholders still taking sport-in-development projects’ outcomes for granted, some people have raised questions about the efficacy of the projects (Levermore, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009a/b; Serena, 2009), “posing searching questions about the paucity of evidence that justifies the use of sport in these roles” (Kay, 2009, p. 1177). Coalter (2010) further assigns sport a “mythoepic status” (p. 296), meaning its claimed benefits are based on idealistic notions only. The general research base and empirical evidence to test

the effects of interventions and the impact of ‘sport’ is rare, with theory-guided research, monitoring and evaluation still limited (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a/b; Kay, 2009, p. 1148). The purpose of many studies is solely to prove success for further funding or to justify international aid (Coalter, 2010). Also, “the idea that evidence for the success of ‘sport-for-development’ is simply a matter of accumulating a series of impact measurements grossly oversimplifies the issues involved” (Coalter, 2013, p. 44; see also Okada & Young, 2011, p. 22). In most of the evaluations conducted the study designs hold limitations that influence the authenticity of the seemingly positive results. This follows Kay (2009), who lists a “lack of clarity in planning and specifying outcomes; lack of baseline data; short-termism in projects and evaluations conceptual difficulties in defining measures for outcomes; practical difficulties in operationalizing measures; and difficult in deconstructing and attributing causality” (p. 1178 f.). Because long-term studies are expensive and time-consuming and therefore rarely conducted (Meier, 2013, p. 19), most studies have “limited explanatory power” (Kay, 2011a, p. 7). No answer is given on *how* changes come about or which role sport plays in them.

- (3) Acting on this so-called problem of a “research free zone” (Coalter, 2011, slide 16), Levermore & Beacom (2009a) demand a “complete reappraisal of the evaluation system itself, to assure that an approach is adopted that works for sport-in-development practitioners, given the inherent instability of the environments within which many initiatives are operating” (p. 257). While there’s already a clear picture about how these changes should look like - multi-dimensional, context- and culture-sensitive, and participatory – it is questionable how they can be put into practice. Studies in the field that measure up to these standards are the scarce exception; nor is there an account of the barriers researchers come across when trying to comply with the set standards (Peachey & Cohen, 2015). Detailed reports from sport-in-development researchers conducting studies in complex and instable environments are seldom (Peachey & Cohen, 2015).

Assigning these considerations to the complex socio-economic and political context and the inherent instability sport-in-development organizations in Khayelitsha in Cape Town operate in, it is unclear how and what exactly sport can contribute to development and how researchers can capture these effects. This study seeks to address this problem and aims to expand on critiques about sports and the often overly lofty qualities associated with it. Furthermore, it aims at adding to the limited existing literature about the barriers and challenges faced by scholars. More concretely, questions to be answered in this study deal with sport's contribution to development and unintended outcomes caused by the sport-in-development projects. Additionally, the circumstances, wider socio-political contexts and power structures in South Africa, specifically Khayelitsha, are of major interest, as they are likely to impact on the beneficiaries of sport-in-development activities. Questions also relate to the influence these conditions have on the functioning and operation of the projects themselves, including determinants that influence success and failure in respect to development. Built upon the already presented drawbacks in monitoring and evaluation in the sport-and-development sector, questions in this study that are also supposed to be answered focus on the role of the researcher in sport-in-development and the barriers that exist when conducting studies in complex environments with people from different cultures. To investigate these questions, the following structure of the thesis presents itself as suitable:

In chapter two, the state-of-the art for this study's topic is presented. As a start, the concept of development is discussed, first in the broader sense and then with focus on (social) change. Following that, attention is drawn to the sport-in-development sector. In line with this, monitoring and evaluation that is conducted in this field is looked at, as well as the criticism that comes with it. Then there is a presentation of the evidence available for the effectiveness of sport with regard to individual and wider social development. Gaps in research are also discussed.

Being aware of the impact the socio-economic and political environment can have on a person, chapter three presents information on South Africa in general, and more specifically, with regards to where the targeted projects take place, namely in Khayelitsha. Information is given on the challenges children and youth face when



growing up in this underprivileged community. Based on the previous section, the use of development interventions to counteract personal and social problems in South Africa is discussed. Concluding, the sport-in-development projects analysed in this study are exposed. Their setting, funding, context of implementation and internal evaluation are presented.

Chapter four presents the theoretical and methodological framework of this study. First, the philosophical approach underlying this study is described, before different theories on human development and behaviour as well as the theory of (social) change are presented. Then, relating to sport and development, the underlying theory for the research that derives from the former arguments is presented. The second part of this chapter is formed by methodological approaches that build the basis for this research. Concluding, in the third part, the research questions are outlined. Also, the empirical study is outlined by giving insights into the data collection procedure, instruments and data analysis.

In chapter five, the sample approached in this study is described, before the data is portrayed with regard to the research questions posed beforehand.

Chapter six discusses the results by embedding them into the current state of research and the theoretical framework. With precaution, an interpretation on a more abstract level is presented by discussing the results in the context of development.

Chapter seven gives a conclusion. The scientific approach is outlined and the newly gained insights are summarized. Critical methodological comments and limitations of the study are presented thereafter. An outlook on the scientific and practical consequences that can be drawn from the findings completes the thesis.

In essence, the additional benefit of this work is a holistic path (insights into how sport programmes and individuals are embedded in international development discourse) and the detailed analysis of both context and individual. This study does not only test “the hypothesis that sport contributes to the personal development and well-being of disadvantaged children and young people and brings wider benefits to the community” (Coalter, 2013, p. 39), but is an in-depth analysis of the programme’s effects “at each level, up to and including, where possible, tracking its

influence on the transcending social and political context” (Sugden & Haasner, 2009, p. 10). Additionally, on a practical level, the study offers implications for further research in sport-in-development projects – considering the role of the researcher and barriers to research - in poverty-stricken and unequal areas, as well as contributing to the wider sport-in-development nexus.

## 2. Literature Review

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As already touched on in the introduction, sport has gained strong recognition in the international development field, leading to the establishment of a discipline called ‘sport-in-development’<sup>7</sup>. The following state-of-the art analysis with regard to this thesis’ topic firstly presents discourses in the broader international development sector, and thereafter sport will be embedded in those discussions. Finally, the research gap underlying this thesis will be presented.

### 2.1. Development

The concept of international development has undergone many discourses by different but intermingled theoretical schools that also strongly influence the sport-in-development discourse. The following remarks are in line with the mainstream sketch of the historical understanding of development as found in standard references, such as Cooper & Packard (1997), Nohlen & Nuscheler (1993), Nuscheler (2012), Potter & Desai (2008), Sachs (2010), Büschel & Speich (2009), Unger (2010) and Williams (2012).

Ideas about development go back as far as Aristotle (Rist, 2008), but the speech of U.S. president Truman in 1949 is often seen as the cause of today’s global development business (Potter et al., 2008). Truman explicitly divides the world into developed and developing nations<sup>8</sup> and urges the rich countries to support and

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<sup>7</sup> In terms of terminology, there is disunity in describing the field and its projects, and even the same scholars do not use the term consistently. Whereas some authors use “development through sport” (e.g. Houlihan & White, 2002; Levermore, 2008; Darnell, 2007; Black, 2010; Guest, 2009) and “sport for development” (e.g. Kidd, 2008; Coalter, 2010/2013; Burnett, 2009; Levermore, 2011; Nicholls et al., 2011; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Sugden, 2010), some authors prefer to use “sport-in-development” (e.g. Coalter, 2006/2009; Saavedra, 2009; Nicholls, 2009; Fokwang, 2009; Petry & Weinberg, 2011; Darnell, 2012), “sport for international development and peace” (Sugden, 2013) and/or “sport(s) and (international) development” (e.g. Levermore & Beacom, 2009a/b; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Meier, 2005). In the following, the term ‘sport-in-development’ is adopted as it presents the possibility but not the automatism of sport to support development goals.

<sup>8</sup> Different terminologies are used to label nations, depending on the understanding of development. The world order established in the politics of the cold war for example lead to the terms ‘First World’, ‘Second World’ and ‘Third World’ (Potter & Desai, 2008). While they are still in use by

steward the less economically accomplished ones (Sachs, 2010, p. xv, Darnell, 2014b, p. 6, Escobar, 1995, p. 3 f.). Therefore, early development theories focus on the process of modernization and industrialization that is seen as leading to economic success. Development assistance was given to countries seen as “‘traditional’ or ‘backward’” (Millard, 2014, p. 36) for them to go through “linear steps of economic growth” (ibid.). According to Rostow’s theory there are five stages a country has to pass to be fully developed (Rostow, 1960). Thus, poorer countries were supported with goods and tools to become industrialized, be integrated in the world market and thereby level the quality of developed countries concerning economic growth (Hettne, 2008). Little attention was paid directly to the situation of the poor, and - despite numerous investments in economy, infrastructure, transport systems, communication technology - many of the target countries and their population remained underprivileged and impoverished.

The fact that modernization and growth theories did not successfully bring economic wealth to the developing countries and had instead let to new forms of poverty was seen in their disregard for the social and institutional structures necessary for development. As such the concept of structuralism came into play, focusing on the transformation from agriculture to an industrial economy, which “needs major government intervention to promote the industrial sector [...] in order to move towards self-sustaining growth” (Millard, 2014, p. 37). To protect ones’ economy, trade with the exploiting developed countries would need to be minimized.

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some authors (e.g. Darnell, 2007; Levermore, 2010), others use the terms ‘Global North and ‘Global South’ (e.g. Giulianotti, 2010; Darnell, 2010; Nicholls et al., 2011; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Levermore, 2008), ‘developed countries’ and ‘developing countries’ (e.g. Coalter, 2010; Szymanski & Andreff, 2006) or ‘minority world’ and ‘majority world’ (e.g. Kay, 2011; Kay & Spaaji, 2012). Again others use the term ‘high income countries (HIC)’ and ‘low and middle income countries’ or low-income economy, lower-middle-income economy, upper-middle-income economy and high-income-economies (e.g. OECD, 2015) – based on purely economic indicators. Other countries are labelled according to their inner inequality as such a distinction allows to acknowledge problems of certain marginalized and underprivileged groups, that are not caught in measurements that focus on the economic average of a country (e.g. South Africa). While their classification is built on different concepts of development, all terms refer to the commonality of problems faced by individuals that “emanate, by and large, from deep inequities of power within and between nations” (Zakus, Njelesani & Darnell, 2007, p. 52).

At the same time, some summoned poorer countries to “de-link[ing] [...] their economies from the world market” (Hettne, 2008, p. 8) as otherwise they were still dependent from and regulated by others – thus referring to dependency theory. These scholars stated that countries were different and as such there were no equal linear stages for economic growth as postulated by Rostow (1960). In dependency theory, it is acknowledged that poorer countries have a “weak structural position” (Hettne, 2008, p. 8) and are “influenced by dominance and dependence relations” (Safarikova, 2013, p. 16). Unless those countries cut their links to the world market, they would always be exploited by the developed countries (World System Theory).

On the contrary and as a result of the other theories not leading to success, in 1976 the basic need approach came up, focusing not directly “on investing in economically productive activities but instead in attempts to measure poverty in order to understand how to eliminate it” (Millard, 2014, p. 37). Advocates of this approach criticize that existing social and institutional conditions and norms were largely ignored, and articulated that development needed to be defined as “a broad-based, people-oriented or endogenous process” (Elliott, 2008, p. 41).

In the 1980s and 1990s, neo-liberalist (also called neoclassical) theories were shaped that are grounded on the former approaches, and are based on the reasoning that it is the state’s role causing problems, and that more free markets are the solution to the worsening economic situation. This understanding was pivotal for the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to “start[ed] to impose so-called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on developing countries as a condition for receiving loans and other forms of support” (Millard, 2014, p. 37). By that, and also through other rules, it aimed at “improving the ‘comparative advantage’ of the developing country in global markets” (ibid.).

Criticising economic growth as the only way for progress, both post-colonial and post-development scholars highlight people as the measure and determinant of development (Sidaway, 2008). For them, former theories have not only been “dominated by Western ethnocentricity, but the Western lifestyle may not be a realistic nor desirable goal for all countries if it means destroying indigenous

cultures, identities and modes of life” (Millard, 2014, p. 38). While post-colonial and post-development theories are similar in their disapproval of the former hierarchical development approaches, they are built on different arguments. Post-colonial theorists – as a reaction to imperial Europe’s colonial practices - criticise the doings of the rich nations for their ongoing abandon and dominance over other countries. A noteworthy scholar of post-development critiques is Escobar (1995), who denounced the developed countries of carrying on colonialism through agendas and policies<sup>9</sup>. McGregor (2009) also sees modern “development as an institutionalised industry, in which power relations are continually reaffirmed through discourses of development” (Rooney, 2012, p. 4). Post-development scholars likewise reject the modern (Western) development approach, but mainly for the reason that its focus on industrial and economic progress doesn’t provide outcomes to improve poverty, inequality and injustice. Post-development theorists also argue that most aid programmes ignore local historical, socio-cultural and indigenous knowledge and thereby present further drawbacks. For them, there needs to be an alternate to development, whereby post-colonial advocates aim at an alternative way of development.

Parallel in time and partly similar, human development theories emerged that put individuals at the center of development work and connected development increasingly to “human rights and freedoms” (Elliott, 2008, p. 43; see also Midgley, 2014, p. 25). In its declaration on the right to development, the United Nations defines development as “a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and the fair distribution of benefits resulting here from” (UN, 1986, Annex). In a continuance this definition (and the ones following

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<sup>9</sup> Escobar (1995) himself refers to Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, Chandra Mohanty, and Homi Bhabha as pioneers in coining the different thinking “about representations of the Third World” (p. 5). A noteworthy critical thinker is also Freire (2000), whose book ‘Pedagogy of the Oppressed’ (originally published in 1970) counts as pioneering work. He critically reflects on the relationship between “oppressor” and the “oppressed”. Also Julius K. Nyerere (in Hall & Kidd, 1978) is seen as a famous development thinker that falls into that line of thought.

since then) is based on Amartya Sen's idea of "development as freedom" (title of his book, 1999) that postulates free and sustainable agency as the heart of development and focuses on the importance of capabilities: "Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices. [...] Human development has two sides: the formation of human capabilities such as improved health, knowledge and skills - and the use people make of their acquired capabilities - for leisure, productive purposes or being active in cultural, social and political affairs" (UNDP, 1990, p. 10). Sen's concept is also referred to as capability approach, which sees "participants as 'agents of change'" (Fradiani et al., 2014, p. 3) and emphasizes "the ability to participate in the decision-making that influences the structure of opportunities" (ibid., p. 3; see also Alkire, 2010). As Fukuda-Parr (2003) concludes, Sen's idea of development (see Sen, 1999) is "to improve human lives by expanding the range of things that a person can be and do, such as to be healthy and well nourished, to be knowledgeable, and to participate in community life" (p. 303). Sen's concept on capabilities is still implied in United Nations' definition of development: "Human development is the expansion of people's freedoms to live long, healthy and creative lives; to advance other goals they have reason to value; and to engage actively in shaping development equitably and sustainably on a shared planet. People are both the beneficiaries and the drivers of human development, as individuals and in groups" (UNDP, 2010, p. 2).<sup>10</sup>

Due to the variety of understandings of the term development that range from the global and macro to meso and micro level (Potter & Desai, 2008; Black, 2010; Wilson, 2014, p. 26; Millard, 2014, p. 40 f.; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p. 286 f.) there is disunity in how development can be measured. As its original measurements, gross domestic product (GDP) and gross national product (GNP) were criticised for not doing justice to the people-centred approach to development (Greenstein et al., 2014, p. 134), the human development index was

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<sup>10</sup> Sen's concept is continuously elaborated on, in applied, critical and complementary ways and sometimes with him as co-author, e.g. by Alkire (2002, 2005a, 2005b, 2008, 2010), Robeyns (2003, 2005, 2005a, 2005b, 2007), Nussbaum (1995, 2000, 2003, 2011a, 2011b), Nussbaum & Sen (1995), Conradie & Robeyns (2013), Fukuda-Parr (2003, 2011a, 2011b), Fukuda-Parr & Shira Kumar (2004) and in the Human Development Reports.

designed. Again, Amartya Sen was one of the key players. That index (including its modifications)<sup>11</sup> focuses on health, education and material well-being as indicators (Herrero et al., 2012, p. 248) – still including income, but only “to the extent that it is a proxy for other important facets of quality of life, as an indirect indicator of other capabilities” (Greenstein et al., 2014, p. 135; referring to Anand & Sen, 2000). Other development measurements specify on poverty (GPI), inequality (Gini Coefficient & IHID), human gender development index (GDI), gender empowerment measurement (GEM) and human poverty index (HPI) (e.g. UNDP, 2015a; Elliott, 2008, p. 4). While this range already encompasses manifold aspects of development, common remarks are that “a fuller picture of a country's level of human development requires analysis of other indicators and information” (UNDP, 2015) and that “subjective well-being provides information about functioning and achievement that can enrich the HDI” (Beja, 2012, p. 4).

The current human development approach is completely contrary to the pure economic understanding that was postulated by Truman. While eradicating extreme poverty and hunger by reducing the proportion of people whose income is less than 1,25 \$ a day (which is an economic approach) is still one main goal of international development, the internationally agreed upon Millennium Development Goals also include other aspects that are related to education, gender equity, child mortality, maternal health, diseases, environmental sustainability and global partnership (UNGA, 2010)<sup>12</sup>. While the first seven goals take into responsibility the Global North, the last goal also addresses the Global South. With regard to them being fulfilled, it is nowadays understood, that “social, political, economic, and material change [can be reached] through education” (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p. 286;

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<sup>11</sup> Seth (2009, p. 375), Ranis et al. (2006, p. 2) and Biao (2011) provide further details on the development and modification of the Human Development Index. The latter for example advances the view to implement a *Human Development Index Literacy Theory of Social Development* that focuses more on indigenous knowledge and education as the prerequisite for social and economic development. In line with other critical development scholars, he argues that the common measurements do not include a country's history and practices and thereby miss existing indigenous facets (Biao, 2011, p. 392).

<sup>12</sup> Those Millennium Development Goals were refreshed and extended in 2015.



referring to Finnemore, 1997; Peet & Hartwick, 1999 and Sachs, 2005) and that social change is achieved by empowering individuals (Kidd, 2011, p. 608).

This people-centred understanding is reflected in the emergence of all kinds of development projects that focus not on material and financial support, but on social, individual, personal, positive youth development and/or life skill development. While many development projects take up the cause of one or another of these buzzwords, it is not always clear what exactly they are aiming at. In literature, it is also hard to find clear distinctions between these terms and they often overlap with one another as well as with the understanding of human development (Meier, 2013, p. 42).

Social development, for example, is defined as “the driving force for all forms of human development” (Singh, 1999, p. 62). For him, social development includes eight components: “(1) physical (health), (2) intellectual, (3) spiritual, (4) foundational, (5) scientific, (6) economic, (7) political, and (8) environmental” (Singh, 1999, p. 63). By contrast, other scholars such as Rockwood (2008, p. 473) restrict social development mainly to the individual level. Again others, such as Guijt (2007, p. 4) or Midgley (2014), define social development mainly on the macro level as “a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole within the context of a dynamic multifaceted development process” (Midgley, 2014, p. 13). The idea of a planned process clearly refers to interventions to foster development. Midgley (2014) further elaborates that in literature social development is also referred to as a practical approach such as the Millennium Development Goals (which indicates the definition given for human development), as well as to “the achievement of lofty ideals, such as progress, social integration, peace and social justice” (p. 3). The latter understanding is shared by Aspalter et al. (2008).

Parts of the above, such as Midgley’s (2014) characteristics for social development, as well as the human development approach are also echoed in definitions for personal development. Safarikova (2013) for example, referring to Aubrey (2010) and Sen (1999), defines personal development as “a process that contributes to the

improvement of one's own identity, enhances the abilities, supports the creation of skills for a future profession and therefore improves the quality of life" (p. 19). Including 'process' into the definition - like in the social development definition - points to an external operation such as an intervention. Another very similar concept often referred to, though referring to a specific stage of life, is positive youth development<sup>13</sup>.

While positive youth development was originally only equated with the absence of bad behaviour, it is nowadays strongly associated with the enhancement of skills. In line with others, Guerra & Bradshaw (2008) critically point out that youths are often displayed as "problems to be fixed and development as a process of overcoming deficits and risks" (p. 3). Scepticism concerning such a deficit model is also expressed by sport-in-development scholars. Coalter (2013) for example argues that "many programmes seem to be based on a form of environmental determinism and a deficit model in which it is assumed that deprived communities produce deficient people who can be 'developed' through sport" (p. 42). While marginalized people face many disadvantages, some children "do well despite experiencing multiple stressors or severe trauma" (National 4-H Healthy Living Task Force, 2009, p. 9; and others). Based on this insight, positive youth development models<sup>14</sup> have emerged that do not focus on avoiding risk behaviour but on emphasizing youths' strengths.

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<sup>13</sup> Much literature can be found on positive youth development in general; with Lerner and colleagues having published the most (see also Larson, 2000; Damon & Lerner, 2006; Lerner, 2005b; Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2012; Lerner & Steinberg, 2009; Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007; Catalano et al., 2004; Catalano et al., 2002; Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008; Park, 2004; Bowers et al., 2010; Benson, 2007). Also with regard to organized youths activities positive youth development was published about (e.g. Hansen, Larson & Dworkin, 2003; Larson, Hansen & Moneta, 2006; Lerner, 2005a; Smith, 2007; Tebes et al., 2007). With regard to sport activities – though mostly referring to research conducted in the U.S. - positive youth development has been examined (e.g. Agans & Geldhof, 2012; Armour, Sandford & Duncombe, 2013; Camiré et al., 2011; Fraser-Thomas, Côté & Deakin, 2005; Holt et al., 2012; Jones, 2007; Jones et al., 2011; Martinek & Ruiz-Pérez, 2005; Strachan, 2008; Turnridge, Côté & Hamcock, 2014; Weiss et al., 2013). Fraser-Thomas, Côté & Deakin (2005) are to be highlighted here, as they extensively summarize and clearly structure physical activity's impact on development. However, they only refer to research conducted in the Global North.

<sup>14</sup> These models often follow the concepts of 40 assets and 5Cs resp. 6Cs. The concept of 40 assets refers to a set of internal and external skills required for positive youth development. This set was further developed and narrowed to 5Cs: cognitive and behavioral competence, confidence, positive social connections, character and caring. If such capacities are acquired, it is understood that they can lead to the sixth C: contribution to society (e.g. Lerner et al., 2005).

In such models, youths are understood as “resources to be developed [based] on the idea that every young person has the potential for successful, healthy development and that all youth possess the capacity for positive development” (National 4-H Heathy Living Task Force, 2009, p. 20 f.).

Personal or positive youth development (interventions) is also often referred to as life skill development. While there are different definitions on which skills life skills encompass (e.g. Eccles & Gootmann, 2002; Gould & Carson, 2008; Hansen, Larson & Dwarkin, 2003; also pointed out by Safarikova, 2013, p. 20), Darnell (2014b), referring to Guest (2009), scrutinizes the concept and asks for caution as the defined life skills could be “foreign and largely culturally insignificant” (p. 4) for the beneficiaries. Summarizing that they can be “behavioural, cognitive, interpersonal or intrapersonal in nature” (Meier, 2013, p. 50), she stresses that life skill development only makes sense if the skills are transferable to real life situations. Similar to Sens’ idea of capabilities, the idea is that through developing life skills, youths and other beneficiaries of interventions are able to successfully meet challenging situations in other contexts, such as school, home and their community (Danish et al., 2004, p. 40).

Despite the insight that development is “as a multidimensional concept which embraces multifarious economic and social objectives, concerned with the distribution of income, the provision of basic needs and the real and psychological well-being of people” (Thirlwall, 2008, p. 40), and that economic development is not the only crucial factor for uplifting marginalized communities, there is a continuing failure to deliver pre-set development goals. Because of this, and the general shift from economic capital to human and social capital, the international development sector opened up for alternative approaches – such as sport (Levermore & Beacom, 2009b, p. 1; Levermore & Beacom, 2009a, p. 246; Njelesani et al., 2014, p. 790, Coalter, 2013).

## 2.2. Sport-in-Development

While sport had long been used with the purpose of development<sup>15</sup>, in the last three decades it has gained impressive momentum within governments and development agencies (Read & Bingham, 2009, xix; Kidd, 2008, p. 371; Levermore, 2008, p. 56). Sport was already positioned in the human rights framework from 1948 onwards (e.g. UN, n.y.; UNGA, 1959, Art. 7; UNGA, 1979, Art. 10+13, UN, 1989, Art. 31), taking governments and other actors up on their promise to provide opportunities to be physically active. However, it was only in 1991 that the unique role of sport in eliminating poverty and promoting development was acknowledged (Commonwealth Heads of Government, 2004). This was backed up for example by the establishment of the UN Interagency Task Force on Sport and Development and the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, several conferences and adoption of resolutions (UNOSDP, n.y. a/b; SAD, 2008; SDP IWG, 2006/2008; UNGA, 2006; European Commission, 2009; IOC, 2010, ISDPA, 2010). Official policy documents assign sport the potential “for social and political emancipation but also for the marginalisation and dominance of groups based on geography, politics and economics as well as gender, race, sexuality, class and ability” (Darnell & Black, 2011, p. 368). Since sport was officially announced to be a tool to reach the Millennium Development Goals (UNESCO, 2009, p. 22, UNOSDP, 2010 a/b), the sport-in-development field can be said to have arrived in international development. Governments, companies, stakeholders and foundations keep pushing programmes<sup>16</sup> using sport as tool for development

<sup>15</sup> Sport has played an influential and often distinct role in almost every society – and with regard to development sport’s history goes back as far as the early Olympic Games (Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009b; SDP IWG, 2008). In some countries sport has been used with the purpose of instrumentalization, civilization and disciplining, and it is among others for these reasons, that the relationship between “between this history and the contemporary interest in sport manifested by Northern NGOs and governments have been, and continue to be, an important research theme” (Darnell & Black, 2011, p. 373; see also Guest, 2009; Saavedra, 2009). In South Africa, sport has played and still plays a major role e.g. to manifest race disparities and further inequalities, and later to fight the apartheid regime (Baller & Cornelissen, 2011, p. 2085). More information on South Africa’s connection between sport, apartheid, development and politics can be found e.g. in Booth (2012), Hain (2014), Desai (2011), Thomas (2006) and Alegi (2010). Some - for this study relevant - strands are also touched in chapter 3.

<sup>16</sup> The platform [sportanddev.org](http://sportanddev.org) lists 3160 organizations that use sport as a tool for development (International Platform on Sport & Development, 2015) with many more to exist that probably

purposes (Burnett, 2009), as it is seen as contributing “tremendous positive value to international development and cooperation work for the benefit of women, men, girls and boys, irrespective of the developing degree of a continent” (Meier, 2005, p. 4). Seeing sport projects as development interventions their “agents [...] can be insiders or outsiders, civil society institutions, governments, individuals or small groups” (Conradie & Robeyns, 2013, p. 560). While “many influential views on development do not focus directly on human development” (Conradie & Robeyns, 2013, p. 561), for sport-in-development initiatives it can be summarized that they aim at “‘intervening’ in particular contexts with the broad aim of improving the “‘well-being’ and/or ‘quality of life’ of populations” (Wilson, 2014, p. 26). Sport and other forms of leisure activity are for example used for refugees, child soldiers, victims of conflict and natural catastrophes, the impoverished, persons with disabilities, victims of racism, stigmatization and discrimination, persons living with HIV/AIDS and other diseases (Tobisch & Preti, 2010, p. 17) in order to “promote educational outcomes, support health education generally and HIV/AIDS education particularly, and foster empowerment” (Kay & Jeanes, 2010, p. 31)<sup>17</sup>.

Importantly, it is not only the number of Global North organizations and/or governments implementing programmes in the Global South, including countries such as the Netherlands, Switzerland, Canada, Norway and Australia, but also in-country initiatives, grassroots projects, organizations and governments in the Global South<sup>18</sup> that link sport with development objectives (Levermore & Beacom, 2011, p. 3). In a country such as in South Africa though, which is one of the most unequal countries in the world, many programmes that are organized by locals or the government do still possess top-down processes, as apartheid structures are still inherent in society (see chapter 3.1.2).

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haven’t signed up, as “these are mostly European and North American, secular and sometimes corporate initiatives” (Donnelly et al., 2011, p. 592). They criticize further, that the platform is most likely overseen by organizations from Spain, China, Japan and Korea, as it is only available in English (p. 592).

<sup>17</sup> These assumptions go along with the concept of „Olympic Education“ that is publicized by the DOSB and IOC (cp. Naul, 1998; Naul, Geßmann & Wick, 2008).

<sup>18</sup> Because of the fact that the “public profile of sport in development is selective” (Kay, 2011a, p. 3) as it is usually the international organizations being known with them being promoted in the Global North – unlike locally based organizations.

Sport in the development context<sup>19</sup> is defined as “all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competitive sport<sup>20</sup>, and indigenous sports and games” (UN, 2003, p. 2; see also European Sports Charter: Council of Europe, 2001, Art. 2). As this already suggests, the term sport relates to a “wide variety of mechanisms – contexts, relationships, rules, experiences and a wide variety of types of participants” (Coalter, 2013, p. 41) and therefore sport-in-development projects can differ in structure, curricula, size, target group, actors and intention as well as the level of physical activity (Read & Bingham, 2009; Right to Play, 2004; SDP IWG, 2008; Kay, 2011a, p. 6).

With so many different actors and projects involved it is not surprising, that the sport-in-development field is broad and inscrutable (Njelesani et al., 2014, p. 791; Donnelly et al., 2011, p. 592<sup>21</sup>, Kay, 2011a, p. 3; Kruse, 2006, p. 8; Burnett, 2009, p. 1194), and, “as with other international development interventions and initiatives, sport-in-development is conceived, explained, understood and practiced in a variety of different ways” (Read & Bingham, 2009, xiii; see also Kidd, 2008, p. 604). In addition, almost everything that has happened in the sector in the last ten years is not grounded on a thorough analysis of the political economy, but has arisen from practice and idealisation, thus theories and theoretical approaches in the field are limited (Darnell, 2012; Maguire, 2013). Also it is assumed that “one of the first and most basic challenges of the whole sport and development field has to do with the conception of development itself” (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; p. 286;

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<sup>19</sup>While the term ‘sport’ is a term used all over the world, it is hardly associated with the same concept. The definitions range from the type of activity to the objective of the activity. There are internationally institutionalized and organized codes of sport, and there are others sport forms that happen offside organized structures, with some of them being only culturally relevant. A common distinction is drawn between sport in a broad sense (any physical activity) and sport in a narrow sense (competitions, rules) (e.g. Guldenpfennig, 2000; Tiedemann, 2004). Sterchele (2015) even suggests switching from the term ‘sport-for-development’ to ‘play-for-development’ to properly describe the activities offered by many organizations in the development context.

<sup>20</sup> Although ‘competitive sport’ is incorporated, sport – from a developmental perspective – explicitly excludes elitism and exclusivity. In the context of development, sport mainly focuses on mass participation and a playful manner practice, and is used to reach out to as many individuals as possible (Tobisch & Preti, 2010). This is also confirmed by Meier (2013, p. 41).

<sup>21</sup> Donnelly et al. (2011) sharpen this dilemma in the question „What is the size and the shape of this ‘beast’ we are studying?” (p. 592).

see also Darnell, 2014, p. 3). Like within international development, the critical voices about the meaning and practices of development are equally present in the sport-in-development field.

Recently, critical theories such as neo-classical capital theory, Coleman's rational choice theory, network theory, Putnam's framework of civil engagement (e.g. Coalter, 2007; Burnett, 2006), hegemony theory (e.g. Lindsey & Grattan, 2012), post-colonial theory (e.g. Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Hayhurst, 2009; Tiessen, 2011), postcolonial feminist theory (Hayhurst, 2014), critical race theory, Said's theory and Foucault's discourse analysis (e.g. Darnell, 2007; Forde, 2013), Freirean approach (Spaaji & Jeanes, 2013) and critical left-realism (e.g. Sugden, 2010; see also chapter 4) have been employed in the sport-in-development field. Post-colonial and post-development scholars in the international development field alike come to the conclusion that it is exactly the "deployment of universal notions of sport and development, particularly presumptions of benefits and munificence" (Darnell, 2014b, p. 12) that causes the opposite to its intentions, namely a reinforcement of power structures and social privileges (see also Coalter, 2013, p. 7). This does not only concern North-South relationships, but also relationships within a country, such as with local or government-organized sport projects, given a context of inequality. To mention a few, this argument is for example supported by Hartmann & Kwauk (2011), Coalter (2013), Donnelly et al. (2011) and Wilson (2014, p. 38). Kay (2011) sharpens the critique, describing sport-in-development "as a form of interference, control and cultural imperialism, through which the countries of the Minority World protect their political interests and perpetuate the structural disadvantage of those who lack power within the capitalist system" (p. 4). Sport-in-development is seen as being as much involved in a hegemonic discourse as other development programmes, and therefore it faces the same "political challenges identified within development studies over the past 20 years" (Darnell & Black, 2011, p. 373). The ongoing debates do not only concern the programmes themselves, but also their monitoring and evaluation, such as criticizing this process for following too much a "positivist scientific knowledge paradigm" (Schnitzer et al.,

2013, p. 569)<sup>22</sup>. Often contract-based, academic and agencies likewise conduct independent impact assessments. While “there is still a tendency in the research literature and programme reports to ‘essentialize’ sport, assuming that any sport-based intervention will automatically be beneficial” (Larkin, Razack & Moola, 2007, p. 114) some scholars attack these and critically discuss the role that sport can effectively play in development.

As described above, sport can take many forms and can refer to many different things. Results from the general youth (sport) development field<sup>23</sup> and also from many scholars in the sport-in-development field<sup>24</sup> show that sport participation does not automatically lead to positive individual and wider social outcomes, and especially with sport often only being used as attraction for non-sport programme items, “isolating the ‘sport effect’ is nearly impossible” (Coalter, 2013, p. 42). Hartmann & Kwauk (2011) state clearly that “truly effective, sport-based, sport-oriented development will almost certainly be unable to achieve its effects on its own” (p. 298; see also SDP IWG, 2008, p. 12). In point of fact, sport’s impact is subject to the “cultural, situational and relational contexts in which it occurs” (Coakley, 2012, p. 184) and its non-sport components (Hartmann, 2003, p. 134). Therefore, when those are negatively experienced, sport can likewise lead to negative development outcomes (Struthers, 2011, p. 1257)<sup>25</sup>. In line with the production of manuals and toolkits<sup>26</sup> how to use sport, Donnelly et al. (2007), SDP IWG (2008), Hartmann & Kwauk (2011), Kidd (2011), Coalter (2013), Njelesani (2011) and Coakley (2011 and 2012) summarize sufficient conditions to be met to

<sup>22</sup> The critical discourses on monitoring and evaluation will be discussed in much more detail further below.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. Fraser-Thomas, Côté & Deakin, 2005, p. 35; Petitpas et al., 2005; Weiss et al., 2013, p. 215 f.; Eccles, 2003; Bailey, 2006; Forneris et al., 2014

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. SDP IWG, 2007; Okada & Young, 2011, p. 6 f.; Kidd, 2011; Akindes & Kirwin, 2009, p. 236; Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014, p. 203; Beacom & Levermore, 2009; Kay, 2011a, p. 11 f.

<sup>25</sup> It’s proven that sport (participation) can also enhance negative outcomes/behavior, such as “aggression and violent rivalry among opposing teams and their supporters, and an emphasis at any cost that encourages unethical and unhealthy behaviours (like aggression, doping and other forms of cheating” (SDP IWG, 2008, p. 13; see also Brackenridge & Fasting, 2002; Brettschneider et al., 2002; Eccles et al., 2003; Gould & Carson, 2008 among others for negative impacts of sport participation).

<sup>26</sup> Since 2005, 53 toolkits and manuals were published on sportanddev.org (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2015) with many more to exist.



lead to positive development outcomes<sup>27</sup>. With only a few discrepancies among the authors, those include the purpose of the project, the range of opportunities for personal development and relationships in a physically and emotionally safe environment, human and material resources, such as skilled educators, layout for beneficiaries (such as type of sport, culture & norms, embedded in daily life) and its additional non-sport features. It is understood that if a programme fulfils the needs of children and youths, they are unlikely to try to meet those needs via other groups, such as in gangs. Theron & Malindi (2010) – though with regard to resilience - argue further that it is the close collaboration between “young people and their ecologies (families, peers, schools, communities)” (p. 717) that determines the extent of (positive or negative) development. Moreover, Kidd (2011) adds that a sport programme can only be effective when beneficiaries and staff are involved in an appropriate ongoing monitoring and evaluation process (p. 605).

Monitoring and evaluation is one of the major themes in the sport-in-development field, with the pressure to legitimize sport coming from different sides. One argument held by development scholars is that there are more essential issues that need to be addressed (such as infrastructure, schools, hospitals, access to water) than sport participation and that sport can only be effectively used as a (supplementary) tool for development if basic needs are already served and human rights in the target society are already respected (Gutsche, 1975, p. 4). Another argument comes from critical scholars who question the whole monitoring and evaluation process with regard to the traditional ways of knowledge production. Yet another one is raised by funders and academics who demand evidence<sup>28</sup> for programme effectiveness, such as whether the aforementioned assumptions of individual and social development do take place at all, and if so, whether they work towards reaching the broader set development objectives.

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<sup>27</sup> While the mentioned conditions were stated by authors in the field of sport-in-development, they are in line with the ones set by other authors (such as Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner, et al., 2000; Lerner & Benson, 2003; Weiss et al., 2013; Gould & Carson, 2008) in the general positive youth development sector.

<sup>28</sup> What constitutes knowledge though and how evidence should look like is subject to controversy (e.g. Woodcock, Cronin & Forde, 2012, p. 370 and later in this chapter).

While some scholars claim that there is no evidence gathered yet that proves the effects of sport involvement, others (e.g. Kidd, 2008; Coalter, 2013, p. 174; Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014, p. 201; Woodcock, Cronin & Forde, 2012, p. 370; Okada & Young, 2011) claim that using sport as a tool to achieve health, personal and wider social development is not a new movement and that there is already a substantial body of research with regard to sport<sup>29</sup>. The existing literature review in the sport-in-development field that was commissioned by the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG, 2007) gives extensive overviews on sport and development, education, health, gender, inclusion of people with disabilities and peace. However, it often only refers to sport programmes and research in the Global North. A recent systematic literature review focusing on impact studies conducted in African countries is presented by Langer (2015). He concludes that none of the 36 impact evaluations eligible for the mapping provides “evidence that supports or refutes the suggestion that sport has a positive impact on development in Africa” (p. 78).<sup>30</sup>

### 2.3. Research Gap

The current data situation fuels an intense discussion in the sport-in-development field that overlaps with and is grounded in the aforementioned debates held by critical sport-in-development scholars. Some scholars argue that the relationship between sport and development is tempting, but under-researched (e.g. Beutler

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<sup>29</sup>Especially the link between physical activity and health has been thoroughly examined. Regular physical activity is scientifically proven to be linked to an improvement of muscular and cardiorespiratory fitness, bone and functional health and a reduction of the risk of cardiovascular diseases, obesity, type II diabetes and cognitive decline (Boulé et al., 2001; Bauman, 2004; Lee, Folsom & Blair; 2003; Hillman et al., 2008; Penedo & Dahn, 2005; Sofi et al., 2011; WHO, 2010). While the objects of the conducted studies were rarely population groups in underprivileged communities, the same effects should occur as well in participants of sport-in-development programmes– even if the programme’s prioritized goal is personal development.

<sup>30</sup> Considering also literature that does not fit into the inclusion criteria, chapter 3.2 presents evidence that refers to sport programmemes in marginalized communities in African countries. However, as the literature derives from multiple sources from different branches/disciplines and uses different terminologies and measurements, it is unstructured and not easy to compare – a problem also recognized by sport-in-development scholars (e.g. Coalter, 2013, p. 155; SDP IWG, 2007; Larkin, Razack & Moola, 2007 and Okada & Young, 2011, p. 8 f.).

2008; Kidd, 2008; Girginov, 2008) with the “number of sociological case studies on sport in developing countries [being] still relatively modest” (Okada & Young, 2011, p. 8). Others argue it is not the amount of research missing, but the type of research that has been conducted that doesn’t allow for conclusions about sport and development (e.g. Larkin, Razack & Moola, 2007, p. 112; Nicholls et al., 2011, p. 260; Woodcock, Cronin & Forde, 2012, p. 370). Again others are critical of the scope of any positive outcome, saying that there is little evidence to suggest that sport “can realistically support young people to develop sufficient agency to challenge broader social structures and power dynamics within communities” (Spaaji & Jeanes, 2013, p. 8; see also Coalter, 2013, p. 167).

Based on critical development theories, Kay (2009) argues that “sports researchers have generally not engaged with issues surrounding the decolonialization of research” (p. 1189). Nicholls et al. (2011) denounces an “overt faith in scientific evidence” (p. 259) by the academic (and thereby most often Western) community, that excludes alternative knowledge. Both demand a reappraisal of the current evaluation system, with redefining research and evidence based on non-Western thought systems. In line with this is the critique that the studies conducted are mainly summative outcome-orientated evaluations (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a, p. 265 f.) that focus only on immediate individual effects (Kay, 2011, p. 7) and on proving success (Coalter, 2010, p. 308; Darnell, 2014b). First, there is no evidence on long-term impact or on transferability (Kay, 2011; Coalter, 2013, p. 43) nor on sustainability, which is difficult per se as the environments where sport-in-development projects’ beneficiaries live are unstable and complex and sometimes counteract the changes the projects aim at (Spaaji, 2011; Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014). Second, those kinds of evaluations have limited explanatory power as they do neither address contextual factors nor how any change comes about (Kay, 2011; Lindsey & Jeanes, 2014; Coalter, 2013). Third, again referring to an unconsidered understanding of development in general (Darnell, 2014), those studies “ignore the conditionality of findings, the varying cultural contexts, issues of validity [...] and, most importantly ignore process – the nature of the interactions and exchanges which produce outcomes” (Coalter, 2009, p. 65).

Critical thoughts are also expressed with regard to monitoring and evaluation practices, as tools are most often still developed and applied by external researchers from the Global North (Darnell, 2014b; Kay, 2009, p. 1189). In line with the “power dynamics that exist between Global North funding agencies, Global North researchers, Global South NGOs and on-the-ground-deliverers” (Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014, p. 206), some scholars criticize the common practice of short stays in the country to be researched, resulting in a lack of local knowledge and relations with staff and – by depending on staff to organize the evaluation procedure – having only limited access to what’s really going on. Also, Kay (2009) notes that simply adopting methodologies from the Global North “carries the danger of dismissing – or perhaps just missing – authentic local voices” (p. 1189). While she admits that it is “difficult to verify individual accounts” (Kay, 2011a, p. 8) she emphasizes that those “in-depth, reflexive approaches are the only way in which researchers can begin to unpick the individual experiences and social processes that may lead to social change” (p. 10), and that “by giving fuller attention to how individuals’ experiences of sport are affected by their wider social, cultural, economic and political contexts researchers are building greater understanding of the potential of long-term impacts of sport” (p. 8; see also Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 111/117). Against the critic of missing culture-sensitive and context-specific measurement tools, others argue that there are appropriate instruments in the general development field that are simply ignored. Also Burnett’s tool - S.DIAT - which was explicitly developed for sport-in-development projects is hardly used except for her own studies.

While it is argued that there is a body of theoretical literature available in social and development science scholars could help themselves with (Levermore & Beacom, 2009b, p. 15; Kidd, 2011, p. 606), hardly any of the evaluation studies conducted in the sport-in-development answers the need for theoretically and methodologically grounded research (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Marshall, 2011; Burnett, 2009; Schnitzer et al., 2013, p. 607; Darnell & Black, 2011, p. 370). Most of them are not based on theoretical constructs, which makes it even more difficult to draw conclusions about general mechanisms in sport-in-development projects.

Kay (2011) emphasizes that “sport now has the opportunity to listen attentively to the lessons to be learnt from international development itself” (p. 3); Similarly, the SDP IWG (2007) argue that sport must be “integrated in the existing development and peace efforts” (p. 5, see also Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 114) and point to the experiences and the theoretical frameworks underlying studies from the development sector (Donnelly et al., 2011, p. 594 f.).

As most research is carried out for the purpose of showing positive benefits and proving success (SDP IWG, 2007, p. 4; Burnett, 2009, p. 1193) the assumption that sport always has a positive impact on development carries, amongst other things, the risk that the “mechanisms by which sport leads to positive youth development may impede (...) to recognize and evaluate other, less intuitive (but no less important) mechanisms” (Donnelly et al., 2007, p. 15). Another purpose, often hand-in-hand with the one above, is research as a means to improve practice and influence policy (e.g. Levermore & Beacom, 2009b). Against this approach, some scholars have clearly pointed out that any evidence gathered will hardly influence policy which is in line with general development policy analysis. Darnell (2014 b) and others<sup>31</sup> even question, whether the evidence is of any help for the staff, as they are often neither involved in the processes nor informed about the results. It is rather likely that internal and external evaluations might serve the purpose of winning and/or satisfying donors or – in case of government led programmes – satisfying those who initiated the project and assigned money to it.

Based on these remarks, two connected changes with regard to research in the sport-in-development field can be suggested: to change a) from outcome-led/summative to process-led/formative M&E and to change b) from definite evidence (proving) to research (gaining understanding and creating knowledge)<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Jeanes & Lindsey (2014) provide an examination for who those evaluations are conducted. They critically analyze the argument “that increased evidence will legitimize the field of sport-for-development, improve practice and enhance future policy” (p. 197). Also Kay (2009) - referring to Laws, Harper & Marcus (2003) and Weiss (1993, 1997) - questions the linear process by which policy changes due to “‘factual’ evidence” (p. 1179).

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. Levermore & Beacom, 2009b, p. 17; Levermore & Beacom, 2009a, p. 265; Coalter, 2009, p. 62; Kay, 2012, p. 900; Coalter, 2010; Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014, p. 213; Coalter, 2013, p. 164; Kay, 2011, p. 593+1180; Donnelly et al., 2011, p. 593

Criticizing summative evaluations, Levermore & Beacom (2009, p. 265 f.) explicitly demand a formative evaluation that is based on theory, and that provides information on the mechanisms that underlie outcomes, as there is no knowledge and understanding of processes so far<sup>33</sup>. As those mechanisms and processes also influence the extent of individual and wider social change, the question remains how these differ in the same environment in sport-in-development projects with different designs (Coalter, 2013, p. 183+455). While Coalter (2013) supports the need for a more process-led approach, he argues against the upcoming call for alternative methodologies, as – for him - those do not allow for scientifically sound and significant results and thereby cannot present any cause-effect relationships. Against this, Okada & Young (2011) emphasize that “further and ongoing field research is essential in order to collect data directly and to observe and hear the voices and accounts of participants, allowing them to speak in their own terms and categories” (p. 8). This is in line with the call for participatory approaches<sup>34</sup> and works towards the need to “subvert enduring ‘colonial’ power relationships” (Kay, 2009, p. 1188; see also Mohanty, Russo & Torres, 1991 and Tuhiwai Smith, 1999 for earlier accounts) that are inevitably inherent in the local structures as well as in the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

As within the international development field, research is needed in the sport-in-development field that creates knowledge and understanding of local contexts, culture and community and of how beneficiaries are affected by the project and their environment<sup>35</sup>. As the point was already made that it is not sport per se leading to short-, medium- and long-term changes, but that there are non-sport conditions that do so, the question remains what role sport and/or physical plays at all, which mechanisms of sport/physical activity influence development and what

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<sup>33</sup> See e.g. Haudenhuyse, Theebom & Coalter, 2012; Coalter, 2007; Maguire, 2013; Larkin, Razack & Moola, 2007 and SDP IWG, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. Donnelly et al., 2011, p. 593; Kay, 2011, p. 1180; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 111/117; Okada & Young, 2011; Kidd, 2011, p. 605 and Njelesani et al., 2014, p. 791

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. Kay, 2011a, p. 7; Kay, 2009, p. 1180; Donnelly et al., 2011, p. 593; Lindsey & Jeanes, 2014; Larkin, Razack & Moore, 2007, p. 112; Maguire, 2013 and Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 114

meaning does sport/physical activity have for children and youths<sup>36</sup>. Also, considering the finding that “operation and outcomes of sport programmes are affected by, and, in turn, affect, a myriad of social factors/forces, and cannot be implemented or evaluated in isolation from these conditions” (SDP IWG, 2007, p. 32), those multiple social factors have to be revealed in order to fully understand development challenges and underlying political and ecological factors that influence any project and beneficiary (Swatuk et al., 2011, p. 455). In order to fully “capture the relationship between sport and child/youth development” (p. 15), Donnelly et al. (2007) suggest that multiple-source and multiple-method research is required.

As much as current research is criticised – on the one hand for not being context-specific, culture-sensitive and multi-dimensional; and on the other hand, for not being scientifically sound - Kay (2011a, p. 7) acknowledges that any research for social change is challenging, as it is a complex concept and difficult to grasp. Donnelly et al. (2007) speak of “methodological complications” (p. 15) in the context of sport and youth development research. As the “contexts within which sport-for-development programmes are delivered, and their intended beneficiaries, may differ in infinitely different and unknown ways” (Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014, p. 204) transferring and generalizing any results (process- or outcome-based) to other projects or population groups is problematic. Projects differ in many different ways, subject to their environment (Haudenhuyse, Theebom & Coalter, 2012), and it is very likely that there are other similar interventions in the same community that also influence the beneficiaries (Donnelly et al., 2011). It is for these multiple difficulties that Donnelly et al. (2011) call research in sport-in-development projects an “M&E nightmare” (p. 594).

Few refer to practical limitations when conducting research in the Global South, however “a first-hand account of the initial barriers and challenges faced by scholars in SFD research has not been undertaken, nor has there been a synthesis of

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<sup>36</sup> See. e.g. Kay, 2009, p. 1190; Kay, 2011 a, p. 8+12; Coalter, 2010; Darnell, 2014b; SDP IWG, 2007, p.33; Kidd, 2011, p. 606; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, 285+293; Wilson, 2014, p. 38; Holt, 2008; Donnelly et al., 2011 and Brady, 2005, p. 38

strategies that scholars have tapped to overcome these issues“ (Peachey & Cohen, 2015, p. 16). Their work gives an overview of barriers and strategies – with a strong academic focus - however, an in-depth analysis of the challenges a researcher from another country encounters, taking into consideration not only methodological but also cultural, language and safety issues, is still missing. Whereas other fields address these issues frequently<sup>37</sup>, this is not the case in sport-in-development research.

In summary, although there is extensive literature on what needs to be researched and how the research should be conducted in the sport-in-development field, so far not many have followed the call to examine sport’s role in the context of development. While there are studies in the general sport field that point to a positive relationship between physical activity and development, studies conducted in the sport-in-development field are scarce. The ones conducted report positive effects with regard to personal and wider social development, but are often criticised for their research being too superficial and for not examining processes that are responsible for the described positive impacts. Also, as stated at length, they are criticized for not doing justice to the context they are conducted in. The inconsistent and incomplete study situation is not surprising, as the field under study is complex, different population groups are investigated for different amounts of time, and the research involves different instruments that measure different dimensions with regards to development and physical activity. Looking on the one hand at the sterling reputation sport has within the development field on the other hand on the pressure to legitimize it, there is an urgent research demand for a study that is embedded in the broader development field, is based on a sound theoretical and methodological framework and investigates sport’s outcomes and impact in the context of development as well as the role of the researcher when

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<sup>37</sup> For challenges researchers come across when conducting qualitative research and/or on sensitive topics, please see e.g. Birch and Miller (2000); Campbell (2013); Johnson and Clarke (2003); Lee-Treweek and Linkogle (2000) and McCosker et al. (2001). An overview is given by Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen & Liamputtong (2007). For examples of studies that engage with de-colonizing research please see Parkes (2007) or Mohanty (1991) and Tuhiwai Smith (1999).



engaging in culture-sensitive and context-specific research in marginalized communities.

### **3. Sport-in-Development Programmes and their Beneficiaries in Context**

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In order to understand the role sport-in-development projects and sport can play for personal and wider social development, there is urgent demand to elaborately consider the context the project and its community members are situated in. It is to address this research gap that this chapter explores the contextual circumstances of the projects and the living conditions of the community and especially young people in Khayelitsha in South Africa.

First a brief overview of the historical and current situation in South Africa is given as this strongly – as presented afterwards – influences the current situation in the country. Second, the situation of children and youths in Khayelitsha is summarized and some thoughts are given on the role that development interventions might play in this regard. Finally, the sport-in-development projects in focus will be introduced.

#### **3.1. South Africa**

Despite being labelled as the rainbow nation South Africa still has a racially stratified society with big disparities concerning life opportunities and quality of life. It is against this background that this chapter explains the historical base of current social conditions, before the focus is put on the social conditions Black Africans in Khayelitsha face. Whenever possible, information is given on young people, as they are the main beneficiaries of the projects investigated.

### 3.1.1. Historical background<sup>38</sup> on apartheid

Although discriminatory practices in South Africa already began in colonial times<sup>39</sup>, it only became systematic and legal after the general election in 1948. An official classification system was introduced that divided the society into four main population groups - Whites, Black Africans, Coloureds and Indians<sup>40</sup>. This racial segregation had influence on what a person was allowed to do, where and how to live, what to work, who to be with, and so forth - with the Whites being assigned privilege and power. Everyone was required to register their race and to carry an identification card<sup>41</sup>. Laws such as the 'Immortality Amendment Act' (#21 in 1950) and 'Prohibitions of Mixed Marriages Act' (#50 in 1949) were enforced that denied people from different races to have sexual relations with or marry each other. Non-Whites were removed from their homes and forced into designated neighbourhoods outside of the city<sup>42</sup>.

The racial segregation and the diverse rights – or lack thereof - that came with it affected every aspect of life for South Africans. Discrimination practices occurred on two levels: grand apartheid and petty apartheid. Grand Apartheid refers to the structural establishments of segregation, such as the establishment of homelands and laws. Petty Apartheid refers to the segregation that took place in everyday places<sup>43</sup>. Access to schools<sup>44</sup>, universities<sup>45</sup>, medical care, beaches, public services, restaurants, public toilets, parks, grave yards, walk ways and much more were

<sup>38</sup> This following chapter only briefly outlines the history of South Africa's apartheid, in order to understand nowadays situation better. For a more detailed account of South Africa's history read e.g. Marx (2012), Coleman (1998), Horrell (1978), Mangany & Du Toit (1990) and O'Meara (1996).

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. Scully (1997), Ross (1999), Crais (1999) and Keegan (1996)

<sup>40</sup> Population Registration Act (#30 in 1950). While tests were made who was belonging to which race, members of the same family found themselves in different categorizations. This led to many disruptions of families.

<sup>41</sup> Natives Act (#67 in 1952). The identification card was later extended to a 'reference book' that included residence authorization for those – if granted permission - working in Cape Town, pass, photograph etc.

<sup>42</sup> Group Areas Act (#44 in 1950)

<sup>43</sup> Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (#49 in 1953)

<sup>44</sup> Bantu Education Act (#47 in 1953): The education system for Blacks became very limited with an own curriculum that wasn't meant to foster the students or equip them with skills, but rather prevent them from a high intellectual level necessary for higher positions.

<sup>45</sup> Extension of University Education Act (#45 in 1959)

totally prohibited for non-Europeans or separated per race, with the better financed facilities and more attractive places being for the Whites only. Cross-racial gatherings were prohibited, although tolerated in church and nightclubs. In Cape Town, following the 'Group Areas Development Act' (#69 in 1955), all non-whites (apart from domestic workers) were forcibly removed from their homes and were displaced to live behind the railway lines in the Northern and Southern Suburbs. The ones that protested were killed and houses were destroyed<sup>46</sup>. As the South African government declared the Cape region as a coloured preferential area (Western 2002) with Coloureds being preferably employed, this brought the already strained relationship between Black Africans and Coloureds even further apart.

From 1965 onwards, Blacks were no longer considered as citizens of South Africa at all and were finally excluded from their right to live in the country<sup>47</sup>. At the end of an employment contract they had to move to areas that were called 'independent tribal homelands' that weren't considered as part of South Africa anymore, such as the Transkei or Citei homelands. Others were sent out of towns to 'resettlement camps', for example in the Eastern Cape. Although in Cape Town, with its flourishing economy, more black labour was needed, this was denied by the government who was worried about the Western Cape turning into a dangerous non-white area. Despite this, the black population in and around Cape Town kept growing, showing that apartheid was not fully working as the government intended.

In line with the Black Consciousness Movement and following protests in Soweto, Johannesburg<sup>48</sup>, protests against the government became more vivid in Cape Town – and, despite starting peacefully, they often escalated to violent fights with the police, with an extremely high number of deaths and injuries (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998, p. 392). The ongoing demonstrations against repression were supported by national and international figures who demanded

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<sup>46</sup> The total number of forced removals in Cape Town is estimated to 150.000 people, which destroyed many communities.

<sup>47</sup> Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act (#23 in 1976)

<sup>48</sup> In 1976 black students demonstrated against Afrikaans as the teaching language at their schools, which ended in a bloody shooting where students were killed by the police.

cross-sectional contact, political rights and citizenship for blacks. As a consequence of this pressure petty apartheid was slowly withdrawn, but it was not before the end of the 1980s, e.g. after waves of violence and sanctions from other nations, that the impasse between government forces and their opponents led to negotiations. In Cape Town, as in other cities, solidarity was expressed against segregation, with the different racial groups peacefully gathering together – but often violently being set up by the police. In 1989, the whites-only election resulted in a win of the liberal Democratic Party, showing that opposition to apartheid had spread over the city.

In 1990, South Africa's state president FW de Klerk unexpectedly announced the end of apartheid, arguing that due to the growing violence in the country it was best for all to start negotiating about a multi-racial democracy. While informal negotiations had started prior to this announcement<sup>49</sup>, formal negotiations were rather slow. The ANC (African National Congress), which had been the main opposition to the apartheid regime and had therefore only been able to operate secretly<sup>50</sup>, turned into an official party. With its supporters coming from various backgrounds with different ideas on how to design the new country, the formation into a national organization and negotiations took quite a time. Violent protests in the townships and homelands were still ongoing, and only their escalation and further deaths led to faster negotiations. In 1994, the first democratic elections took place, with the ANC winning and Nelson Mandela becoming South Africa's president. Despite the new South African Constitution<sup>51</sup> and the Reconstruction and Development Plan<sup>52</sup> the newly elected government couldn't hold up to its ambitious

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<sup>49</sup> Negotiations with the ANC president Nelson Mandela who served a 27 years sentence in prison started weeks before, resulting in his fast release from prison only a few days after De Klerk's speech.

<sup>50</sup> The ANC was officially banned by the white government from 1960 to 1990, being in fear of its liberation struggles.

<sup>51</sup> The South African Constitution is said to be "one of the most progressive in the world and enjoys high acclaim internationally" (Government of South Africa, 2015).

<sup>52</sup> The Reconstruction and Development Plan was made in order to address and ultimately solve the social and economic problems of South Africa, such as violence, lack of housing, lack of jobs, inadequate education and health care, lack of democracy and a failing economy (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 1994).

promises to reduce inequality. Certain policies<sup>53</sup> aimed at creating equal opportunities for everyone, but because of the under resourced past of certain population groups, wealth and privilege remained in the old patterns.

With the end of apartheid, many Black Africans migrated from the poorer Eastern Cape to Cape Town in the search for work and better living standards. However, as the city's population grew rapidly and the townships experienced immense growths the government couldn't keep up with the delivery of services such as housing, water works, electricity, schools, clinics etc. – resulting in a still racially segregated and unequal country.

### **3.1.2. South Africa Today**

Despite apartheid being officially over since 1994, South Africa still carries apartheid's legacy with racial segregation being apparent in almost all social contexts. Also, although ranked as upper middle income country (The World Bank, 2016), it still has many characteristics that resemble those of a developing country (Armstrong, Lekezwa & Siebrits, 2008, p. 4; Terblanche, 2009, p. 206). Above all, its ranking as #116 out of 195 countries with regard to human development<sup>54</sup> (UNDP, 2016) and its Gini coefficient of 0,65 based on expenditure wages, and a similarly low coefficient based on income data (Statistics South Africa, 2014, p. 13), show that 20 years after the end of apartheid South Africa still hasn't managed to provide equal opportunities for its citizens. According to Branson et al. (2012) the country even faces the "highest levels of earnings inequality in the world" (p. 5). South Africa's estimated 54,96 million inhabitants (Statistics South Africa, 2016, p. 1) are confronted with an infant mortality rate of 33,6% and a crude death rate of 10,2% (The World Bank, 2016) – numbers that are similar to other developing countries in

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<sup>53</sup> Such as affirmative action policy, which is still controversially discussed, e.g. in Burger & Jafta (2010) and Edigheji (2007). Although some former underprivileged people have benefitted from the empowerment and employment equity policy, many remain unskilled and suffer from economic imbalance.

<sup>54</sup> As presented in chapter 2, the human development index only refers to certain facets of poverty. South Africa's ranking however indicates its poor standing with regard to other nations.

the Global South - indicating that South Africa is still far from providing adequate health care to all of its inhabitants. Thus, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was set up by the government to deal with what happened under apartheid (Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 of 1995) might have managed to ensure political stability, until now it did not manage to “adequately address the underlying causes such as racialized inequalities and poverty that continue to emerge, resulting in violence and high crime rates” (Chikwanda, 2014, p. 2).

A recent report by Statistics South Africa (2014) reveals that 45,5% of South Africans are poor and 20,2% of the population are classified as extremely poor (p. 12). 60% of households have not enough money to buy basic food and living requirements (Hall & Chennells, 2011). Although a slight decrease in poverty from 2006 to 2011 is recognized, the inequality has even worsened. Of those who are described as poor in 2011, 94,2% are Black Africans - compared to 92,9% in 2006. Also when looking at the upper-bound poverty line, Black Africans (54%) are poorer than any other population group (Coloured: 27,6%, Indian/Asian: 3,4% and White: 0,8%; Statistics South Africa, 2014, p. 27).

These numbers also have to be interpreted against the background that Black Africans are the majority of the population in South Africa (80,5% Black African; 8,8% Coloured; 8,3% White and 2,5% Indian/Asian; Statistics South Africa, 2016, p. 3). Looking at the unequal poverty distribution<sup>55</sup> and the fact that the Western Cape – due to the nation’s history – is the only province where Black Africans are not the majority (Western Cape Government, 2014), it becomes quite clear that inequality is very visible in this part of the country. Examining this further, it is Cape Town that stands out. Being the second biggest city in South Africa, Cape Town has the largest population (almost 4 million) and the highest population density. The population is still “deeply polarized economically, racially, socially, and spatially”

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<sup>55</sup> Leibbrandt, Finn & Woolard (2012) state that “in 2008 the wealthiest 10% accounted for 58% of total income” (p. 22).

(Calix, 2013, p. 5). While the majority of the white population<sup>56</sup> – formerly privileged – lives close to Table Mountain at the coast line in well-maintained and secured houses, the majority of the underprivileged population lives in overcrowded spaces in the Cape Flats, an area outside of downtown Cape Town that was used to resettle African and Coloured people out of the city. The racial compartmentalization is still seen today, with many public spaces that are said to be opportunities for integration being racially segregated (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010, p. 275).

Khayelitsha, one of the townships in the Cape Flats, was established in the early 1980s after “only the most rudimentary of town planning processes” (O’Regan & Pikoli, 2014, p. 30). In 1983, only 439 people were living on about 17000m<sup>2</sup> (O’Regan & Pikoli, 2014). Like other townships, it was originally created by the apartheid regime in order to clean the cities from non-white people while at the same time keeping them close enough to commute to work every day (Zonke, 2006). Also it was established to restrict and monitor everyone’s movement (Baller & Cornelissen, 2011, p. 2088). From 1986 onwards, with the pass laws and related legislation being abolished, Khayelitsha has constantly grown bigger, as many people came – and still come - in search for work (Brook, 2013, p. 64). Nowadays Khayelitsha comprises almost 40km<sup>2</sup> with anywhere between 400.000 (Strategic Development Information & GIS Department, 2013) to 1,3 million inhabitants (Thompson, Conradie & Tsolekile, 2012, p. 3; Conradie & Rubeyns, 2013, p. 568) and has one of the highest population densities in South Africa. As opposed to Cape Flats as whole, whose residents can be described as coming from “widely divergent racial, ethnic, social class and language backgrounds” (Nshimirimana, 2004, p. 19), the population in Khayelitsha is “culturally and racially relatively homogenous” (Thompson, Conradie & Tsolekile, 2012, p. 3). Historically, most of the population consists of Black Africans (99%) with isiXhosa as their first language (Strategic

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<sup>56</sup> In Cape Town, 38,6% are Black Africans; 42,4% are Coloured; 15,7% are Whites and 1,4% are Indians/Asians. As such out of 11 official languages 55,3% speak Afrikaans (compared to 13,3% in South Africa), 19,3% speak English (compared to 8,2% in South Africa), 23,7% speak isiXhosa (compared to 17,6% in South Africa) and 1,7% speak other languages (compared to 60,8% in South Africa) in the Western Cape (Groenewald, 2008, p. 20 referring to StatsSA, 2006).



Development Information & GIS Department, 2013). Thus “it remains more connected to the rural Eastern Cape Province than the city within which it is located” (Nleya & Thompson, 2009, p. 52).

In Khayelitsha more than half of the households have a monthly income of ZAR 1600 or less, with the unemployment rate being as high as 38% (Strategic Development Information & GIS Department, 2013, p. 4). As social grants from the state are mainly designed for those not in a working position (children, pensioners, people with disabilities)<sup>57</sup>, the unemployed people rely on family members (grants) or on others who have work. While this puts the one needing money in a dependent relationship, also the one providing is put under stress to share his or her income (Philip, 2012, p. 179 referring to Klasen & Woolard, 2000). Also, as in other townships, the housing situation is disastrous. Despite the government house plan (Proudlock et al., 2008) 54,5% of Khayelitsha’s population live in informal dwellings, only 61,9% of households have access to water pipes in their dwellings or yards and only 71,7% have access to a flush toilet (Strategic Development Information & GIS Department, 2013, p. 5). Also because of overcrowding – that in itself sabotages people’s right and needs for privacy – and because of the sanitation situation, the risk for spreadable diseases and worms and bacterial infection is higher (Proudlock et al., 2008, p. 91). Overcrowding does also raise the “risk of being exposed to violence and of being abused” (Hall & Wright, 2010, p. 57). As paraffin is used in over 50% of households for heating, fires occur often and – due to the dense housing – they spread fast and are hard to extinguish and people are at risk of being poisoned by paraffin. In Khayelitsha not all streets are tarred and have street names, nor does every street or path have lightning (Manaliyo, 2014, p. 598). While high-mast lights are installed in many areas, those are often reported not work due to vandalism or cable theft (O’Regan & Pikoli, 2014, p. 39). With constantly more migrants coming for working opportunities – mainly from the Eastern Cape (Poswa & Lewi, 2006, p. 7) – there are ongoing service delivery

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<sup>57</sup> According to O’Regan & Pikoli (2014), who refer to numbers from the South African Social Security Agency, about 108000 grants (pensioner, children and disability grants) are paid monthly to residents of Khayelitsha (p. 36).

backlogs (Thompson, Conradie & Tsolekile, 2012, p. 10 f.). Summarizing, due to “the policy of apartheid [that] had vested power and privilege in the white minority for decades” (Abrahams, 2010, p. 496), Khayelitsha faces overpopulation, lack of resources, uneven distribution of wealth and low socio-economic development. This inequality does not only refer to income but also to assets and opportunities (Harmse, 2010, p. 430; OECD, 2005, p. 1; O’Regan & Pikoli, 2014).

As these statements already indicate, there is much more that comes with being poor than the pure economic factor of not having money. There are also “emotional consequences of poverty and unemployment, including a loss of dignity and autonomy, of purpose and coherent structure to life (Bourdieu, 1965), of a sense of safety and the onset of feelings of hopelessness” (Swartz et al., 2012, p. 29). The - for this study - most important facets of the multidimensional concepts inequality and poverty in South Africa are elaborated upon in the following.

### 3.1.2.1. Family<sup>58</sup> Disruption and Gender Roles

The situation of children and youths in South Africa with regard to whom they live with is quite diverse. Only 23% of children live with both their parents (with the numbers for Black Africans being much lower than for Whites; Goebel, 2011, p. 379), 41% live in female headed households, about 25% grow up without a biological parent and only 3% grow up with their fathers exclusively (Hall & Wright, 2011). While some of these arrangements can be explained by the HIV/Aids epidemic and by orphan hood, the rest is linked to the legacy of apartheid and the understanding of gender roles (Ogunniyi, 2015). While the majority of Black African women has children, they often do so outside of marriage or with multiple partners

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<sup>58</sup> In line with Goebel’s (2011) critique that the term ‘family’ often refers to an idealized Western notion of the nuclear model and Van Blerk (2012) adds that the different population groups in Khayelitsha have all different nuanced understandings of family relations (p. 324). Taking into consideration the historical background as well the fact that many people migrating to Khayelitsha for work often only establish unstable domestic arrangements or move in with relatives, in the following the term ‘household’ and ‘family’ are used likewise, referring to “co-residence and sharing of resources” (Goebel, 2011, p. 380).

(Goebel, 2011, p. 378), and it is for example common for Black African children to live separately from their parents and move across households, although their biological parents are still alive (Hall & Wright, 2010, p. 52).

This patchy distribution is deep rooted in the history of Black Africans in South Africa. Because of their working contracts in apartheid times, men were consequently separated from their families – resulting in very low contact to their children, lots of illegitimate sex<sup>59</sup> and the understanding that men are only responsible for financial support but not for the upbringing (Budlender & Lund, 2011, p. 928; Burton, 2007; Goebel, 2011, p. 381). Nowadays, due to the poor social and economic situation most Black African men in Khayelitsha can't afford to pay 'Lobola'<sup>60</sup> and can't nurture a family (Parkes, 2007; Goebel, 2011, p. 381; Seekings, 2006). This results in many men just disappearing after impregnating a girl<sup>61</sup> – leaving behind a female headed household, who can't rely on financial support for their children. As “grandmothers account for the largest single grouping of those caring for children not living with their parents, thus again placing the burden of care firmly with women” (Budlender & Lund, 2011, p. 928 f.), this again reinforces traditional mind-sets in both boys and girls of women being the ones responsible for childcare, chores and income (Moffett, 2008; Ogunniyi, 2015). Having to provide income as an only breadwinner leaves young people often growing up unsupervised during the day. Apart from the pressure experienced by young people to contribute to the household income, the situation of missing caretakers negatively affects their development (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012, p. 561). Searching for the unavailable psychosocial care and support somewhere else increases the risk of getting in touch with the wrong people (Glaser, 2008, p. 348; van Blerk, 2012, p. 324; Parkes, 2007). Furthermore, many men attempt to regain their perceived loss of masculinity

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<sup>59</sup>Men working in the mining industry were accommodated in single-sex dorms and were only allowed to see their families four weeks a year. Thus, the prostitution industry flourished and the HIV/Aids virus spread fast from commercial sex workers to the wives (Barnet & Whiteside, 2002, p. 151).

<sup>60</sup> In isiXhosa culture, 'Lobola' refers to a dowry that has to be provided by the man to the women's family, before he can marry her.

<sup>61</sup> With them being poor, even the South African law can't force them to pay (Budlender & Lund, 2011, p. 927).

through crime, (domestic) violence against women and children<sup>62</sup>, numerous girlfriends, risky sexual behaviour and substance and alcohol abuse, which gives them status with other men (Goebel, 2011, p. 382) and strongly determines young people's understanding of gender roles.

#### 3.1.2.2. Education and Employment Situation

With the foundation of a National Ministry of Education in 1994, the post-apartheid government tried to establish an equal education system for every South African irrespective of his or her race. However, the legacy from apartheid is still mirrored in the education level of the majority of Black Africans and Coloureds, in the education facilities and in the quality of teaching. As already pointed out during apartheid times schools were racially separated, and education policies were favoured for Whites. Education for Whites was free, well financed, and compulsory between the ages of seven to 16; on the contrary, education in the townships was not compulsory and schools had a different curriculum that was designed to make students subservient. So-called black schools had inferior facilities with often no electricity or running water, teachers with a lower educational level and lower payment as well as poor textbooks (Byrnes, 1996). Adult literacy among Black Africans was only around 50% - and it is still low in the African population (MarketLine, 2012, p. 59).

Although nowadays all schools are given an equal amount of resources, those schools still lack basic facilities, well-trained and high-qualified teachers and access to extra funds (Timaeus, Simelane & Letsoala, 2013). It is for these reasons – and because of the poverty context of children going to the former black schools - that “historically White and Indian schools still far outperform black and coloured schools in matriculation examinations and performances tests at various levels of

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<sup>62</sup> Parkes (2007) explains that “children are expected to obey, and authoritarian practices including physical punishments persist in homes and often in schools, despite its illegality in schools since 1996” (p. 119).

the school system” (van der Berg, 2008, p. 11)<sup>63</sup>. In Khayelitsha - sampling people aged 20+ with regard to their highest education level - only 5% have an education level higher than grade 12, followed by 37% who graduated in grade 12, almost 50% who have only some secondary education, less than 5% who completed primary and more than 10% who have only had some primary school education or no schooling at all (Strategic Development Information & GIS Department, 2013, p. 3). According to O’Regan & Pikoli (2014), “the mean years of schooling in Khayelitsha’s population is 8.55” (p. 37). Also repetitions of grades occur more often among Black Africans than in any other population group (Jukuda, 2011, p. 2). The low performance of children is also found to be related to malnutrition that – despite South Africa’s National School Nutrition Programme (Rendall-Mkosi, Wenhold & Sibanda, 2013) – remains high in South Africa<sup>64</sup>.

Looking at the total number of children and youths not attending school in South Africa with regard to their ethnic background, 4,5% of male and 4,3% of female Black African learners are not enrolled. Coloured learners have even slightly worse enrolment percentages for both males and females. As expected, only a little more than 1% of Whites and Indians or Asians are not enrolled in school (Fleisch, Shindler & Perry, 2012, p. 4). Also considered a lesser problem in the Western Cape than in other provinces, it is still the high number of 10,6% of children aged 7 to 15 not attending school. School drop-outs also count as “major challenge[s] facing the education system” (Makiwane & Kwirza, 2008, p. 8).

However, it is most often not the pure lack of finances like not being able to pay school fees that make children and youths not go to school<sup>65</sup>, but rather the consequences that come with not having money, such as “general financial

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<sup>63</sup> Jukuda (2011) point out that matriculation studies have revealed that it is the socio-economic status that has the most influence. African and White Learners were graduating without a difference when coming from the same background (p. 4).

<sup>64</sup> In South Africa, one out of five children and youths experiences malnutrition (Du Plessis & Conley, 2007, p. 55), with the majority being Black Africans and Coloured young people (Reddy et al., 2013, p. 34). Chirwa (2009) points out that this condition does not only negatively affect the physical but also the mental development.

<sup>65</sup> Financial difficulties only account for about 50% of school dropouts (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2008, p. 17 f.).

pressures at home (leading to a decision to leave school to seek work, for example); family responsibilities in the context of low household income (such as having to look after siblings); as well as the vulnerability of poor households to financial and other shocks, such as when family members die or become ill” (Dieltiens & Meny-Gibert, 2012, p. 134). Struthers (2011) also points out other conditions that prevent students from attending, such as other students possessing firearms<sup>66</sup>, harassment and assaults<sup>67</sup>. Complex social processes, such as teenage pregnancies, orphanhood, living in isolation, child labour, substance abuse, violence and gang activity<sup>68</sup> combined with no support or stimulation by significant others<sup>69</sup> to go to school are also interrelated factors that hinder school attendance (e.g. Operario et al., 2008, p. 173; Department of Basic Education South Africa, 2011, p. 3; Dieltiens & Meny-Gibert, 2012; Fleisch, Shindler & Perry, 2012, p. 8). Additionally, Black African students are not well guided to make any or the right career choices. This is on the hand due to the teachers not having a high standing - therefore they are not perceived as role models to listen to (Glaser, 2008), and on the other hand, due to the students in Khayelitsha often having no or only poor networks they can seek advice from (Morrow, Panday & Richter, 2005).

Considering the fact that the level of education to a huge extent determines if or how one enters the labour market, the high percentage of students not graduating are most likely going into unemployment. Including the number of people in Khayelitsha aged 20 and older with low education levels (see above), Khayelitsha’s unemployment rate<sup>70</sup> of almost 40% - compared to the also high unemployment rate of 24,4% in South Africa (StatsSA, 2015) - sounds reasonable (Strategic Development Information & GIS Department, 2013, p. 4). The majority of the

<sup>66</sup> Asking head teachers in the Western Cape, all of them reported that their schools were challenged by students possessing guns (Frank, 2006a); see also Reddy et al., 2010/2013).

<sup>67</sup> Classmates are the main perpetrators of school violence, followed by teachers and headmasters (Clark, 2012, Burton, Leoschut & Bonora, 2009, p. 62; Parkes, 2007).

<sup>68</sup> Gang activity in this regard refers on the one hand to students being actively involved in gangs, and on the other hand to students who are not involved, but who are afraid or forbidden to pass certain areas on the way to school that are occupied by gangs (Struthers, 2011; Reddy et al., 2013, p. 44 ff.).

<sup>69</sup> The term ‘significant others’ refers to people who individuals feel emotionally related to, who they trust and who know them well.

<sup>70</sup> Included in this calculation was the labor force aged 15 to 64 years.

unemployed is aged between 15 and 34 years old, and is mostly female. However, in Khayelitsha “even those who do gain regular employment face low wages, and a highly ‘flexible’ labour market. Thus, wage labour can be uncertain, occasional, and insignificant.” (Calix, 2013, p. 44 f.). Despite the economic impact of not having (sustainable) work, unemployment and underpay have also huge consequences for other social and psychological dimensions (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2008, p. 9) as will be presented in the following subchapters.

### 3.1.2.3. Violence, Crime and Gangsterism

Brook (2013) remarks, that there is a “clear link between poverty, unemployment, inequality and the high levels of violence that exist in South Africa” (p. 66). While poverty and inequality can already be labelled as structural violence themselves, they cause more direct violence, such as violent and aggressive assaults (Clark, 2012; Pillay, 2008, p. 144; Reddy et al., 2013, p. 41 f.). In South Africa, both structural and direct violence are “deep rooted, affecting the political, social and community life of all” (Struthers, 2011, p. 1253).

Not only in the apartheid era, (see chapter 0) but also earlier, in colonial and slavery times, violence was always pervasive. At the end of apartheid, as resistance and protests increased, violence spread out as the state fought riotously in order to maintain its privilege (Calix, 2013, p. 4). Since 1994, the overall level of crime has increased (Roberts, 2010, p. 253), and the persistence of both structural and direct violence is a priority concern for South Africa (Burton, 2007). Pillay (2008) summarizes, that “high incidences of violent crime are occurring in areas characterized by high levels of poverty low levels of formal education, housing, electricity and sanitation” (p. 142) – serious drawbacks that describe Khayelitsha. Thus the impoverished population is exposed to multiple forms of violence in neighbourhood, home and school settings including rape, housebreaking, vigilantism, harassment, mugging, beating and killing (Goebel, 2011; Parkes, 2007; Struthers, 2011; Roberts et al., 2010; Burton, 2007; Reddy et al., 2013). In the

Western Cape Province for example, 31,7% of the population know community members who make a living from crime (Leoschut, 2009, p. 23). Therefore – aside from the other challenges faced by South Africans – violence remains “the single biggest threat to the one nation” (Breetzke, 2012, p. 299; see also Demombynes & Özler, 2005).

Although having declined from 1994 onwards, South Africa still has a very high homicide rate with 31 homicides per 100.000 people (UNODC, 2014, p. 54), and Khayelitsha has two and a half times more homicides than the South African average. This explains why, in South Africa, the leading cause of men who died unnaturally is violence (Donson, 2009, p. 6). Furthermore, 60% of those who died by violence had positive alcohol levels (Donson, 2009, p. 12) and most homicides happen during the weekend and the festive season, close to liquor stores, sheebens and clubs (Donson, 2009) - pointing to another problem namely that of alcohol and substance abuse (see chapter 3.1.2.4). As 80% of the crimes in South Africa happen between people who know each other (Donson, 2008), the “family and/or spaces of intimacy are neither places of solace nor safety” (Chipkin & Ngqulunga, 2008, p. 69) – especially for women<sup>71</sup>. Other forms of crimes show both increasing and decreasing trends throughout the last years, but always remain extraordinarily high<sup>72</sup> and with their peak numbers in impoverished areas<sup>73</sup> (SAPS Strategic Management, 2014). Abuse of children, such as physical injury, neglect, emotional and sexual abuse is widespread – and probably still underreported<sup>74</sup> (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000, p. 50 f.). Looking at the reported crimes at the three available police stations in Khayelitsha and comparing the numbers to South Africa, they rank

<sup>71</sup> Mathews et al. (2004) report that more than 50% of women in South Africa are murdered every year by their intimate partners (p. 2).

<sup>72</sup> As there is not much trust in the police (Mattes, 2006) not all cases get reported, and the dark figure is even much higher.

<sup>73</sup> This is not to say that non-poverty stricken areas in South Africa are not affected, however, Roberts et al. (2010) point out that Black African and Coloured people are much likelier of being victims of crimes than other population groups (p. 261; see also Parkes, 2007, p. 118). Also violent crime acts are performed more often in former homelands than in wealthy areas (Roberts, 2010, p. 266; see also Pillay, 2008, p. 142). On the contrary house burglaries happen more often in wealthy areas (Møller, 2005)

<sup>74</sup> In apartheid times abuse of children was only lawful for Whites – because of this and the sensitivity related to children abuse, it is likely that not every Black African asserts his or her right of prosecution.



highest for murders, attempted murders, sexual offences, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and robbery with aggravating circumstances (O'Regan & Pikoli, 2014, p. 44). Having not even considered that in Khayelitsha “40% of all crime is underreported” (O'Regan & Pikoli, 2014, p. 44), the numbers already demonstrate that Khayelitsha is challenged by extremely high crime and violence rates that count among the highest in the world (Roberts, 2010, p. 254; Thompson, Conradie & Tsolekile, 2012, p. 3; Barbarin, Richter & de Wet, 2001, p. 16; Clark, 2012, p. 175).

While there is no direct link between poverty and crime with regard to the reasons for crime, it is a “fact that young people living in poverty are more vulnerable to criminality and violence as a consequence of inadequate child care and poor youth socialization” (Brook, 2013, p. 64). Also, poverty creates hopelessness and frustration among poor people, as basic needs can't be served and (important for disadvantaged youths) status icons can't be obtained (Daniel & Adams, 2010, p. 47). There is support for the notion that inequality incites people to become violent as they feel treated unfairly (City of Cape Town, 2009, p. 4). Unemployment and the absence of meaningful jobs – life situations that are connected to having neither financial means nor a purpose in life – are also understood to draw youths into violence, criminal activities and gangs. Furthermore, some young people engage in risky behaviour such as carrying weapons or becoming a member of a gang in order to protect themselves (Parkes, 2007, p. 118).

Violence and crime are not only performed by individuals, but often by gangs e.g. in turf wars between rival gang groups (Calix, 2013, p. 44). For a township in Cape Town it is estimated that about 60% of its population (including women and children) belong to a gang in one way or another (Struthers, 2011, p. 1256). Juvenile delinquency is high, and “children start committing crime while they are still young (10-15 years)” (Manaliyo, 2014, p. 597). While the executing agents are in most cases males between 12 and 22, they are also considered as the ones being most often victimized (Burton, 2007; Clark, 2012, p. 344; Samara, 2005). Also, children and youths represent 36% of the prison population in South Africa (Palmary &

Moat, 2002; referred to in Manaliyo, 2014, p. 597; see also Reddy et al., 2013, p. 46).

However, the causes of crime and violence are manifold and cannot be explained linearly. Rather, it is the intermingled mix of the above mentioned poverty and inequality and the historical lack of effective policy<sup>75</sup>, unemployment, the absence of meaningful jobs, violent oppression during apartheid and colonialism, substance abuse<sup>76</sup>, distrust in criminal justice system, normalization of violence<sup>77</sup> and a shift in established social structures and disrupted families that make people turn to crime and/or violence. Another argument for the high crime rate in Khayelitsha and similar places is young men's self-perceptions of manhood. As men are socially expected to nurture their families and be powerful, the daily challenges they face such as unemployment and powerlessness makes them show off through crime and violence (e.g. Donson, 2009; Shaw, 2002; Palmary, 2001; Nleya & Thompson, 2009; Altbeker, 2010; Du Toit & Neves, 2007; Frank, 2006 / 2006a; Palmary & Moat, 2002; Manaliyo, 2014; Pelsler, 2007; Daniel & Adams, 2010; Ziss, 2008, p. 62 f.; Burton, 2007; Moffett, 2008). Reasons for getting involved in gangs are similar to the reasons mentioned for violence and crime in general. Additionally, Burton (2007) adds peer pressure to the list of factors for youths' involvement into gangs, and Struthers (2011) adds that, besides the financial and material surplus that comes with being a gang member, there is "sense of identity and of belonging" (p. 1256;

<sup>75</sup> In apartheid, all police forces were deployed in the white areas in order to protect them. As a result, no police or resources were available in townships to prevent or fight crime and violence (Abrahams, 2010, p. 504 f.).

<sup>76</sup> Manaliyo (2014) describe that in Khayelitsha another reason that brings forward contact and other more serious crime is alcohol and substance abuse – with the relationship being bilateral: "crimes committed by people who will be looking for money to buy drugs or alcohol [...] crimes are committed to drug abusers and alcohol consumers when lost their control after taking drugs or consuming alcohol." (p. 601). However, while crime is often substance-abuse driven, this does not always account for gang related activities. Brook (2013) for example points out that gang fights are much more often related to social exclusion and identity issues (p. 21).

<sup>77</sup> Dubow, Huesmann & Bober (2009) explain that "impact of violence on a child seems to depend on how normative, accepted, and endorsed that violence is by the central figures in a child's life" (p. 114). As violence in schools, homes and on the streets is an everyday occurrence in Khayelitsha, it makes (young) people become perpetrators themselves (Clark, 2012; Burton, 2007; Burton, Leoschut & Bonora, 2009).

see also Calix, 2013, p. 6 and Chipkin, 2003) that is attractive when being rejected or neglected by significant others.

Aside from the physical and psychological damage that is caused by actual criminal incidents, it is also the fear of crime that negatively influences personal well-being. Like crime itself, the fear of crime has increased since 1994, with e.g. only 31% of South Africans feeling safe walking alone at night and 33% of South Africans feeling very unsafe or a bit unsafe about walking alone during the day (Roberts, 2010, p. 253 f.). Fear of crime is found to be outstanding in urban informal areas like Khayelitsha, where the density and rapid change cause “a sense of uncertainty and a weakening of social ties” (Roberts, 2010, p. 267). Additionally, those living in poor informal areas cannot afford to protect their property and, in case of Khayelitsha, residents don’t trust the police or the government to adequately deal with the situation of crime (O’Regan & Pikoli, 2014). Studies in the Western Cape prove that gangs, while being feared for on the one hand, are also accepted as governance alternative on the other hand. Talking about organized crime, the crime boss has a higher stand than the police, and is asked for to settle disputes between residents, shop owners or other community members. Also, they are used for seeking protection from other gang members and for borrowing money. It is this multifunctional purpose that they serve that provides them with protection by community members, as they are in fear but at the same time depend on them (Standing, 2003).

#### 3.1.2.4. Health-related Behaviour

Apart from the impact the already mentioned social conditions have on inhabitants in Khayelitsha, health-related behaviour also heavily effects daily life - which again can be linked to poverty, unemployment and inequality.

In South Africa, the HIV rate is extremely high, with 18,9 % of the population aged 15 to 49 being infected in 2014. Countrywide, 4% of young men and 8,1% of young women (aged 15 to 24) are infected (UNAIDS, 2016), with the numbers being even

higher in the Western Cape (11,2%; Simbayi et al., 2005, p. 53). Gender wise, women are infected more often than men (StatsSA, 2014a) and, with regard to ethnical background, it is again Black African and Coloured people who have the highest rates. Most new HIV infections occur during adolescence before the age of 25. While being infected with HIV comes with significant personal health and financial consequences, it also negatively concerns household members. Young people are more likely to miss or drop out of school, as they have to guard the sick person or even have to look for ways to bring in the money indispensable for life (Du Plessis & Conley, 2007, p. 50 f.; Kuo et al., 2012, p. 632).

Apart from mother-to-child transmission, the main reason for these high numbers is the ongoing risky sexual behaviour that is prevalent in disadvantaged communities like Khayelitsha. Multiple sexual partners and infrequent condom use also leads to high occurrence of other sexually transmitted infections and teenage pregnancies that entrench poverty even further (school dropout, costs associated with child, etc.). According to Brook et al. (2006), 31% of young people (aged 16 to 35) have made someone pregnant or were pregnant, with 70% of those pregnancies being unplanned. Here, there is a higher prevalence among Black Africans compared to other ethnicities (Reddy et al., 2013, p. 28 ff.; Mkhwanazi, 2010). Sexually risky behaviours are often linked to childhood physical abuse<sup>78</sup>, dating older men<sup>79</sup>, gender power imbalances<sup>80</sup>, knowledge deficits<sup>81</sup>, early sexual debut<sup>82</sup> as well as alcohol and substance abuse.

<sup>78</sup> Childhood physical abuse that is prevalent in Khayelitsha was found to be a risk factor for emotional distress, depression, low self-esteem, dependency, scholastic underachievement and risky sexual behaviors (Lockhat & Niekerk, 2000, p. 515; Tenkorang & Gyimah, 2012).

<sup>79</sup> Many girls in Khayelitsha date older men, mostly for monetary or material gain (groceries, transportation, clothes). Apart from the risk of sexually transmitted infections – because of their age older men have a higher probability of being infected – having a sexual relationship with an older man is also linked to lower school age attendance and teenage pregnancy (Department of Social Development et al., 2011, p. 81 f.; Pettifor et al., 2005).

<sup>80</sup> In isiXhosa-culture that is mainly inherent in Khayelitsha there are unequal power relations between men and women, with the men holding the power and making the decisions with regard to sexual intercourses (Ncitakalo, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2001). Therefore, certain South African women fear to negotiate about condom use (DiClemente et al., 2008).

<sup>81</sup> In a black township outside of Cape Town that resembles Khayelitsha, 19% (of a total sample of 228 younger than 25) had high rates of incorrect responses when asked about contagion and dissemination of HIV/Aids (Simbayi et al., 2005, p. 57).

Alcohol abuse is very prevalent in South Africa, having one of the highest consumption rates in the world with a high number of risky drinking patterns (Parry et al., 2002). Western Cape ranks among the top five provinces with the highest alcohol consumption (Reddy et al., 2013, p. 57). In a community similar in characteristics to Khayelitsha, 54% of males and almost 50% of females (aged 18 to 25) were found to be alcohol-dependent (Adams et al., 2013, p. 976 f). The high alcohol consumption “impacts negatively not only upon the individual, but also on the community” (Adams et al., 2013, p. 976). Some women drink alcohol when they are pregnant and an increasing number of children is born with foetal alcohol syndrome (Perry et al., 2002), resulting in physical and mental defects (Parry, 2005, p. 426). Thus Black African children become even more underprivileged than they already are.

According to Parry & Pithey (2006), “South Africa has experienced a considerable increase in drug trafficking” (p. 142). Thus substance abuse is common in South Africa, such as cannabis (‘dagga’), inhalants, mandrax, cocaine/crack and heroin (Simbayi et al., 2005, p. 59; Parry & Pithey, 2006, p. 142 ff.; Parry et al., 2002; Reddy et al., 2013, p. 57 ff.; Flisher et al., 2003). Lately methamphetamine (‘tik’) is increasingly available and consumed in the Western Cape (Burton, 2007, p. 2 f.). Also, comparing Western Cape with other provinces, it has for example the highest number of family members’ involvement in drug-related activities (Leoschut, 2009, p 18). It is in early teenage years that drug use is most prevalent among South Africans (Richter et al., 2006, cited in Visser & Routledge, 2007, p. 598).

Alcohol and substance consumption do not only lead to an increase in sexually risky behaviour, such as unprotected sex with multiple partners (e.g. Plüddemann et al., 2008; Parry & Pithey, 2006; Reddy et al., 2013), but also to risky attitudes such as aggressive behaviour<sup>83</sup> (Adams et al., 2013; Ward, 2007b, p. 16; Parry, 2005).

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<sup>82</sup>According to Zuma et al. (2011), an earlier age at first sexual intercourse is linked to increased sexual behavior such as reduced condom use.

<sup>83</sup> Most of the serious crime in South Africa involves alcohol and happens at the weekend (Pillay, 2008, p. 148). Also half of the incidents leading to unnatural death involve high blood level of alcohol (Donson, 2008).

Disputes about drug distribution are solved violently – between gangs or individuals – and often end with injuries or deaths (Struthers, 2011, p. 1253). Alcohol and substance abuse is also found to “contribute significantly to high crime rates in the country” (Manaliyo, 2014, p. 597) with the numbers increasing and can thereby be linked to the high levels of violence and crime apparent in Khayelitsha. Furthermore, adolescents’ substance abuse is linked to worsening school performance and declining psycho-social functioning (MRC, 2009).

While the reasons to abundantly abuse alcohol and drugs are said to be an “array of socioeconomic, biological, and cultural factors [...] include[ing] gender, socioeconomic status, genetic predisposition, physical health status and medical conditions, social norms, beliefs, and expectations” (Adams et al., 2013, p. 976), it is also the ready availability (again, one of apartheid’s legacies<sup>84</sup>) of cheap alcohol and drugs in communities such as in Khayelitsha. Taking into account for example that only 45% of Black Africans<sup>85</sup> in South Africa are satisfied or very satisfied with their lives (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2008, p. 25), and that depression among Black Africans (due to their low socio-economic status) is more prevalent than among Whites (Ardington & Case, 210, p. 70 f.) alcohol and substance abuse are one way to deal with feelings of marginalization and frustration.

### **3.1.3. Conditions for Children and Youths growing up in Khayelitsha**

With the population being fairly young in South Africa (66% are younger than 35; Statistics South Africa, 2015, p.9), the above described conditions harshly impact on the development of children and youths. They are exposed to the legacy of apartheid such as disastrous living conditions and later entrance (if at all) to the labour market; while at the same time they have to take many responsibilities, such as providing financial support for their family (Klouwenberg & Butter, 2011, p. 57;

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<sup>84</sup> Around the 1970s taverns were mushrooming in the townships to show opposition to the restricting government laws (Berry, 2005, p. 426).

<sup>85</sup> In comparison, 74% of Whites, 59% of Indians and 48% of Coloured are found to be (very) satisfied with their lives (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2009).

Boyce, 2010, p. 89; Seekings, 2006, p. 8+9). Therefore, in the context of underprivileged Black Africans in South Africa, young people are defined as those up to the age of 35 (South African National Youth Commission Act #19 in 1996) – and they count as the poorest and most vulnerable in South Africa’s society (DuPlessis & Conley, 2007, p. 50; Chirwa, 2009, p. 3; Brook et al., 2006; Hall & Wright, 2010). With poverty being passed down from one generation to the other (Brook et al., 2006, p. 27; Swartz et al., 2012, p. 29 f.), Black Africans repeatedly suffer most. As already described, poverty is multidimensional (Hall & Chennels, 2011), and adolescents face problems “from persistent hunger, lack of access to education and inadequate housing, to lack of access to health care, malnutrition and other forms of illnesses” (Chirwa, 2009, p. 3). Apart from these inhuman conditions and their consequences on physical and psychological well-being, Khayelitsha’s adolescents face even more challenges that are rooted in apartheid’s legacy and in their cultural heritage. Due to the disastrous education situation and high unemployment rate, young people are financially dependent for a long time while, simultaneously, others depend on them. Often they are addressed with demands to financially support the family (relatives close by or in the rural areas) or to pay for younger siblings’ school fees – leaving aside the burden to take care of themselves (Brook et al., 2006, p. 15 f.).

Due to manifold factors, sexually risky behaviour is very prevalent in Khayelitsha, leading to an enormous number of teenage pregnancies and sexual transmitted infections, above all HIV. The high exposure to violence and substance as well as alcohol abuse (that often go hand in hand with each other) from an early age onwards “puts them [young people] at risk of strengthening their violent repertoires rather than learning pro-social behavior” (Ward, 2007, p. 15). The intermingled mix of the lack of education and employment combined with financial responsibilities, clashing gender roles as well as the early exposure of children to unlawful and violent behaviour leaves many adolescents in an identification struggle. With increasing globalisation and contact with foreign media, adolescents are furthermore exposed to ideologies that contradict their traditional African heritage – and very much contradict their poor social reality (Norris et al., 2008,

p. 53 f.). Additionally, adolescents face a huge amount of unsupervised time, “due to frequent school disruptions and adult caregivers who are either permanently absent or bus making a living by informal means or in poorly paid, long-houred jobs” (Swartz, 2010, p. 312). As such, young people are most often socialized on the streets by self-chosen significant others. It is in this context and in the ambiguously loving and at the same time rough community that Khayelitsha’s youth have to develop their identity and decide on what’s right and wrong (Swartz, 2007; Reddy et al., 2013, p. 26).

### **3.2. Interventions to support Children’s and Youths’ Development**

In South Africa, a range of organizations implement projects to work against the described challenges children and youths face when growing up in marginalized communities. Wesselink (2011) for example lists 909 organizations<sup>86</sup> in South Africa, including among others international organizations, government institutions, private sector support organizations, finance institutions and civil society institutions. In other sources, the latter term is interchangeably used with non-government organizations<sup>87</sup> (e.g. Lewis & Kanji, 2009; van Driel & van Haren, 2003). Summarizing, it is recognized that the challenges in the community need to be faced by the government as well as civic society. Looking at the nature of those development interventions, “there are considerable structural and conceptual differences” (Meier, 2013, p. 53). Some focus on structural development and are service-driven (such as house building, water supply, literacy etc.), others focus on the individuals – most often women, children and youth - as agents of change (such

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<sup>86</sup> With Lewis & Kanji (2009) stating that there is no accurate list or statistic about non-government organizations, this number is assumed to be much higher.

<sup>87</sup> Several authors, such as Lewis & Kanji (2009) and Srinivas (2009), assign the term NGO to be hard to define, due to the range of structure and shape inherent in organizations labelling themselves as non-profit. However, Martens (2002) examines different definitions and concludes “NGOs are formal (professionalized) independent societal organizations whose primary aim is to promote common goals at the national or the international level.” (p. 282). A broader examination of the third sector can be found in Corry (2010). Referring to South Africa only, Swilling & Russell (2002) provide a comprehensive study about the non-profit sector about the country in focus of this thesis.



as empowerment, life skill development etc.). In some way or the other, they make efforts to contribute to the Millennium Development Goals (Meier, 2013, p. 53).

In line with the shift from understanding development in pure economic terms to understanding it as a more people-centred approach, since the 1970s NGOs have increasingly been established all over the world to work against the failure of state-led development approaches (Banks & Hulme, 2012). In the case of apartheid South Africa, they were specifically used by the Global North as a channel to bring money into the country and challenge the system as well as establishing a civil society's advocacy system. In post-apartheid government, new opportunities came up in the legislation for NGOs to enforce socio-economic development (Non-profit Organisation Act #71 in 1997). Being seen as one of the means to fight apartheid<sup>88</sup>, the new government has linked sport to its development and transformation charter (Republic of South Africa, 1998: National Sport and Recreation Act #110). Positioned in several South African policy papers, it is acknowledged that sport should be a means to reach the set targets. Legally anchored, both government and non-government institutions use sport in order to create equal opportunities for all South African citizens and fight the socio-economic problems certain populations still face (Department Sport and Recreation South Africa, 2011; Minister of Sport and Recreation, 2012). Despite those steps, the unequal situation is still apparent. According to the Department of Sport & Recreation (2005), a lack of opportunity to do sports is mainly cited by Blacks and Coloureds – despite the fact, that urban informal groups, such as Khayelitsha's residents, are more interested in sport participation than any other group.

In line with the general lack of evidence in the international sport-in-development sector, the research on the effectiveness of those sport-based interventions is also limited in South Africa. In the following a summary of evidence addressing African countries<sup>89</sup> is presented. The projects referred to are manifold, vary in structure,

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<sup>88</sup> Please read Booth (2012), Hain (2014), Desai (2011), Thomas (2006) and Alegi (2010) for a detailed presentation of sport's role in the battle against apartheid.

<sup>89</sup> While it is recognized that "there are obvious differences in the social, cultural and religious beliefs and practices of the various people on the continent" (Ajisafe, 1984, p. 299), evidence from the

have different approaches to development and thus their programme and the extent of sport involved differs. While some are well-established, others have only recently emerged. Some are initiated by the government; others are run by local, national or international organisations. Thus the presented data has to be interpreted with caution.

When testing the hypothesis that “*sport* contributes to the personal development and well-being of disadvantaged children and young people” (p. 15) in India, Tanzania, South Africa and Uganda, Coalter & Taylor (2010) record a statistically significant increase in perceived self-efficacy and self-esteem. However, they point out that the relationship between the two concepts is contingent and not a necessarily causal relationship. They further discuss that any programme will impact and “produce successes – [as] such programmes do contribute to the personal development of some young people” (p. 92), but this doesn’t allow making conclusions on “general *programme* impact” (p. 92, emphasis as in original). In sport projects evaluated in Ghana, South Africa and Rwanda, an increasing sense of well-being and feelings of self-worth was found (Burnett, 2013). Kay (2009), referring to women in sport programmes in Brazil, India and Zambia, reports a perceived positive change in behaviour and self-perception, as well as a perceived positive change in how the participants were treated by others. The findings were consistent for all three programmes. With regard to education, participation in a sport programme in Namibia was found to lead to more students passing exams, attending classes more often and being more punctual. General improvements in behaviour were also reported as well as improved communication and leadership skills, and greater self-esteem and self-awareness (CABOS, 2006). Burnett (2001) also finds improved relations between children and teachers as a result of sport participation. In another study in South Africa she reports a very high impact on school attendance, when an after-school sport programme is offered on a regular basis (Burnett, 2010). NORAD (2006) while mainly interested in sports’ benefit to fight HIV/AIDS in a project in Zambia, reports a higher “ability to make independent

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whole continent is presented as many countries face a similar history as South Africa when looking at post-apartheid resp. post-colonialism.

decisions [...] and also on the level of self confidence” (p. 39). Decision making was also found to have improved in other projects running in Zambia and South Africa – though with a significant gender difference (Peacock-Villada et al., 2007). Also based in South Africa, Whitley, Wright & Gould (2013) argue that sport makes its participants “take control of their lives, [...] such as preparing for future employment, connecting with their peers, and working towards a university scholarship” (p. 10). With regard to taking control of ones lives, the participants in the programme Child Friendly Spaces in Kenya were observed to spend their free time more meaningfully than before participation and to be more hopeful with regard to their future (Gilbert & Bennet, 2012). Other research (Brady & Bhanu-Khan, 2002; Gilbert & Bennett, 2012) suggests that the opportunities to actively engage in programme and delivery structure leads to leadership development, and personal and professional growth. Woodcock et al. (2012), evaluating MTG Kenya, examined whether a longer duration of membership results in a stronger perceived improvement of life skills and better perceived social life, which they show to be the case. However, they found that it is not the length of membership that increases perceived self-esteem, quality of life, safety and resilience, but it is “how long a project site had been operating” (p. 380) and the “positive enabling culture within a project community” (p. 378).

With regard to sport’s impact on development beyond the individual level, DCAS & ICESDD (2014), basing their results on 13 case studies in South Africa, claim that sport and recreation contribute to “build[ing] social and human capital [...] through increased mobilization and organization” (p. 138), to increase community safety and to improve environmental issues. They furthermore suggest that through sport programmes jobs are created, which then leads to a higher quality of living. Gilbert & Bennett (2012), referring to child-friendly spaces in Kenya, report an observed positive change in children’s relation with their parents. They also suggest that through the social networks that are created by the sport programme, employment is increased, and that youths respect other ethnicities more than before being part of the programme. Parents were found to be less worried about their children’s whereabouts, knowing they were busy in the programme. An increased economic

impact was also measured by Burnett (n.y.) and DCAS & ICESDD (2014) as coordinators got employed and paid a stipend. In Pelak's (2005) analysis on female soccer in South Africa, she found out "acts of caring and mentoring across age, class, gender, race, and ethnic boundaries were part of women's soccer" (p. 64), making women become actively engaged in fighting structural inequalities that are based on traditional and oppressive gender relations. This follows Larkin, Razack & Moore (2009), who suggest that sport and physical activity can "play a significant role in dismantling gender barriers and norms" (p. 105). Struthers (2011), while recognizing that sport alone cannot solve social problems, refers to a sport intervention in a Health Promoting School in South Africa that positively impacts on the relationship between school and community and on social capital within the community. Only rarely, a negative impact is presented in the literature. Burnett (2006) for example reports that while participation rates in an after-school programme in South Africa increased over two years of monitoring and impact assessment, the facilities for the sport programme suffered from "over-use and discriminatory practices, and boys and older groups were awarded with higher status and mostly dominated practice schedules" (p. 8).

Also worth mentioning is research conducted in those programmes that primarily aim at promoting peace and reconciliation. Quite a few studies assign sport the power to create positive contact and reducing prejudices (Dilliway, 2013; Keim, 2006; Keim, 2003; Sugden, 2006; Sugden & Wallis, 2007; DCAS & ICESDD, 2014). Peacock-Villada et al. (2007) suggest that sport can have a significant impact on strategies for resiliency; however, they did not test whether those were implemented by the beneficiaries. Another example is Chikwanda (2014) who assessed the effects of mediation skills training for youth involved in sports programmes on conflict resolution. He proposes this provides positive impact on community healing. Schnitzer et al. (2013), reviewing recent literature, restrain the role of sport in the peacebuilding process and conclude that "sport [...] does not constitute a substitute for developing social norms and values that conduce to mutual tolerance and shared commitment to non-violent conflict management" (p. 595).

Like the projects that the presented studies refer to, there is a range of development interventions that use sport as a tool for wider and social development to support children and youths growing up in Khayelitsha.

### **3.3. The Sport-in-Development Programmes in Khayelitsha in Focus**

In the following, the four sport-in-development projects – implemented by the South African government and by non-government organizations – that are in focus of this study are presented. The projects differ in structure, size, target group, financial budget and curriculum. Whereas Amandla is a binational non-government organization, Girls and Football South Africa is a foreign non-government organization. Also, while the projects at Amandla and at the MOD centers have already been established for a few years and target groups of hundreds throughout a week, the Girls and Football South Africa project in focus has only been established recently and thus encompasses a rather small group.

#### **3.3.1. Amandla Edufootball**

Amandla Edufootball is an international NGO registered in both South Africa and Germany. Its first programme site in Khayelitsha was built in partnership with the American CTC Ten-Foundation. Since 2007, Amandla has been offering a ‘Life Skills through Football’ programme in Village V4 North (Site B). About 13 000 people are located in this area, which is similar to the characteristics described above for the whole township. Amandla Edufootball offers a programme for both participants and coaches, which aims at self-discovery, awareness and leadership.

In every 10 month programme cycle, around 3 000 children and youths are organized in 12 leagues. Within the Fair Play Football Programme children participate twice a week for 90-minute sessions. While participants aged 14 and older come to play football only (with a reward system for scoring goals as well as for fair behaviour), participants under 14 years additionally get 50 life skill sessions

within the duration of the programme. Life skill sessions capture identity and family issues, support structures, goals for life and health-specific themes. Furthermore, tutors, chosen and paid by Amandla Edufootball, offer supervised homework sessions for learners that attend the adjoining primary schools.

Besides the Fair Play Football Programme, Amandla offers a Crime Prevention League on Friday nights. About 400 males aged 16 and older take part in teams on a weekly base. Each team is assigned one captain. A captain's committee meeting with programme coordinators takes place twice a week that allows a closer communication between Amandla and its participants.

For the coaches, who are assigned to the programme after successful application, Amandla offers a paid leadership programme over a 12-month period. In addition to acquiring training on how to coach, the coaches receive training in first aid, child and youth care (facilitated by the National Association of Childcare Workers) and sports administration (at the Sports college for sport courses). Coaches also acquire practical work experience in refereeing (credited training level 1 and 2).

The organisation conducts an internal evaluation on a regular basis. Since its beginning, participation has increased 92%. Furthermore, an improvement of social skills, a decrease in violence on a 600m radius around the field (in contrast to the numbers in the rest of Khayelitsha) and improved academic performance at the school next to the field is measured as result of Amandla (AMANDLA Edufootball e.V., 2015).

### **3.3.2. MOD Centers**

Once a stand-alone subject in the privileged schools, school sport resp. physical education was dropped in 1994 and reintroduced as a quarter of the subject 'Life Orientation' in 2005, along with health promotion, social development and personal development (DuToit, van der Merwe & Roussow, 2007; Rajput & van Deventer, 2010). Due to the rare number of qualified teachers, equipment and facilities, a low status of the subject due to the absence of theoretical assessment of learners, in

2010 the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport implemented 'Mass Participation, Opportunity and Access, Development and Growth Center' (short: MOD center) that aim at spreading sport and physical activities to the poorest communities in the Western Cape. The centers are grounded on several documents<sup>90</sup>, such as the Constitution of South Africa from 1996 (Government of South Africa, 2015) and the 'White paper on Sport and Recreation for the Republic of South Africa 2012' that seeks "to transform the delivery of sport and recreation by ensuring equitable access, development and excellence at all levels of participation and to harness the socio-economic contributions that can create a better life for all South Africans" (Minister of Sport and Recreation, 2012, p. 24). More narrowed targets are framed for three levels: participants, coaches and the community. On the participant level, the project aims at life skill development, healthy lifestyle and holistic development as well as an improvement in academics through increased an increase in school attendance and discipline. On the leader level, the programme targets capacity building. Furthermore, a reduction in crime, teenage pregnancy and substance abuse is aimed at with regard to social development in the community (DCAS, 2012, p. 16).

The centers were first implemented at community centers, but then, due to low participation rates, at schools - and thereby target especially children and youth. By now, 181 centers are in place in the Western Cape, with around 40000 beneficiaries and about 700 coaches, offering a range of active afternoon activities (Western Cape Government, 2015; DCAS 2012). There are five different types of centers with different foci and in different areas. A) MOD sport center (focus in basic skills, modified skills and general sport) and B) MOD focus center (general sport and specialized sport) are located in all eight districts of Western Cape. C) MOD recreation center (general sport, specialized sport, general movement & dance and specialized movement & dance) can only be found in the metropolis area. D) Farm MOD sport center (basic skills, modified sport & general sport) and E) Community

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<sup>90</sup> Other guiding documents –with the list not being complete - include National Sport and Recreation Act (1998), South African Institute for Drug-free sport Act (1997), School Sport Act, National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) and Transformation Charter for South African Sport (DCAS, 2012, p. 8).

MOD sport center (basic skills modified and general sport) are implemented in rural areas only (DCAS, 2012, p. 17). Additionally, a SHARP Center is offered every three months for talented and selected youth from the focus centers (DCAS, 2012, p. 22). Usually, programmes run from Monday to Friday and offer eight sporting codes – depending on the type of school and age of participants - that alternate on a weekly basis. Furthermore, codes alternate between winter and summer. Some schools additionally participate in league competing against other schools, with the matches taking place at the weekends (DCAS, 2012; Western Cape Government, 2015). At half of the MOD centers a nutrition programme is provided for the participants.

The coaches and coordinators (ideally, every center has at least one coordinator and one coach) are employed for one year and are meant to get another job after a maximum of three years. Their earning depends on their position as head coach (8hrs/day), normal coach (5hrs/day) and assistant coach (4hrs/day). As the coaches don't have to have a specific education in the sport sector, before and while being employed they are supposed to attend workshops offered by the Department and sport federations to learn about the codes and first aid. Apart from the head coach, the coaches have to be present at school on Monday to Friday from 14 to 18 o'clock; and sometimes have to work on the weekend in the league. Their work is supervised by the district managers; however, as they are responsible for several schools they do only short visits every other week. Apart from coaching the learners, the coaches must send weekly participant attendance sheets.

An internal evaluation that is based on attendance reports and interviews reports the following benefits (DCAS, 2012, p. 29):

- Improved health, well-being and a reduction the likelihood of diseases
- Social mobilization, bridging communities together
- Playing a major role in the education system and instilling core values
- Increasing awareness of the human body and respect for the environment



- Offering healthy alternatives and contributing to holistic development of youth
- Promoting sustainable peace and helping to resolve conflict in communities
- Subverting gender stereotypes and empowering women and girls
- Uplifting people with disabilities and other marginalized groups
- Providing volunteer opportunities and increased employability
- Improving academic performance

Both schools where the MOD centers in focus are implemented at are situated within the same education authority (Education Metro East) and follow the same teaching curriculum.

#### 3.3.2.1. MOD Sport Center (MOD S)

The MOD sport center is attached to a public and no fee primary school located in Ikwezi Park in Khayelitsha, which is about 2,74km<sup>2</sup> in area. About 53000 people live in that particular area of Khayelitsha and the area's characteristics match the information given for the township (Strategic Development Information & GIS Department, 2013). The primary school has around 1000 learners and – due to apartheid – its facilities are in poor condition. Besides the school there is a paved netball court and an uneven lawn. The whole school area is fenced. The codes carried out at this school are netball for girls and football for boys; also tennis has recently been implemented for both genders. Apart from sport, the coaches are supposed to teach life skills. Around 170 to 300 girls and boys participate every day.

#### 3.3.2.2. MOD Focus Center (MOD F)

The MOD focus center is attached to a public and no fee primary school located in T3/V4 in Khayelitsha. About 5200 people live in that particular area of Khayelitsha that is 0,49km<sup>2</sup> in area. The area's characteristics match the information given for the township (Strategic Development Information & GIS Department, 2013). The

primary school has around 1300 learners. Next to the school there is an uneven lawn. The whole school area is fenced. The codes carried out at this school are softball and netball for girls and football for boys; as well as chess for both genders. Apart from sport, the coaches are supposed to teach life skills (DCAS, 2012, p. 22).

### 3.3.3. Girls and Football South Africa

Girls and Football South Africa (GFSA) is a Dutch NGO that has operated in South Africa since 2010 and targets girls, aged ten to 14, as participants, as well as young women, aged 20 to 29, as coaches and life skill trainers. According to Lintmeijer (2011) “the goal of Girls and Football South Africa is to encourage girls in South Africa to play football as a source of empowerment, while using media to raise awareness on the importance of sport for women” (p. 25). More concretely, GFSA acts in three sectors, as described in Figure 1.

Sport	Media	Education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•To celebrate a sport that unites, strengthens and develops communities</li> <li>•To place emphasis on the importance of football in the lives of girls and young women and to provide a platform for girls and young women to experience the benefits of practicing sport in a safe space</li> <li>•To inspire body ownership and self esteem, and to provide girls with a safe place to learn about team work, leadership and collaboration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•To raise awareness on the ways in which sport promotes and influences development of girls and young women in South Africa in a positive manner</li> <li>•To stimulate a broad range of audiences interested in learning more about sport and education as a tool for development for girls</li> <li>•To provide girls with strong role models they can look up to</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•To encourage girls and young women to be role models for each other through football and by celebrating their achievements</li> <li>•To build life skills for the participants, applicable to life outside of the workshops, with an emphasis on promoting healthy body ownership and self-esteem</li> <li>•To provide girls with health information they normally do not have access to</li> </ul>

Figure 1: Components and Goals of Girls and Football South Africa, based on Lintmeijer & Spijkermann (2011)

The coaches’ guide is based on other guides such as ‘Women Win’, ‘Women Thrive

Worldwide’, ‘Sport in Society’ and ‘Girls in Action’ (GFSA, 2014b). It includes sections on how to work with girls as well as how to teach football and technical skills. Thus, the programme is structured for weekly two hour workshops that include playing games and a life skill based education as well as drills, activities and a football match. Furthermore, the project won the first annual girl effect challenge established by the Nike Foundation and was awarded with ‘Best Research’ by the ICESD.

Between August 2010 and December 2013, GFSA was mainly working at two schools in the communities Kayamandi and Lynedoch in the Western Cape (GFSA, 2014a). Results of an internal monitoring and evaluation process that has been carried out in these communities in 2010 and 2011 shows an increase in participation rates. Furthermore, 96.6% of participants state they enjoy being part of Girls & Football SA very much, 93.1% of participants feel more comfortable after being part of Girls & Football SA and 89.7% of participants state they appreciate a girls-only space to play (GFSA, 2011).

At the beginning of 2013, another area was added which is focused upon in this study. The project is attached to a primary school in Bo-Kaap, whose students come from Cape Town City Bowl as well as from diverse townships, including Khayelitsha. The manager of the project does not live in South Africa and visits only infrequently. There was one Dutch programme coordinator who changed during the time of data collection. Due to this, the programme didn’t run continuously, but stopped for a few months. Two female youths, that are the same before and after the break, are trained as facilitators. While they are not paid, they get the opportunity to take part in workshops and get certificates.

## **4. Framework: Embedding the Study in Key Theoretical and Methodological Approaches**

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In order to address the lack of theoretical models in sport-and-development research and to follow Spaaji's (2011) demand for "theoretically and methodologically informed considerations of the social impact of sport" (p. 159) this chapter discusses the key theoretical and methodological approaches for this study in length.

In the first part of this chapter, all theoretical concepts are broadly explained, including (1) the philosophical approach underlying the framework, (2) the ecological and (3) behavioural understanding, and (4) a theory on how change comes about. A framework tailored to the study completes each subsection.

The second part of this chapter is formed by the methodological approach. (1) Implications from the theoretical framework on methodology are presented, before (2) current discussions in the field on methodology and the researcher's position are reflected.

In the third part, the theoretical and methodological framework underlying this study is presented in a summary. The research design of this study concludes the chapter.

### **4.1. Theoretical Framework**

In chapter two, information was given on South Africa and the impoverished area in which the targeted sport participants live. It has been highlighted that it is predominantly children and youths that suffer from the harsh conditions of daily life. Growing up in a less privileged area such as Khayelitsha and furthermore in a post-apartheid society differs greatly from the development of better socio-economic positioned children and youths. When looking at sport for social change

programmes, it is essential to embody both the socio-economic situation and the wider context, along with the circumstances that sport participants and also sport projects face. Also, as previously pointed out, it is “through the working of entire systems of social relationships that any changes in behaviours, events and social conditions are effected” (Pawson & Tilley, 2006, p. 4). When analysing how programmes either affect change in participants or how they support them in maintaining changed behaviour, there is a consensus that it is also the socio-ecological and political level as well as supportive environments that need to be included. Transferring this to the theme in question, it cannot be sport programmes and individuals alone that support positive outcomes and effects, but sport embedded in certain structures such as social organization, peer leaders, trainers, adequate arrangements and a material context (Coalter & Taylor, 2010).

When aiming to identify the effects sport-in-development programmes have on social change, one must also examine more deeply individuals who are a part of the programme, as recipients and developers of social change. It needs to be considered which conditions lead to certain behaviour (change). Therefore, additionally to the considerations of philosophical and ecological approaches, a behavioural theory relevant to this study is included (cp. 4.1.2).

While more and more ‘sport-in-development’ projects focus upon sport as a tool for social change, there are many programmes where it is hardly defined what exactly sport for social change<sup>91</sup> means. With the aim of being responsive to the critique that research is potentially “confusing potential micro-level individual outcomes with community and broader macro-level impacts; ignoring wider socio-political contexts within which sport-for-development organizations have to operate” (Coalter, 2010, p. 295), a well-structured and accepted theory can “serve as a compass” (Nadai & Maeder, 2005, paragraph 10; see chapter 4.3) and provide framework.

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<sup>91</sup> See chapter 2.2.2. for more information on (development for) social change

As outlined earlier, the research questions are quite complex, covering not only behavioural change caused by sport participation, but rather effects of sport projects with regard to wider social change. Also analysing sport's place and role in development is aimed at. A mix of theories is recommended, as Holt & Sehn (2008) state that "no single theory capture[s] the web of influences on an individual" (p. 55). Also, critical of using only an ecological approach, Sallis, Owen & Fisher (2008) summarize that "a weakness of many general ecological models of [health] behaviour is their lack of specificity about the most important hypothesized influences." (p. 279). Darnell (2012) demands a "deployment of multiple theories" (p. 23) to analyse "sport in its complexities" (p. 23). It is for these reasons that the study combines different models.

#### 4.1.1. Philosophical Approach

As MacDonald (2002) explains, everyone has a certain paradigm in his or her mind, how the world looks like and what to believe in. He cites Sparkes (1992) to explain further: "At a most fundamental level different paradigms provide particular sets or lenses for seeing the world and making sense of it in different ways. They act to shape how we think and act because for the most part we are not even aware that we are wearing any particular set of lenses" (p. 12; in MacDonald, 2002, p. 168). Because any paradigm frames a study and its interpretation of results (cp. chapter 4.2.), it is important to know what way of thinking guides the research. For this reason, the philosophical approach, underlying this research is explained.

The present study adopts a *critical pragmatism* approach, and, subordinated, *left-realism* plays a major role. Also, being classified into the field of contextualist social science *critical theory* is the given point of view. As Mjoset (2009) points out, these approaches don't stand alone but are all interconnected and belong to one family in the practical philosophy of social science<sup>92</sup> (p. 41). All of them are shortly explained, before the approach for this study is presented.

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<sup>92</sup> For a deeper understanding of practical philosophy of social science please see Mjoset (2009).

#### 4.1.1.1. Critical Pragmatism

While pragmatism as a philosophical movement already emerged in the early 1870s (first by Pierce, and then by James and Dewey; McCaslin, 2008), *critical pragmatism* only came up throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. It strongly underpins “the emancipatory, polemical, and transformative potential of pragmatist philosophy and social theory as well as the polemical and even activist role of the citizen-scholar” (Vannini, 2008, p. 160), whereas, compared to pragmatism, most of the basic contemplation is the same. Pragmatism as well as *critical pragmatism* view social reality as “constantly open to change, becoming, and flux” (Vannini, 2008, p. 160). As there is “polyvocality of power, pluralism, inclusiveness, the value of subaltern cultural beliefs and practices, and the incomplete, partial, and contingent nature of reality” (Vannini, 2008, p. 160 f.), social action does not produce one but many realities. Reality construction is done by everyone, and therefore everyone must be encouraged to fight an unequal society. However, individuals are also subject to “the power of the structures they created” (Vannini, 2008, p. 161). Inequality, injustice, creation of social problems are therefore results of “recurring patterns of collective activity, interlinked contexts of action, intersecting intentions, conflicting goals, and the emergent formation of conventions and practices” (Vannini, 2008, p. 161). Having a *critical pragmatism* point of view, knowledge can only be gained when looking at subjects from the position of the other person, and not from outside (cp. chapter 4.2.). As Sugden (2010) summarizes, by referring to the authors Dewey (1935) and James (1979), “critical pragmatism advocates the science of the possible whereby action and intervention are linked to outcomes that are themselves based upon a critical assessment of what can be achieved within a given set of situational circumstances” (p. 267). Theoretical principles are not set, but meant to be changed and adapted for specific situations and contexts (Sugden, 2013), since “the construction of society is not passively structural, but is an embodied process of individual and collective actions” (Sugden, 2008/2009, p. 7).

### *Critical Theory*

Seen as part of *critical pragmatism*, *critical theory* is, according to Griffith (2009), political as well as epistemological. It is an approach that aims at taking action (MacDonald, 2002, p. 170) by revealing political structures and power relations inherent in the aforementioned mutating social reality. Sparkes (1992, p. 40 f.; cited in MacDonald, 2002, p. 170) explains the need for *critical theory* in five points

1. Some groups in society are powerful while others are powerless;
2. Powerful groups have a vested interest in maintaining their power and social institutions tend to support this status quo;
3. Powerless groups have a vested interest in social change;
4. The role of critical theories is to problematize the status quo and to ask 'why' questions in order to change the world;
5. Changing individual and group consciousness is a pathway to social change.

MacDonald (2002), referring to Carr & Kemmis (1986), summarizes "practical theory or praxis directed towards self-empowerment, social transformation, and emancipation" (p. 170) as the given approach of *critical theory*. In order to generalize the results of any study that is approached with *critical theory*, the so-called "'model-monopoly' of present 'regimes of knowledge'" (Mjoset, 2008, p. 52) is invoked. Having this concept in mind, researchers as well as practitioners must investigate interventions to develop strategies that enable the programmes to work context- and culture-sensitive (Sugden, 2013).

### *Left-Realism*

According to Sugden & Haasner (2009, p. 5) *left-realism* can be seen as having evolved from *critical pragmatism*. It was first mentioned within the context of criminology, before it was transferred to other themes.

During the 1950s, caused by publications of Edwin Lemert, the topic of crime was discussed, with discussions ranging from criminology reproducing social inequality



to criminology as means for overstepping social inequality (Lowman & MacLean, 1992, p. 4). With regard to the latter, crime was not seen as “a product of pathological individuals” anymore (Lowman & MacLean, 1992, p. 3), but as something that was “socially constructed” (p. 4). Out of this thinking a branch called *left-realism* emerged. An interactionist framework that includes the state, social structures, offenders and victims that affect the crime rate, it excludes the offender as the only reason for crime (Young & Matthews, 1992; Taylor, Walton, Young, 2013, p. xxxi). Based on this Lea (1987) emphasize the need for multiagency interventions, rather than focusing on the role and responsibility of the individual as an offender (Taylor, Walton & Young, 2013, p. xxx). As Downes & Rocks (2011) point out, social problems need to be engaged with in depth in order to change political structures and policies and thereby support society’s most vulnerable groups.

#### 4.1.1.2. Critical Left-Realism Approach and its Meaning for Sport-in-Development

Lately, the concept of *critical pragmatism* has been used within the context of sport-in-development (MacDonald, 2002; Sugden & Haasner, 2009; Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011). MacDonald (2002) emphasizes that it is especially the power relations sport activists should be focusing on in order to rearrange culture and thereby fight the social inequality inherent in so many countries sport-in-development projects are located in. This is confirmed by Guijt (2007) for whom “emphasising the structural change of society, its institutions and norms, as part of a more equitable sharing of resources and opportunities [...] requires ongoing efforts” (p. 13). Sugden & Haasner (2009) pick up on this point and transfer the concept of *left-realism* to sport and development programmes that aim at social change (p. 5). This concept has emerged from the above explained approaches and is called “critical-left-realism”<sup>93</sup> (Sugden, 2010, p. 267) approach. For Sugden (2008/2009), though he himself mainly focuses on sports’ role in divided societies, the *critical left-realism* approach can be “applied equally to a range of other social

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<sup>93</sup> In earlier publications called “critical pragmatic realist” approach (cp. Sugden, 2008-2009, p. 8)

and political problems” (p. 8) that are dealt with in the sport-in-development sector. By critically examining an individual’s perspective as part of a bigger system, it is questionable whether a sport intervention alone can cause wider social outcomes (cp. chapter 2.3). The awareness about existing unequal power relations though is essential to develop ideas on how to cause wider social change (cp. Guijt, 2007, p. 13; Spaaji & Jeanes, 2013, p. 13). This goes along Darnell (2012) who claims that “the analysis of sport, including its practice and its organization (and also now including SDP), is in substantive ways the study of power. That is, even when sport is understood to foster a productive and positive social experience, such results still beg for an analysis and understanding of how they are negotiated, produced and constrained within hierarchical relations” (p. 38; also Darnell, 2014b, p. 12). As this analysis is the aim of this study, it already suggests that emphasis must be drawn upon a critical analysis of the complexity of social reality and individuals as creators of their reality. As in the combined approach *Critical Left-Realism*, it is crucial to include social and political context in order to determine conditions and effects of sport-in-development programmes with regard to social and behavioural change (cp. Darnell, 2012, p. 14). Only by analysing all factors that might lead to a certain outcome - in this study’s case individual and wider social change - the potential of a certain intervention - in this case the sport programme – is visible. Instead of simplifying and assigning sport an omniscient status, it needs to be critically analysed “what can realistically be achieved in the prevailing circumstances of interventions and focused action that *can* be undertaken” (Sugden, 2010, p. 267; referring to the Dewey, 1935 & James, 1979). While critical left-realism builds the philosophical superstructure of this research, theories on human development and behaviour as well as theory of (social) change will also be explained, as they lead directly to the hypotheses and furthermore the research questions.

#### 4.1.2. Theories on Human Development and Behaviour

As Guijt (2007) explains, “assessing a pro-poor social change effort effectively requires building a shared, context-specific understanding of how power inequities may be challenged and in which diverse actors and strategies are located” (p. 6). Therefore, after having presented the philosophical approach underlying this study, emphasis is drawn upon an in-depth analysis of ecological and behavioural concepts. Ecological models have a longstanding tradition for explaining behaviour as well as for guiding interventions that can be traced back to the 1950s. In line with the *critical left pragmatism* approach, they look at the individual, its broader community, organizational and policy influences (Sallis, Owen & Fisher, 2008, p. 466) and can therefore be described as comprehensive models encompassing (for example and not exclusively) psychological, social and organizational theories on different levels (Sallis, Owen & Fisher, 2008, p. 466).

##### 4.1.2.1. The Bio-Ecological Theory of Human Development

Bronfenbrenner, who is argued to have coined the concept of ecological models, based his version on “an analysis and integration of results from empirical investigations conducted over many decades by researchers from many disciplines” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 37).

According to Bronfenbrenner (2005, p. 108ff.), his paradigm is based on Lewin, who used to be Bronfenbrenner’s colleague and firstly developed a field theory stating that individuals behaviour results from the whole situation the individual is found in – including his or her personal characteristics as well as his or her social situation (cp. Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 9). Other current researchers do confirm the position that “individuals behave and develop according to the way in which tensions between perceptions of self and of the environment are worked through” (Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 9). The environment is therefore unique to everyone (ibid.).

Building his theory of human development on Lewin’s approach, Bronfenbrenner acknowledges the influence the environment has on the development of every

human being. His latest concept, which is and has always been developing (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009, p. 199), is called *bio-ecological theory of human development*<sup>94</sup>. He defines development abstractly as “the phenomenon of continuity and change in the biopsychological characteristics of human beings both as individuals and as groups. The phenomenon extends over the life course across successive generations and through historical time, both past and present.” (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p. 3). Compared to other ecological models he does not only include the different levels and factors that influence individuals, but also the specific situation the individual lives in with regard to ever present “internal and external forces” (Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 10) as well as the timing.

While Bronfenbrenner’s theories are often seen as one and the same concept, he himself stated that his earlier work has been reassigned and should be distinguished from his later work. The most important difference is that in his earlier work (that is considered until 1979), the main focus is set on the contexts. In his later work (after 1979 until his death in 2005) he adds, while not totally deleting the contextual factors, the process of human development (later labelled *proximal processes*) as a key factor in his theory (cp. Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009, p. 199; see for original Bronfenbrenner, 1994, 1996, 1999; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Additionally, out of the existing models *person-process-context* and *chronosystem paradigm* (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983) he created a model that comprises not only the environmental factors, but also a time and a process component. Additionally, it focuses more upon the development of a person than the early models did (cp. Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 795; Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000). From then on he defines the ecology of human development as “the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation, *throughout the life course*<sup>95</sup>, between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by the relations between these

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<sup>94</sup> Bronfenbrenner also referred to his *Bio-Ecological Theory of Human Development* as Process-Person-Time-Context model. To avoid confusion, only the first mentioned term is used in this thesis.

<sup>95</sup> Emphasis as in original.

settings, and by the larger context in which the settings are embedded.” (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p. 107). His latest theory serves as the underlying basis of this study.

### *Proximal Processes*

According to Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006), proximal processes are the “primary mechanisms producing human development” (p. 795) and refer to the interaction that takes place between the individual and his or her close environment. Two propositions come into place when talking about proximal processes. The first being that an individual’s interaction with its immediate environment doesn’t per se lead to effective human development, but “must occur on a fairly regular basis over an extended period of time” (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 797) to do so. Secondly, human development is not only influenced by proximal processes, but by a “joint function of the characteristics of the developing person, the environment – both immediate and more remote – in which the processes are taking place, the nature of the developmental outcomes under consideration, and the societal continuities and changes occurring over time through the life course and the historical period during which the person has lived” (p. 798).

### *Person*

As previously discussed, the effectiveness of proximal processes is seen to be shaped also by the person. However, the person itself is both the indirect producer of development and is a product of development him- or herself. His or her character is said to have three main characteristics: force, resource, and demand characteristics (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 810 ff.) – and when looking at human development, all of these personal attributes come into play.

Force characteristics are further divided into developmentally generative and developmentally disruptive characteristics. The first refers to personal attributes,

such as “active orientations as curiosity, tendency to initiate and engage in activity alone or with others, responsiveness to initiatives by others, and readiness to defer immediate gratification to pursue long-term goals” (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 810). On the contrary, personal attributes such as losing control over emotions or “feelings of insecurity, shyness, or the general tendency to avoid or withdraw from activity” (ibid.) refer to the latter. Therefore, force characteristics can activate or deactivate proximal processes.

Resource characteristics are divided into two types of developmental resources. Biopsychological attributes such as dysfunctions of the body may prevent the individual from actively engaging (e.g. genetic disposition, damage to brain function), so does a lack of cognitive knowledge and/or competence (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 812). These barriers make it difficult for the individual to actively engage in the processes.

Demand characteristics, earlier referred to “personal stimulus” (Tudge et al., 2009, p. 200), involve attributes that directly lead to a reaction in the social environment, such as physical appearance, attractiveness, activity level, gender etc. (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 812 f.).

### *Context*

Context used to be the main factor in Bronfenbrenner’s previous models, and is now still included in his bio-ecological one. In his earlier work, Bronfenbrenner (1994) said that the system included five subsystems: macro-, exo-, meso- and microsystems as well as the chronosystem. In the current version the chronosystem is turned into the microtime component, with the *bio-ecological model of human development* only having four context-related systems: the micro-, meso- exo- and macrosystems (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

The microsystem can be described as the system in which the developing individual spends most of his or her time. Within the microsystem the developing person

engages in activities and interchanges and interacts face-to-face with the immediate environment. Depending on the level and intensity of interrelations proximal processes take place (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39 f.). Originally developed based on his own culture and environment, microsystems can be distinguished as family, peers, school and neighbourhood. However, in a unique context as every reality is (cp. *Critical Left-Realism*), attachment to family, school, peers and neighbourhood are different and therefore cannot be seen as microsystems per se.

The mesosystem can be described as a system of two or more settings, such as two or more microsystems, where the developing person is situated in. It encompasses the processes and interrelations happening between them (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

The exosystem can be defined as a system that encompasses “the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). Moreover, the happenings in one system (e.g. without the individual) influence the development in the other system (e.g. with the individual).

The macrosystem can be seen as the covering system, encompassing every other system, such as “a given culture or subculture, with particular reference to the belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, life-styles, opportunity structures, hazards, and life course options” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). Its conditions affect and influence all other systems and the processes that happen within them, as well as it is affected and influenced by the encompassed systems (ibid.).

### *Time*

The last but also very important factor of the *bio-ecological model of human development* is time, which has three successive models: micro-, meso- and macrotime. As has already been mentioned, time comes into play with regard to

the intensity of proximal processes. To be effective in development, these “must occur on a fairly regular basis” (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 820). The intensity (the continuity or discontinuity) of proximal processes is referred to as micro-time. Meso-time is then said to be the “periodicity of these episodes across broader time intervals, such as days and weeks.” (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 796). Macro-time, what Bronfenbrenner referred to as chronosystem in his earlier work (cp. Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40 f.) is again a broader category, looking at the larger society that the developing individual lives in. It also looks at changes of the individual and at the changing of expectations and how these affect and are affected by “processes and outcomes of human development over the life course” (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 796). The life course then encompasses history, present and future. Whereby the first two periods might be easily understood as a factor of development<sup>96</sup>, the latter one may need some further explanation. According to Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006) future is also seen as a part of the macrotime, because nowadays actions, reactions, interactions and processes have implications for the future.

Summarizing Bronfenbrenner’s latest model, his emphasis is “on the role of developmental processes and outcomes in producing large-scale changes over time in the state and structure of the broader society over time, and the implications of those changes for society’s future” (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 796).

After discussing the *bio-ecological theory of human development* as an encompassing theory, a closer look is taken on how certain behaviour evolves.

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<sup>96</sup>Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006) add that “the life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and events they experience over their life time” (p. 821).



#### 4.1.2.2. The Social Development Model

While the *bio-ecological theory of human development* already gives a broader explanation of how behaviour is shaped and which influences occur, the *social development model* offers a more tangible explanation. It can be embedded as an add-on in Bronfenbrenner's model, and should not be seen as an isolated theory.

The *social development model* was originally developed as a theory of anti-social behaviour to explain delinquency and drug abuse in children and youths (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 149). It is based on theories from the field of criminology (cp. chapter 4.1.1), namely control theory, social learning theory and differential association theory. It acts on the assumption that "children are socialized through processes involving four constructs: (a) perceived opportunities for involvement in activities and interactions with others, (b) the degree of involvement and interaction, (c) the skills to participate in these involvements and interactions, and (d) the reinforcement they perceive as forthcoming from performance in activities and interactions" (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 156).

Additionally, it is said that social bonds between the individual and his or her interacting social unit occur, as long as these socializing processes are consistent – which goes along Bronfenbrenner's conditions for proximal processes, namely that an individual's interaction with his or her immediate environment has to occur regularly, in order to shape behaviour (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 156). By establishing social bonds, the adolescent feels connected to his or her social units, and adopts their beliefs and behavioural patterns. The thereby occurring "behavioral response to environment itself affects future development. Behaviour is the dynamic result of and contributor to development." (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 154). Again, this draws parallels to the *Critical Left-Realism* perspective and Bronfenbrenner's approach, that assign the person as developer of his or her environment, but also as the one being developed all the time through proximal processes and the wider context (cp. Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Vannini, 2008). However, as Bronfenbrenner (2005), Catalano & Hawkins (1996) and Pawson &

Tilley (2004) recognize, the social unit resp. system, where close interactions resp. proximal processes take place, may change over time.

This is also confirmed by Reeler (2007), who states that “processes of change [...] are already there, moving or latent, and must be read and worked with as natural processes inherent to the lives and cultures of people themselves” (p. 33; also cp. chapter 4.1.3.2.). While the most dominant attachment figure, or attachment figures, may be the children’s legal guardians; teachers, classmates and peers may also come into play. Determining who are the most dominant socializing units, or the ones, where proximal processes take place, differs from individual to individual and his or her past and current situation in life (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 152; Fleming, Catalano, Oxford & Harachi, 2002).

The constructs of the *social development model* propose - like the *bio-ecological theory of human development* and similar to the idea behind the interactionist framework of crime offenders - that an individual is equipped with his or her position in the social structure (socio-economic status, ethnicity, gender and age), its constitutional or physiological factors (such as cognitive ability) and external constraints (formal and informal social reactions to behaviour; Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 160). These interrelated variables are the initial position every human being individually faces.

The model includes two concrete processes that lead to behaviour - labelled as the prosocial and antisocial path by Catalano & Hawkins (1996, p. 162) – and being referred to as positive and negative pathway<sup>97</sup> (cp. Ward, 2007b). In general, contingent upon one’s qualities, different opportunities become available. However, the opportunities must be perceived by the individual as opportunities to take; if they are not seen as a chance worth taking, it’s not effective (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 163). Depending on the perceived opportunities, “one becomes involved in the behaviour relevant to that opportunity, and begins to interact with the people associated with the opportunity” (Ward, 2007a, p. 66). Interacting can only take place though, if the individual a) has the required skills for interaction, and

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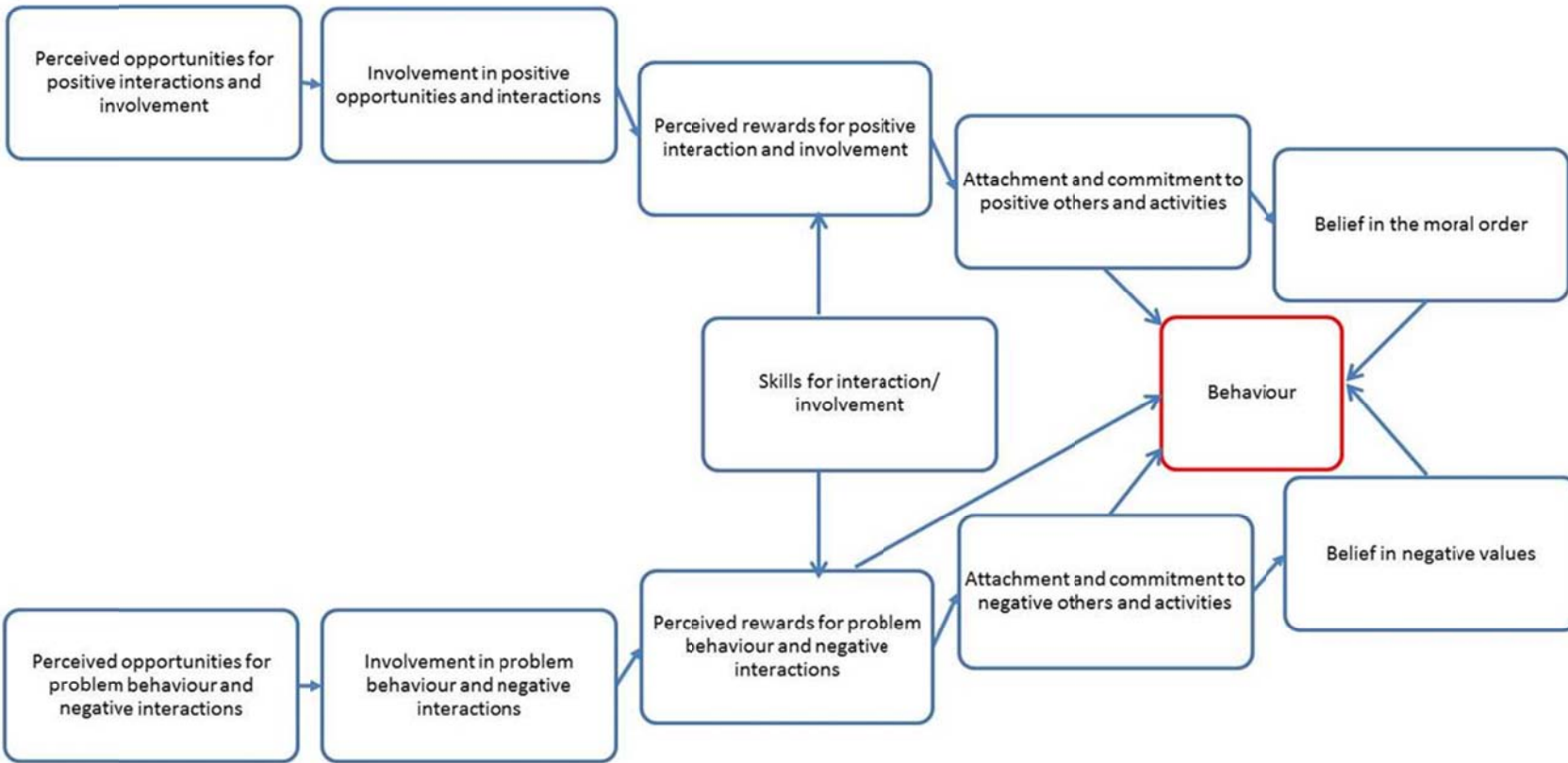
<sup>97</sup> Positive and negative behavior, social norms and moral understanding differ in social units.

b) knows the rules and norms within the system unit (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 164). By interacting according to rules and norms the individual is then positively rewarded for the shown behaviour and feels more bonded to the group (social bond, see above). It further develops attachment and commitment to the people or activities within the system, and believes in the behaviour that it performs as well as in the system unit (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 163 f.).

As shown in Bronfenbrenner's *bio-ecological theory of human development*, an individual is influenced not only by the close but also by the distant environment, and (in)directly vice versa; and social change can happen in many ways. With so many possible influences it is not likely that an individual perceives opportunities for only positive or only negative behaviour. Opportunities are available and perceived from both sides, so it is necessary to understand to which extent this is happening. Also, as Catalano & Hawkins (1996) point out, "the existence of prosocial and antisocial paths with similar social processes operating to produce bonding requires that careful distinction be made between interactions and involvements on the two paths" (p. 165).

## Positive and negative pathways for youth development

Positive path



Negative path

Figure 2: The Social Development Model (adapted from Ward, 2007, p. 67)

#### 4.1.2.3. The Bio-Ecological Theory of Human Development and the Social Development Model and their Meaning for Sport-in-Development

In order to understand the historical and social experiences of sport-in-development, as demanded by Darnell (2012), a theory is needed that encompasses the “complexities and diversities of the sporting experience” (p. 155). As briefly touched upon in the beginning of this chapter, there are multiple layers that influence wider social outcomes and individual behaviour (Pawson & Tilley, 2004, p. 4; Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 1). Therefore, development goals made by sport programmes are “socially and culturally contextual and specific” (Darnell, 2012, p. 38). Bronfenbrenner’s model allows structuring the multi-system factors that influence both the sport programme as well as the person, and vice versa, throughout his or her life and with regard to the historical period (proximal processes; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 798). It is not only the “personal attribute and environmental characteristics” (Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 1) that are included, but also the processes and dynamics that take place between different actors in the environment. With regard to the field of sport-in-development, the *bio-ecological theory of human development* allows a structured analysis of the attitudes and beliefs inherent in isiXhosa-culture, the socio-economic factors of people living in Khayelitsha, the government policies of South Africa, friends, family, other institutions and, of course, the sport programme and individuals themselves, and their mutual interactions within their complex changing realities (see chapter 4.1.1.). While sport is said to be universal, the framework of Bronfenbrenner supports that it is “always interpreted and reconciled at both macro- and micro-level, and therefore holds different meanings in different contexts” (Darnell, 2012, p.38). This is strongly supported by Sugden & Haasner (2009), who argue that “sport can be claimed and proclaimed in the name of both complementary and contradictory social goals and practices and in this regard context is everything” (p. 4).

When trying to identify effects of the sport programmes, a more detailed analysis on an individual level is necessary, as Carspecken (2008) explains that “[behavioral] patterns in social life are not the result of causal relations but rather the result of contingent and criticizable conditions within which actions take place” (p. 172 f.). The *bio-ecological theory of human development* already considers “an individual’s topology” (Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 1; see also p. 9) in general, but as individual change (under certain circumstances) can promote wider social change a theory is needed that looks further how behaviour is framed and which role, if at all, sport programmes can play to enhance positive behaviour. As the people in Khayelitsha, the targeted area of this study, are suffering from high levels of gangsterism and violence, and many children and youths are gangsters and offenders themselves, it is crucial to examine sports’ role with regard to positive and negative behaviour.

In conclusion, the aim of this study is to provide a more “reality-congruent body of knowledge” (Maguire, 2013, p. 30) by answering questions about structured processes that happen in sport-in-development programmes, about their intended and unintended outcomes and their “interplay between individuals’ lives and structural contexts” (Maguire, 2013, p. 30). The two complementary models - *bio-ecological theory of human development* and the *social development model* – already partly expose a framework to analyse “the ways in which sport contributes to, or inhibits, personal and social change, the directions these changes take, and the circumstances and wider social conditions in which they occur” (Spaaji, 2011, p. 3 f.), and are therefore suitable for this study. To have a complete theoretical framework and to fully understand sports contribution, the following chapter gives a more detailed insight into the processes of social change.

#### 4.1.3. Theory of (Social) Change

The theories discussed in the previous chapters mainly focus on power relations, human development and behaviour. While conclusions have been drawn how they relate to programmes resp. programme theory, a more detailed look is taken in this chapter. As already discussed in length, individuals are part of a much bigger picture and changes with regard to behaviour or wider social outcomes do not happen in isolation. The following remarks explicitly pay attention to a theoretical foundation of (social) change, namely *theory of change*, and its conditions (with regard to programmes).

One can find a confusing body of literature regarding the *theory of change*, with no consensus on how to define it. The theories vary widely, mostly including beliefs and assumptions how change occurs, while these assumptions are sometimes meant to be the theory itself and sometimes only a part of the process (Stein & Valters, 2012, p. 2 f.). Two main streams can be captured: (1) *theory of change* as an evaluation strategy and (2) *theory of change* as a way of thinking/worldview (Valters, 2014, p. 3). Their initial points are the same: all previous models had not taken into consideration the complexity of human beings and of social change, and weren't doing justice to social change being "anything but straightforward" (Aragon, 2010, p. 37). Also, as James (2011) points out, "people taking a more complex, systemic or network based approach – looking at their role in change as a small part of a much broader whole – rather than change as a linear process" (p. 2). To deal with this complexity a model is relevant that "take[s] into account emergence, flexibility, adaptivity and innovation" (Aragon, 2010, p. 38).

Looking at the first stream, it is Weiss, who, in the mid-1990, mentions the *theory of change* for the first time. She criticizes that there are too many complex social development projects with no clear framework, poorly articulated assumptions, and no information on how the supposed change happens. As a result, those programmes cannot be assessed and can only be evaluated properly (INTRAC, 2012, p. 2; James, 2011, p. 2). When defining *theory of change* in this regard, it falls

underneath the programme theory family (Vogel, n.y., p. 6 f.). Therefore, it is often mistaken to be equivalent to the ‘Logical Framework’, which was originally developed to be a summary of a bigger discussion about external influences<sup>98</sup>, before it was reduced to display a direct cause and effect relationship (Aragón, 2010, p. 37 f.). GrantCraft (2006), comparing *theory of change* with the ‘Logical Framework’, characterizes the latter as taking “a more narrowly practical look at the relationship between inputs and results” (p. 3).

The second stream is, according to James (2011) and Vogel (n.y.), positioned in the 1970s. People were increasingly and critically looking into development, as many existing development programmes did not bring the expected outcomes (p. 2; see also chapter 2.1). It was not necessarily the programme itself that was analysed, but the “different interpretations of development situations, especially the perspectives of the poor and marginalized people themselves” (Vogel, n.y., p. 7). The critical analysis of existing power relations, as demanded for in *critical theory* (cp. chapter 4.1.1), falls into this category of thought.

With these different approaches, a number of theories of social change came up, “each using a different lens and based on different understanding of how change happens” (James, 2011, p. 2). As opposite as many of them seem, they are most efficiently used when combined (Vogel, n.y., p. 6 f.; Stern et al., 2012).

#### 4.1.3.1. Attempt for a definition

As it is not meant to discuss the obscure body of literature in details and as there are many definitions within the two main streams, only those definitions that suit the purpose of this study are discussed in the following. For this study the *theory of change* is defined as a broader approach to think about development and about how change might come about. In this sense, it is built on Jackson (2013) who is convinced that it is more a framework than an actual evaluation strategy or

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<sup>98</sup> See Vogel (2012, p. 19 f.) for a more in-depth discussion on the original intention of logical frameworks.



method. For him, based on the framework, further methodologies have to be called in when evaluating programmes (p. 103; see also Taplin & Clark, 2012, p. 1).

Vogel (2012) points out, that there are – at minimum – five elements constituting a *theory of change*:

- “Context for the initiative, including social, political and environmental conditions and other actors able to influence change
- Long-term change that the initiative seeks to support and for whose ultimate benefit
- Process/sequence of change that is anticipated in order to create the conditions for the desired long-term outcome
- Assumptions about how these changes might happen, as a check on whether the activities and outputs are appropriate for influencing change in the desired direction in this context.
- Diagram and narrative summary that captures the outcomes of the discussion.” (Vogel, 2012, p. 14)

Taking these elements as definition, *theory of change* is seen as a “way of thinking” (Valters, 2014, p. 3), and also, even more important for the following study, as “an approach aiming to encourage a politically informed, reflexive and complex approach to development” (Valters, 2014, p. 14). This follows Jackson (2013), James (2011) and Wigboldus & Brouwers (2011), who propose to use *theory of change* only as a flexible approach and a way of thinking, and not as a straightforward evaluation tool or methodology itself.

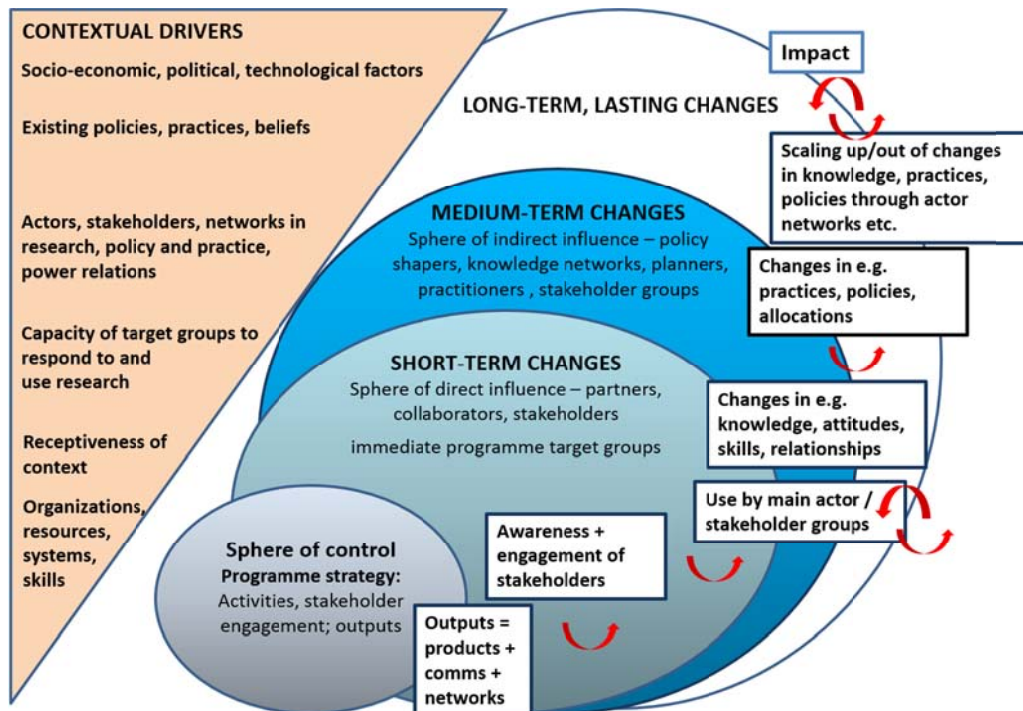


Figure 3: Theory of Change (adapted from Montague, Porteous & Sridharan, 2011)

The presented diagram gives an example of how *theory of change* can be displayed. It needs to be considered that there is no universal visualization of *theory of change* that is valid for all programmes. The underlying belief is that human beings and environments are complex (cp. 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2) and so is social change - and therefore a certain social change can neither easily be triggered nor understood (Aragon, 2010, p. 37f.). Within the field of development and in line with the philosophical approach underlying this study, social change always includes “efforts to reduce poverty and oppression by changing underlying unequal power relationships” (Guijt, 2007, p. 4). He adds: “Social change efforts are characterized by multiple actions on multiple fronts that seek a systemic, structural impact” (Guijt, 2007, p. 4). Moreover, as UNDP & Hivos (2011) state, the “social, historical, political and economic inter-dependency between different factors and actors” (p. 3) is required. This point of view is also underlined by Davies (2004) who argues that one should see change processes as networks, and not as one linear chain.

#### 4.1.3.2. Types of Change

As explained, social change is not straightforward and not a linear result of certain inputs. With the reality being multi-dimensional and complex, there are different types of changes that can occur. Knowing what kind of social change can emerge and which conditions are necessary to allow this, without drawing simple cause and effect relationships, has “significant implications for assessment and learning” (Guijt & Retaloza, 2012, p. 16).

For Reeler (2007) there are three types of change: emergent, transformative and projectable change, whose occurrence depends on the (unstable/stable) conditions and relationships of the context and/or people. In order to work properly and (more) effectively, the nature of change in the developing state of the individual needs to be discovered and the programme adapted adequately (Reeler, 2007, p. 9).

In line with the different types of change that occur, attention needs to be drawn towards the terminology used in this respect. As displayed in figure 3, and this equals common definitions, the term impact describes long-term and lasting changes on macro-levels that can result from an accumulation of changes on other levels. These short-term and medium-term changes are labelled outcomes and/or effects (e.g. Morra Imas & Rist, 2009; Kusek & Risk, 2004; OECD, 2002). It is also displayed that there are a range of different contextual drivers that also determine the changes. This, while no situation is one-sided when it comes to change conditions or change processes, with some of them staying unseen and not being acknowledged, it is a difficult task to grasp (social) change in its full context (Reeler, 2007). However, as discussed earlier, it is still common in programmes<sup>99</sup> to see change as a simply linear result of a cause and effect relationship (Aragón, 2010, p. 37); and Patel (2007) critically argues for a “need to see the full complexity and non-linear nature of such social change processes, if we are to learn how to ‘do development’ differently” (p. 17). To uncover different spheres of influences and thereby doing justice to non-linear change processes, complex contextual

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<sup>99</sup>As explained earlier, the logical framework often builds the theoretical foundation for programmes that aim at social change. However, acknowledging the social world being complex, the cause and effect thinking that underlies this approach gets criticized more often.

circumstances and human beings, this study aims at being clearly distinctive in using the terms outcomes/effects for short- and medium-term changes on micro- and meso-level; and the term impact for long-term and sustainable changes above the level of the individual.

#### 4.1.3.3. *Theory of Change* and its Meaning for Sport-in-Development

As discussed in this chapter already at length, individuals and programmes are part of a much bigger picture. It has been described that a critical perspective on given power relations needs to be taken and that participants and coaches as part of 'sport for social change' programmes are located in a complex reality in flux, a reality which they actively frame. Equally, the sport-and-development programmes are active framers of their surroundings and people, but are likewise framed by them. As in the field 'sport and development' many programmes deal with 'sport for social change', the theoretical framework of the study needs to take into consideration what (social) change is, on which level it occurs and which theory guides it. Spaaji (2011) for example points out that "change represents a process that may have positive or negative consequences, as perceived by those affected by it" (p. 3). Therefore, sport-in-development programmes could cause – unknowingly – a change that is opposite to what they had in mind. Therefore, and acting on the assumed impossibility to have "a total understanding of all sets of societal relationships that generate change and are in constant flux" (Aragón, 2010, p. 38), it is of utmost importance to have a theory of change that explains how change comes about.

While such an approach would sketch "exploring change more widely in a particular context and then drawing on wider theory to analyse how a programme might contribute to change" (James, 2011, p. 27), one hardly finds theories of change in the 'sport and development' contexts. As Coalter (2010) points out, most of 'sport and development' organizations have problems to explain how their supposed social change comes about. Many uncritically adopt a "one-dimensional view of

‘sport’ as having inherent properties and inevitably positive outcome ‘development’” (Coalter, 2010, p. 16). Few work with logical frameworks, but – as pointed out earlier – do not take into consideration the fluent and complex character social change has inherent and thereby dismiss the multi-dimensional facets of sport and its environment (Coalter, 2010).

Sugden (2008/2009; 2010) presents a programme theory that he calls the ripple effect model that, in a nutshell, is based on sport in divided societies and shows how sport-in-development programmes affect most strongly those involved in a project. Further, the sport programme and its participants can change significant others, who can affect network partners, who can impact on policies and community, who again can influence and change wider contexts and peace processes, before, at the end of the impact process, the human rights agenda is changed (Sugden & Haasner, 2009, p. 8). The *theory of (social) change* is similar in structure and idea to the ripple effect model, but presents more details. Transferring it to the sport-in-development sector, the examined sport programmes do not automatically reach their developmental goals, but are dependent on certain steps. Any outcome such as change in behaviour can have an impact on wider social change – but it depends on the contextual drivers that must support the social change. This is supported by Organizational Research Services (2004) who state that “individual changes are not enough, by themselves, to ensure that positive changes will last” (p. 3). As the diagram shows, different steps that are based on each other and change conditions are to be met before a long-lasting social change in the macrosystem can be achieved.

## 4.2. Methodological Framework

While the choice of methodology - on the one hand - is guided “by the appropriateness of the method for the issue under study and the research questions” (Flick, 2009, p. 33), it is – on the other hand - also the theoretical framework that underlies a study that determines research methodologies (OECD,

2010, p. 10). Therefore, after shortly discussing the consequences that derive from the theoretical framework, the following subchapters present current discussions on research methodology and methods relevant for this study. Based on this, further information is given on the positioning and reflexivity of the researcher, language issues and ethical considerations that play a role when conducting research as a female foreigner in Khayelitsha.

#### **4.2.1. Implications of theoretical framework on methodology**

In this study, as outlined in chapter 4.1, *critical left-realism* is the given approach. With it being part of *critical pragmatism*, the approach criticizes traditional ways of constituting knowledge and common ways of gaining scientific truth (cp. 4.1.1). It is individual experience as well as interaction that form knowledge; and consensus is produced through open communication (Vannini, 2008, p. 162). According to Vannini (2008), the power lies in the “potential to generate useful knowledge through concrete empirical observation” (p. 162) and, in summary, “understanding the world from a culture member’s perspective constitutes a uniquely radical position in a world still dominated by universalist and absolutist pretensions toward the objects of knowledge” (p. 161). This view clearly demands a certain kind of methodology, namely one that is participatory and allows observing from within the focus of study. For Carspecken (2008) it is not the methods that make research critical, “but rather the theory of knowledge and society used in designing a study and interpreting results” (p. 172; cp. chapter 4.2.4.2.) – ontologically speaking an interpretative nature of knowledge, as it is provided in this study. In *critical pragmatism*, scientific truth is not seen as absolute or rational, but research is seen as producing multiple versions of truth in an ongoing and changing process (Vannini, 2008, p. 161 f.). The methodological approach of this study supports the ontological position and is of utmost importance.

As it is especially power relations sport activists should be focusing on (MacDonald, 2002), and to reveal the influence they have on sport programmes’ functioning and

on the dimension of change in participants and the community around, a holistic method is necessary. While methods must be chosen that can systematically identify these power practices, it is also the interpretation of data that is critical and must take it into account. Cook (2008b) supports this, stating that “power imbalances occur either within the research process or within society more broadly to shape the way research is conducted, interpreted, and acted upon” (p. 495). Also, having in mind the proximal processes that influence development, the most dominant socializing units need to be examined as this differs from individual to individual and his or her past and current situation in life.

Both the theories on human development and behaviour also influence the methodological approach. As the “individual[’s] behavior is shaped by broader social, economic, political, and physical factors that interact with psychological characteristics in specific place and time” (Schensul, 2008, p. 392) the individual as well as the sport programme are embedded in a certain context and a methodology must be chosen that takes this holistic view into account. Likewise, with regard to evaluation, it is policy, development and institutional context that frame the context for any development intervention (OECD, 2010, p. 12) and therefore methodologies must be able to determine them. However, as Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik (2009) point out, “designing a study that includes each and every aspect of the [Bronfenbrenner] theory, the research would indeed be a large and complex study” (p.207). As described earlier, this study follows their suggestion to only focus on certain aspects of the theory. Having the four different contextual systems in mind, information on the context of participants is already presented in chapter 3, as “it is important to know how they evolved and what shaped them. The historical context refers to political, social, environmental, and cultural decisions or events occurring over time that can be described and linked to the situation under study.” (Schensul, 2008, p. 392). However, an independent analysis of them is not part of this study, but there is an analysis of the mutual influences between sport programme and individual (participant, coach, significant other). As this includes “data about regularly occurring interactions and activities with the important

people, symbols, and objects in the developing individuals' lives" (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009, p. 209), a methodology is needed that adequately assesses those relationships, the influence they have on the participants in consideration of the context.

Additionally, the theories on human development and behaviour chosen for this study ask for a methodological approach that takes into account the complex society, different levels of environment and influential factors of the participants. Methods are required that analyse life situations and perceived opportunities of children growing up in Khayelitsha, and that allow to examine sites and conditions within the sport project, sport activity and daily life that takes place. Combining this demand with the discussion about monitoring and evaluation in the sport-in-development sector, the question for a suitable methodology comes up.

The implication *theory of change* has on methodology follows the previously described argument. Guijt (2007) advises caution, as methodological challenges "depend on the nature of change" (p. 19) that occurs. Also, "positive change at a local level or large scale will not necessarily lead to more structural changes at national or international level. Although one might focus on a more local level, social change is simultaneously subject to macro-level influences that cannot be ignored. It touches the political, cultural, and economic spheres of people's lives – anywhere where injustices due to power abuses and inequities are present." (Guijt, 2007, p. 14). Additionally, as Reeler (2007) points out, "processes of change [...] are already there, moving or latent, and must be read and worked with as natural processes inherent to the lives and culture of the people themselves" (p. 33). Therefore, methods are necessary to be applicable to any sort of change on multiple levels (cp. Jackson, 2007, p. 103) – that is being holistic and culture specific. Especially in the development context, methods need to be chosen for "user-friendliness, cost-value ratio, applicability in the field, appropriateness for the interests" (Meier, 2013, p. 179).

Based on the given statements, in the following epistemological positions and the methods underlying this study are explained.



#### 4.2.2. Quantitative and qualitative research debate

Apart from taking a position in terms of the nature of knowledge (positivism versus interpretivism; see chapter 4.1.1), another differentiation that can be made in research is the one between quantitative and qualitative research (cp. Gratton & Jones, 2010, p. 22 f.). According to the position that is taken ontologically, one or the other research design seems to suit better (Flick, 2005; Keegan, 2009; Gratton & Jones, 2010). While quantitative research is mainly associated with a positivist point of view, qualitative research goes mainly along with interpretivism (Gratton & Jones, 2010, p. 29 f.; Sale, Lohfeld & Brazil, 2002, p. 44f.). As the aim of this subchapter is not to further explain general ontological positions – the study's position is in length explained in chapter 4.2.1 – a more detailed look is taken on quantitative and qualitative research designs.

Quantitative research is conducted, when social reality is seen as “constant across different times and settings” (Gratton & Jones, 2010, p. 32) and, most often, precise numerical measurement and analysis is used in order to provide facts (Morra Imas & Rist, 2009, p. 294). On the opposite, qualitative data wants to “capture meanings or qualities that are not quantifiable, such as feelings, thoughts, [and] experiences” (Gratton & Jones, 2010, p. 30). Non-numerical measurement and analysis is used to understand “why individuals and groups think and behave as they do” (Keegan, 2009, p. 11) and “how they think and behave within a certain context, at a particular moment in time” (Gratton & Jones, 2010, p. 25). Qualitative research is additionally characterized by context-sensitivity, as “survey participants [are seen] as subjects and partners, rather than as objects” (Meier, 2013, p. 179 referring to Sinning, 2005).

For Maxwell (2013), referring to Mohr (1982), the biggest and most important distinction between quantitative and qualitative research is their way of explanation. While quantitative research aims to demonstrate a “statistical relationship between different variables” (p. 29; variance theory), qualitative research aims to explain “how some situations and events influence others” (p. 29; process theory). This is also supported by others (e.g. Sale, Lohfeld & Brazil, 2002,

p. 45; Flick, 2005, paragraph 12). Maxwell (2013) mentions five elements that constitute the strength of the latter:

- (1) “Understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, experiences, and actions they are involved with or engage in. (...)
- (2) Understanding the particular contexts within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions. (...)
- (3) Understanding the process by which events and actions take place. (...)
- (4) Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new, ‘grounded’ (Glaser und Strauss, 1967) theories about the latter. (...)
- (5) Developing causal explanations.” (p. 30 f.)

It is important to note though, that the in (5) mentioned causality is not equal with causality in quantitative research. In a qualitative study the question is why and how one situation influences another, whereas in a quantitative study the question is to what extent one situation influences another (Maxwell, 2013, p. 31).

The debate on quantitative versus qualitative research mainly took place in the 1970s and 1980s (Sale, Lohfeld & Brazil, 2002) and is nowadays seen as “misguided and futile” (Keegan, 2009, p. 13). As a result of accepting both quantitative and qualitative methods, mixed-methods approaches have been widely used in recent years. Some researchers strongly suggest using both quantitative and qualitative approaches complementarily, whenever it serves the purpose of the research, which is the aim of thoroughly understanding a social phenomenon (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 110; Keegan, 2009, p. 15/p. 93; Flick, 2005, paragraph 36/37). DeWalt & DeWalt (2011) propose that “the use of different techniques with different strengths and limitations allows for the cross validation of conclusions by comparing them using data collection in different ways. This [...] is also part of the classic approach to assessing validity” (p. 128). Flick (2009) adds that a mixed-method approach “increases scope, depth, and consistency in methodological proceedings” (p. 445), as different aspects of the investigated phenomena can be looked at. According to DeWalt & DeWalt (2011), both accuracy and objectivity is

enhanced<sup>100</sup> (p. 110; p. 128). For Yin (2013), a combination of methods from both strands can result, “if the results are convergent, greater confidence (...) in the evaluation’s overall findings” (p. 323). Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003) claim that reliability, validity and objectivity can only be achieved when mixed-methods incorporate a “transformation of the data and their analysis through another approach” (p. xi) in addition to the already mentioned multiple approaches in data collection.

To further strengthen findings Morra-Imas & Rist (2009) do not only suggest a triangulation<sup>101</sup> of methods, but also add “triangulation of sources” (p. 300), such as collecting the same information from different sources, and “evaluator triangulation” (p. 300), such as collecting the same information from more than one evaluator as strategy for stronger evidence. The latter is especially said to increase the accuracy of a study (Morra-Imas & Rist, 2009, p. 300; Yin, 2013, p. 323). Denzin (2009) adds a fourth category - triangulation of theory - that is considering different theories and hypothesis while collecting and analysing the data. Any kind of triangulation is meant to deepen the researcher’s “understanding of either a single phenomenon or of a contextual set of interrelated phenomena” (Rothbauer, 2008, p. 894).

Although some critics express concerns about quality criteria in pure qualitative research designs<sup>102</sup>, this study adopts a mainly qualitative research design with only very few quantitative elements.

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<sup>100</sup>Defining objectivity as “a continuum of closeness to an accurate description and understanding of observable phenomena” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 111), no method will ever fully determine all aspects in real world (cp. DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 111).

<sup>101</sup> According to Rothbauer (2008), “there are differences among researchers and commentators on the nature, degree, and utility of comparison of findings garnered from different approaches.” For some, triangulation of methods is different to mixed-methods, as it doesn’t necessarily refer to a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, but rather “focuses on the research question from different perspectives” (Ton, 2012, p. 8) with different methods from the same strand. Also, for some, all methods chosen in triangulation are seen as being of equal value (within method) and “their meeting point is the issue under study” (Flick, 2009, p. 27). For mixed-methods a “pragmatic combination” (Flick, 2009, p. 32) of qualitative and quantitative approaches is of main relevance.

<sup>102</sup>Critical voices with regard to quality criteria come, amongst others, from Stelter, Sparkes & Hunger (2003) and Flick (2005, paragraph 1). They point out that there are many contradictions and dimensions with regard to quality criterion in the field of qualitative research. Firstly, “qualitative research can mean different things to different people” (Stelter, Sparkes & Hunger, 2003, paragraph 2). Secondly, disagreements exist concerning weaknesses of the approach. While there is

In this study, different methods (see chapter 4.2.3 and 4.3.2) coming from both the qualitative and quantitative corners, such as questionnaires, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, episodic interviews with participants and significant others, and participant observation are used.<sup>103</sup> As indicated in the research questions, the study's aim is to "contextualize and politicize the role and place of sport in struggle for sustainable and equitable development" (Darnell, 2012, p. 23) - and therefore strong emphasis is put on qualitative research. As Kawulich (2005) points out, "using different approaches to data collection [...] leads to a richer understanding of the social context and the participants therein" (paragraph 19; also UNDP, 2013, p. 3). Only by the thorough understanding of experiences and perspectives, that is aimed at in this study, can one "go beyond the most general and superficial generalizations about a setting or community" (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 129). This goes along the demand "for the deployment of multiple theories rather than a strict disciplinary adherence" (Darnell, 2012, p. 23). As most of the methods used in this study are qualitative in nature, the applied quantitative methods are only mentioned in more detail in chapter 5.2.5.

In order to strengthen findings, in this study triangulation of sources is included in the methodology as well. By interviewing not only participants, but coaches and people the participants feel close to, a much broader picture of the effects of the sport projects on participants is given. Also, as Fetterman (2008) notes, "the

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consensus on the existence of bias (e.g. Ratner, 2002; Breuer & Roth, 2003; Kawulich; 2005; Keegan, 2009; Shaw, 2002; Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011), the extent of subjectivity's influence on objectivity is argued about differently. Some researchers appoint coexistence, saying that being aware of one's subjectivity allows one to be reflective, as "he/she can then recognize those biases that may distort understanding and replace them with those that help him/her to be more objective" (Kawulich, 2005, paragraph 19, referring to Ratner, 2002). Others deny coexistence and say that subjectivity restricts objectivity to such a level that being objective is not possible anymore at all (Ratner, 2002). Thirdly, Madden (2011) demands that methodologies need to be thought through more properly and data has to be collected and analyzed more systematically, for meeting scientific criteria such as reliability (p. 23 f.). Therefore, Flick (2009, p. 392f.), referring to Lincoln & Guba (1985), discusses the use of alternative criteria, such as trustworthiness, credibility, transferability and confirmability and dependability, to assess quality in qualitative research. Meier (2013) adopts this view, choosing "trustworthiness" (p. 179), as a more appropriate term for validity when referring to quality criteria in qualitative research.

<sup>103</sup>Within the development context methods must also be chosen pragmatically, that is taking into consideration what is possible, context-specific and sensitive at the same time. As explained in more detail in chapter 4.2.4., contextual circumstances require flexibility in the choice and application of methods (cp. Meier, 2013, p. 22; Flick, 2005, paragraph 30/37).

amount of time devoted to working in the field allows for built-in forms of reliability as the fieldworker observes the same patterns of behavior over time” (p. 347). As the author of this study spent two separate six-month stints in the field, this helps strengthen findings. Referring back to the theoretical framework, this approach works towards the demands for a study relating to Bronfenbrenner’s theory (see chapter 4.2.1). Summarizing, Meier (2013) says “multiple perspectives will never lead to complete and objective understanding of an issue or certain circumstances, but every added piece of a puzzle contributes to the full picture” (p. 181, cp. also Stake, 2005, p. 454).

The different perspectives aimed for in this study are gathered by ethnographic fieldwork; and the most integral parts of this study are presented in the following subchapters.

#### **4.2.3. Ethnographic Fieldwork**

As this study’s research is based on *critical-left realism* point of view (that clearly belongs to the interpretative nature of knowledge), it “examine[s] power-laden social and cultural processes within particular social sites” (Cook, 2008a, p. 148). It also aims at gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomena, and therefore different qualitative research methods are involved. As the following attempts for definitions show, ethnography is strongly in line with the purpose of qualitative research (see chapter 4.2.2.). This is one of the reasons why some researchers argue that the terms ethnography and qualitative research are sometimes used interchangeably (cp. Knoblauch, 2005, paragraph 5; Flick, 2005, paragraph 30).

Kawulich (2005) points out that “qualitative methods of data collection, such as interviewing, observation, and document analysis, have been included under the umbrella term of ‘ethnographic methods’” (paragraph 1). According to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) “‘ethnography’ does not have a standard, well-defined meaning” (p. 2). In line with the qualitative research interests (and thereby interpretative approach), “ethnographies are generally characterized by their focus on a particular

group, or subculture, and the inseparable relationship between individuals and their social context” (Gratton & Jones, 2010, p. 194) and that “it is the complex networks of interdependencies rather than isolated areas that are of interest to the ethnographer” (p. 196). The latter definition is similar to the one Holt & Sparkes (2001) use, for whom the purpose of ethnography, to examine and understand a group’s natural behaviour from a perspective within that group, is the definition itself. According to Madden (2011) ethnography is a “qualitative social science practice that seeks to understand human groups (or societies, or cultures, or institutions) by having the researcher in the same social space as the participants in the study” (p. 16). Becoming part of that group for an extended period of time is thereby inevitable (Flick, 2009, p. 234).

Therefore, ethnographic research, like any qualitative/interpretative research paradigm, is led by the demand for “understand[ing] the social context of particular behavior and/or look[ing] at details of behavior: the routines and habitual actions” (Keegan, 2009, p. 92). Thiele (2003) adds that it is “the description for scenes, milieus, cultures or small ‘life-worlds’” (paragraph 5) that ethnographic methods aim for, and that “social, cultural, political, and economic issues can be interpreted and represented to illustrate the processes of oppression and engage people in addressing them” (Cook, 2008a, p. 148).

Concerning collecting data, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) suggest to “gather[ing] whatever data is available” (p. 3), supported by Gratton & Jones (2010), who state that “data is collected from whatever sources are available or appropriate all time” (p. 196). While this refers to a variety of methods and sounds unstructured in the first place (further information is given in the next subchapters), the analysis of the collected data does then involve “interpretation of the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices, and how these are implicated in local, and perhaps also, wider contexts” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 3). Thereby, attention needs to be paid to one’s own attitude as “observations of others are saturated with power, politics and history” (Madden, 2011, p. 97). This understanding goes along the ontological position taken in this study.

Summarizing the goals of all ethnographic fieldwork, Madden (2011) points out that “these studies seek to build theories of culture and society, theories of human behaviour and attitudes, and to appreciate what it means to be human in particular social and cultural contexts” (p. 17). Also, “understanding socio-cultural problems and using these understanding to bring about positive change in communities, institutions, or groups” (Madden, 2011, p.33) are among the interests of ethnographic studies – and alike this study’s interest. Therefore, an ethnographic approach suits well here. According to Thiele (2003), who refers to Schütze (1994), there are methods belonging to ethnographic research, but “*no specific ethnographic methods*” (paragraph 10). Hence, almost any method that comes from an interpretative research approach can be used for the ethnographic purposes (Thiele, 2003, paragraph 10; referring to Schütze, 1994, p. 190). In the following, methods belonging to ethnographic fieldwork that are of relevance for this study are further examined.

#### 4.2.3.1. Participant Observation

Participant observation is “an indispensable characteristic of ethnography” (Nadai & Maeder, 2005, abstract; see also Flick, 2009, p. 236). There are different definitions about participant observation. Some distinguish between different dimensions of observing<sup>104</sup> (ranging from an unobtrusive to an obtrusive observer or from insider to outsider participant observer) whereas others include “natural conversations, interviews of various sorts, checklists, questionnaires, and unobtrusive methods” (Kawulich, 2005, paragraph 3). As such a broad definition contains many methods it is very much similar to the overall definition that was given for ethnography. However, Madden (2011) – whose point of view is taken for this study as it provides a structured thread to follow - sees participant observation as one, though the main, part of ethnography (p. 16).

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<sup>104</sup>Gold (1958), cited in Flick (2009, p. 223) distinguishes between complete-participant-observer, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and complete-observer as participant observer. A more broadly overview on structured and semi-structured observation is given by Morra-Imas & Rist (2009, p. 310) and Flick (2009, p. 226f.).

DeWalt & DeWalt (2011) have the same categorization as Madden (2011), and define participant observation as a “method in which a researcher takes part in daily activities, rituals, interactions and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (p. 1). Fetterman’s (2008, p. 347) definition is comparable to the one DeWalt & DeWalt (2011) give. While spending time with that group of people the researcher observes and thereby develops an understanding of that particular culture. Recording or taking field notes support the process of enculturation<sup>105</sup> and are an important component of participant observation (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 4f.).

The following elements constitute the method:

- Living in the context for an extended period of time
- Learning and using local language and dialect
- Actively participating in a wide range of daily, routine, and extraordinary activities with people who are full participants in that context
- Using everyday conversation as an interview technique
- Informally observing during leisure activities (hanging out)
- Recording observations in field notes (usually organized chronologically)
- Using both tacit and explicit information in analysis and writing (p. 5)

While the above mentioned enculturation enables the researcher to understand all forms of communication, it also influences the way he or she interprets a certain situation. A proper and critical analysis and interpretation of data therefore requires a tacit knowledge that can only be gained through “experient[ing] the world of the observed through participant observation” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 5). The longer the researcher spends time in the field, the more opportunities he or she gets to gain deeper insights into the social structures, people’s lives and values, and thereby it becomes easier to understand behaviour within the wider context

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<sup>105</sup>For Kottak (2014), enculturation is “the social process by which culture is learned and transmitted across generations” (p. 16). For more information on the concept of enculturation see Schensul, Schensul & Le Compte, 1999)



(DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011) – which is the aim of this study. Although it might not make the researcher grasp every single characteristic of behaviour, it assists in “discover[ing] the existence of patterns of thought and behavior” (p. 126). Pointing out the benefits of participant observation, DeWalt & DeWalt (2011) refer to “building of greater rapport, better access to informants and activities and an enhanced understanding of the phenomena” (p. 110). However, the researcher has to be considerate not to go native (see chapter 4.2.4. for further elaboration of this process).

Apart from participant observation, interviews also belong to ethnographic fieldwork and are used in this study.

#### 4.2.3.2. Interviews

As Fetterman (2008) points out the researcher must have “a plan of action to follow up on observations” (p. 347). One possibility not only to follow up but to accompany participant observation is to conduct interviews. In qualitative research in general, and in ethnography in particular, there are lots of different forms of interviews that range from informal to formal and from unstructured to structured ones. Information can therefore be gathered through spontaneous conversations or through scheduled interview sessions, and by asking broad open-ended questions or closed direct questions (cp. Madden, 2011, p. 67f.). Any interview asks the interviewee for his or her account of the truth “by selectively choosing, omitting and reinterpreting aspects of the past. It is not, and can never be, a transparent account of events. (...) This does not make the story untrue, but it gives it a particular perspective that may need to be balanced by other perspectives, such as observing actual behavior” (Keegan, 2009, p. 83). Therefore, this study does use interviews in combination with other methods.

While open-ended questions may result in the interviews lasting very long and being side-tracked from the original topic, they often provide more insights into things that really matter for the participant and are therefore relevant as well

(Madden, 2011, p. 70). Especially in the context of Khayelitsha, where growing up is very complex and not linear, such questions can provide a relevant, holistic view. However, cultural conversational norms have to be considered in order to not offend sensibilities. The researcher needs to consider the culture in which the interview takes place. Apart from the way the questions are asked, in some cultures a long entry to any conversation is common and required before starting a conversation on personal themes (Madden, 2011, p. 70, Keegan, 2009, p. 76).

In the given setting of this study, some types of interviews present themselves better than others. As stated before, working and investigating in a development context requires being pragmatic and flexible. Through participation and observation in the projects there are many opportunities for informal conversations that allow one to understand what is actually going on in the field or to get opinions on certain issues. More formal conversations are also necessary to get information on the specific research topic and to be able to compare results among the group of people. Equally important are episodic interviews that are suitable to track the effects of sport programmes as well as contextual factors from the interviewees' point of view, and thereby includes what's most important for them. Unexpected outcomes are therefore likely to be identified. Through being participatory, episodic interviews allow "the social construction of reality during the presentation of experiences" (Flick, 2009, p. 190). Being a mix of narrative and question-answer-sequences, episodic interviews allow to "direct [the narrative] through a series of key questions concerning a subject recounting and defining situations" (Flick, 2009, p. 190). The researcher can probe whenever necessary, that is when the interviewee mentions something that might be relevant for the issue of the study (cp. Flick, 2009, p. 171, 186). He adds that "whether a question has already been answered *en passant* and may be left out can only be decided *ad hoc*" (p. 171). Subsequently, "being open to various simultaneously applied methods allows for genuine consideration and accommodation of local requests and preferences, including making interviewees feel more comfortable" (Meier, 2013, p. 179).

However, any formal conversations, structured and episodic interviews can be difficult for various regions, including logistics, time management of participants and the

location of the interview. Although “the environment in which the interviewing takes place of necessity influences the responses to some extent” (Keegan, 2009, p. 83) research in areas such as Khayelitsha do not always take place under best conditions. Therefore, patience and effort, as well as the willingness to be flexible and to go with whatever is presented, is indispensable. Again, as Meier (2013) points out, “the research question and setting determine the methods, not the opposite” (p. 178 f.; see also Flick, 2009, p. 405). While some pre-developed questions are of utmost importance as the study aims to find out about sport programme’s impact and contextual factors, spontaneous questions that come up during the conversation or while hanging around give additional and valuable information.

As interviews and observations in the field are often tangent to sensitive information, “ethnography, whether conducted in one's own community or somewhere else, therefore inherently means relation, responsibility, and ethics” (Roth, 2009, paragraph 14; see also Madden, 2011, p. 16). Further information on the positioning of the researcher is given in the next chapter.

#### **4.2.4. The Researcher**

As Finley (2008) summarizes “people experience the world from different embodied, social, intellectual, and spatial locations. How we are situated within social spaces and locations, taken in combination with our personal and shared intellectual histories as well as our lived experiences, shapes each of our understandings of the world, our knowledge, and our actions” (p. 98). Especially when conducting a study in another country, several issues regarding the researcher’s position in the others’ social world must be considered and acknowledged. The following remarks give an overview on what else needs to be considered when conducting research in the field of sport-in-development, which experiences were had and how it was dealt with in this study.

#### 4.2.4.1. Positioning of the Researcher

When entering a new culture, one is usually easily identified as an outsider, as the physical appearance, language, non-verbal communication always makes one apparent as a stranger<sup>106</sup>. Especially when coming from a country that is known to be wealthy (or at least wealthier than the one where the fieldwork takes place), it is understood that the researcher has more resources, such as money, transportation, food, and other items (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 69). Therefore, the concern that “conducting a study as a White European woman in Africa raises questions of possible bias impacting the relationship between researcher and informants” (Meier, 2013, p. 172) applies to this study as well. Especially in the context of South Africa’s history, where ethnicity played and still plays an important and distinguishing factor, the process of data collection and data interpretation, as well as the data itself might be influenced. It is of utmost importance to not ignore this fact, but to be aware of the inherent power relations, perceptions and occupied attitudes that are (un)consciously involved (Meier, 2013; Patton, 2012; see chapter 4.2.4.2 on researchers’ reflexivity).

As much as the researcher wants to blend in with the research participants, there’s always the risk of ‘going native’ - that is totally merging with the field<sup>107</sup>. Flick (2009) notes that “the process of going native, however, is discussed not only as a researcher’s fault but also as an instrument for reflecting on one’s own process of becoming familiar and for gaining insights into the field under study, which would

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<sup>106</sup> The feeling of strangeness the researcher has at the beginning (Knoblauch, 2005, paragraph 7; Flick, 2009, p. 230) can be called culture shock. It doesn’t entail homesickness alone, but the challenge “to fully operate successfully in a very different cultural context” (p. 67). DeWalt & DeWalt (2011), referring to Oberg (1960, p. 177 ff.), summarize four phases that come along with a culture shock: (1) the honeymoon stage in which the sojourner is “fascinate by the new”, (2) the “crisis” in which the sojourner becomes hostile and aggressive toward the new context, and critical of the place and the people, often moving to stereotype; (3) the “recovery” during which the sojourner begins to grasp the new context, to “open a way” into it; gains experience in getting around and communicating and jokes about previous hardships; and, finally, (4) the “adjustment”, at which time, the sojourner becomes more competent and moves from accepting foods, drinks, habits and customs and begins to enjoy them. While Oberg (1960) refers mainly to “people who have been suddenly transplanted abroad” (p. 177) an ethnographer, although well prepared for his or her trip, might pass some of the stages described.

<sup>107</sup> On merging with the field Thiele (2003) denies that “in reality this cannot be done entirely, because one cannot replace the other or the strange completely” (paragraph 12).

be inaccessible by maintaining distance” (p. 229). While – in order to get access to certain information – immersing with the population of the study is required, and thus ethnographic fieldwork “does not normally allow for breaks from the field, and if so, only sporadically” (Linstroth, 2008, p. 346), it’s a fine line between fully participating and fully participating while systematically observing. The researcher must be “immersed in the culture long enough to understand it from the insider’s perspective and distant enough to objectify patterns of behavior” (Fetterman, 2008, p. 347). Therefore, the researcher does always “face the problem of negotiating proximity and distance in relation to the person(s) studied” (Flick, 2009, p. 112), as a “critical external perspective” (Flick, 2009, p. 229) is essential for any research. Additionally, as DeWalt & DeWalt (2011) point out, “being a man or a woman may be the most significant social fact concerning an individual” (p. 99). This does not only have change the researcher him or herself, but also the way the participants perceive the person. As every individual comes with for example “a specific gender, race, class affiliation” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 99) as well as other characteristics, this influences the whole research (p. 112). However, being aware of this and including it in interpreting the data can counteract the bias.

#### 4.2.4.2. Reflexivity of the researcher

As mentioned above, in qualitative research and especially in ethnographic research, as this is usually characterized by extended and in-depth fieldwork, many responsibilities are put on the researcher, such as “obligation reciprocity, trust, and the formation of friendships” (Madden, 2011, p. 16; see also Roth, 2009, paragraph 14 and McGinn, 2008, p. 768 f.). While the first phase, as McGinn (2008) points out, is rather distanced and the researcher only assists participants in feeling comfortable, the second phase is characterized by the two parties getting to know each other better and considering “their partnerships in the research and their interrelations with each other” (p. 767). Those interrelations become more personal in the third phase, leading to friendships (phase four). In the last phase, phase five,

true partnership is experienced between researcher and participant (McGinn, 2008, p. 767). It is important to note though, that “a closer relationship is not a sign of better research relationship or better research” (McGinn, 2008, p. 767). Although not every relationship between participant and researcher leads to a friendship or true partnership (McGinn, 2008, p. 768 f.), every relationship, as loose as it might be, influences the researcher and the research participant in what is said, how it is analysed and interpreted. Therefore, reflexivity is demanded (McGinn, 2008, p. 771; Flick, 2009, p. 472 f.; Kögler, 2008, p. 154; Finley, 2008, p. 98; Linstroth, 2008, p. 346; Hiles, 2008, p. 891; Griffiths, 2009, p. 16).

Dowling (2008) broadly defines reflexivity as “qualitative researchers’ engagement of continuous examination and explanation of how they have influenced a research project” (p. 747). This includes “be[ing] sensitive to the impact that gender and class has on recruitment, data collection, and data analysis” (Low, 2008, p. 779). Finley (2008) adds “the ongoing analysis of relationships, power dynamics, and purposes of researchers” (p. 98) as essential parts of reflexivity, along with Griffiths (2009), who underlines the “explicit self-consciousness about the researcher’s (...) social, political and value positions, in relation to how these might have influenced the design, execution and interpretation of the theory, data and conclusions” (p. 16) as main features of reflexivity. Flick’s (2009) definition follows those presented above<sup>108</sup>.

In summary, as all these definitions show, any qualitative researcher needs to be aware that their existence in the field and what they carry with them (assumptions, beliefs, attitudes, power dynamics, social privilege, worldview etc.) influences the research process and must therefore be considered as data on its own (Flick, 2009, p. 16; Kay, 2011a.). Those considerations and examinations, as well as being sensitive to the context from which the research data evolved, should flow into any interpretation (Finley, 2008, p. 98). Therefore, reflexivity of the researcher also shapes the methodological approach.

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<sup>108</sup> For Flick (2009) reflexivity is “a concept of research which refers to acknowledging the input of the researchers in actively co-constructing the situation which they want to study. It also alludes to the use to which such insights can be put in making sense of or interpreting data” (p. 472).

As this study takes the critical left-realism as theoretical framework, a critical analysis of given power relations is required. This is supported by the research being “undertaken with the explicit consciousness of the power relations involved and with the declared goal to enhance the critical reflexivity” (Kögler, 2008, p. 154). McGinn (2008) for example suggests inviting others “to negotiate interpretations of the data and to contribute directly to data analyses” (p. 770), that she mentions with regard to reciprocity as “mutual negotiations of meaning and power” (p. 770). The explanations on theories of human development, especially Bronfenbrenner’s theory (see chapter 4.1.2.1.), play also a role in the need for reflexivity. As human life is complex and intermingled with many (unknown) influential factors, “it is never possible to fully understand oneself or one’s relationships in the community, nor is it fully possible to understand the motivations, purposes, or hegemonic indicators that pull us toward particular understandings, positionalities, or worldviews” (Finley, 2008, p. 98). Being aware of this reflexivity is even more important as it allows the integration of any upcoming dynamic. In line with this, every step of the research was adapted to unplanned situations, as requested by Fetterman (2008, p. 347), while the theme of the research was still focused on.

#### 4.2.4.3. Language and Safety Issues

In line with acknowledging cultural norms, language acquisition plays an important role and should be seen as an “immediate and ongoing task for ethnographers” (Madden, 2011, p. 75). Learning the language does not only help to understand better and thereby to get more insights, it is also a sign of respect for the community in which the researcher conducts the data collection, as it shows his or her interest (Kawulich, 2005, paragraph 40).

Furthermore, as Linstroth (2008) points out “assimilating into everyday life produces a whole set of other difficulties, such as change of diet and living circumstances, language barriers, harassment of local officials, and for some in some cases dangerous and violent circumstances.” (p. 346). The latter was also

relevant in this study. While life in Khayelitsha is also dangerous for its inhabitants, white people – as they are on the one hand easily identified as strangers and on the other hand assumed to have more money – must be extremely careful. The high rate of crime and violence (cp. chapter 3.1.3.) must let researchers weigh “how far should the engagement in the field be extended in order to get an adequate image of the life-world that has to be examined” (Thiele, 2003, paragraph 32) and not to put oneself at risk. As Madden (2011) summarizes “if everyday life can be dangerous for participants, it’s axiomatic that it can also be dangerous for ethnographers conducting participant observations” (p. 91). Any “unconscious fears (...) prevent the researcher from meddling in a certain field. For researchers, it depends on the form of access permitted by the field, and on their personality, how instructive descriptions of the cases will be and how far the knowledge obtained remains limited to confirming what was known in advance” (Flick, 2009, p. 112 f.). Having said this, the researcher must be cautious and listen to the recommendation of people, who live in the community where the research takes place.

#### 4.2.4.4. Ethical Considerations

On the basis on what’s been said about the researcher’s position and his or her reflexivity, ethical considerations come into play, “ranging from honesty to reciprocity” (Fetterman, 2008, p. 347). As explained above, building relationships and digging into people’s lives is of utmost importance for ethnographic research. Along with it come many ethical questions, pointing towards the social and moral acceptance of the research (Gratton & Jones, 2010, p. 121). Through becoming part of the culture and building friendships, insights are given into sensitive issues. The topics of the interviews, as the study deals with personal reflections on the sport programmes’ effects, can be very personal. As Meier (2013) puts it, investigators are “guests in the private space of the world” (p. 174). Therefore, every research participant has to be explicitly informed about his or her role in the research. Apart from informed consent, “confidentiality, protection (doing no harm) and ensuring



there is no exploitation (and it's corollary 'to give something back')" (Swartz, 2007, p. 71; referring to Cloke et al., 2000, p. 136 f.) are of necessity. Tedlock (2003) claims that "by entering into firsthand interaction with people in their everyday lives, ethnographers can reach a better understanding of the beliefs, motivations, and behaviours of their subjects than they can by using any other method" (p. 470).

#### *Protection & No exploitation*

As Ellis, Adams & Bochner (2011) conclude, the researcher establishes friendships with participants and community members. But as much as this is part of the strategy, they are not seen "as impersonal 'subjects' mined with data" (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011, paragraph 30), but often as true friends that may remain friends for the lifetime (Kawulich, 2005, paragraph 33). Because the researcher often leaves the field of study after a long period of data collection, he or she needs to pay specific attention to the consequences that result from him/her being in the field. The past, present and also future needs to be considered properly, as not to cause harm through unqualified behaviour. Therefore, ethnography can be seen as "ethical commitment" (Madden, 2011, p. 34), which does add some pressure to the researcher him/herself while being in the field and also when writing information down. In research in general, and in cross-cultural research particular, the researcher must be aware of culturally appropriate norms to approach people, to frame questions and to manage the data (Marshall & Batten, 2004, paragraph 2, 10, 13). Although "creating a partnership with research participants (...) may reduce the risk of unethical or unintentionally insensitive action or treatment" (Marshall & Batten, 2004, paragraph 5), the researcher constantly has to be aware of the inherently involved power relations, potential exploitation and inaccuracy of findings (Marshall & Batten, 2004, paragraph 2, 17).

While the overall claim of social science research is often to dismantle power relations and illustrate drawbacks in certain populations of society – as it is in this study - the question arises whether those that are supposed to be benefitted do

indeed benefit from research findings. Israel & Hay (2006) criticize that research participants often do neither get any feedback after the data collection is over, nor can they feel the research benefits directly (p. 100).

In any research, the researcher must avoid the risk of physical, but also “psychological distress, discomfort, social disadvantage, invasion of privacy or infringement of rights” (Israel & Hay, 2006, p. 96), and, when conducting research with students, attention needs to be paid towards the problem of missing school hours or other school opportunities (Israel & Hay, 2006, p. 98). Depending of the thematic field of the research, participants might have had traumatic experiences – and “the practice of researchers parachuting into people’s lives, interfering, raising painful old feelings, and then vanishing – leaving the participants to deal with unresolved feelings alone and isolated” (Gerard, 1995, p. 59; cited in Israel & Hay, 2006, p. 107). In order to work with the existent power relations - apart from being reflexive – the author further developed “relationships of respect, mutuality and promise-keeping” (Swartz, 2007, p.72) to decrease the power gap between researcher and participant. Also with the methodological approach being participatory, emphasis was drawn on people’s own stories and thereby power was given back to them.

### **4.3. Theoretical and Methodological Framework for this Study**

In order to “make sense of ways in which sport and its organization, culture and politics are negotiated and organized within the contemporary SDP setting” (Darnell, 2012, p. 14) the discussed approaches result in a theoretical and methodological framework that meets the demand to engage with wider social science theory and research-based evidence. As already pointed out, growing up in a less privileged area such as Khayelitsha and furthermore in a post-apartheid society differs very much from the development of better socio-economic positioned children and youths (chapter 3.1). Most people in Khayelitsha are still marginalized due to a manifold set of reasons, being tangent to race, cultural group,

financial status, religion and others. As Cook (2008b) points out, “acknowledging marginalized populations in research necessarily involves acknowledging unequal power relationships between groups within society.” (p. 495). Rooney (2012) also summarizes that “moving beyond the broader framework of a sociology of sport and toward a framework which contextualises the interventions of organizations using sport to achieve social objectives requires a substantial theoretical position; one which moves beyond the simplistic statements of sport’s potential for development and provides an epistemological position evaluating the work of SDP organizations in both the context of their interventionary practices and the socio-political context” (p. 15).

The theoretical framework underlying this study of sport-in-development is able to take the power hierarchies and the context of the marginalized population in Khayelitsha into consideration, however, not every single detail can be acknowledged, as social reality is complex, which makes it difficult for any study to grasp the full picture (UNDP, 2013, p. 3). As explained, *critical left-realism* builds the philosophical superstructure of the theoretical framework and thereby supports the need for a critical analysis of sport-in-development (Darnell, 2012, p. 14). The research therefore takes into consideration the power structures and inequalities in Khayelitsha, but also the power structures between the researcher and the people in the field, and any researcher “working with marginalized populations should be actually aware of the political nature of their research” (Cook, 2008b, p. 496). Transferring this to the theme under study, the *critical left-realism* approach demands critical scrutiny of the status-quo of power relations that surround and affect the sport programmes.

#### 4.3.1. Research Questions

In the following the most important conclusions that are drawn from the theories with respect to the study are explained. In combination with the “necessity to ask questions about structured processes understood to be concretely situated in time and space; an attempt to make sense of the unintended as well as the intended outcomes of various social transformations; an attention to the meaningful interplay between individuals’ lives and structural contexts and the development of a more reality-congruent body of knowledge” (Maguire, 2013, p. 30), the theories build the base for the research questions that corroborate this study.

With the “SDP sector [being] a constantly moving puzzle” (Darnell, 2012, p. 23) Bronfenbrenner’s *bio-ecological theory of human development* connects to the *critical left-realism approach* and serves well to consider and structure all factors that come with an analysis of power, as well as relevant factors of individuals’ lives on different levels with regard to development. While his theory was originally only meant to work in relation to the development of human beings, this study intends for it to be viewed in a broader sense. As DeWalt & DeWalt (2011) point out, “if we wish to go beyond the most general and superficial generalizations about a setting or community, it is necessary to understand the range of variation of experiences and perspectives.” (p. 129). In this study, the human beings that are referred to are mainly participants, coaches, project coordinators, and significant others. Those individuals get - directly and/or indirectly - input from the sport programme. Effective human development however, can only happen by regular interaction over an extended period of time (see ‘proximal processes’ in chapter 4.1.2.1). Due to the individuals being part of the programme in a unique and more or less intense ways, the results of the programme are assumed to differ. Likewise, the sport programme and its format are also influenced by its surrounding and structures; and so is the behavioural and social change that, if at all, derives (partly) from the programme. Sport projects, as other organizations, “are a collection of parts, including administrative components, members, and environment, that are highly integrated. There is mutual influence and ongoing feedback among these parts,

which may or may not contribute to various intended and unintended processes, goals, and outcomes” (Bergman, 2003, paragraph 19). Therefore, as much as the people, according to Bronfenbrenner, influence and are influenced at the same time, it is also the intervention programme that is not isolated and its practice is influenced by the wider structures in which it operates. By the same token, influenced and mutually stimulated are the research process and the researcher. Bronfenbrenner offers a manifold theory, and as much as a broad analysis is asked for, not every aspect of the theory can be included in the actual study. As the individuals are “at the center of their world, constantly being affected by their immediate environment, social and economic context and cultural context” (Routledge, 2005, p. 83) and with Khayelitsha being marked by social problems and inequalities, conclusions are drawn regarding the dimensions of external factors on sport programmes and individuals, the opportunities of sport programmes to influence at all, and on research as well as the researcher.

Summarizing the above mentioned the *bio-ecological theory of human development* can therefore “be used to link the micro-analysis, the individual, with their environment at large, the macro-level analysis” (Routledge, 2005, p. 34). However, another fundamental pillar of this study, which adds to the micro-level analysis and thereby allows a more detailed look at individual’s behaviour, is the *social development model*. It describes positive and negative pathways of youth development, resulting in either positive or negative behaviour; in short, the different pathways of socialization that shape someone’s behaviour. While everything is in constant flux, the behaviour is shaped all the time as well – not only through the programme, but rather through the whole system. Therefore, when analysing sport-in-development programmes it is of utmost importance to look at the individual and the parameters for individual behaviour as these are (partly) the source of social change. As explained above, participants, coaches, significant others and programme coordinators are a part of the programme – just as developers and/or recipients. While most of the participants and coaches face extremely poor living conditions and harsh social problems (cp. chapter 3.1.3),

these circumstances could be assumed to lead to a negative path. However, the opposite is possible too, as sport programmes could be also perceived for opportunities for a certain positive behaviour.

The *theory of (social) change* provides further information on how sport-in-development projects are established within the broader contexts. As previously pointed out, the *theory of (social) change* concludes that direct and indirect influences from the environment touch not only participants, coaches and programme developers, but also the organizations that are established by the individuals within that specific environment. As described earlier, when looking at (social) development that the sport programmes aim at, one has to know which change on which level can happen under which circumstances and parameters for this should be clearly defined. Due to the fact that Khayelitsha is rather an unstable environment, relationships are not always clear, and identities often unformed. Therefore, if (social) change occurs, it is assumed to be a (more or less) conscious change (cp. Reeler, 2007, p. 10). As pointed out in chapter 2.3, studies are needed that analyse the scope of programmes for (social) change on different levels; with social change being a broad and often unspecified term, and with change occurring in different dimensions. Equally important, the *theory of change* shows how input given on individual level, such as programme on participants, can spread to other levels, such as community in which the sport programme is located, or the general South African population. While “practitioners inevitably seem to target a specific actor-level as the starting point to conceptualise change” (Stein & Valters, 2012, p. 9) only, it is of utmost importance to delve into wider social science theory (Stein & Valters, 2012, p. 9 f.), “uncover[ing] and critically interrogat[ing] assumptions about how change happens (Valters, 2014, p. 3) and understand the complexity of change when looking at sport-in-development projects. More concretely, when looking at the instable environment where the described sport programmes take place, which is common for development interventions, the methods chosen to grasp social change must be well considered, as they need to encompass the flux world of changing conditions in the lives of the researched and their community in Khayelitsha. With this study being built on critical left-realism as philosophical

superstructure, power relations and hierarchies in the context of the research study as well as in the field are to be identified. It is assumed that the contextual circumstances, power relations between researcher and researched and the difficulty to grasp (social and individual) change in its full contexts are likely to cause challenges and barriers for conducting research.

The presented theories paired with the knowledge gap discussed in chapter 2.3 lead to three sets of research questions.

- Which effects do sport-in-development projects have on development? How do these effects come about? How do the participants and others close to the project feel that sport itself contributed to the process?
- To what extent are sport-in-development projects influenced by the wider social context and structures they operate in?
- What challenges and barriers are faced by Western scholars conducting research in marginalized populations in the Global South?

In order to answer these questions an encompassing methodology is needed that considers the theoretical framework and the “social, historical and cultural politics [are] at play” (Madden, 2011, p. 59). Additionally, the methodological approach needs to do justice to the aforementioned considerations about the research(er) and has to allow an analysis of sport’s value for generating individual (behavioural) change and wider social outcomes “at each level, up to and including, where possible, tracking its influence on the transcending social and political context” (Sugden, 2010, p. 266). According to Kay (2009), with regard to qualitative approaches, “in the sport-in-development context the particular value in securing accounts of this type is that they provide a mechanism for addressing the complex social phenomena with which we are concerned. They allow us to use a wide lens, reaching beyond the sports programme to broader social context of family and community.” (p. 1180).

#### 4.3.2. Study Design and Procedure

This study's design leans on qualitative longitudinal research<sup>109</sup> with quantitative elements, thus data is gathered in-depth in and around the sport-in-development projects. The data is collected in two six-month stints (t1 and t2) separated by a year. Triangulation is ensured by using different sources and methods. The projects Amandla, MOD F, MOD S and GFSA are purposely selected due to pre-set characteristics necessary for this study. All of them aim at individual and wider social development, use sport as a tool to reach those goals and target the population in Khayelitsha. They differ in structure, frequency and participation rate (see chapter 3.3).

In line with the need for a culture-sensitive and context-specific methodology (see chapter 2.3.), an ethnographic approach is adopted that employs a plurality of methods and links field-relevant data of every kind to practical participant data. For Amandla and GFSA, firstly, general consent was given by the head of the project to conduct research. For the MOD centers, approval and permission was granted by the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport. At first involvement, the researcher introduced herself and the purpose of her study. Participant observation, including informal and formal conversations, as well as general field observations and researcher's experiences are captured in field notes, which are based on the realistic account approach<sup>110</sup>. A semi-structured interview guideline that is partly based on the Most Significant Change method<sup>111</sup> is furthermore used in this study, to also get information that is of major interest in the interviewees' lives and allow for unexpected themes to come up. The interviews are audiotaped and transcribed, and, in case of a lack of clarity, the interviewee is contacted again to confirm that everything is understood properly. The selected stories are then presented to the coaches and/or programme coordinators for reliability and further information. For all conversations and interviews inductive (let them talk, open-

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<sup>109</sup> Farrall (2006), Holland et al. (2006), McLead & Thomson (2012) provide extensive information about qualitative longitudinal research.

<sup>110</sup> Please see Madden (2011) for further details.

<sup>111</sup> Davies & Dart (2005) elaborate in detail on the 'Most Significant Change' Technique and provide a guide on how to use it.



ended questions, emerging themes that are of interest for them) and deductive (with regard to research questions, questions that are already aiming at certain topics) techniques are used. Furthermore, a survey that is based on questions taken from validated surveys regarding thoughts and feelings, social and communication skills and life skills to assess life skill development in the beneficiaries. Prior to the interviews, each participant of the projects was asked to give or deny consent. It was explained, that withdrawal at any point of the interview or questionnaire was accepted and would not interfere with the guarantee for participant's privacy. When under the age of 18, parents or caregivers were asked to give consent as well. The consent forms were translated in isiXhosa and participants were explained what it was about. Also, whenever the researcher had the feeling information on consent or the study wasn't understood properly, the research assistant would explain again in isiXhosa to assure that – no matter of age or education level – the participants truly understood the purpose of the research. Last but not least, participants could decide if they wanted to get the transcription of their interview. Both the Life Skill Questionnaire and the interview guideline underwent several validation stages. They are translated (forward and back) and handed to native speakers in the same age as the sample for correction and comprehension. It was also checked that questions are framed properly to consider cultural norms according to isiXhosa culture with a local research assistant critically looking through the interview guide beforehand.

With regard to analysis of the data, discussions with the local research assistants take place to avoid misunderstandings about the data and its interpretation. Interviews resp. stories are analysed with content analysis<sup>112</sup> using the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO. First all interviews are coded one after each other, adding codes every time a new theme appears; this is repeated throughout all questionnaires until no new theme comes up. The final list of codes is then applied to all interviews and then structured according to the research questions. Ethnographic field notes are analysed likewise. The Life Skill Questionnaires are analysed using the analytic software SPSS 2.0.

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<sup>112</sup> Please see Mayring (2010) and Früh & Mayring (2014) for further information on content analysis.

In t1, participants, coaches and programme coordinators in all three projects are assessed; in t2 the sample expands to people labelled as 'significant others' to investigate the programme's effects on non-beneficiaries and learn how beneficiaries' development is transferred to other life domains. Also considered in both points of time are ex-participants, ex-leaders and stakeholders. Due to difficulties of recruiting the sample randomly, a mixture of snowball and convenience sampling is used to assess programme's participants and ex-beneficiaries. Purposeful sampling is used for leaders and 'significant others' based on specific characteristics, such as being close to the participant; and expert sampling is used for project coordinators.

Summarizing, the theoretical and methodological framework supports the study in producing findings on two levels. On an explorative level the study wants 1) to show the value of sport for generating or inhibiting development, and 2) provide insights into the factors of success and failure that are faced by sport-in-development projects in instable environments such as Khayelitsha. On a practical level it wants to offer insights into the challenges researchers come across when conducting research in sport-in-development projects in poverty-stricken and marginalized areas.

## 5. Analysis and Presentation of Results

After giving an outline of the study design and study procedure, in this chapter results with regard to opportunities and limitations of sport-in-development projects will be presented. More concretely, against the background of the key research questions, the existing data is used to illustrate the effects the programmes have on individual and wider social development, to present the limitations and opportunities the projects have due to the context and structure they are embedded in and to lay out the barriers and challenges for researching such projects. Before doing so, a detailed overview is given on the sample that builds the basis for the data in this study.

### 5.1. Sample

In line with the qualitative longitudinal design with quantitative elements, the same sample was supposed to be assessed in both points of data collection. Due to the differences in project size, frequency of programme activities and researcher's access to people, differences in sample size occur between the projects and between t1 and t2.

The following tables present an overview on the sample assessed, before more details on the sample characteristics are given.

<b>LifeSkillQuestionnaire</b>					
	<b>T1</b>		<b>T2</b>		<b>Total per Project</b>
	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Coaches</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Coaches</b>	<b>T1/T2</b>
<b>Amandla</b>	69	26	13	10	118
<b>MOD S</b>	21	2	14	2	39
<b>MOD F</b>	18	4	12	1	35
<b>GfSA</b>	21		4		25
<b>Total LSQ</b>	129	32	43	13	<b>217</b>

Table 1: Overview on sample assessed with lifeskill questionnaires

<b>Interviews</b>												
	T1					T2					Total per Project T1/T2	
	Participants	Coaches	Project Manager	Supervisor	Stakeholder	Participants	Coaches	Significant Others	Project Manager	Supervisor		Stakeholder
<b>Amandla</b>	17	15	3	2		13	11	44	3	1		109
<b>MOD S</b>	15	2				12	2	28				61
<b>MOD F</b>	15	4			1	11	1	4			1	35
<b>GFSA</b>	7	2	1			4			1			15
<b>Total Interviews</b>	54	23	4	2	1	40	14	76	4	1	1	<b>220</b>

Table 2: Overview on sample assessed with semi-structured interviews

### 5.1.1 Amandla Edufootball

In t1, 81 participants including 39 girls and 42 boys (M =12,1; ages 9-19) are assessed with life skill questionnaires (n = 69) and/or with interviews (n = 17). Participants had been involved in the programme on average for 2 years (few weeks to five years), and participated on average twice a week. With regard to their education level, almost half of the participants are in grade 5 and 6, about 15 % in grade 3 and 4, about 25% in grade 7 and 8 and about 11% in grade 9 and 10. Almost half of the participants are living with their parents (and siblings, and/or relatives), about 30% are living with their mother (and siblings, and/or relatives), about 5% are sharing a household with their father (and siblings) and 16% are living without any biological parent but their siblings and/or relatives. All participants are Black Africans with isiXhosa as their first language and are living in Site B in walking distance to the programme site.

Also in t1, a total of 27 coaches<sup>113</sup> are assessed, including nine junior leaders (five males and four females; M=16,6; ages 16-18) and 18 senior leaders (12 males and six females; M=23,7; ages 19-32). Eight junior leaders and 18 senior leaders are assessed with life skill questionnaires and four junior as well as eleven senior leaders are assessed with interviews. The junior leaders have been involved in the programme in one way or the other<sup>114</sup> for an average of five years (two to six years). The majority of the senior leaders have been involved for less than one year (n = 8), closely followed by two years (n = 7). Two senior leaders have been involved for one year and one of the coaches has been involved for 4 years. Additionally, one male ex senior leader (M=23) is interviewed about the programme. All of them live in Khayelitsha and are Black African with isiXhosa as their first language.

Three project managers (two males and one female) are interviewed in a focus group with regard to the organization, the participants and coaches. Additionally, their two supervisors (one male and one female) are assessed.

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<sup>113</sup>The term coaches and leader is used interchangeably and refers to the ones facilitating the programme to the children.

<sup>114</sup> This can either be volunteering or playing soccer as participants.

In t2, 13 participants including four girls and nine boys (M= 14,7, ages 10-19) are assessed with both life skill questionnaires and interviews. Participants have been involved in the programme for, on average, about 4,5 years (one to seven years) and participated – apart from one - regularly (n = 1: every day; n = 3: 3 to 4 days a week; n = 8: 1 to 2 days a week). With regard to their education level, the majority of participants is in grade 10 (n = 5), followed by two each in grade 6 and grade 8 and one participant each in grade 4, 7 and 11. One of the participants assessed is already in higher education (apprenticeship). All of them are living in Site B with different household situations. Seven are living with their parents (and siblings, and/or others), five are with their mother (and siblings, and/or others) and one shares the household with none of the biological parents. All participants are Black Africans with isiXhosa as their first language.

Also in t2, eleven coaches (six males and five females, M = 24,4) are assessed with either the life skill questionnaire (n = 10) and/or interviews (n = 11). None of them has experience of working in a sport-related field, but most have worked in minimal employment beforehand. About half of the coaches have finished grade 12, and almost the other half finished grade 11. Two started studying but dropped out for various reasons. With regard to their living situation, seven are living with their mothers (and siblings, and/or relatives, and/or own children), one with the father, one with friends and two are living alone. Six of the coaches are living in Site B in walking distance to the field, two are living in other sections of Khayelitsha and three are living in surrounding townships. All of them are Black African with isiXhosa as their first language. Additionally, two male ex-leaders (aged 25 and 26) are assessed with interviews (n = 2).

Three female project managers are interviewed in a focus group with regard to the organization, the participants and the coaches. Additionally, one supervisor is interviewed with regard to the organization's structure.

In total, 44 significant others are pointed out by eight participants and ten coaches. Referred to by the participants, six interviews are conducted with parents (five mothers and one father), one sister, one girlfriend and eight teammates from Amandla (four male and four female friends). For the coaches, four parents (three

mothers and one father), four friends (one male and three female), five partners (one boyfriend and four girlfriends), eight leaders from Amandla (five males and three females), one female project manager and five other people of trust (three females and two males) are interviewed. The significant others are interviewed about their community, their living situation and the participants resp. coaches. These interviews take place at their homes or in the car. All of them are Black Africans with isiXhosa as their first language.

The participants and coaches<sup>115</sup> that are assessed in both years make the sample whose data can be used for longitudinal trends. Six male participants (M=15,2; ages 10-19) are interviewed in both years, and three male as well as four female participants (M=14,3; ages 12-18) are assessed with both interviews and life skill questionnaires. Also, one male and one female coach (aged 21 and 22) completed the life skill questionnaires in 2013 and 2014, and six male as well as four female coaches (M=24,8; ages 21 to 33) are assessed twice with the questionnaires as well as interviews. Additionally, two ex-leaders are assessed with interviews., one who dropped out before the first point of the data collection and the other one in-between the two points of data collection (age 25 and 26)

Looking at the reasons for getting involved in Amandla, some are unhappy about the way they lived their lives (with anti-social behaviour) and took the opportunity in order to make pro-social life choices and change their lives accordingly. Others felt that Amandla reflected their pro-social values and thus wanted to be part of it. Again others just came for curiosity after they saw the field in the neighbourhood. Some coaches applied just in order to earn some money, whereas others were recruited by friends and were just happy to have something to do. Many beneficiaries have other free time activities, such as going to church, playing sport informally or in other leagues or being part of support groups.

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<sup>115</sup> The age and position refer to the second point of data collection.

### 5.1.2 MOD S

In t1, 21 participants including nine girls and 12 boys (M= 11,7, ages10-13) are assessed with life skill questionnaires (n = 21) and/or with interviews (n = 15). Participants have been involved in the programme, on average, for two years (from a few weeks to five years), and participated on average twice a week. In line with the curriculum, boys are playing soccer, girls are involved in netball and both genders are playing softball (in separate groups). With regard to their education level, all of the participants are in grade 6. All of them are Black Africans with isiXhosa as their first language and are living in Site C.

Coaches assessed with life skill questionnaires and interviews include one male and one female coach (aged 28 and 38), with the female coach being the coordinator. The coordinator has worked as a sport counsellor before she started to work for the MOD center programme, while the other coach had no sport experience before getting involved with DCAS. Both had been working as MOD coaches at other schools four years ago before they were assigned to work at the primary school two years ago. Both have participated in a range of workshops at DCAS to become specialized in netball, softball and volleyball (female coach) and soccer, rugby and cricket (male coach). With regard to their living situation, both of them stay with more than three siblings and other relatives in Philippi and Mfuleni.

One male key stakeholder from DCAS is assessed for both schools and is interviewed about the programme as well as the coaches.

In t2, 14 participants including six girls and eight boys (M= 12,7; aged 12-14) are assessed with life skill questionnaires (n = 14) and/or with interviews (n = 12). Most of the participants have been involved in the programme for two to four years (n = 11), and three for one year and less; with ten students participating every day and four students participating 3 or 4 times a week. In line with the curriculum, participants play soccer (only male), netball (only female) and tennis as well as softball (separated by gender). With regard to their education level, the majority of participants is in grade 7 (n = 12) and two are in grade 6. All participants are living in Site C in walking distance to the school. Most of them (n = 9) are living in a



household with their parents (and siblings, and/or relatives) and five are with their mothers and siblings (and others). All participants are Black Africans with isiXhosa as their first language. Additionally, four ex-participants (M=12,3; ages 12-13) who were involved in the programme in 2013 are assessed with life skill questionnaires (n = 3) and interviews (n = 4). All of them are Black African with isiXhosa as their first language.

Coaches who are assessed with life skill questionnaires and who are interviewed one-on-one include one male and one female coach (ages 29 and 39), with the female coach being the coordinator. The coordinator has worked as a sport counsellor before she started to work for the MOD center programme, while the other coach had no sport experience beforehand. Both had been working as MOD coaches at other schools for two years before they were transferred to the MOD S center three years ago. Both have participated in a range of workshops at DCAS to become specialized in netball, softball and volleyball (female coach) and soccer, rugby and cricket (male coach). With regard to their living situation, both of them stay with more than three siblings and other relatives in Philippi and Mfuleni.

One male key stakeholder from DCAS is assessed for both schools and is interviewed about the programme as well as the coaches.

In total, 28 significant others are pointed out by twelve participants and one leader. The leaders' two female cousins and his grandfather are interviewed. Pointed out as significant others by the participants, ten mothers, two siblings (one sister and one brother), five female and three male teammates as well as five female friends are interviewed as well.

At MOD S, five male and five female participants (M=12,7; ages 12-14) as well as one female and one male coach (ages 29 and 39) are assessed with life skill questionnaires and interviews in 2013 and 2014. Also, three male and one female participant (M=12,5; ages 12-14) complete the life skill questionnaire in both years. Moreover, one boy and three girls (M=12,25; ages 12-13) complete the interviews before and after dropping out of the programme.

Looking at the reasons for getting involved in MOD S, almost all participants joined out of curiosity and in order to have fun, as they saw other children playing in the after-school hours. For the coaches, one was recruited to join due to her experience in the sport sector, whereas the other applied in order to have something to do and to earn some money. Some of the beneficiaries have other free time activities such as going to church or playing sport informally.

### 5.1.3 MOD F

In t1, 18 participants including 17 girls and one boy (M= 11,6; ages 9-14) are assessed with life skill questionnaires (n = 18) and/or with interviews (n = 15). The majority of participants (n = 9) has been involved in the programme for one year, seven participants have been involved for two years and longer and two participants have been involved for less than a year. Most of the students participate regularly (n = 11: every day, n = 4: 3 to 4 days a week; n = 3: 1 to 2 days a week). With regard to their education level, the majority of participants (n = 9) are in grade 6, four participants are in grade 4, three in grade 5 and two in grade 7. Concerning their living situation, all of the participants are living in the neighbourhood area of the school. About 44% are living with both parents (and siblings, and/or relatives), about 33% are living with their mothers (and siblings, and/or relatives), a bit more than 5% are staying with their father and siblings, and almost 17% share the household with a caretaker other than biological parents. All participants are Black Africans with isiXhosa as their first language.

The coaches in the study that are assessed with life skill questionnaires and interviews include a total of two male and two female coaches (M=26,8, ages 23-30), with one of the male coaches being the coordinator. The coordinator has been coaching at the school for three years, two others for two years and one for a few months. The three coaches who are involved for a longer time have taken part in workshops organized by DCAS, with two of them becoming specialized in softball. Their coaching background before working at MOD F varies from four years at another school, volunteering at an NGO, having an own recreational netball team to

no experience in sport at all. Three of the coaches had been unemployed beforehand. With regard to their living situation, one coach is living alone, one with parents and two with their mother, siblings and relatives. Three live in Khayelitsha (though not in the schools' neighbourhood) and one lives further away in Philippi. All coaches are Black African with isiXhosa as their first language.

One male key stakeholder from DCAS is assessed for both schools and is interviewed about the programme as well as the coaches.

In t2, twelve female participants (M=12,6, ages 11-15) are assessed with life skill questionnaires (n = 12) and with interviews (n = 11). Most of the students (n = 6) have been involved in the programme for two years, and each two students for one year, three and four years, with participation rates from every day (n = 7) to 3 to 4 times a week (n = 5). With regard to their education level, the majority of participants (n = 7) is in grade 7, two participants are in grade 6 and three participants are in grade 5. All of them are living in walking distance to the school. Almost 42% are living with both parents, about 33% are sharing a household with their mothers (and others), about 8% are staying with their father only, and almost 17% is living with others but any of their biological parents. All participants are Black Africans with isiXhosa as their first language.

Two male coaches (aged 24 and 28) are interviewed (n = 1) and assessed with the life skill questionnaires (n = 1). They have been working at that school for three and four years, with one of them having previously worked in the sport sector before. With regard to their living situation, one is living with his parents and siblings, and the other one is sharing the household with his mother, his children, more than three siblings, cousins and other relatives.

In total, four significant others of one coach and two participants are interviewed, including one male friend and girlfriend (referred to by coach) and mom as well as aunt (referred to by participants).

In both years, 11 female participants (M=11,7; ages 11-15) are assessed with life skill questionnaires as well as with interviews. Also, one girl conducts the life skill questionnaire in 2013 and 2014. With regard to the coaches (aged 24 and 28), one

male coach's data deriving from the life skill questionnaire and one male coach data's deriving from being interviewed in both years can be used for longitudinal data analysis purposes.

Looking at the reasons for getting involved in MOD S, almost all participants joined out of curiosity and in order to have fun, as they saw other children playing in the after-school hours. For the coaches, some were recruited to join due to their experiences in the sport sector, whereas others applied in order to have something to do or to earn some money. Some of the beneficiaries have other free time activities such as going to church or playing sport informally.

#### **5.1.4 Girls and Football South Africa**

In t1, 21 life skill questionnaires and seven interviews are conducted with participants from the Girls and Football South Africa Project. The two female coaches are interviewed in a focus group with regard to the girls' stories. Also, the female project coordinator is assessed with an interview.

In t2, 4 life skill questionnaires and 4 interviews are conducted with participants from the Girls and Football South Africa Project. Also, one female project coordinator is interviewed.

Looking at the reasons for participation, many girls were recruited by motivated teachers or wanted to have a compensation for the activity that used to be on a Friday afternoon but stopped for unknown reasons. Other free time activities of the girls include sports that are offered by the school or playing in the streets or in clubs.

## 5.2 Effects of Sport-in-Development Programmes

This subchapter refers to the first set of research questions underlying this thesis: *'Which effects do sport-in-development projects have on development? How do these effects come about? How do the participants and others close to the project feel that sport itself contributed to the process?'* In order to fully understand the dimension of the effects of the sport-in-development projects, the individually perceived challenges with regard to community and personal issues and the understanding of possible causes underlying them need to be explored. Sorted according to the projects, the presentation of challenges only refers to data gathered in the second point of data collection (T2). However, with regard to the challenges of Khayelitsha's residents displayed in other studies, it can be assumed that those already withstand – at least similarly – in the first point of data collection (T1). Taking into account the fact that most statements can't exclusively be labelled as community or personal challenge, they are presented together<sup>116</sup>.

The then presented data refers to two time periods (T1 and T2) and – doing justice to the aforementioned purpose of triangulation - is mainly based on two pillars.

Firstly, data is presented based on interviews conducted with the participants and coaches, their significant others and with their superiors. Because of the broader data collection in T2, more extensive data is available. A total of 228 interviews were conducted throughout the research. Based on the content analysis (Mayring, 2010 and 2014), in the following themes are presented that are representative for a multitude of mentions. Also themes that derive from very few responses are displayed, as it is assumed that those can be of relevance as well. All themes are underpinned with major anchor examples and important single quotations, sometimes presenting opposite perceptions. The letters behind the statements allow consulting on respondents' characteristics, such as gender, age, position in the organization resp. relation to the beneficiaries (see appendices II, IV and VI).

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<sup>116</sup> When being asked to point out either community or personal challenges, the respondents often use 'you' or 'they' to describe a certain phenomenon. Thus, unless pointed out by 'I' or 'me' it is not always clear whether they include themselves or not.

Secondly, data is presented that derives from observation and informal conversations with community members, participants and coaches, programme coordinators and key informants. Due to similar experiences in both data collection periods, this data is summed up.

At the end of this chapter the results of the quantitative part for this study, namely the life skill questionnaires, are presented that include data from Amandla and both the MOD centers. Due to a lack of data from the GFSA programme their data is not comprised.

### **5.2.1 Amandla Edufootball**

Whereas the challenges that build the backbone of this study are only based on participants' and significant others' statements in T1, the results focusing directly on the outcomes and impact are based on statements from Amandla's participants, coaches, ex-beneficiaries, programme coordinators, significant others and from one key informant in T1 and T2 (112 interviews). Furthermore, field notes based on observation and informal conversations are the foundation for results with regard to the research question.

#### **5.2.1.1. Challenges**

Amandla's coaches and participants mention lack of role-models, gangsterism, peer pressure, alcohol and substance abuse, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, lack of education and a lack of facilities and opportunities as challenges of their community and point to the mutually dependent relationships between them. Looking at the causing circumstances of the challenges, participants and coaches identify interdependent explanatory approaches.

One of the reasons mentioned for joining or staying in gangsterism is safety. Three males explain that it is riskier not to be a gang member than being one, as otherwise one would be an easy target. One former gang member states that by belonging to a gang the fear of others for revenge is increased – thus the likeliness

of being attacked is reduced. This dilemma of the vicious circle is also reported by others.

*I'd be happy if I could be free, but once you are a gangster you'll always be a gangster. (I)*

Also on a personal note, the fear of being strong enough to resist gangsterism and the fear of former gang opponents are apparent among some leaders and participants. Furthermore, two leaders are still involved in delinquent behaviour through their friends - although they themselves have opted out of gangsterism.

*The biggest challenge that I am facing is the charges of having an illegal gun found in my house. The truth is it was not mine, a friend of mine asked me to keep it so the police found it in my house so I was arrested and now I've been going to court. (CC)*

In addition, there is consensus between participants and coaches that peer pressure and the intent to impress play a big role in gangsterism.

*I think there are challenges such as gangsterism in this community because some of them they face peer pressure, because they just do the things to belong in the group of gang. And then some think being a gangster or using drugs is cool, although it is an uncool thing. They are just going through the stage of being a teenager, but mainly it's a peer pressure. Cause some of them do a thing mainly to be in the group, to impress some friends. They are being told that it is wrong. But some of them just want to experience things for themselves. They don't like being told. (A)*

*They think it [gangsterism] is a normal thing and that it is a good thing to be with friends; they think it's cool and they feel like you are the boss, they want everyone to be scared of them. Cause by doing the wrong stuff and stabbing people and everyone's going to be scared of them. (B)*

On the contrary, one male leader explains that it is pure laziness that drives people into delinquent behaviour.

*Being part of gangsterism makes things very easy. Maybe some people think it's about peer pressure, but I doubt. According to my personal story, it's not about peer pressure. It just makes things easy for you as person. [...] Once you become part of the gangsters, life becomes easy for you. It's very easy to have friends, it's very easy to make money, it's very easy to have girls. (U)*

Subsequent to laziness, a few report that missing ambitions are the reasons that so many people still face unemployment. For them it is not a lack of opportunities – as

explained by some interviewees – but rather an ignorance of the available chances due to self-pity.

*Anytime you could just take a walk through Khayelitsha and you can see some people chilling, like every day they are just doing the same thing, they don't want to make a difference. [...] I just think they have that mentality: oh, we are blacks, we gonna suffer for the rest of our lives. If they can just change that mind set and they can be a better person, because not all of them didn't get opportunities. They did have opportunities, but some of them just play with the chances that they get in their lives. They start blaming other people for who they are. Although all they have to do is blame themselves. (A)*

Also with regard to role models, different point of views can be found. While the majority says there are no role models to look up to and no people to trust, this view is not shared by all.

*There are good role models out there, but it is just that the children are choosing the wrong ones. (V)*

According to participants' and leaders' statements, the intention to impress others is not only linked to gangsterism, but also strongly related to risk behaviour such as alcohol and substance abuse and unprotected sex.

*The biggest problem in the community is robbing and drinking, because there are a lot of taverns here, so they are playing music at night and some people can't sleep. It's because when you drink and are drunk and you like that thing that people talk about you, like: Wow, (name of participant) you were drunk yesterday. Then you feel like "yeah, I was drunk and people are talking about me". It's the thing that when you drink alcohol it's making you famous. And some of the ladies they like the guys that are spending money on drinks and get drunk. [...] Even the elderly people they like spending money. So they want people to see: I do have money also. They are showing off with alcohol. Also the small guys do that. They buy a drink and they want to get drunk and you know that you could never get drunk if you didn't have money. It's showing that you have too much money, so it's just showing off. (B)*

*We youngsters we want to shine, but we don't want to shine by good things, we want to shine and be known for bad things. [...] the reason I rob it's just for drugs, alcohol and girls. (I)*

Both males and females in all ages share a common understanding of the reasons for sexual risk behaviour, which they see in the gender roles in isiXhosa-culture. According to them, one's self-confidence can be increased by having a partner. While the boys are expected to have more than one girlfriend and make them



pregnant in order to be cool (this is confirmed by both genders), girls sometimes get pregnant to be known of having a baby with a certain man.

*But men are cool, when they have more. Usually girls are the main reason for fight. Cause the groups of boys want to own beautiful chicks around them. They want to show others: we can get whatever we want. (L)*

*[...] for women, if you have more than one, then you are labelled with bad names. (DD)*

*If they have one chick or girlfriend, it's uncool. You must as a boy have at least a wife and three girlfriends. It's like a competition. So everyone wants to beat his friends wrong: I can have at least more than three girls or I can also make a girl fall pregnant. (A)*

*As for others they just want to get pregnant so they can shine and be known that they have a child with whoever that guy is. (E)*

The last quote was stated by a girl, but the same understanding is likewise presented by a male leader, highlighting the (perceived) disparity between girls and boys with regard to sexual risk behaviour.

*The thing is when you are a woman you are in trouble. You are at the bottom. You don't have choices. I'm talking about Xhosa-women. And I believe they put themselves there. If I was a girl and I had a very very low self-esteem, which is the case with most girls around here, and then here is the guy, he is fancy, he wears Cavella, he's cute. He comes up to you. And you start hooking up. I'm gonna be scared to ask the guy to use a condom, if he doesn't say himself he's gonna use it. Because I'm afraid he's gonna leave me and go and find another girl. And I would feel miserable. So I let him do whatever he wants to do. That's the situation. They are only strong when they are with someone to be seen. (U)*

As both girls and boys state that it is the female's role to take care of the baby, men don't bother about contraception. Besides, with girls trying to make the boy commit to them, and the - by both genders - mentioned inferior role of the women, they wouldn't necessarily rebel against.

*Even for a girlfriend to know that her boyfriend only sleeps with her, that's very weird. The girl might wonder what's wrong: "You don't have other girlfriends? I have never been in a fight with another girl over you." [...] And me, I wouldn't be interested in using a condom, just because I can. No one can make me pay for a baby. There is no law. It's only the Xhosa-law that you have to pay for the damages. But here men always get away with stuff. (U)*

Also having a sugar daddy can increase one's standing as he can provide status symbols that wouldn't be affordable otherwise. Some girls also explain that by dating older men, the females can get the love they were rejected at home.

*Most of young girls date older men, because they want money, and others, because they don't feel loved at home so they go outside to seek love. (E)*

*Let's say all of my friends come every day and say "ah, my sugar daddy bought me this and that", so surely now I would be impressed and I would be like "let me just get my sugar daddy who will buy me this and this". (A)*

Related to the gender roles is one male leader's statement, who faces the personal challenge of having too many girlfriends, thus he gets involved in fights with women he was cheating on.

Not specifically referred to as problem of the community but as personal challenge, leaders and participants mention overall poverty and family issues, such as responsibilities to take care of elderly people or siblings and earning money, or family members being addicted to alcohol.

*I am very worried about the situation at home, because my parents do not work, and it's only me and my little sister that receive social grant. So you find that sometimes we don't have enough food, or school necessities. Sometimes I wish maybe if I can get part time job that will be helpful. (BB)*

Alike the coaches and participants, the people referred to as significant others name gangsterism (robbery, housebreaking), rape and violence as the biggest challenge of their community. This is closely followed by alcohol and substance abuse, lack of education and school dropout as well as peer pressure.

*The biggest challenge is drugs and gangsterism and I think it's because of peer pressure. Our parents try their best to give us the best they can but sometimes we as kids turn to be so ungrateful and want to experience things outside and leads to be victim of peer pressure and gangsterism, like when you meet your best friends they will start saying you still listen to your parents, especially for boys being told you are a sissy and someone would want to prove a point and in that they get lost in drugs and other things. (K2)*

Matching, one mother describes her personal challenge being one of her children being involved in drugs.

The challenges named are also extended to a personal fear among significant others.

*The biggest challenge faced by my community is robbery and house breaking, so we don't sleep peacefully, because we are scared that someone might break in. I think the reason for this it's because the kids are bored and have nothing positive to do with their free time (K1)*

There to following, two significant others explain they are in fear to walk, especially at night, and also worry about their children coming home late after Crime Prevention League that takes places at Amandla on Friday nights.

Furthermore, a lack of role-models, recognition and community support are seen as likewise challenges and causes for other grievances.

*The biggest challenges faced by my community is poor resources to develop our children, also most of youngsters hang around in streets doing nothing. (Z1)*

*[...] there is no support from the community, you can be involved in something positive and no one would even be interested to know what you do. The other challenge is gangsterism I think it starts in the family where parents fight and not be an example to their children, and neglecting children and all those things pile up and create anger towards the child and they join a gang to feel sense of belonging and feel power. (A1)*

*[...] some parents fail being good role models to their children. They drink and smoke so the kids see that and they get involved too, and as for other parents are very good, but still the kids would be influenced by other kids. [...] this child that just greeted, she is drunk now and has a baby in her back. She stays in that upstairs house and she is not from poor family, but the parents treat them differently so she doesn't feel loved, there is 3 of them, but she gets little attention and support from her parents. So now she preferred to go and stay with her boyfriend. As I have been working at school I realized that there are many circumstances that led them to be involved in drugs and it's a circle, one situation leads to another, for example drugs lead to dropping out, which leads to unemployment or poverty and that leads to crime so it's a circle. (R2)*

*There are so many parents who don't take care of their children and I think this is because of unemployment and the fact that they are addicted to drugs and alcohol. I think the reasons that lead them to drugs and alcohol is the fact that they are unemployed and are stressed that they can't pay the bill and buy food [...] (Z2)*

Missing community support and organizations is also criticized by three significant others, who tried to work against this lack by founding their own community

project. However, their personal challenge is to maintain their plan, as local organizations have less marketing and thus funding as international ones.

The mutual interdependency also applies to other challenges mentioned.

*The biggest challenge faced by our community is unemployment. We live in a society where there is a scarcity of jobs. I think the reasons for unemployment it's lack of qualifications and experience and sometimes it's just the scarcity of jobs. (...) Sometimes unemployment leads to children dropping out of school or crime activities, because when children are hungry they don't want to go to school because other learners might tease them of not having school uniform, so they choose to be involved in crime activities to bring food on the table. (H1)*

*Years back we used not to have gangsterism, but now it's growing and I think it's because most children are bored and are no longer at school. Sometimes parents have influence on their children's behaviour, because some parents are drug addicts and children see that and end up being hooked as well. (M1)*

As further challenges the difficulties to leave a gang as well as the inability of the police to handle the problems in the community are outlined by several significant others.

*The community tried to resolve their gangsterism by involving the police, but still that did not help and police have done all they could, but still the kids continue. [...] but it is difficult to get out of gangsterism, because if you want out you will be considered as spy and some would want kill you. (V2)*

### 5.2.1.2. Participants, Coaches and Ex-Beneficiaries

In the following results are presented regarding the changes caused by Amandla. Thirty-two interviews with participants and junior and senior leaders as well a one interview with an ex-leader build the data base in the first phase of data collection. In the second data collection, twenty-four interviews with participants and leaders and with two ex-leaders are referred to. Due to an internal reorganization of the leadership programme, there is no subdivision into junior and senior leaders in T2 anymore.

Although it was tried to talk to exactly the same people in both time phases, due to organizational and logistical issues (see chapter 5.4) this was not possible. Thus, 23

beneficiaries are the same assessed in both phases. However, it needs to be noted, that some have a different position in the second phase than in T1, with some junior leaders e.g. engaging as participants (see appendix I). Furthermore, statements of two ex-leaders (both in T2) flow into the base.

Hereafter, results are structured in line with the overall coding and labelled according to the phase of data collection.

### People and a place to belong to

T1: In the first phase of data collection, participants mention a positive change in their lives through being involved in Amandla as they now have people and a place to belong to. For the majority the sport-in-development project offers a place with people who tell the truth and who can be trusted, and where they can share anything that bothers them. Another participant explains that at Amandla he feels respected (I), and one female participant (BB) summarizes:

*I had a happy life, but I was not as happy as I am here at Amandla. (BB)*

Being involved in Amandla also marks a positive change in both junior and senior leaders' lives, as they value Amandla resp. the field and club house as a place to think about the future, make and discuss plans accordingly and as a contact point for help with struggles in personal life – an opportunity that, as they say, they aren't offered somewhere else. One senior leader (U) emphasizes that he feels like he's supported by the project in developing into that person he wants to be. His male colleague explains further:

*I remember when we did a workshop for the leadership last year and it was talking about one must reflect oneself. It was very emotional I can say. So I had to think back and share things that I never shared to anyone so I opened myself, shared things, for the first time with the group, with the leaders. And it felt like wow, I'm in an environment, I'm in a place where I feel free, where I can explore myself and just talk you know. (R)*

In line with the positive change in participants' and coaches' lives of having a place to belong to, there is also a positive change in their lives in getting advice and guidance. Four male participants and one female participant report that at Amandla

they are being taught regarding how to spend time and free time, what to do at home, how to behave in the streets, and how to avoid gangsterism. Furthermore, one participant (M) emphasizes that he is shown ways for applying at university and how to find a job.

T2: In the second phase of data collection, the participants and coaches encounter a positive change in their lives caused by engaging in Amandla as they are having a safe hub to go to. Moreover, male and female participants likewise mention that the field and club house offers help and protection, compared to feeling unsafe on the streets. For them, Amandla offers a place where they feel free to talk and express problems without being worried of getting harmed.

*Amandla is one of my homes, just because there are many things that I have done here besides playing football. When you are here you feel free to talk. Even something that has been eating you for a long time. And then something that has been happening or happened before you are willing to share with people who are around you at Amandla. [...] You can voice out your problems and people at Amandla Edufootball will deal with this kind of issues and then you will become a better person tomorrow. (M)*

*When I think of Amandla I think of home, for me the field is where I grew up and where I learnt so much about life. (CC)*

*The field for is me is the place where I feel protected, where when I compare my life with the teens that are not participating I see a change. I see myself better, because I don't do what they do like smoking dagga muffins, coming home late, getting pregnant and for me that is the most huge change because I am better person now and goal oriented. If it weren't for Amandla, my life had been wasted. (BB)*

Not only participants, but also leaders experience that Amandla contributes positively to their lives through offering a place to go to, where they are part of a team and where they are cared about.

*[...] we have this personal development plan. They have consent that what we want to do. That really shows me that they care about our lives. If we just get a learnership from ABSA, then were just focusing on the learnership, but not on our personal life. Because they don't care about what you want to do. Because after the learnership you will just be gone or being employed as what you have been studying for. But Amandla just showed me that they really care about the people and then they have the potential to make us better people. I don't know*

*about the community members and stuff. But they showed me, personally, they care about people and also they can change their lives. (A)*

Furthermore, according to two other female leaders, Amandla assists in making plans for the future and helps with job search.

*So now I know what I can do, even when I am out of the organization. Because the organization helped me. (GG)*

Experiencing the positive change of getting guidance, seven participants explain that their coach helps them to resolve conflicts and how to behave inside and outside of the organization.

*I am still part of the life skill sessions. I rather share these kinds of feelings with people who I know that they will keep the secrets with them. Or people who I know at Amandla that will give me the correct advice to go forward with that kind of incident that I have been spoken to them. They will not just give you advice but they will give you a stable advice that will help you tomorrow. (M)*

Especially for female participants the opportunity of having a safe place to play soccer and to be able to play with girls is of big value:

*I'm still friend with my old friends and the good thing is that they are playing too. It's very hard to be a soccer girl, because most boys criticize and judge that we don't know how to play, we are not built to play soccer, and it's a sport for boys. All these things hurt, because I know soccer is not for boys, it's for everyone who wants to learn. (J)*

### Access to space and material

T 1: In the first phase of data collection, some report street soccer and playing in another team league in Mandela Park stadium – which is located in quite a far walking distance – as free time activity. However, many of them explain that one of the big changes to their lives from Amandla is that they now have the opportunity of access to a proper field – which is contrary to the missing open spaces they were faced with beforehand. Also they label playing soccer in the streets as dangerous due to passing cars and gang activities and as boring due to the same people engaging. In addition, they emphasize the opportunity to win shirts and balls in tournaments at Amandla. Pointing to more differences between Amandla and other

sport activities, many refer to the additional knowledge that they get in the life skill sessions at Amandla only. However, some also express that they don't see any difference and that they are only interested in playing soccer as often as they can – thereby engaging in Amandla, street soccer and Mandela Park League concurrently.

T2: Like in T1, some participants report to be parallel involved in other activities, such as street soccer. Again, few leaders and many participants emphasize it is only at Amandla where they have a proper field – compared to playing in the street – and where they get freebies.

### Personal and Skill Development - Behaviour Change

T1: In the first round of data collection, four participants (three male and one female) and one female junior leader explicitly mention acquisition or improvement of technical skills, such as passing and dribbling the ball as positive change in their lives. Having acquired skills how to teach soccer is emphasized by one male junior and two male senior leaders.

With regard to other than soccer skills, three senior leaders and one male participant explicitly refer to communication and conflict skills that they have learnt at Amandla and apply in other contexts.

*And I was never good of like speaking in public. Actually I didn't realize that had that power to speak in public and to be able to communicate with people that I don't know. And Amandla played a big role in terms of like when I did this training, for like three weeks before the leadership programme started we did this training. We were kind of presenting what we were doing. So I got the idea: ok, I've got this gift to be able to talk to people, to be able to connect with people, and to be able to relate this to what they are going through. (U)*

Furthermore, other junior and senior leaders mention a gain in overall leadership skills.

On the participant side, it is recorded that since being part of Amandla they do not only learn from their coaches how to respect family and friends, but also change their behaviour accordingly. According to themselves, they stopped swearing and shouting, stopped beating other people and come home in time. Some report that



they have stopped being involved in gangsterism and don't hang around in the corners anymore, doing nothing.

*The most important change is that I learnt to talk to people in a positive way, and how to respect them and their differences. (I)*

*When I came here I usually learnt respect. To respect my parents, to listen what my parents have to say to me, you know. Before I got here I didn't know to respect people. There is a guy here who usually told me about these stories and I felt so interested about him, so I learnt more and more and became more changing you know. His name is (...) He's the coach. (N)*

Furthermore, two participants mention being more disciplined and committed as a result of participating at Amandla, as well as being much more focused and self-reflective than before.

Being more self-reflective is also described as an outcome of the programme by three senior leaders. Moreover, they report to be more self-confident and have a higher belief in themselves. Furthermore, two male senior leaders mention that since they carved out their personal goals, they work towards them and are both much more goal oriented than before.

*Before I had unrealistic goals I can say. I knew that I wanted to achieve things but I didn't know exactly how will I. It was kind of like impossible you know. So now I know I can set my goal and then the steps to follow and then it's easier. I love what I'm doing, I have a passion and whatever decision I'm taking is based on what I want to achieve. That's how it changed me. (R)*

T2: Similarly to T1, eight participants – female and male – stress a perceived positive change in their soccer skills.

*There's one thing though that changed and that's my ability to play soccer. At first I did not know how to play but now I know how to. (J)*

Furthermore, looking at non-sport skills, three male and two female participants see positive change in their lives through an improvement of communication and conflict skills as well as by having learnt how to respect family and friends, be disciplined, committed and goal-oriented. Two of them explain that since participating in Amandla they are also more self-confident than before and believe much more in themselves.

Through acquiring skills and being guarded, many participants report a change in their pro-social behaviour, namely a decrease in their aggressive behaviour, such as fighting and shouting at each other, which was also reported in T1. Moreover, participants mention reduced risky behaviour and decreased substance and alcohol consumption.

Taking a look at the leaders, five of them also emphasize an improvement in conflict skills and in behaving more considerately. One of them reports that he respects his mother and girlfriend much more ever since he works for Amandla and does house chores himself, whereas before he had delegated them to female household members. Furthermore, many report having better communication skills than before. To be able to work with kids, deliver the sessions and lead the children instead of bullying them around as well as knowing and being able to connect with others is also mentioned as skill acquisition by almost all leaders.

*And I am getting to know more things and more knowledge, and some of my skills I didn't realize, but now I do realize that I have potential for some of the things, like talking to a child who's 15 or 14 years old. I have a strong relationship with them now. Usually I didn't have many relationships with boys who are younger than me. I had a negative behaviour towards them like I was more like just telling them what to do. Like "Go and buy me food and drinks". I didn't care whether he wants or he doesn't want but I would force him to go and fetch me something. But now I know that I have the potential to have a strong relationship with them and now I am getting to know where my strong points are, where my weak points are. (L)*

*For example, when it comes to children, I always thought going to the children it's like delivering the sessions, just to make sure they understand what I was saying. Rather than trying to pay attention to the children, like what is actually happening, putting myself into their shoes. What if I was the one who was there? What if I was the one listening to myself, saying whatever I was saying? How would I receive that? Also looking back to where they might come from, because there are different backgrounds. Because I can say something to the group of children, but they are not coming from the same background, and then they will receive it indifferent ways. Some of them will take it personal, some of them will take it as a joke, and it's all those stuff like that. And before, for me, it was just delivering a session to the kids and not thinking about their background. Not thinking about what the session could do into their mind, so I can say a lot has changed. (R)*

Related to the described skill acquisition one female leader reports that knowing her abilities and learning what she is capable of have increased her self-confidence. Also one of the ex-leaders (S), whose contract wasn't extended due to his missing ability to read and write, still refers to Amandla as an organization that made him believe in himself and pushed his self-confidence. According to him, having a background of years of drug addiction, this still helps him to stay clean.

### Role model

T1: In the first phase of data collection, but only mentioned by leaders, a change in attitude towards children, in realizing their potential and passion of working with kids and in being a role model is expressed. Alike, the influence that they can have on children is also realized and valued by four other male senior leaders. They are proud of being recognized as a coach outside the field and, because of them being seized as role models, they feel they carry a certain responsibility.

*When I grew up I didn't have any sorts of role models, you see. But role models were rare. But now I am one of them. Because even when I go around in the township there is a small boy or a girl shouting "Hey coach, hey coach" so that gives me positive important overview of my future. [...] I am a role model now in my community. I am no longer hanging around in the townships doing nothing. (DD)*

*Amandla plays a good role for me. It showed me that I became a good role-model for the younger ones, because they say I've been changing, from time to time. They learnt many things from me since I became a junior leader and I treat them very well as well. Being a leader is a tough time and you have to show in many ways that you are a leader. Even on where you live you have to show them what you've been taught and what are the ways to be a leadership. (N)*

Two of the leaders explicitly state that they feel encouraged to apply the knowledge they learnt to situations outside of Amandla, thus acting as disseminator. One of them established another programme in the community, where he and two friends offer a range of sport activities combined with life skill training.

*It was Amandla who introduced me to open my mind I can do a lot of things rather than sitting at home looking for a job maybe in Cape Town focusing on myself. I can*

*also make a change in someone's life. That pushed me to go out there and open a small organization (R)*

T2: Like in T1, subsequent to the awareness that they learnt how to deal with kids, many leaders explicitly mention that they enjoy having the chance to be a role model – and that they are proud to be called coach even outside the field. One female leader furthermore explains that it is the mutual learning when working with kids that allows her to develop into a role model.

*Amandla has brought a lot of change. Because now I feel like I have a bit of experience like working with kids, being a leader, and I think to some of the kids here I might be a role model. I have something to do now than sitting at home. (V)*

*We got the opportunity to be role models for the kids and that might help them to have good life goals which will help the future generation as well. [...] The biggest change is that now I am a good role model. (DD)*

Furthermore, one leader explains that he feels encouraged and skilled enough by Amandla training that he can open his own project now in another section of Khayelitsha, for those who are not living in the catchment area of Amandla. Another leader, who has already started his own project, wants to take it to Eastern Cape, feeling that the concept is worth being extended to areas where projects usually don't go to.

*My short term goal for my future now is (...) I want to apply for a sport management course, so that I can get a qualification. Because after that I want to move back to Eastern Cape and I also want to start a project there. I know there is a lot of talent, but just as any other place here in South Africa alcohol is taking over, like people have stopped thinking about their future. They have lost hope about where they want to go. So I want to take sport, their favourite sport, I know they love rugby a lot. I want to take it and use it as a tool to bring that mind or to bring back those things like those values that they used to have and also to give skill and stuff and to give more, just to bring change into my community, into the whole Eastern Cape. Eastern Cape is the biggest province, and yet, there's not much development in the area. So I just want to go there after finishing the sport management, with the experience that I have from Amandla, and the qualification. I want to go back to Eastern Cape and start a project there. Making sure it's successful, running and growing. (R)*

Looking at the participants, being a circulator is rather limited to encouraging others to join the programme and to trying to inform others about the content of the life skill sessions.

### Spend time meaningful

T1: Through engaging in Amandla, leaders and participants perceive a positive change in spending their time meaningful. Telling that before being part of Amandla they were only sitting around in the corners or at home, either being bored and getting involved or continue delinquencies, one junior leader, three senior leaders and four participants explain that now they have something to do and appreciate that they have a purposeful hobby or job.

*So I was just at home, watching TV, doing nothing, taking care of my baby. I was not involved in any sport. My life was just boring, because of motherhood. I wanted to go back to school, but I couldn't because I had a baby. I had nothing to do, staying at home, doing nothing. (Z)*

*My life looked like I was sitting on the corner doing nothing. (G)*

*I made the decision to stop gangsterism even before I started to sign up for Amandla. But I had nothing to do after that. So maybe somehow I could have gone back to what I was doing before, but then I came to Amandla. It was like I found something that gives me something to do, and in the process I ended up loving what I was doing. I am crazy about what I am doing, so I have to say Amandla played a big role in who I am today. [...]But Amandla gave me something to do and the job I do here now is something that I have passion for. (U)*

T2: The opportunity to spend time meaningful through involvement in the project is also pointed out in T2. Many leaders and participants of both genders explicitly mention that they value having something enjoyable and relevant to do, as before their days were characterized by doing nothing, wasting time and being bored.

*The biggest change that came to my life is like I wasted my time doing nothing I think I would have been far now, because it's almost like 3 years or 4 years now. Amandla has brought lot of change. Because now I feel like I have a bit of experience like working with kids, being a leader, and I think to some of the kids here I might be a role model. I have something to do now than sitting at home. (V)*

*There is a certain feeling, because all the time when I feel like 'Ah, I need something to do' then I know that if I came to Amandla then I will be going to have fun with the guys. [...] It's a place, like when I feel bored or feel like doing something with the guys, I know that we can take the guys and can come to the field and play football, rather than standing there, looking around, and doing wrong stuff like gangsterism, smoking, running after ladies. (B)*

*When I think about Amandla, I think about empowerment, skill developing and leadership. Personally, it's excitement that I feel. I am eager to go to work; you don't know what's gonna happen next. You are expecting something is gonna come up, like an opportunity will just pop up. There might be a positive opportunity coming to you, like going overseas, like skill development, like education, like all those opportunities, such as gaining an academic certificate. (R)*

Apart from two leaders, who suggest that Amandla makes them to be under pressure in terms of delivering the programme accordingly and giving feedback to the participants, almost all other leaders refer purely positive to Amandla, saying that at Amandla they can do what they love, such as working with kids, and that they are thoroughly excited for whatever the day at Amandla has in store for them.

*When I wake up and know I have to go to Amandla, honestly, sometimes I feel happy that I am coming to Amandla, because I love sports. But sometimes I have this feeling in mind "oh boys, they are always trouble". But then I just wake up and tell myself that I will just go there and will face any challenges that I'm encountered with, because we use sport to make change, so let me just go there and do my thing. (A)*

*The first three words that come to my mind when I think about Amandla are excitement and kids and being myself. As I work with kids I fell in love with that job. That is why I wake up being excited. I would recommend the programme to others. I would tell them that they would experience something new and something rare, like something where they will be given opportunities, like guidance or teaching on how to live their lives (D)*

### Reputation

T1: In the first round of data collection, another positive change, as perceived by participants and coaches, is a change in their reputation since being involved in Amandla. One female junior leader (EE) reports that her family is very proud of her

working for Amandla, doing the learnership and bringing medals home; one male participant (B) elaborates that since the community knows that he is involved in Amandla, they don't see and treat him like a gangster anymore.

T2: In the second phase, none of the respondents refers to a change in reputation.

### Career Options

T1: One female junior leader and three senior leaders explain in T1 that since having learnt how to deal with kids at Amandla they further want to help them in their lives. Some of the leaders as well as one participant state explicitly that it is through the experiences at Amandla only that they want to become either childcare worker or social worker in future.

Also with regard to the likeliness of being employed in future working at Amandla is perceived as bringing positive change into coaches' and participants' lives. Two senior leaders mention that by being able to participate in first aid and child and youth care development session, they imagine having more chances of getting a job than before.

*I learn new things in the sessions and it changed how I think or see the future. We did something with NSCCW which is about child and youth care development, so that is a good opportunity for me, so that I may have a great chance to have a good job. And also we did a First Aid module, which also give me more chances for getting a job and changing my life and my future. (DD)*

With regard to the profession, career options are differently experienced by participants. Two of them (one male and one female) believe that by being part of Amandla they will make it into professional soccer or professional referees, as they might be spotted by scouts invited by Amandla.

*Before I thought I have no chance to play soccer. I was playing on the street. Now I think I'm going to make it. (H)*

T2: Respondents' statements in T2 also regard further employment. Many leaders mention that by working at Amandla, they fell in love with working with kids, realizing the potential of doing so and are considering becoming a senior facilitator

or childcare worker. Seven coaches specifically refer to the qualifications that they get through the additional training such as first aid courses, training for child care (NACCW), classes in sport administration (ETA college) and information on how to write a CV and apply for a job. Two of them also emphasize the referee training. They believe that all these opportunities heighten their chances of getting employed afterwards in the sport, child care and/or social work sector.

Also many participants connect their job interest to Amandla, with many of them seeking to become professional soccer players or referees. Two of them admit that they have always wanted that, but add that only now they feel like their dream can come true because Amandla offers them to play on an artificial turf and invites talent scouts. Two others also emphasize the opportunity to be spotted by a scout invited from Amandla, with one of them having been asked to play for another team.

*My dream is to become a professional soccer player, I see it and I live it, before I started playing here I used to want to be a teacher but my passion for soccer is what I want to follow (BB)*

*I always loved playing soccer way before and I was grateful when the field was built because my dream of become soccer player became really and now I'm looking forward to be a soccer star and maybe one day I'll play for Banyana Banyana. (J)*

One male participant however feels encouraged to strike a new path in terms of his career choice that is related to what he experienced himself.

*I also want to become a social worker so that I can be able to give back love and help to my community just as Amandla did for me. I live in the society that is full of violence and crime and I want to make difference, so that the future generation doesn't become part of the violence and that's why I want to be a social worker. (X)*



## Network and Friends

T1: In the first data collection phase, being involved in Amandla is seen as a not yet precedent opportunity to increase one's network. Two participants and one female junior leader explain that they made new friends and helpful others.

*Before becoming a junior leader, I [...] didn't think about what I wanted to be, how I'm gonna start career, but here I just like things are easy, because I got connections to many people that will help me. (EE)*

Making new friends at the programme, but also meeting internationals or getting to know famous people in person is perceived as positive change with regard to network building.

*My life before I became a member of Amandla was so difficult, because I didn't have the chance to play with so many people coming from different countries, people that I've never seen before, like David Beckham. (I)*

T2: Alike in T1, being involved in Amandla is perceived as a positive change regarding broadening one's network in the second data set. Many participants explain that they have made new friends at Amandla, which they label 'good' friends compared to the 'bad' friends they had before. Very explicitly, one leader explains the significance of the friendships he has established at Amandla.

*Then we realized that we are in a similar situation and we realized we must change our behaviour and attitude towards your girlfriend or boyfriend. We didn't realize this before because we didn't have the support structure we have now, like to socialize as we do and talk about our relationships and get to know each other better every day. So I would say before we didn't have that until we met here. I have friends outside of Amandla, but I didn't talk deeper with them like talking about the relationship. And now with the three we talk openly and there is nothing we hide, we are just open and talk freely. The relationship to the friends outside has only changed a little bit, like I would advise my friends, taking advice that I get at the field and pass it to my friends at the community. It's not in general though that guys are like that, it's more up to the person if he likes to talk about that. And my friends outside Amandla are those people like if I tell you something about my relationship they will pass it on to the next person. (L)*

### Finances

T1: For the majority of the leaders working at Amandla, having a contract is positively perceived in T1. Before, few had petty jobs with instable income such as selling paraffin in winter or alcohol to the taverns. As such having stable income means a big change in terms of finances and they can now provide for themselves (buying basic supplies), their family members and thereby add to the household income. In few cases, the income earned by Amandla is said to be the only income of the household. However, this puts one leader at risk, who had wanted to go back to school, but can't do so as his family financially only depends on him.

T2: In the second phase, almost all leaders identify working at Amandla as a positive change regarding their financial situation and thus perceive an increase in life quality. While few complain it is still not enough, all agree that they can now contribute to their family's income and can buy supplies for themselves. One reports that she is proud not to be on her parents' budget anymore. Some explain further that they are the only income-earners in the household, which increases the importance of the stipend they get by Amandla. Two others explain that they can even save money for university's registration fee and the drivers' license through the stipend.

### Processes underlying effects

T1: In the matter of how much Amandla contributed to the change described or to development in general, it has to be differentiated between those referring to the time before and those referring to the time while being at Amandla. In the first phase of data collection, three male participants and three male senior leaders explain that they had decided to change even before they joined Amandla, and that it was more the decision to change that - in a second step - made them get involved.

*So I decided to change, then I went for the application. I just knew that I had to do something good with my life. (D)*

Looking specifically at what it is at Amandla that the leaders and participants assume to be the cause for their change, answers from the leaders differ from purely the soccer part to a combination of soccer and life skill / leadership training to purely the educational part.

*I think something that has changed my life was playing football. If I wasn't playing football, I think I would have been in another place. I think it's about football and just football. I love football, football is about respect and you learn many things in the field, in and out, so when you play football you become a person that has manners who knows what to do and what not to do. Soccer made me the man with manners I am now. (W)*

*In Amandla we get workshops, such as 'free to grow'-workshops, where we talk about our past, where we develop things and get understanding about your past, that you have to move on, not to look back at your past. All the workshops help us to boost our self-confidence. So to myself I think it's the workshops that work the most, not the soccer. (Z)*

Taking a more detailed look at the life skill sessions, they are perceived differently and as such their influence on the participant and coach is perceived in contrasting ways. By some they are labelled as boring and as adding no value to them, whereas others credit them. The ones holding life skill / leadership sessions in high regard homogeneously report that those offer an opportunity to share personal stories and problems with others; both with team mates but moreover with the coaches and vice versa. Through life skill sessions, as stated earlier, participants mention to have learnt discipline and how to respect people – in and off the field.

Furthermore, one male leader refers to the children who - knowing that he's their role-model – change him. This statement matches to some participants for whom single coaches are the initiators of change. Being asked why they listen to the advices by coaches (more than to their caregivers), they respond that they trust the coaches more as those know better than others the challenges they come across. In line with this, some report that although their parents tell them to stop gangsterism and come home in time, many of them just don't listen to them. According to the participants, coaches at Amandla sit patiently down with them and know what they are talking about, whereby parents would often just be back at home in the evening, not knowing the specific challenges and then just shout.

This reasoning also holds for the leaders. One senior leader points out the biggest difference between how he is given advice at home and at the programme:

*Also my mum and my sisters did tell me to behave, but at that time there was no one sitting down with me and convincing me. They would just shout at me: you see you have to change. Also my friends were telling me: (Name of participant), you are stressing, you must change. So I knew I had to do something. I had to do something that would make me happy, because I was not happy at that time. So here now people take their time, sit down with me, we share.*  
(D)

Two other male leaders add that there is always someone available at the field to talk to and that they would always be given a direction of where life is going.

While quite a few participants and coaches mention that the relationship to their parents is not so good, others say it is the mix of parents', teammates', coaches' and/or colleagues' influence that makes them reflect on their doings.

T2: Looking at Amandla's significance in how much it can contribute to positive youth development, the decision to change was often made even before the involvement as also explained in T1. With regard to being involved in gangsterism and substance abuse, one male leader explains:

*For me it's a matter of character and I made a choice when I was still young [...] I told myself that I will never use drugs in my life, I will never smoke, and that I will never drink. That's what I told myself. I grew up and people were like "no (name of leader), you will smoke and you will drink", and I wanted to prove them wrong. I still want to prove them wrong. I mean it's a choice that one is making. I don't care whether you are suffering from what, whether you are under stress, alcohol won't solve your problems, but it will create more. I made that choice when I was still young and it opened my mind to lots of stuff [...] Here in Cape Town, there are a lot of opportunities and organizations, but it's a choice that one is making.* (R)

Another male leader also supports the view that it is ones' own choice. He was involved in gangsterism before, but then - due to some of his former friends ending up dead or in jail - he decided to change by himself, and then applied for Amandla.

However, agreed on by as most participants, even after joining Amandla change is only possible when one really wants to change.

*The field has been a great help to those willing to change and want to change, but as for others though they come to the field, but still there's no improvement in their lives. (J)*

*There are people who just come to the field just to play football, not because they want a change or to be different and I don't believe those people will change. I believe that you can only change when you willing to. Amandla can offer all the resources, but if the individual doesn't want to change then there won't be change in that person's life. (H)*

This is also evident in one of the ex-leaders (P) who explains that despite working at Amandla as a leader he would often show up being drunk or high – which finally led to his termination. Thus he doesn't see a change in him caused by the organization.

Taking a closer look at what it is inside Amandla that causes change in some, the leaders refer to specific people who care, such as the superiors. Also getting in touch with people with different mind sets than their 'old' friends, working with children and teaching them life skills is highlighted as reasons for change. Furthermore, participating in short courses, additional training and leadership training is mentioned by others as the parts of Amandla being most influential. With regard to participants, leaders assume it is soccer and follow-up, like the circles of trust established for the kids after training. However, participants highlight coaches who they talk to frequently and simply playing soccer as the most dominant factors.

### Disabling Factors for Change

Apart from change being only possible for the ones who really want to change, as pointed out by many beneficiaries, constraints in programme structure and a limited programme offer is also said to lessen Amandla's outcomes and thus impact. This is not only said by the programme coordinators, but also by the leaders and participants. One male leader for example explains:

*[Crime Prevention league] is one of the great ways to fight crime, because most of the boys that play here, are the boys that you would find in sheebens [taverns]. And when you are in the shebeen you drink and you don't know what you do. Bad things happen. Instead of that, now, they come here and play football. And after that they are tired and go home. So I think it is helping but not totally.*

He sees the reasons for why it doesn't help thoroughly in the small range of the programme that is only located in Site B of Khayelitsha, offers one code and does only cater those under 18, with most of them being boys. The constraint with regard to codes, age and gender is also mentioned by many other leaders and also participants. The reasoning for other codes differs though. Another participant explains

*(...) soccer has been known as a sport for black people and we don't have enough resources that allow us to do other sports like cricket and rugby and I think it would make a change, if there were resources to play. (X)*

A few others, both leaders and participants, see the need for codes in order to attract girls.

*Most girls don't come to the field because they think it is boyish, so Amandla can't do anything to help them. (E)*

*If Amandla had a problem that could accommodate everyone, not only kids that are interested in football, but also that want to do dance, especially for young girls. If they can accommodate everyone it could make a difference. (D)*

*Because there are children, most especially girls, who are not interested in soccer, but interested in other activities, like music, like dancing and all those activities. But Amandla only focuses on soccer. And I understand, why it's a global sport and why they want to bring people together, but there are only those who are interested in sport and who want to come to the field, but if they don't know soccer, they think it's not their thing to come. (R)*

Also perceptions of gender get quite visible in the argumentation why girls should be included in the programme more often.

*If there could be other programmes like Amandla for girls, then they would change and not waste their times on boys. (N)*

*It would be nice if Amandla would expand its sport to another sports, like there are girls involved in gangsterism and are not interested in soccer. (DD)*

*[...] and also organize a girls' committee, like to talk to the girls to stop what they are doing to motivate the boys to fight for them. They do that all the time, they do things that will turn to gangsterism and fights. They like it when the girls are fighting. They like it when the girls are killing each other. They like it a lot, because in our days killing someone is kind of like killing a mosquito. These boys are very cruel. (L)*

With regard to the programme itself, one leader mentions that it is the life skill sessions being the same every year that cause the participation rates to go down:

*They are bored of doing the same life skills over and over again. [...] Even when I sit down with the boys, and girls do the same, they know the topics by heart, they know the outcomes by heart. (U)*

Other reasons why leaders think Amandla does only have limited influence refers to the small amount of time the participants spend at the field being actively involved in the training which makes it difficult to establish bonds with the kids. Therefore, they want the parents, schoolteachers and community leaders to get involved in order to keep track of the children's behaviour- though they admit that with the parents often working all day long, they don't even know what their children are up to.

### 5.2.1.3. Programme Coordinators

In line with the adopted MSC method and triangulation purposes superiors are supposed to be interviewed about participants' and coaches' stories. As some of the project coordinators live in the same environment and have known the beneficiaries for years, they have great knowledge on how the programme impacts on the participants and coaches off the property.

T1: With regard to the participants, three programme coordinators, and with regard to the leaders, two project coordinators give feedback to the stories and on the changes that they feel the programme caused in the beneficiaries of Amandla. All of them know the participants and leaders in person as they work together on a frequent base and, apart from one coordinator, live in the same community.

While for almost half of the sample the programme managers do not see the change described by the participants, rather feeling there is no change at all, in three cases they think that the described change is made up on purpose – assumable to be favourable of them. One male participant (T) for example says he changed to the better whereas according to the programme coordinators he steals balls from the field property and beats others.

However, for more than half of the participants, the programme managers identify a change in them that can be traced back to the programme. In most of the cases they refer to a pro-social behaviour change, such as showing more respect to staff and team mates, standing up for themselves and not being involved in gangsterism anymore. However, for two they explain that those are easily convinced and would follow any role-model – with the programme luckily offering good ones. However, two others are even seen as having changed to the negative, but according to the programme managers this is not due to the programme but through external influences that the programme can't work against. Apart from a change in behaviour it is also a positive change in attitude that is observed. Furthermore, the programme coordinators admit that while a few changed their way of thinking about life, they did not change their behaviour accordingly yet.

With regard to what causes the positive change the programme coordinators explain that it differs from participant to participant. Whereas for some football is the medium to make them come and stay in the programme, thus having something enjoyable to do, for others it is the content of the life skill session. Again for others they see the individual coach and not the programme as initiator of change, who – because of being rooted in the community – plays a big counterpart of the other adults the participants usually talk to.

Looking at the nine coaches, most of them are seen as having been affected by Amandla in a positive way. According to two project managers, changes are seen in coaches' behaviour, such as acting pro-socially as a leader and moving away from bad peers. This again is understood to be a support for some to not get involved in gangsterism, although the project coordinators admit they can't say for sure that those would get involved otherwise. Furthermore, most coaches have increased their self-confidence, have developed ideas on what to do in the future and how to reach those goals, have better communication skills as well as have realized their potential to work with children and influence them positively. From the project managers' point of view, the degree of change differs from coach to coach, with two having been skilful before, and only using Amandla and the opportunities offered as a springboard to enhance their skills and take steps forward. Another one



(W) has always been nice, thus Amandla has supported him in his already positive manner.

However, for one of the coaches (D) it is said that since being involved he sometimes behaves negatively, in the way that through Amandla he recognized his strengths and uses this for his advantage, such as not pitching for work responsibilities and being disrespectful against superiors. Also, for one other (EE) it is not clear whether the change is caused by Amandla or external institutions, as she is likewise involved in another soccer activity where she has a close relationship to the coach.

T2: In the second round of data collection, a total of three programme coordinators (with one of them being new and not living in the community) is confronted with the stories given by the participants and coaches in order to confirm or dismiss them and to give their own opinion on the effects of Amandla.

According to the project coordinators, the stories of the participants differ in the regard that some perfectly reflect the reality, whereby others underestimate the influence Amandla has on them and again others overestimate such. Thus, the project managers explain that Amandla affects positively, negatively and not at all on the participants – always depending on the participant's background as well as social network.

The programme coordinators assign the sport-in-development project to change coaches' pro-social behaviour and skills, such as not being tempered anymore, not being involved in fights anymore and having good guidance skills. More concrete, two (H, X) are said as having been involved in drug abuse and school dropout throughout the last year while already going to Amandla – but have now changed to the better. According to the project managers, this can be traced back to personal relationships to staff members, who admonished them to behave better even outside the field – compared to their caregivers who did either not know or not care. Thus, with the staff being persistent and interested in them, they started to look up to good role-models. Another outcome is seen in one participant's (J) career

plans. The project coordinators assume that through her coach complimenting her on her soccer skills, she does now want to become a professional player.

Furthermore, the programme coordinators point out that Amandla influenced two (M, N) to maintain or push their good character, as they have always been behaving well. Through being in a safe environment that promotes pro-social values and offers opportunities to act out those attitudes, they can now live up to it. For two girls (E, F), no effect of Amandla but an improvement in soccer skills could be recognized. According to the project coordinators, this is due to the missing emphasis on girls in the organization's programme that makes girls engage less.

Moreover, two participants are identified as liars with regard to the change they describe. While they point out to have been involved in gangsterism and quit because of Amandla, the project managers say that this is not the case. According to how they see it, the two have never been involved in gangsterism at all, thus pushing Amandla's reputation. While one (BB) improved her self-confidence through being personally boosted by the coaches regarding her soccer skills - which is seen as the only outcome of the programme on her -; the other one (CC) does now look up to bad role-models and wants to get involved in gangsterism by all means.

Another participant (I) is explicitly said to have changed to the negative since being involved in Amandla, as he does learn by others on how to live two lives that is being part of Amandla while still being involved in gangsterism. Because he hangs out with gangsters at Amandla he doesn't feel like being one is wrong – and thus uses Amandla for his own purpose of providing a fun time activity only.

With regard to the positive changes that Amandla caused in coaches' lives, the project managers report that three of the coaches (R, V, Z) have become much more extroverted, have improved their communication and leadership skills and do now pursue goals they have set up for their future. Furthermore, they have a grown love towards children, have become more self-confident and self-reflective and act initiative even outside of the project. According to the coaches, this is due to the manifold opportunities Amandla offers, such as teaching and training the children and taking educational classes themselves.

*She has grown mentally and is more physically strong. She has also grown personal even though I did not know her before, but for the period I know her, I can see growth and she is younger than I am, but when she gives advices at times you wouldn't say it's someone young speaking. She even gives me advices at times. I would say her involvement in the games has an impact, because there was a scenario whereby we had a session with the under 15 girls and we were speaking about sexuality and most of the girls came to Afro after the session and opened up to her and that tells me that they trust her and comfortable enough to share with her, I mean there's like 15 to 16 of us that they could talk to, but they chose her. (Project manager about Z)*

However, few of the coaches – according to the project managers – are not affected by Amandla and remain in their old habits such as being reliable but still shy and not engaging well in the activities. One has kept his former friends who are gangsters, although he himself is not involved anymore; whereas another one is still an instable person who is easily influenced by both good and bad role-models and doesn't know yet where he wants to go in life.

In contrary to how they describe influence the programme had on them, three coaches are seen as having returned back to their old performance of negative behaviour, although they had been acting pro-socially in between. While two of them (G, L) had developed work ethics, communicating well and taking responsibilities, they are now back to their old behaviour of not showing up for work and not being reliable anymore. Another one (U) considers getting involved in gangsterism again instead of working for Amandla, although he has stayed out of it for a few years already.

#### 5.2.1.4. Significant Others

In the second phase of data collection participants and coaches are asked to point out individuals who they feel closely related to, who they trust and who know them well. These as trustworthy identified people are referred to as 'significant others'. Those were – inter alia – questioned about their perception with regard to the programme's effect on the participants and coaches. While some beneficiaries of

the project mention several 'significant others' (see appendix II) in the following it will be explicitly mentioned to how many participants and coaches the statements refer to in order to avoid a falsified picture.

Mentioned only by significant others of the coaches, skill acquisition is pointed out as a result of being involved in Amandla. Three significant others<sup>117</sup> name having better communication skills, being more open, talkative and not shy anymore – pointing to three coaches.

*When I first met him, he was a self-centred person, a quiet one, a person who didn't want to share, he was a person who used to not understand all things. He was that difficult, [...] so I felt that at some point that he's giving me hard time, because he was not talkative, he was not engaging with friends and did not do sport, he was always at home so it was just one routine. If he was not at home he was here, if he's not here he's at home. [...] Now [since working for Amandla] he is alive and he's open and so much caring. [...] now he has changed, he is very different, he is outspoken, he is engaging in sport [...] I think what changed him is being around new people, being active, because based on what I heard since matric he did not do anything, he was always at home, not friendly, not outspoken. Now he is all that, he goes out, he socializes, he even advises others and stuff, so also getting to know other people's personality has brought the true [personality] and has made him to acknowledge the true [personality]. Now he calls, and sms me and tells me what he wants and who he is, like he even speaks about the future. (L2)*

Furthermore, being self-reflective and goal-driven is also seen as an outcome of working at Amandla and three significant others<sup>118</sup> even report that those qualities are transferred to real life situations.

*There is also a change in her life besides financially like she has come out of her closet, now she talks, like at work she works with people and influence so what she learns from work she applies it to her friends, because I can also see a change in their lives, like they are getting more mature. Before she used to be shy and I think it's because she is working with people and children, also life skill sessions that she gives to children, they all had influence on her personality changing. (V2)*

With regard to behaviour change in the leaders, one significant other thinks that Amandla made one coach stop with gangsterism and not being troublesome

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<sup>117</sup>K1, R2, L2

<sup>118</sup>V2, R1, Z1

anymore, as well as having changed from bad friends to good ones – making him not to be stressed by peer pressure anymore.

*Before the programme he used to go to the tavern with all the boys and love to wander off the street. [...] Amandla helped him a lot, because now he is always busy at Amandla and does not hang around street corners anymore. There was a time where he was troublesome, he used to smoke and was also involve into bad things like stealing. Even now we don't hear any stories about that "he has done this and that" whereas before we used to always attend meetings that he has done this, however since he was in the programme he has changed a lot, even now he has changed friends as well. Sometimes I would see that some other things he is just doing them for friends, so he was under lot of peer pressure, but now he has good friends that are positive about life. (DD1)*

Three coaches<sup>119</sup> are seen as being influenced by Amandla acting more grown-up, being more mature, having gained conflict skills and being more focused on how to proceed in life.

*If he has done something wrong, now he can confront the situation and deals with it in an elderly way. He has also gained confidence like he can stand up now for whatever he wants, whereas before he was always in a shell. (R5)*

Alike, for some of the coaches, engagement in Amandla is reported by a few significant others of participants as having resulted in leaving gangsterism, staying out of it and in quitting smoking.

*In 2009 he did not go to school because he was into drugs, coming home late, robbing people, so when he joined Amandla he changed a lot, he stopped doing all those things, and when he was busy with all those bad things he was nine years old, I do not know what led him to drugs, and dropping out of school, I tried taking him back to school but he refused totally. (X3)*

Additionally, three are said to respect their caregivers better, such as listening to them, doing house chores, and coming home in time and don't smoke anymore.

*Amandla is helping her a lot, because I can see a change in behaviour. When I say she was silly I mean she used to not listen at home, she loved to play computer games and wonder off streets, but she was not a problematic child. She used to come back home very late and now she listens and knows when to come home. (F1)*

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<sup>119</sup>Z1, R5, K2

*Before she joined the programme she was a very troubling child, when she came from school she would go play and not even clean the house but since she joined AMANDLA she does her house chores. And can wash her clothes. I think what brought a change is the influence of coaches in her life because they teach them and talk to them about things that she doesn't feel comfortable to talk about to me. (BB1)*

Two mothers of participants<sup>120</sup> see a change in their children's lives as they have a place to go to and belong to now. Besides, with respect to three leaders, three significant others<sup>121</sup> see a change in the way they spend their time, as they are not wandering off the streets and not hanging out in taverns anymore, but are busy with stuff at the field. In line with time spending time meaningful at the field, seven significant others<sup>122</sup>, referring to five leaders, feel that working at Amandla had developed or reinforced the coaches' passion to work with kids, and that by having a job that they love – also compared to being unemployed - the coaches are much happier than before.

*The programme is helping her a lot, because it makes her to be more loving, and it grew her passion towards children. [...]The programme also has helped her lot financially, because now she contributes and helps here and there with the children. She loves children a lot and she plays with them. I can even see in our children how she treats them, even my brother's children. (Z1)*

*The Amandla programme it does motivate her, like after she came out from University of Cape Town, she was really sad, and could not get any job. So when she came to Amandla, now she is busy. At least she is happy that there is something that she is doing in her life and there is a progress in her life, like she loves playing with kids, so there at Amandla she gets that chance of being around children and I think that is what makes her happy. (K1)*

*I remember when he came back to Cape Town before the programme he was very stressed, and he would be sad and I would feel so much pity for him. So the programme has helped, because now he is very happy and some heavy load has been lifted, and he is that person who doesn't like being dependent, because even that time he just came back he had nothing at all, no money nothing and he was telling me that he wants to go back to Eastern Cape. [...]It's not just about the money, but the fact that he's dealing with kids really makes him happy, he has so much passion with kids so I don't think another job opportunity would have made the same*

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<sup>120</sup>X3, BB1

<sup>121</sup>G1, A2, DD1

<sup>122</sup>A2, K2, K1, R2, U1, Z1, Z2

*effect. Maybe financially, yes, but when it comes to happiness I don't think so, because he loves his job and those kids. (R2)*

Being happier, looking into the future with more motivation and being eager to get more qualifications is also mentioned as a change in three coaches by four significant others<sup>123</sup>. Although only referring to the sport, two significant others<sup>124</sup> see an increase and a change in interest, which is even enthusiastically perceived as career choice.

*Amandla has contributed in her life because now she has grown ambition towards sport but before she just loved playing soccer but never looked at it as career but now she is more interested in sport as general. (A1)*

Additionally, an increased network and having opportunities is also perceived as a change in one leader.

*There has been an influence in his life through the Amandla programme like it opened doors for him, like this one time he went to Sweden, so he's doing something now with his life, so there is a progress in his life. (R2)*

Financial and material gain is also seen as a change caused by Amandla. Pointing to seven coaches, nine significant others<sup>125</sup> highlight their financial change through being employed. They report that by working at Amandla, the coaches are now able to buy stuff for themselves, and for others and do not depend on their parents or other income anymore. Also, one mother<sup>126</sup> sees a positive change in her son's life, as he is getting t-shirts and freebies from Amandla – something she can't afford to buy.

Because four coaches appoint seven significant others who are also involved in Amandla, their statements will be shown separately. While three leaders met their significant others in the programme, one has known her long before the programme started. Apart from one significant other who doesn't see any change caused by the programme, the others see an increase in soccer skills as well as in leadership skills, such as having learnt how to motivate and support others.

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<sup>123</sup> U1, V1, R2, R1

<sup>124</sup> A1, K2

<sup>125</sup> A1, A2, G1, L1, R2, V2, Z1, Z2, DD1

<sup>126</sup> X3

*That time [before she got involved in Amandla] she didn't know about football, she only knew like netball. She had no skills about football. And now she can demonstrate to young kids. And then now she is able to talk to a big group. She has self-confidence now. (GG1)*

*I could see that she was scared to stand in front of the kids and to stand in front of the crowd or people, and talk or facilitate something. But now I can see that she is having self-confidence, she can stand in front of the kids and she is not scared anymore to talk with the children or the other leaders. (A4)*

*He has more skills now compared to when he started. He is a leader now. He can lead people and motivate them and he can also help when others need help. (R3)*

Also being more thoughtful is seen as a change caused by Amandla in two coaches, however, one admits that he doesn't know how much this behaviour is transferred into situations outside of Amandla.

*Especially (name of coach) though really takes in the messages from the workshop. You will see her very quiet and that she thinks deeper. And when you ask her she will tell you I'm thinking about the topic that we talked about during that training session. So I think she is taking the training very seriously. But I do not know if she behaves differently outside of Amandla. (A5)*

Furthermore, four coaches are described as having gained self-confidence, knowing how to talk in front of a group and handling children. A grown passion towards children is also referred to as an outcome of working at Amandla.

According to the significant others of the coaches, reasons for the skill and behaviour change in the coaches are seen in the additional programme offered by Amandla, especially the personal development agenda, and the safe and trustful space that the organization provides – as well as intrinsic motivation to change.

*It's the Amandla programme that caused it, because when she moved from Makhaza she was in a bad space. But because we had the Amandla programme, like the personal development programme, and then she developed and she found family at Amandla. And the skills that she gets here I think they help her so much. (GG1)*

*I think it is because of the workshops that we were holding regularly, and also practicing, and also her willingness to learn. When I say workshops I mean leadership workshops and facilitation workshops, where we are taught how to facilitate and how to lead a session. (A4)*



Opinions are divided about whether it has to be a sport programme – and if so a soccer programme - or if any other kind of activity, such as music or art could cause a similar change.

Of five more participants, who named one significant other each, four have known each other since before getting involved in the programme. While the significant other who only met her friend at the field doesn't see any change in her at all, the others mention several changes of the participants that they refer to their participation in Amandla. Almost all participants are assigned an improvement in their prosocial behaviour compared to before, such as doing house chores and listening to their caregivers, not getting into trouble anymore by wandering in the streets and not being involved in alcohol and drug abuse anymore.

*We changed after sometime being part of Amandla, but at first he used to be angry at coaches and sometimes insult other players, or kick the ball outside the premises. But then he stopped, because [the programme coordinator] spoke to him and played big influence in his life. Now he listens to his mom and has stopped drugs and wandering off streets. (H2)*

*We used to clean taxis and lie to our parents that we going to play at the grounds and we would get money and buy alcohol but now we no longer drink because AMANDLA life skills have taught us so many things. (X1)*

Furthermore, two are said to have improved their soccer skills and one participant is said to spend her time more meaningful than before. While she was usually only playing computer games by herself, she is now busy with the programme. Two participants changed their attitude towards school.

*There are things about him that I can relate to Amandla, he was not really interested in school before but now he loves school very much and now he is no more lazy. (H3)*

With regard to the reasons for the change in the participants' lives, they point to the mere opportunity of spending time at the field. Also, while some of them joined in the first place only because of soccer, they do now value the additional programme they get.

*Before we joined the programme we were both not listening at home, and were involved in drugs, so when we first joined we still did not change because we would only go there just for soccer not to learn then later on after sometime we started attending life skills sessions where*

*we were taught to make good decisions, also how harmful smoking is and that is when we changed. (Name of participant) also stopped drugs and we were listening to our parents, he also went back to school. Amandla is helping us a lot in things like developing in sport because when we started we were not good in playing. It also helps us not to stand in street corners and do nothing. (X2)*

*I think it's because he gets encouragement from life skills and other things that I don't know, but what I have noticed he gets happy every time he comes here. (H3)*

Looking more broadly on what impact the programme has regarding development upon the beneficiaries' level, the significant others identify effects on the community level, such as children having a place to go to instead of spending the majority of time in the streets, where they are in danger of getting involved in bad stuff. Especially for Friday nights, Amandla is emphasized as being a protected place for youngsters to play soccer.

*There is a change in the community that I can relate to Amandla, because I see other children from around that attend in the programme are not involved in drugs or wander off streets, so I believe that the young children that are in the programme there is a slim chance that they will be involved in crime and drugs, because they growing up with positive thinking and are being mentored to be better people. Sometimes being bored has a contribution on some children's bad behaviour so Amandla is helping, because after school they don't stand in the corners, but they have something to look forward to which going to the field. (DD1)*

In line with this one mother<sup>127</sup> explains that there is less gangsterism around the field, because fewer children hang around. Also the programme is understood to influence children's behaviour and thereby improve the community. Furthermore, as two others<sup>128</sup> say, kids are seen to be happy and as the leaders for tomorrow.

Two significant others, who also participate in the programme, likewise highlight Amandla's impact on the community. For them, by keeping the children busy and offering them a safe place to go, decreasing gangsterism.

*I can see a change in my community that I can relate to AMANDLA, because before young children would wonder off street and not know what to do, but now we are always here and stopped doing bad things. (F2)*

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<sup>127</sup>X3

<sup>128</sup>V2, R1

*Amandla has brought a lot of change, because most of the guys especially in under 19 that were not in the programme before, they used to be involved in drugs and gangsterism – but now most of them have stopped. (H2)*

Taking a more detailed look on the direct and indirect influence the programme has on significant others, four of them<sup>129</sup> perceive a positive change in their lives through the financial stipend the coaches earn. As this income is sometimes even the only earning of the household, it lightens the overall financial pressure.

*My life quality has changed as well, because not everything has to be done by me; she has taken some responsibilities about so many things around home. (A2)*

*I am happy that he is busy, because now at least he is employed and he brings income for himself. (R2)*

An improvement of communication and language skills is reported by one significant other that improves her relationship to the coach and thus the quality of her life:

*Sometimes he would say things in the past and I would be so embarrassed for him, but now I can confidently speak with him English with no fear of him not understanding what I am saying. My relationship with his family is very good, sometimes they would ask me things they want to know about him, because he was very quiet, but now he speaks for himself. His involvement in the programme has changed my quality life, in terms of understanding sport and time, because at first I was so used to having him all by myself, but now I came to an understanding that he works and has his life that doesn't include me all the time. Also it changed my maturity, because I had to understand him, but it was all a good change. My expectation of him when he started the programme was that he would stop being a shy person, I felt at some point if he could be me, be loud and bubbly, but he is now, because we have our crazy talks and laugh. For now, there's nothing that I still need to change about him because where we are satisfied, the way or the path that he wants to take his life is the same path I am pursuing. (L2)*

Alike, friends and partners<sup>130</sup> feel they benefit from what the coaches learn at Amandla, as they are being told about it and can discuss about sensitive topics.

*We are much closer now, because I noticed that for us to be really happy we talk about Amandla and also talk about my studies. [...] he is talkative, like he is very open now, even if*

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<sup>129</sup>A2, G1, Z1, DD1

<sup>130</sup>R1, R5, U1, L2

*he is going to tell me something about our relationship he would first start on some session they had at Amandla and what they were taught and then relate that to our relationship. [...] We speak about topics they learn there such as diseases, unsafe sex and what outcomes it has and what can we do to prevent consequences such as diseases and pregnancy. (R1)*

One significant other explains that his social network has expanded, since his girlfriend works for Amandla.

*Our relationship has not changed much, but rather brought more love and bond, because now I know more of her colleagues, and have built friendships with them. My life has also changed, because now I started loving talking, because of how she is. I got exposed into talking and socialising, and also my love for people has grown. (Z1)*

Knowing where the coach is does also improve the significant other's quality of life.

*There is a way that the programme has helped us as well, because we no longer stress about his whereabouts or his safety, because now we know if he is not home he is there, even when his coming home late he calls and explains. (DD1)*

To know where someone is, is also an important change for participants' significant others. Four significant others report that they are relieved and not stressed anymore, as they know the participant is in a safe place at Amandla and does not walk around in the streets.

*When she started the programme I was really happy, because for me I knew that AMANDLA is a safe place. (F1)*

*Amandla has helped me as well, because I was never been called into a meeting, because of his [his son's] behaviour, and also when I am work I don't stress, because I know where he is whereabouts. (M2)*

Additionally, two mothers tell that the relationship with their children has changed, as they benefit from what they learnt there.

*Our relationship has changed as well, because now when he wants to do something he sits me down and we talk about it. I don't know what led him to drugs, but then I told him to stop but he did not, and I asked him why did he stop when he started at Amandla and he said there at Amandla they talk to them and teaches them about behaviour and making decisions, whereas here at home I would beat him and not explain to him why he should not do certain things. (H1)*

Furthermore, one mother whose two children participate at Amandla reports that her life changed, because now she is very proud of her children who bring medals home and are written about in newspapers.

*Amandla has also helped me because my two kids play there and all these medals that are around they get them from the field. I am a very proud mother because they are succeeding and are making progress in sport and they even appear on newspapers. (BB1)*

Two significant others explain that their lives changed to the better, as they know their children get shirts and shoes from Amandla, thus they less financial worries how to afford such things.

*Amandla is helping me a lot because most the time his there and he gets things that I cannot afford for him like takkies, soccer boots and other things. (X3)*

Apart from the thoroughly positive benefits, some significant others also feel negatively affected by the programme. Four criticize that the coaches have less time for them, as they are always busy at the field. Another one (U1) fears that through her boyfriend being at Amandla and thus officially known to not being a gangster anymore, she's in risk of revenge in the streets when being with him.

Furthermore, sixteen significant others are appointed who are also part of the programme. The ones who knew the participants before the programme see a difference in their relationship to them. Most of them report that they do now have a stronger friendship, as they spend more meaningful time together and share common interest and ideas. One significant other was encouraged to come to the programme by the participant, thus she sees her overall involvement as the biggest change caused by the participant at Amandla.

### 5.2.1.5. Field Observation and Informal Conversations

The outcomes and impact described is reinforced by informal conversations and observations in both phases of data collection. As the impressions gained through the extensive and long-term research are massive, only selected examples can be presented here.

Participants are always keen to come, gathering around the field before it opened, swarming at the gate and even coming to the field if it is not their programme time. Also, on the more individual level, in an informal conversation one female leader (Z) explains, when being asked about her day, that she had a bright spot at the leadership training, where they learnt how important it is to take care of the ones around and to respect their needs and point of views. She points out that she only learnt today that it is not good to beat children but that one has to comply with their rights as well and not only look for what one needs oneself. Apparently she has beaten her children every now and then, and wasn't aware of the fact that it might harm them. Through observing the relationship with her children and the comments from people around her this positive development is emphasized even further.

Another one (R) talks enthusiastically about his own project that he started with the knowledge he got at Amandla. He invites the author of this study to visit it, which she does. The programme at the community center is crowded with children and the neighbours energetically talk about it, reinforcing the multiplying factor effect that Amandla has on their coach.

However, in individual cases, few older participants and leaders are observed of binge drinking in their free time, which also influences their work ethics. Thus, some individuals do not show up for work regularly – and in a few cases individuals at Amandla seem to be high.

Transferring the skills and knowledge acquired at Amandla also seems to be quite problematic for some others. One female leader for example is stressed about being pushed for unprotected sex by her boyfriend. She admitted that although she has learnt and understood at Amandla she shouldn't do it; she worries if she can stand up to it when meeting him in the evening. The next time the author of the study meets her she doesn't want to talk about the topic anymore.

Another example can be given by an ex-gang member who has positively presented the organization for the last years, but was accused of stealing things from the field

and has returned to gangsterism. Although he has been reliable and hard-working at the time of the author's first visit, he is bad tempered and wouldn't show up to work consistently afterwards.

Furthermore, though not directly seen as primary beneficiary of the programme, a project manager responsible for implementing fair play rules becomes violent towards a female leader, after she has criticized him.

With regard to Amandla's effects on others than the direct beneficiaries, visiting some of the caretakers of the participants and coaches reveals that they are indeed very proud and happy about their children being involved. Two have their shacks covered with newspaper articles, medals and trophies about their offspring and their eyes are shining with joy when talking about the organization's role in their children's and their own lives.

One mother, who lives in a poor house with only bucket sanitation system, gives bread to the researchers when being visited. Associating the visitors with Amandla, she explains how grateful she is for giving her daughter the opportunity to have a job and a place to go to. Overly excited, she takes them to the car to make sure they are safe.

### 5.2.1.6. Summary

Results from both data collection phases display a similar and therefore sustainable picture about Amandla's effects on its beneficiaries and significant others.

Especially with regard to the experienced challenge of gangsterism, Amandla provides a safe place for participants and coaches, which protects them from the dangers they otherwise come across in the streets. Protruding, this impact also positively influences others in the community, as significant others do not have to worry about their children's and friend's whereabouts.

In addition, through programme coordinators and coaches, participants have someone who they can talk to and get advice from. This also applies to coaches,

who either open up to other coaches and programme coordinators or to participants. While in the majority of cases establishing new relationships with people from the organization marks a positive cut, in two cases it is negatively, with beneficiaries being seduced by other beneficiaries to concurrently be gangster and involved in Amandla.

Engagement in Amandla does also lead to skill development. On the one hand soccer skills are improved, and on the other hand, personal development skills, such as leadership skills (for coaches only), communication and conflict skills, evoke from participating in the programme.

The sport-in-development project also changes participants' and coaches' behaviour. Confirmed by significant others and programme coordinators, some beneficiaries started acting pro-socially and reduced their violent and disrespectful behaviour, not only at the field, but also outside the sessions e.g. towards the significant others. Thus their lives' are indirectly impacted as well.

Also with the participants and coaches passing on their newly gained knowledge and certain behaviour patterns to others who are not directly involved in Amandla, a disseminator effect takes place and widens Amandla's impact on others' development.

With participants and coaches previously facing the challenge of being bored and lacking facilities and organizations in their community, Amandla provides a meaningful and relevant activity for them; and is used as a place to go to even off the sessions. Having a hobby provides for some indeed an alternative for gangsterism, whereby in rare single cases participants and coaches do continue or resume their old habits to this effect. Some though would not get involved in gangsterism anyways; however, Amandla supports them in staying out of it and broadens their network of 'benign' friends. Thus Amandla can support those acting pro-socially in staying like this and those, who are willing to change from genitive manners, but not the ones who don't want to.



In view of the described challenge of either missing good role models or choosing wrong ones, Amandla confronts participants with mainly 'good' ones - at least on the field – and thereby enhances the chances of imitating those instead of 'bad' ones outside the field. However, although the coaches take their role as role model serious on the field, not all of them manage to transfer the pro-social behaviour to their lives outside of Amandla. An impact on wider social development in this regard therefore depends on the individual and can't be generalized.

Amandla furthermore changes the opportunities available for participants and coaches, though with different foci. Whereas the coaches can increase their chances of employment through leadership workshops, educational classes and personal development sessions, participants gain access to a proper field and freebies. Against the background of poverty und the lack of facilities, this means an increase in life quality especially for those participants who come primarily for soccer – and thereby commit them to the organization. It also affects family members who couldn't afford to buy material otherwise.

Amandla does also change beneficiaries' reputation, and through the opportunity of playing tournaments and winning matches some come to be known as good soccer players – and not as gangsters anymore. Often this creates wider circles, with the caretakers and others being extremely proud about any success. Likewise, knowing where their children are makes them happy and feeling relieved. However, in few cases, the focus on success turns out to be negative, as some participants are frustrated of not being discovered by scouts – an expectation that made them show up at Amandla in the first place.

Strikingly, for some beneficiaries, triangulation reveals a complex and contradicting picture of effect. Participants assign Amandla to have positively influenced on them with regard to behaviour, whereas this is not supported by significant others and programme coordinators. On the contrary, some present themselves worse than they are seen by the others – leading to a range of interpretations. While they might show off on purpose or simply have a wrong picture about themselves, it

might also be that significant others or programme coordinators do not know them well.

Another change not only for coaches but also for their significant others is the stipend they get that discharges the financial pressure in the households – whereas this only accounts for those who spend it accordingly.

Looking at some individuals over time different developments distinguish. Few of them develop in the negative direction, such as wanting to go back to gangsterism and changing from a pro-social to a negative behaviour, with reasons lying outside the scope of Amandla. Results from a longitudinal point of view that Amandla increases the majority's participants' pro-social behaviour and skill development, that in many cases relieve the handling within the family – but in single cases, they want to go back to gangsterism, change from a pro-social to a negative behaviour and do not feel they got enough equipment to face the challenges outside of Amandla. Contextual circumstances and structures inhibiting the extent of impact are dealt with in chapter 5.3.1.

Looking at the processes underlying Amandla's effects, a variety of reasons can be summarized that vary from reliable and trustworthy people to the availability of a structured sport and/or educational programme. Especially soccer and the association involved of becoming a professional player makes some beneficiaries do whatever they think is requested by the organization to become one. Also, knowing that the coaches are from the same community and face the same challenges makes participants listen to their advices – especially with regard to personal issues and sensitive topics. For the coaches it is the range of opportunities that they are provided with and the confirmation in them through working with children.

### 5.2.2. MOD S

For the study on MOD S, participants', coaches' and significant others' statements in T1 build the backbone for the presentation of challenges. The results focusing directly on the change brought about are based on statements from participants, coaches, ex-beneficiaries, programme coordinators, significant others and from one key informant being aligned with MOD S in T1 and T2 (65 interviews). Furthermore, field notes based on observation and informal conversations serve as basis for presenting results with regard to the research question.

#### 5.2.2.1. Challenges

For 14 participants and two coaches at MOD S alcohol- and substance abuse, gangsterism, violence, poverty, unemployment, teenage pregnancy and lack of facilities are the biggest challenges in their community in Khayelitsha. With regard to what determines such challenges, they give manifold explanations. Many agree that most of the problems identified are mutually dependent on each other.

*The challenges that my community is facing is drug abuse, over population of unemployed people, and poverty. People don't go to further their education because they don't have money. (A)*

*The bad influence that drugs have is that it makes the users to want to do bad things and rob older people so they can buy more drugs. (I)*

Bad role-models and the permanent confrontation with violence and alcohol and substance abuse - not only in the community but also at home and on school property - are seen as conditions for reproducing such behaviour.

*In my community there is high rate of drug abuse, young people see older people smoking and they think it's a good thing. (I)*

*The biggest challenge in my community is violence and sometimes it even happens here at school where other children bully others. There are also young children who use drugs in my community and sometimes it starts by smoking cigarettes. Also there is unemployment for instance my mom is looking for a job but cannot find any. (E)*

*Sometimes older kids beat us up in the streets when we refuse when they send us to shops. [...] Kids who don't listen to their teachers they are taken to the principal and he beats them. (J)*

Adapting certain behaviour from others and acting accordingly, facing peer pressure and being bullied are also entitled as personal challenges.

*I heard it from the street so I adapted the style of swearing. And when I was furious I would swear. (L)*

*They smoke because of peer pressure, like this one time some kids told me to come and smoke with them, but I said no. Some kids are scared to say no and they start smoking; and others, because they want to belong to some gang or certain group of friends, so they smoke to fit in. (J)*

One coach sees boredom and a lack of facilities as reasons for children joining gangsterism, however, she also admits that she's not sure and refers to what the participants have told her:

*The biggest challenge in the community is that there are not enough facilities for kids for free time activities [...] there is not enough equipment for the kids. And because they are bored they go to gangsterism. [...] If you ask them, then they say it's the peer pressure. Or maybe his or her parents drink a lot and there is no time to look at the kid. So family issues and parents don't teach them what is good and what is bad. (D)*

Alike, family issues and boredom are pointed out by the male coach to be possible reasons for delinquent behaviour.

*Maybe at their homes they don't get enough food to eat or to buy clothes themselves. They see other kids that have a lot of things at their homes, so that's maybe why they are involved in crime, to have the same balance with their families. It's a pressure. Stealing money, robbing... [...] I think they have so much free time and then they do not know what to do and that's when they start crime. (K)*

Being confronted with family issues as a challenge is also mentioned by a few participants. In more detail one reports that she faces a loss of family members by death and moving to Eastern Cape, whereas another reports missing privacy at home due to it being overcrowded and him getting no attention.

Alike the coaches and participants at MOD S, significant others identify (youth) unemployment, lack of opportunities, alcohol and substance abuse, gangsterism and violence as well as teenage pregnancy as challenges of their community.

*The biggest challenge is the poverty. I think this is because people use money on drugs and alcohol and end up with no money for food. I think the reason for unemployment is lack of skills, and people not want to go to school and get education. There is also teen pregnancy even though there so many facilities and youth clinics for family planning, I think the cause its stupidity, arrogance and peer pressure. (N3)*

*[...] the youth is unemployed and there is so much poverty and such leads to stealing, prostitutions and other bad behaviours, such as alcohol abuse. Most of the youth is not well educated and others do have matric but have no opportunities due to lack of skills and experience. Other youngsters are still dependent to their parents, they have no back bone or standing of their own, because they used to being spoon fed by their parents. [...] our youth is very irresponsible but as the nation and as government we should not be giving up on them but try to bring them opportunities things that will make them look forward to life. (M2)*

Intermingled and at the same time causative, they mention peer pressure and a lack of role-models, a missing bond between parents and children and missing community support.

*There is also a high rate of teenage pregnancy and it is not like there are no facilities, or family planning clinics, but rather there is no bond between a parent and a child, so if parents would be honest with their children, talk to them about issues maybe that would help. (C3)*

*Sometimes even parents encourage their children with crime because a parent would allow his children to bring stolen goods in the house, or would ask the child to steal electricity cables and use wrong ways of getting electricity without paying for it. (Q2)*

In addition, they refer to the government and criticize their support structure. A few significant others also emphasize the abysmal waste disposal, that causes bad and unhygienic living conditions. However, one also accuses the people to be moneygrubbing and not acting future-oriented:

*[...] there is a lack of employment, people sit at home and do nothing. They always complain about service delivery from the government. They would even take the portable toilet sits/buckets and throw them off the streets or on taxi with the poo inside it. People don't have toilets so they use the portable toilet buckets, some people make a place for it and others put them inside the house. It makes us as children wish that when we grow up we may not stay in*

*the same environment, because when it's hot those buckets smell and make the whole house stinky. There is something that helps to overcome this situation, like providing subsidy houses, but people instead of using the subsidy houses they sell them and go back and stay in the shack. I think they just greedy for money and do not think of their children. (C2)*

Also, blaming the community, one participant's mother points out that by accepting and even rewarding delinquent behaviour the problems are even strengthened.

*The community is not working together to beat crime because they still buy the stolen good, stolen phones, whereas if people went buying the stolen things then the robbers would not see a point of doing it. (Q2)*

### 5.2.2.2. Participants and Coaches

In the following results are presented regarding the influence of MOD S on beneficiaries. Fifteen participants' and two coaches' responses build the data base in the first phase of data collection. In the second data collection, fourteen participants and the same coaches than in T1, as well as four ex-participants who were involved in the programme in 2013 are referred to. However, as they are still hanging around in the school environment after school and just stopped being active, they are not isolated from the programme. With regard to the (ex-)participants, thirteen participants are the same in both rounds of data collection.

In the following, data is structured according to the identified themes and marked according to the phase of data collection.

#### People and a place to belong to

T2: Only in the second phase of data collection participants make statements that refer to the positive change of having people and a place to belong to by being involved in the MOD S. One female participant (I) reports that she was often bullied or involved in fights due to her being shy, and by spending time at the programme and not in the streets anymore she avoids getting in trouble. This is also confirmed by another participant (E) who refers to MOD S as a place of protection and a place where no one is bullied or abused.

*There are gangsters in my community and they stab each other a lot. I never used to feel safe at home all alone after school because of them. But now that I have MOD, I have a safe heaven. (C)*

Alike – and placing MOD S in comparison to informal sport activities – many others feel not only protected but also supported by the coaches, who help the participants if they face any problems.

*I love the after school programme because it helps me to grow and also teach others how to play. [...] There is also a change in the lives of others in generally. Some of the learners which play have problems too, be it personal, academically or at home but Coach (...) has told us if we have any challenges or problems we should come to her and that they are there for us and that has helped a lot of children to share what they feel with someone. (I)*

*I have a relationship with the coaches because I can talk to them about things that worry me and they try to help where they can. (E)*

Furthermore, the coaches are seen as people who can be trusted, with the female coach even being labelled ‘mother figure’ by one participant. Through being involved in the programme, the participants get guidance from the coaches on how to live their lives. Almost all participants mention they feel encouraged by the counselling they get – to further their studies, to face life challenges and changes in the body in a positive way, to not be influenced and pushed to wrong behaviour by peer pressure and to set priorities that pave the way for their future.

*The coaches are very helpful, they tell us not to be involved in gangsters and other bad stuff. I am at puberty stage and it's a very hard change, because all that I am experiencing is change, there is a change in my body, my personality and character and that is a huge challenge, because I feel like I am losing the person or the child I was. I am not doing anything bad or wrong, it's just that the change is too much and at times it makes me confused and the sport helps because we get to learn about the changes in the body and how to adapt. (R)*

This is also retrospectively supported by one ex-leader.

*[...] we are taught that we should be careful about what to eat and they tell what food is important for our bodies and they tell us about peer pressure and teach us not to do things, because we see our friends doing them. We also learn about the importance of having education and working towards achieving great results in our academics. This has really brought change in my life, because now I am more focused than I was. Not that I was involved in bad things, it's just that now I take things seriously with understanding of what they are.*

*Before I was in the programme I used to come to school, because my parents told me so, and secondly everyone is doing that. But now I know why I should come to school, so I can study and so that one day I may be successful. (P)*

### Access to space & material - food

T2: Not having been mentioned in the first data collection phase, three participants in T2 debate that through their participation at the MOD center they get food at school – on the one hand through the Shilah feeding scheme, and on the other hand through their coaches who would give them some money to buy food. Before, they state they often didn't have anything to eat at lunchtime.

*Most of the kids they aren't participating in sport, so when I first arrived here they welcomed us with open arms, then started more with kids who were doing nothing in their communities. They were able to explore their talents. But sometimes it is difficult, they don't eat at their homes, so it's better now they are here. Because they don't have something to eat at their homes so they have to wait for a certain time. (K)*

### Personal and Skill Development - Behaviour Change

T1: Having improved their sporting skill is pointed out by two participants in T1. They report that through being part of MOD S, they learnt how to run, catch the ball and play in different positions. Tied up to fitness, one girl sees a positive perceived change in her body. Two others add that they do not only learnt sport skills, but also how to explain certain codes. A general improvement in communication skills – not necessarily but including sport-related topics – is furthermore mentioned by others. Moreover, having more discipline and behaving respectfully is recognized by seven children as an outcome of their participation in MOD S activities. They explain that now they do what they are supposed to do, such as engaging in school work, doing house chores and listening to their caregivers.

*I was a lazy boy, watching TV, staying at home all day being bored. Sometimes I went out with friends to play. My mother sees me as a disciplined person now. I learnt it at home and also by the coach. They said I must take care of myself at home and in school. And I must be a disciplined child. (J)*



Another one (L), also following the coaches' advices, explains he plays sport now instead of fighting, swearing, and beating others like before. Alike, one participant (O) says he used to be a naughty person but stopped fighting others and does his homework now – a change in behaviour he sees as an outcome of his activities at MOD S.

Also the coaches experience a positive change since working at MOD S. The male coach feels he has much better communication skills, since he needs to cooperate with principal, teachers and children. The female coach sees a big knowledge gain and an improvement in her teaching skills with regard to sport codes.

T2: Alike in the first round of data collection, a change in sport skills is recognized in T2. For five participants playing sport at MOD S leads to an improvement in those. Two others do not refer to themselves, but report that they can see a change in their teammates' sport skills.

*I play netball, tennis and softball. I love netball more than the other two, because I have been playing netball since I was a kid in the community. I decided to play tennis, because I wanted to explore my talents and to see what I am capable of and I tried them and I do enjoy them too. I am very skillful in netball and the programme is bringing so much change in my playing techniques now I play so much better. (P)*

Two of them though note that this is the only change with regard to skills they perceive.

*It has helped me to improve my football skills but besides that there is nothing that has changed because I am still the same person. I think even if I wasn't playing here I would still be the same person I am today. (E)*

Related to sport skills, two participants explain that they improved in fitness thus they feel stronger and healthier.

Further reported skills acquired through engagement in MOD S programme are problem solving skills and knowing how to set priorities (mentioned by three participants and the male coach). According to the interviewees those skills are not only applied on results in but also off the school property.

*I also developed problem solving skills. Before I started playing I used to shout at my friends when I am angry, also when I started playing I used to shout at my teammates when they did*

*wrong. But the coach explained to us that we should not shout when one is making mistake, but rather show the person how to do it. Furthermore, I have also learnt to apply those problem solving skills to my daily life, now when my friends do me wrong or are making me angry, I can tell them in a manner that is polite and that I did not like what they did and they apologize and I get over it and not give him bad attitude too. (N)*

*There is a change. Now I am able to solve problems, when they arise, because it's not only about the physical. They [the children] come from developing backgrounds, so you notice when the kid is not alright on a certain day. So I talk to him and try to bring some lights into it for the particular day. We do get life skills training, and also where I am staying there is a lot of other problems around, such as my parents, my aunts and uncles, so I was around them and I learnt a lot from them. The government courses are only based on sport, but you can't just if the kid is having a problem, to just pushing the kid away, so you try to get to know what's wrong and right with him or her. And then if that problem is beyond you, then you have to send it to some teachers around. (K)*

Two participants (Q, U) further explain that being at the programme made them become more self-confident in the belief that they can do everything they want to do – regardless of their skin colour.

Having a higher self-esteem is furthermore elaborated by two others, who feel that they gained the confidence to say no to bullies at MOD S.

*Like before I came to the programme I was also new to the school. At first I used to be bullied by some girls in higher grade than me. They used to eat my lunch box, but then I came to play and then now I managed to say no to them, and to stand up for myself and tell them I don't want to give them my lunch, and I also as I continue to play I got friends as well. (H)*

*I was once also bullied by other kids like they would want to take my money. Then, when I joined the programme I managed to say no to them, because my confidence is strong now, because of what coaches say to us. (K)*

Related to skill acquisition and listening to the advices they get from the coaches, three participants say that they used to wander off the street, with some of their friends doing drugs and smoking and being naughty – whereas now they stopped as they are busy in the programme.

*I have friends that play, we all registered at the same time for the games. I see the change in their lives, before they started playing they used to smoke but now they no longer do that. The reason there's a change in their lives it's because now the time they used to spend wandering*

*off the street now they use it to do sport and here at programme we learn lot of things like life skills and things that bring change to our lives. There is also a change in the lives of the kids generally. They are committed and some who were involved in drugs are no longer involved.* (A)

One boy (U) reports in more detail that he and his friends were always wandering in the streets, got into trouble, beat kids, were smoking and checking out girls, but that they don't do it anymore due to the programme.

*There is a change in our lives, since we have been friends we used to hang around together most of the time. So what we used to do after school, we would go play, and wander in the street corners and sometimes get into trouble. We would beat small children even if they did not do anything to us and some of my friends used to smoke and we would check out girls and beat those cheeky ones. However, we no longer do that, because after school we go to practice at school. We come back late so we don't have time to do all of those things, actually even if we had time I don't think we would do that anymore, because now we know better.* (U)

Alike, two others explain that their involvement in MOD S changed their behaviour to the positive - not only at school, but also in the community and at home.

*MOD has helped me not to be involved in the wrong stuff after school. It has helped me not to waste my time in the streets. It brought a change in my life and changed the things I used to do before I started being involved. I used to insult other kids in the streets, throw stones at them and I used vulgar language, but now that I have been involved with MOD I no longer do those things [...] Before I started playing I used to be very rebellious child to my parents, I used to talk back, shout at them but now I have stopped doing all those things, I listen to them. [...] If in any way the programme could stop I'd be very hurt, because it is helping me not only here at school, but also to avoid bad behaviour in the community and at home.* (N)

*There is also a change in my life, because I stopped being a bully, I never liked playing with other kids, because they tease me and I would beat them up. But now I have stopped doing that, instead I walk away when they start teasing me. The coaches told us not to do that, because it's not good to revenge bad with bad. [...] At home there is also a change, because I used not to really listen to my parents, I was kind of cheeky to elders, and I would insult kids from the street, but now I no longer do that anymore. There's only one thing I still like its wander off the street and play outside with other kids. I have learnt so many things here such as how to control my emotions, feelings and not bully. Coach told me that when someone*

*pushed me, or made me fall I should not get angry easily and beat them because it's a game and violence is not an answer, so at least now I have learnt to control my temper. (L)*

### Academic Performance

T1: In the first phase of data collection, three participants explicitly say that since participating in MOD S activities they do not only do their homework, but also changed their general attitude towards school, “because they [the coaches] teach us that school is important” (V) – thus improving in academics.

T2: Also in T2, getting guidance, acquiring skills and the described behaviour change is told to lead to a change in academics, as explained by a few participants. Since the coaches tell them that school is important, and more importantly, why it is important, the participants report that they focus on their books, listen to teachers, do not hang around anymore and thus improve in their grades.

*There is also a change in my life, because before I started playing, I used to hang around with wrong crowd. We would go around streets and do nothing after school, I would not do my homework at times instead I'd copy it from my friends in the morning at school, but now I no longer do that. I am very focused on my school work and I spent lot of my time in the programme which helps me to stay out of trouble (R)*

*I once failed grade 5 and I think if maybe I was in the programme then I would have passed, because the coaches help like telling us that we should respect our teachers and not back chat. At that time, I had no respect for teachers but now I do. (J)*

However, one participant (Q) also admits that at the beginning MOD S negatively changed his scholastic competence, as he was too excited for the programme and couldn't concentrate in class anymore. According to him he has now found a balance and is back to his previous level. Alike, another one (F) reports that he failed and wasn't listening in class anymore, because of being too much looking forward to play after school.

### Role model

T1: By working at MOD S, both coaches elaborate in T1 that they view themselves as role models. While the female coach has had previous working experiences with youngsters and leads a project in her community, it is only the knowledge about different codes that she acquires in the workshops that make her being requested to teach those.

*It has diversities - i.e. to us, who only knew rugby and cricket - we were able to know other sporting codes. Actually this is made me famous even in my community as I coach or teach other codes to the younger generation. (D)*

For the male coach, being a role model is a new appearance for him that he enjoys. He limits his role though to the area around the school as he lives in another community where they don't know about his job.

T2: The female coach reveals that her students highly value her – and that she enjoys the close relationship she has. Having the opportunity to be a role model and guide the students is furthermore appreciated and enjoyed by the male coach.

*They respect us more than the teachers or others. If they see me, they come and they hug me. And also me, I hug back. They ask me: can you give me one rand? If I have, I give it to them. They see me more as a friend. Maybe even as a role-model. (D)*

### Spend time meaningful

T1: Through engaging in MOD S activities, participants perceive a positive change in spending their time meaningful. Two male participants (W, J) report that the biggest change in their lives is that they are no longer bored, because joining MOD S activities gives them something to do in their free time. Furthermore, for two participants (H, R) being involved in MOD S activities presents a satisfaction of their needs, as they both were eagerly looking forward to have one at their school.

T2: Also in T2, for many participants, having a hobby resp. something enjoyable to do in their free time is expressed as positive change in their lives. One female

participant (C) for example explains that she enjoys having something to do as before she was only sitting at home being bored.

Furthermore, two female participants (Q, P) explain that they and their friends thought sport was boring, but that they know better now and enjoy every single minute of it. In line with this, almost all participants refer to their participation at MOD S thoroughly positive, telling that they are overly excited, happy, look forward to be with friends and are excited about what they learn. This is also emphasized by one leader:

*It's not the same if I am getting up for this job or if I am getting up for the old job. Here, it's a new chance for me. Every day I try to try new things so I am still passionate about the job. (K)*

Through being busy and keeping her mind occupied, one girl (R) even reports that she can forget about their personal problems (loss of significant others) that she usually worries about all day long.

### Reputation

T2: Another positive change – only identified in T2 -regards two participants' reputation in the community. Both emphasize that the community is proud that girls and furthermore black girls can play tennis – a code that used to be played by Whites only.

*The community is giving us great support and they encourage us more. Especially the fact that tennis is not really considered as very much important as compared to soccer in the black society, that it is known as whites' sport. So to see the support they give us it encourages me and the other players too. (N)*

*When I grow up I do see myself as a successful tennis player, especially when I am watching Serena Williams and she is black and that for me gives me a hope that I can succeed as well. When I started playing tennis I was just trying to figure out what's with tennis that makes black people not to play it, so I tried it and I really enjoyed it. The community really supports us, they tell us to go ahead and make them proud as especially when we girls play. (Q)*

### Career Options

T1: In the first data collection phase one coach's statements refer to career options. Through working at MOD S the male coach feels equipped and encouraged to further pursue his career in a sport-related field of work and he sees himself involved in a sport project in his own community in future. He reasons further:

*[...] the programme has a high impact on me. Through this training we do here in our job it helps us to improve the standard of work and also come to my own ideas. (K)*

T2: Not mentioned by coaches but by participants, being part of the MOD S center makes seven students change their ideas of what they want to become in future. They consider pursuing a sport career - namely playing professionally - however, three of them parallel look at another profession than a sport-related one, like becoming a teacher, doctor and a lawyer.

*When I grew up, playing soccer was all we could do as sport after school, it was part of our daily lives and it was just for fun, but now I really want and am determined to become a professional soccer/tennis player and I am trying so hard to keep my focus and work hard, in addition to that when I finish school I want to become a teacher so to educate the young children. (U)*

### Network & Friends

T1: Three participants in T1 point out that being involved in MOD S activities positively affected their friendships. While one of them (H) explains she didn't have any friends before and only established relationships in the programme, the other two (M, P) had friends who were already involved – thus also getting involved and playing together deepened their friendships.

T2: Alike in the first data collection, participants mention a change in friendships. Four participants emphasize that through participating in the MOD center activities they made new friends, with one of them stressing that this, vice versa, makes him not to spend as much time with his old friends anymore.

Also one coach feels a change in his network. He explains that through participating in workshops organized by DCAS he meets trainers from other schools and thus can

exchange ideas with them. Furthermore, through working at a school, he is in constant exchange with teachers and headmaster – contact persons he didn't have before.

### Processes underlying effects

T1: Whereas almost all participants in the first round of data collection refer to the coaches as the only crucial initiators of their behaviour, for one it is both the parents and the coaches influencing her to become more disciplined. More specifically they refer to the advices and guiding principles the coaches give to them. One of the participants even points out that their advices have higher priority than her mum's principles. Another says it is also the other kids involved from whom she learns to respect.

*It changed me because I wasn't obeying or listening at home. And here in the training coach taught me how to respect [...] I learnt it from other kids when they respect the coach. (M)*

*I am no longer doing the things that I used to do because our coaches are disciplining us and teach us how to communicate with each other. (O)*

The improvement of the coach's communication skills is reasoned in the cooperation with principal, teachers and children. The female coach sees the big knowledge gain and an improvement in her teaching skills in making experiences and participating in workshops offered by DCAS.

T2: In the second phase, some participants refer to the mere pastime of them, like having something to do and learning life skills, as reasons for change and pro-social behaviour, whereas others explicitly refer to sport as the reason for behaviour change.

*The reason there's a change in their lives it's because now the time they used to spend wandering off the street now they use it to do sport and here at programme we learn lot of things like life skills and things that bring change to our lives. (A)*

*So sport is helping me to keep focus on my dreams. (J)*



On the contrary, the coaches assume that it is them and not the programme that causes participants to change. They explain that it depends on the way coaches talk to their participants and the connection they establish. According to them it is the personality of the coach and the environment the participants are in and not the type of activity.

*It all depends on how you talk with the learners, because most of the kids are very sensitive. So it's better if you know how to talk with them. So I don't think there would be a problem if it was music or artwork, any other thing that they were able to do at school besides sport. I think it's more about the relationship with the coach. Maybe we give them more attention than their parents. I don't know. It's just my opinion. That's why most of the times even when it's Friday they ask us to come at the weekend, but we say we can't do it, because we are only allowed to work from Monday to Friday. So I think it might be as such that maybe at their homes they do not get that much love and the attention, that we give them here, thus I don't think it was a problem if it was music or artwork. (K)*

However, there is consensus among participants and coaches that only those people change to pro-social behaviour who want to change.

*Most of the kids were not involved in sports, so when we came here lots of them were busy with a lot of crime things. So we were able to change some of them. Everything is about sport. So you pick some of the kids that were busy with crime, and then something is not right with others, but we were able to change some. Other we will not be able to change them. So we just continue with the ones that we were able to work with and try and change their mind sets about the gangsterism happening in their community. (K)*

*I see a lot of change in other learners that take part in the programme [...] even though others behaviour hasn't changed, because some don't like being told what they should do or being correct by coach. (R)*

*The reason that youngsters are involved in a crime it's because they want money to buy drugs. I do not think the sport programme will bring a change to them, because they don't want to change and are not willing to change. (Q)*

Comparing MOD S activities to other leisure activities of the participants, one (Q) reports that when performing informally in the community, there is no support but bullying about one's ability to play. Another one explains further:

*There is a difference between playing here at the programme and the informal netball in the community. At the informal netball it's about how best you can play and normally they only*

*train people who already know how to play. But at the MOD programme it is about how much you can improve, regardless of whether you can play well at the moment or have no clue at all. The coaches are very supportive. They encourage us to learn more and they also teach us about life challenges and body changes, and that is something that we do not get at the informal games. [...] I think if the other girls would be in the programme they would learn a lot about life and that sport is not just about the games, but also lifestyle. (P)*

### 5.2.2.3. Programme Coordinators

In line with the adopted MSC method and triangulation purposes superiors are supposed to be interviewed about participants' and coaches' stories. As the manager from DCAS who is responsible for that particular MOD center hardly visits the school, it is no other than the coaches who know the participants well. Thus those are selected to discuss the statements given by the participants and to explain their perception of them. However, as they do not live in the same neighbourhood, they have limited knowledge on how the programme impacts on the participants off school property. For the coaches themselves, due to difficulties, no direct supervisor shows up for dates – thus, with nobody available who knows the coaches in person, no further conclusions can be drawn on MOD S's influences on the coaches or give additional information on them.

T1: Referring to the stories and likewise to the way they see the participants themselves, the two coaches explain that there is a behavioural change caused by the project visible in about one third of the sample group, such as showing more pro-social behaviour than before and sharing personal issues. With regard to one participant (R) they identify the biggest change in life being a physical change – supporting the girl's own story. Also looking at the perceived challenges of three others (V, H, P) they agree with the changes told by the participants, highlighting an educational change (being better in class) and a change in social relations (making new friends). However, for about half of the sample they are not sure if they can see the described change or whether they can identify any change at all.

Looking at the changes that have occurred through programme activity, the coaches identify possible explanations. According to them, the programme makes the participant accept other opinions through interacting closely with others. Also, referring to the daily boredom of participants, the MOD S Center offers an opportunity for the children to stay in a safe environment for longer, whereby meanwhile they can't do bad things. One of the coaches also adds that he and the female coach act as role-models, thus showing that it is possible to become a good member of the community.

T2: Also in T2, due to the aforementioned difficulties to meet the direct supervisor of the coaches, only participants' stories are read and verified. With no one else but the coaches knowing them in person, the two coaches are the ones critically commenting.

According to the coaches, the majority of participants' stories about their changes are in line with what the coaches observe. A behaviour change is identified, with three (A, F, L) participants not teasing and beating other kids anymore. On the other side, for one participant (E) being involved in MOD S adds another platform for him being teased by students, although the coaches try to work against this.

A positive change in self-confidence is pointed out in two participants, who are said to also act as a leader or stand up for themselves when the coaches are not around. Furthermore, being able to communicate better and understanding why education is important is seen in two participants as result of their involvement in MOD S.

A negative change is identified by the coaches in one participant's scholastic dropping. However, when academic results got worse for this student, her father approached the coaches in order to make them talk to his daughter, as she would listen more to them than to him.

The coaches also feel the participants overestimate the impact the sport-in-development project has on them. Five participants, as the coaches explain, have always been well-behaving children, who they don't assume to be involved in gangsterism, even if there was no programme. With regard to another one (U) who

explains that the programme helped him to quit smoking, they assume he never did this, but wants to set himself apart.

With regard to what exactly it is in the programme causing any kind of change, the coaches see other teammates and themselves as initiators of change, who act as role models and listen.

Looking at the ex-participants, who the coaches still see and talk to, the change identified by them is also recognized by the coaches. While one who has always been a quiet and well-behaving child is still like that, the others learnt respect and stopped teasing other. Also being a good listener and dealing with critique is still apparent in the ex-participants – being seen as a change in attitude originally caused by the participation in the programme.

#### 5.2.2.4. Significant Others

In the second phase of data collection participants and coaches are asked to point out individuals who they feel closely related to, who they trust and who know them well. These as trustworthy identified people are referred to as 'significant others'. Those were – inter alia – questioned about their perception with regard to the programme's influence on the participants and coaches. While some beneficiaries of the project mention several 'significant others' (see appendix IV) in the following it will be explicitly mentioned to how many participants and coaches the statements refer to in order to avoid a falsified picture.

Taking a look at how significant others perceive the programme and the effect it has on participants and coaches, three of them - referring to three participants - see a change in their ability to play sport and in their knowledge about the sport rules. From their point of view, the participants are real sportsmen now.

Being more talkative, knowing how to communicate and being able to socialize with different kinds of people – thus being not shy anymore - is also seen as a change in two participants.

*Since she started in the programme she came out of her shell, now she is more of playing with other kids outside, she stopped that thing of playing alone. Our relationship has not changed; she is still the same child. I would emphasize one thing though that she really loves playing. The programme is helping her in terms of time management, because she comes back late, and does her homework, so you will never find her wondering off the streets doing nothing, even though she loves playing, she plays around the yard or in her friends' place. (C3)*

Furthermore, three participants are seen as having acquired time management skills, discipline, responsibility and learnt how to pursue dreams and passions. The significant others also see a change in their skills to handle peer pressure and gossip, which they relate to an increase in self-confidence. One of them is moreover said to have learnt how to control her emotions.

*At first she would be easily angered at the game and now I can see the change, because when we play here at the streets she no longer gets worked up about other people's mistakes or when you have accidentally pushed her. (C2)*

Also the male coach is said to have developed - as three significant others point out. While his well-being and mood changed to the better, he is also said to have improved communication and social skills, especially with regard to young children. According to his cousin, his English language skills have improved a lot and he is not shy anymore to talk. Furthermore, he is assigned leader skills such as encouraging others to play, forming a team and guiding training sessions in his free time – something he is said not to have known and done before.

Although not explaining why, one significant other is convinced that the programme has changed her son's scholastic competence.

*My child is better since he started the programme, he is not like before. When I check his book he is not like last year, but there is an improvement in his academics. I can say the change is brought by the programme, because before in class he was playing, I would be called by the teacher telling me that he is playing. (V2)*

Two significant others explain - with regard to two participants - that by their involvement in MOD S they found something to do that they love and are passionate about, thus spend lots of time either doing the activity or talking about it.

In addition, three significant others explicitly mention that they see a change in three participants with respect to the way they spend their time. While the participants used to wander off in the streets, they do now come to the programme and come home in time. Another one is also said to spend her time more meaningful than before, however “she was always quiet and kind, she was never a child that is wondering off the streets or gave us trouble, she hasn’t changed it’s just that it helps her to use her time more efficiently” (Q2).

Seven participants appoint significant others, who are also actively involved in MOD S activities. All of them knew each other before they started participating as they are in the same school and about the same age. Thus, four of the significant others were even invited by the participants in focus to join MOD S.

The significant others feel MOD S is a safe hub and a place to seek guidance from as well as a place for communication for the participants.

*She used to love thinking about her dad a lot, her dad passed away so she would think about him and sometimes even cry about it but at least now she doesn’t do that more often anymore. I think it’s because here in the programme advises you on so many things and they give us so much support, also here they gave her love so that she won’t feel neglected. (H2)*

Apart from one significant other, six explicitly mention an improvement in sport skills and fitness as a change in the participants’ lives.

Furthermore, participants are said to have improved their personal development skills, such as not being shy anymore, being more outgoing and socializing with different kids. For one participant it’s even said that this endures before the background that the female participant had been involved in a modern dance group before, but the changes only took place since participating in MOD S activities.

*She has improved in sport in terms of fitness and also now she is beginning to open up, unlike before she played. I think sport is the reason, why she is starting to talk with others and socialize, because here at the programme she meets different kinds of people and we all play and eat together, sometimes go all home together. (R2)*

The programme is also seen to change participants’ behaviours, such as respecting parents much more and doing homework, although with some limitations, as not all participants act pro-socially all the time.

*Yes, there is a bit a change, at least now he doesn't back chat to his mom so I think sport, and specifically what coaches teach us about respect, has helped him a lot. I would still like to see a change in his life like, if he would maybe stop shouting at his sister. (N2)*

*She used to go home late and not do her homework and sport has improved our relationship, because at first even though we were friends, she would not do her homework and that would reflect bad on our friendship, because I would be sad when she gets a hiding and I don't, because I do my homework. But now she does her homework and she comes early in class. (Q1)*

A negative effect – though indirectly – is referred to by one boy. As he plays netball which contrasts the common gender stereotypes he is treated with hostility often.

*I would like the programme if it could help that I stop playing with girls. Not that I want to play with boys, but I want to stop because other kids and people tease me that I am feminine and gay. So that hurts me, that's why I don't want to play netball anymore. I love it, but then it's not nice being teased all the time by the same thing. I don't like playing soccer, because boys are rough and have bad influence, like would say I should join gang or smoke and are not determined and focus on the books and others bully me, when we play soccer so I prefer hanging around girls because they don't do bad stuff and they understand me. (Q1)*

Looking at what impact the programme has on wider social development, mainly embodied in this study by the significant others, the opinions are diverse. One significant other says that there is nothing the programme can do in order to fight the challenges the community faces, such as lack of sanitation, unhygienic living conditions and lack of responsibility on both parents and children's side. On a more personal node, one significant however feels that her life has changed to the negative, as her friend doesn't have time for their friendship anymore with her being busy in the programme all day long. Others though experience a positive change. Six significant others (five mothers and one sister) experience an increase of well-being in their lives, as they do not have to worry about their children's whereabouts anymore. They explain that beforehand they would always fear their children's safety, whereas now they know that they are in a safe space and not wander around in the streets.

*The sport however does help her in a way like at first she would come back home and go play outside and by the time I come back from work, I would need to go and search for her or she would come back at 7pm. But now it's better, because when she comes back from the practice I find her at home. I am not sure what it is; maybe she gets too tired that she doesn't want to go play after practice, but since she has been playing she is always in the house, doing her homework or watching television. [...] I am very happy that she is at sport and she is keeping herself busy with sport. At least other things that happen around the community won't affect her, like street gossip or peer pressure from the neighbourhood. Because she is almost not around most of the time so that should help her. (L1)*

*The programme has made a change in his life because most of the times he is there. Before he was in the programme he would go and we would not even know where he is, but at least now we know if he is not here at home he is at school. It also has helped us because when he would leave with no telling where he is going we would worry if anything can happen to him because our community is dangerous. (U1)*

One mother (V2) adds that through the programme her relationship to the son has changed to the better; thus he always tells her where he goes which he didn't do before. Two mothers also appreciate the programme as it helps them to fulfil the expectations they have regarding their children. For both the programme makes the participants be successful in sport, something they feel is important, and thus raises further hope of a sport career of their children. One significant other also experiences that the change that was caused by the programme in the male coach does indirectly affect her. While she is on the one hand frustrated that his mind focuses on sport all day long, she does on the other hand appreciate the advice and encouragement he passes on to her – something he only does since working at MOD S.

In addition, the aforementioned seven individuals who are assigned as significant others also participating in MOD S activities feel that their participation increased the depth of their friendships. Moreover, a wider change on community level is experienced, as the programme is seen to keep children off the street by occupying them with sport and topics that are not-related to gangsterism.

*My expectations of the programme were that it would help lot of kids to keep them busy so that they won't have to do bad stuff when they bored. So now kids come for practice also they*



*got motivated to start their own teams and that means most of the time they are just occupied by sport. (H2)*

*Our relationship is not the same way like before we use to talk about gangsterism how cool it is, and maybe we should also find a gang and join but now it's different because we speak about our future in sport and also speak about homework and also things that happening in our daily lives at home. (V1)*

### 5.2.2.5. Field Observation and Informal Conversations

Observing the activities of MOD 5 mainly at the school property supported the ambivalent experiences the participants and coaches describe in the interviews.

Children are extraordinarily keen for the food package that is handed out by the coaches and thereby associated to be part of the programme. Students swarm out to be one of the first to get the lunch, re-emphasizing the necessity of having food as they describe. Also, participants, boys and girls likewise, are committed to play and are always disappointed when their rather short activity time is over. Especially girls display an emotional attachment to the female coach, showing the high value they assign the coach as person to trust.

With regard to the programme's effect on coaches the author of this study could only observe that they enjoy coaching and working with kids. However, both of them sometimes use physical violence to teach the kids good manners – contradicting themselves in saying violence is not good. Furthermore, they are often stressed by the sometimes tense relationship they have with their employees and their working conditions (see chapter 5.3.2), but never wreak that that on the students.

Surprisingly, in the second year, the male coach stops working from one day to the other, without any further notice to the other coach or superiors at DCAS; after two weeks he suddenly readopts his work. While he has always said and shown how much he loves the kids and enjoys being a role-model to them, his action questions his commitment. Also afterwards he doesn't want to talk to anyone why he decided to quit.

### 5.2.2.6. Summary

Although statements in T1 and T2 do not refer to exactly the same codes in both data collection phases, results display an analogous and therefore stepped up picture of MOD S's outcomes and impact on development.

MOD S center provides a safe space for the participants where they are not bullied by other children – something they experience in informal activities without being supervised by the coaches. The safe character of the MOD S center is also emphasized by the significant others, who do not worry about the children's whereabouts anymore. While field observation supports this and displays the MOD S center as a safe environment from violent actions among students or off the school property with a warm-hearted relationship between coaches and students, coaches themselves in rare occasions use beating to discipline the beneficiaries. However, this is not perceived as bad by the students themselves. Experiencing the challenge of a lack of good role models, the participants see the coaches as people to trust, seek guidance from and look up to. Also the coaches describe themselves as good role models.

Furthermore, with participants facing the challenge of a lack of facilities of their community and thus boredom, the MOD S center is one opportunity for the participants to spend their time meaningful, not be bored anymore and have fun. Significant others and field observations support this notion. Having to deal with private issues the enjoyable activities offer an opportunity for the participant to forget about those, increasing life quality. Also the challenge of poverty is worked against through the combined food programme.

The sport-in-development project also changes participants' skill development and behaviour. Supported by coaches and significant others, participants acquire sport skills, communication skills and how to handle peer pressure and bullying. Communication skills have also improved in one coach through the need to talk to a variety of different people that are interconnected to the programme. Furthermore, participants gain self-confidence, also in the sense that they can do everything

despite their skin colour. In line with this, a positive change can be registered with regard to the girls' reputation in the community, as black girls are not known for playing codes associated with Whites.

Although many participants are said to have been well-behaving anyway – and therefore exaggerate in the great change that the programme brought about –, for some participants the programme indeed positively influences their behaviour at school, in the community and at home, leading to better academic performances, better relationships to parents and less engagement in negative-associated activities. Thus the significant others' and community life is changed as well. In rare cases the MOD S center negatively effects scholastic career in the short term, with students being too nervous for the after-school programme to start.

Having a broader network and closer friends is also an outcome of being involved in MOD S activities for participants as well as coaches. Especially for the children the activities offer an opportunity to become more familiar with their school mates. Through the networks and his work, one coach gains knowledge and serves as disseminator to his significant others, thus spreading MOD S's impact to the community level.

In view of the described challenge of unemployment, a positive change in career options through the MOD S centre is not registered. Whereas for the coaches the MOD S center provides employment, they do not feel that it enhances their chances of getting a better paid job. Through their engagement in the activities, some of the participants want to pursue a sports career, despite the rare likeliness of being discovered as a sport talent.

Looking at some individuals over time, there is hardly a difference in the change that beneficiaries perceive in their lives due to their involvement in MOD S center activities.

With regard to the processes underlying MOD S's effects, inconsistencies occur among participants, coaches and significant others. In T1 the reasons for behaviour change range from the coaches themselves to the combination of coaches' and

parents' guidance to the advices given by the other children participating. A slight change can be recognized in T2, where participants refer to spending the time meaningful and simply doing sport as initiator of pro-social behaviour; whereas coaches again see themselves and their relationship to the children as reasons. However, there is consent that only those who want to change will do so and that being involved in MOD S' activities can at best support but not extrinsically motivate behaviour change.

### 5.2.3. MOD F

While the perceived challenges are only based on participants', coaches' and significant others' statements in T1, the results that focus on the outcomes and impact of MOD F are based on statements from participants, coaches, programme coordinators and significant others in both phases of data collection (36 interviews). Furthermore, field notes based on observation and informal conversations serve as basis for presenting results with regard to the research question.

#### 5.2.3.1. Challenges

Participants and coaches at MOD F describe gangsterism, violence, alcohol abuse, mob justice, lack of role models and peer pressure as the main challenges of their community in Khayelitsha and appoint them to have a mutually interference.

*The other challenge in my community it is alcohol abuse. I think it is because people are stressed and others are just drinking because they grew up in that environment. The reason that my mother is drinking it is because she stressed by my brother, that he dropped out of school and smokes drugs. I think his behaviour is led by his peer pressure. (R)*

*With people robbing, the problem is not that they are poor or anything, but its peer pressure. (Q)*

Reasons for alcohol abuse especially in younger years are also seen in showing off and begging for respect and dignity by others. One participant describes her

personal challenge in line with this. She explains that it is difficult to resist peer pressure and not to be seduced by her friends:

*Peer pressure that I encounter is when my friends ask me to go with them somewhere and I refuse. So to them it sounds like I am making myself better or don't want to hang around with them and they would leave me behind, but the minute they leave I would feel like bored and that they are mad with me, so I would feel guilty and tempted to please them. (N)*

A lack of role-models resp. choosing the wrong ones and missing parental guidance is also pointed out by both male leaders and participants as one of the reasons why younger ones join gangsterism.

*I think it is the environment that we grow up here. Because you find that they [the children] are growing up with their grandparents, their mothers or their parents are somewhere else, but grandma can only provide you school and food and that it is. Because that's the way she grew up. She is transferring this to you, while forgetting that the kids also want to be mentored and want to be pointed to the right direction, while you are holding their hands. So there is not enough mentoring around them, or someone that is guiding them to the right side. They grow up looking for someone they look up to. And for most kids it is the wrong person they look up to because they want to feel that if that person can do that and get that respect, maybe myself I can be him or her and in his or her shoes. That's the disadvantage we are facing here. The boys, many of them, get attracted to gangsters. (H)*

*I think they rob people because they see their friends do it or older people doing it. (B)*

*Basically we don't have good role models. Also there are a lot of people who use drugs and alcohol substance and they end up influencing kids that they should do drugs as well and when they are drunk they end up sexually harassing kids. (N)*

On the personal note and supportive of the above mentioned missing mentors are the experiences three participants make at home. Two of them are physically abused by their parents; one is confronted with her mother being alcohol addicted. Having bad role-models does not spare the school property. Violence and bullying at school is described by a few participants as their personal challenge. One participant e.g. tells that he was beaten and reported the incidence to the head teacher – resulting in the head teacher beating the ones that had been beating him. In addition, two participants report a loss of a parent, who refuses to stay in the same household and doesn't show interest in them.

Also a lack of education, unemployment, missing community as well as missing organizations are said to further the above mentioned community problems.

*The biggest challenges in my community are lack of job opportunities, lack of organizations that keep the children busy after school, like a lack of those guys who are willing to get hands on. [...] Most of the people aren't skilled firstly. You can't expect someone who doesn't know anything, or who does only know what he or she thinks is best, and then this person is referring all of this to the kids. It may be good, but it has lot chances to go wrong. Secondly, people here only care about what affects them, not what affects the community. If your kid is deciding to smoke and do, that is your personal business with your kids. But if my kid is studying in Cape Town than it is life going according to my plans. I can't do anything with your life. (H)*

Having had experiences with gangsterism, several explain that they fear of being attacked again. One girl explains that her brother was stabbed in front of her, making her get psychological counselling, but she is still worried about the reoccurrence of such an incident. Also the leader fears his and his participants' safety, in the neighbourhood but also on school property, as the equipment might attract robbers.

*[...] you have to work under the pressure. You know if you see a lot outside the fence, you know that this might not go well as you intended it to go. [...] Even in here it is not safe. If they want to come there is nothing that is going to stop them. There is no security as you can see. Even in the neighbourhood there is nothing. If they come maybe closer to the point that they tell themselves, we must go in and take the equipment they can come. There is nothing to stop them. (H)*

The four significant others of the participants and coaches from MOD F also name robbery, alcohol and substance abuse, unemployment, boredom and peer pressure as the main challenges in their community. Looking at what leads to these challenges a variety of reasons is given, that are interconnected to and with the challenges.

*I think what influences our children is boredom because if a child has something positive to do in his/her life then he doesn't think of doing drugs and other bad activities. Peer pressure also plays a role. (I1)*

For unemployment, different point of views can be found. While one significant other blames the people in the community themselves, another one sees the government as the cause. Furthermore, a lack of programmes to catch gangsters expelled from school is identified as challenge.

*I think programmes that are educational are needed, like when a child is misbehaving at school, they receive 'no return' from school and the question is where that kid will go, and some of them they don't even know what are those drugs doing to them. When we grew up we had friends who were expelled from school, because they were involved in gangs and were troublemakers at school and they can't go to schools in other areas, because that's where the other gangs they fight with lives. (H1)*

Thus challenges already apparent in the community are furthermore reinforced.

### 5.2.3.2. Participants and Coaches

In the following results are presented regarding the outcomes and impact of MOD F center based on participants' and leaders' statements. In the first data collection phase, fifteen participants and four coaches were assessed with regard to the effects that they perceive the sport-in-development project has. With regard to coaches, only half of the coaches were still working at the school in the second phase of data collection. Thus, in T2, interviews are conducted with eleven participants and two coaches. All of the participants had also been assessed in T1.

Hereafter, results are structured in line with the overall coding and labelled according to the phase of data collection.

#### People and a place to belong to

T1: In the first data collection phase, participants state that they experience the sport-in-development project as a safe place, where they can meet good friends in a protected environment. A few of the girls explain that the save character of MOD F has an important meaning as girls are in risk of being raped when playing in public. Furthermore, they feel that other participants and the coaches understand them –

and thus guard them from harm. One girl reports that she was beaten by her mother, but through involving the coaches her mother stopped it.

Moreover, MOD F is seen as a place of mutual respect and understanding and as a place of inclusion by both coaches and participants.

*Like when we are having problems they don't just ignore us they try to understand what our problem looks like. At home like if there was a crisis at home or you have to go somewhere maybe your mother or father was sick you have to go and see because maybe it was your first time to see him. You will just tell the coach and then the coach will say "it is fine; we understand". They are never mad. (P)*

*[...] one day we were playing in the street. My friend beat me with a ball in my face and I tell them that I don't like what they are doing. But they don't understand. When I am playing at school one of my friend beat me with a ball and I say I don't like what she is doing they understand. (N)*

*They [the children] used to tell me in lunch time they are gathering together in a team, doing their homework stuff that they don't know. It's more like a family now and it wasn't like that before. No, it wasn't like that. And they show respect also. [...]*

*When it's my birthday or Valentine's Day they wrote me cards, so I came to the conclusion I am doing something good and they believe in it. (H)*

Two coaches emphasize also that they get support and advice by teachers and the headmaster that they hadn't gotten before working at this school, making her want to go back to school (V) and making him to know how to choose good instead of bad friends (G).

T2: Alike, in T2, participants see a positive change in their lives through being involved in MOD F, as it offers them a safe place in contrast to the difficult situations (such as violence and alcohol abuse) that they face at home and the gossip they come across in the community streets.

*The biggest challenge I ever faced was when my mom was drinking a lot, like if I did not do some house chores or forgot something that she asked me too. My dad doesn't drink even though my mom drinks. It's not as bad as before, I did not tell anyone, but sport helped me, because I would not have to go back home after school, so I would delay here at school so by the time I get home I will not have to deal with it. So that reduced chances of me getting beaten [...] Going to school helps me to distress and not to think much about my family*



*problems, and also the time that I spend in sport helps me to not get home early and be affected by gossip. At least if I come home late I minimize the chance of being beaten (R)*

Furthermore, most of the participants experience a close and loving relationship to the coaches, whom they feel advocate for them, encourage and protect them and who they can address with their problems and concerns. According to the participants the leaders do not only teach to respect others but also show it by respecting them.

*Also if maybe you want someone to talk to they are always there to listen to us, also if your parents are telling you to stop softball then they speak to them. Things like that. Even though I have not faced any challenge or went to ask for help, but if I'd be in a position where I need help I would go to them. (I)*

*My relationship with the coach is good; actually it's easy for us to talk to him about things. There is a contribution he has on us, like when the others bully we tell him and he would tell the others not to do wrong. (J)*

One male coach (G) feels that MOD F presents a safe place for him, where he is supported not only by the children, but also by the principal and teachers at school in whatever he wants to do.

### Access to space & material

T1: One female participant (B) in the first data collection phase explains that MOD F offers the opportunity to play sport, as there is no space around to play.

T2: Also, in T2, access to space and material is seen as an opportunity that hasn't been in the community before. Four participants feel that through being involved in MOD F activities they have – directly and indirectly – access to space, equipment and food. One girl (I) says that MOD F is the only place in Khayelitsha for her to play softball, as neither space nor equipment is available somewhere else. Two others get indirectly access to valuables, because their mothers reward them with gifts whenever they win a tournament. However, for one of them, this procedure does not exclusively account for the code she plays at MOD F, but also for the informal dance art group she is involved in.

*I remember the first time we won; my mom said if we win she would buy me something nice and she bought me chocolate. And the second time we won she said she will buy me a phone and she bought it and so now we going to Durban [for a tournament]. She said before we leave she will buy me new clothes, so I am so excited, because my mother is so proud of me and she is so excited for me. (N)*

Contrary to this seemingly good financial background, two participants emphasize that they usually do not have money themselves to buy food. Therefore, food from the Shilah feeding programme that comes with the MOD center activities and is handed out by the coaches is perceived as positive change concerning their opportunities to get lunch. They also report that the coaches sometimes give them money to buy food or talk to the headmaster to support them further – reinforcing the backing function their coaches play.

*There is a way that the coaches help us like when we need something or lack something they then give us. Maybe you don't have food at home and they make ways that you get helped. (I)*

### Personal and Skill Development - Behaviour Change

T1: Many participants in the first round of data collection feel that a big change from participating in the MOD m center activities is their improvement in sport skills. They explain that they learnt how to wear the sport kit, how to apply the rules of the game and how to solely concentrate on the game instead of the audience. Knowing how to be a referee is furthermore mentioned by one participant (F). On the coach's side, one points out his ability to be a coach and to teach children:

*I never thought about myself being a coach, I must be honest. But since I come here now, I view things in a different way. There is a lot that has changed since I am a coach. Cause I have never been involved in sport as myself growing up. Here in DCAS every two months they do their training course that makes us good coach. For us special coaches it's only about softball. You get certificates, and I am in level 2. If you have level 5 then you can be a national coach for South Africa softball. (H)*

The latter is connected to a general increase in self-confidence through being a coach at MOD F and the skill to pursue one's dream, as mentioned by two leaders.

*Being here taught me lots of stuff in life. The biggest change is that I change someone's life. They are going to play in the provincial and hopefully they will play for Western province. And then that's the biggest achievement I had in a long time. I feel proud and humbled also. (H)*

An improvement in communication skills is mentioned by leaders as well as participants as result of engagement in the MOD F centre. The leaders refer to their alternating conversation partners such as teachers, headmasters, and people from DCAS, teachers and children. Also participants feel that they talk to more different people than before and one female participant explains that this made her not to be shy anymore.

*Before I didn't know how to communicate to people, so being here in the programme I learnt a lot of things, because now I know how to communicate with people: if you want something in life if you want to achieve something what you must do. So I learnt a lot. I was that kind of person who was ashamed, who didn't like to talk with people, but I was a person who had dreams. But I didn't know how must I start, where must I go, but when times go on in this programme I've learnt a lot. So now I know how to deal with this. (G)*

Furthermore, one female participant (L) reports she learns discipline and good behaviour at MOD F.

T2: Almost all participants in the second round of data collection mention a positive change in their lives as they have learnt or improved general sport skills at MOD F, such as knowing how to play, having an enhanced ability to run fast or being more fit. Also with regard to teammates two participants notice an improvement in throwing the ball and thinking. Having better concentration skills is furthermore mentioned by girls playing chess.

*Sport helps that I should concentrate in everything; even if it's not sport I should focus. Because when I am not concentrating then I lose focus and if I lose focus I will make my team lose the game. (R)*

The skills that the participants acquire are also said to be transferable to other situations.

*We don't really speak to the coaches about things that we are going through, because they hardly ask us, he is a very kind person though. He doesn't only teach us chess, but also that we should use the same focus and concentration that we use in chess in our every daily life and always focus on our dream, regardless of how hard and impossible may it seem. He made an*

*example that when we make a wrong move in life, it affects our whole life. Same thing that happens to chess: if you make a wrong move you can mess up your chance of winning the game. (U)*

For another female participant (L) being part of MOD F activities made her develop social skills. According to herself, she learnt how to socialize and does now mingle with others, whereas before she used to be shy and felt lonely. Furthermore, many participants (sometimes even including their teammates) explain that they learnt how to respect their family and friends and act accordingly.

*There is a change in their lives especially their behaviour. Like now they no longer laugh at other kids when they are being teased by other kids; sometimes they would mock other kids, but now they don't do that and I think they no longer doing those things, because in chess we are taught to respect the other part and it's one of the rules that we have. Also in class they would laugh at other kids who get answers wrong, but they don't do it anymore. Chess does help other kids in general as well; it helps them in math and social science, because chess increases your concentration and thinking skills. (A)*

Referring to the programme's influence on friends, two participants mention that their teammates learnt how to resist peer pressure and do what they think is right for them, instead of listening to others.

Being part of the programme does moreover increase on participants' self-esteem. Three children (I, J, U) explicitly mention that since they win tournaments and get medals, they are very self-confident and proud of themselves – and so are their caregivers.

*I see the chess taking me far in life. Since I went to play for provincial and I was in the 6<sup>th</sup> place and I was very excited, because I thought I was not going to win. So I see it taking me far, maybe going to play for nationals. My goal this year is to win on the provincial since I was in the 6th place, now I want to be with the first three positions. (U)*

Looking at what outcomes the programme has from the coaches' point of view, both leaders list having acquired skills on how to treat a kid, being self-reflective and focusing on what's important. One of them reports that since coaching the children he looks at his life differently and is confident in his ability to change someone's life – whereas before, he did neither care nor know that he was capable of doing so:

*Firstly, I was telling myself that I am doing this, but I don't know and I don't care which impact does it have on me or someone, because I am only looking at my time and move on. But now something has started to grow in me. Even if I don't get so much from everyone or I don't get respect, it's not about that at the end of the day. The only thing that counts is I am making a change in someone's life. (H)*

### Academic Performance

T1: Related to skill acquisition and behaviour change is a change in academics that is mentioned in T1. All of the participants playing chess at MOD F report that since doing so they have improved in their academics in general and in mathematics in particular. They explain that through playing chess they are overall more focused and as they are familiar with thinking logically, they can adopt it to situations outside the chess club.

*I am getting used to thinking much. I am learning to catch the things fast. Before playing chess I did not think much even if the teacher said we were going to write the test I just wrote answers without thinking. But now I think a lot. (P)*

*Now that I have started playing chess I became clever, especially in math. Now I see the improvement in my math subject. (I)*

The participants playing another code support that chess involves much mental work. While this is exactly what holds one participant from switching from softball to chess, another child admirably points out the extra value that comes with playing chess.

*If you want to stop chess you can come and join softball, but I can say that they are not ready yet to stop playing chess, because it makes them clever. (I)*

T2: The activities and the guidance the participants get as well as the skills they gain at MOD F is said in T2 to further change on their scholastic behaviour. While some reason they listen and concentrate better now because the coach told them to do so, others explain it with the codes they play, such as learning how to think logically with chess (referred to by many) or keeping the focus as in netball.

### Role model

T1: In the first data collection phase all four coaches refer to the opportunity to work with kids and to be a role model as a result of working at MOD F. Two coaches point to their past and that they try to guide children in another direction than they personally went, such as not dropping out of school and making it into the professional league. Another one tries at his best to guide the children along their lives to be able to make right choices.

*It changed me a lot. I was a person that was having dreams for the kids. Because I was a player before, and there were many challenges when I was playing sport. And while I was playing sport my dream was to play for one of the professional teams here in South Africa, but I didn't make it. But I did get told there are chances to play against those teams in Durban like Keizerchiefs, Pirates. But I told myself, no, what I lost and missed I am going to make it for the kids. So when I started to become a coach I told myself that everything that doesn't went right for me before that's something I'm gonna make right for the next generation. (G)*

*I love kids, so it's like for me I realize that if maybe I don't want them to what I did like what I did. Me I don't like sitting at school doing nothing, I just want to work and make money, but how can I go to work if I don't have a degree or a diploma or what, because every time I go to school I drop out, so now I am coaching them, I am not only coaching netball. I am coaching them, kids please don't do this, you must do that. (V)*

T2: Also in T2, two male coaches experience that by being a coach in the afterschool programme they can actually be a role model to the younger ones, and thus affect them in a good manner. The chess coach furthermore opens his session once a week for kids from other schools, to spread the knowledge on how to play chess.

*I think they see me as a role model, as a person to look up to. I am not perfect; I must be honest. But I try by all means to guide them in the right way, to give them everything that I feel is necessary and important for them to carry forward as the life goes [...] When it's my birthday or Valentine's day they wrote me cards, so I came to the conclusion I am doing something good and they believe in it. (H)*

### Spend time meaningful

T1: In T1, three girls mention that through their involvement at MOD F they are not bored anymore, and happy that they don't have to sit at home and do nothing but play games instead.

T2: For many, participating in MOD F activities is identified in T2 as a meaningful way of spending time. One participant (N) for example tells that before becoming a participant she went to the library for homework and afterwards was bored all day long, whereas now she has something fun to do before going to the library and then gets home only in the evenings.

*It also keeps me busy and focused, so by the time I come back home it's already late. And I have to take care of little sibling when his coming from crèche, because my mother comes back late so I don't get involved into bad stuff like smoking or gossip or hang around streets and do nothing. Instead I stay home and do my homework and look after my sibling. Before I played chess, sometimes I would come back from school and go play outside and not take care of my little brother or leave him home alone while I am playing. But now I enjoy every moment I am indoors. (U)*

### Reputation

T1: Two coaches (H, M) and several participants perceive a change in their reputation by their parents since being involved in MOD F as they elaborate in the first phase of data collection. While one coach refers to the work he does, the reputation of the participants is based on their medals and certificates that make their mothers proud and support their children more thoroughly.

*I think my mother is believing in me more, because she hears the good stuff that I'm doing for the kids and now she starts to understand what I am doing and I think she starts to respect what I am doing. (H)*

T2: Alike, in T2, four girls (A, I, N, J) point out that because of them participating successfully in tournaments, their mothers are proud of them and support them in what they are doing – improving the relationship between the parent and the girl.

As such, the female participants are even more encouraged to commit to themselves and make their mothers happy.

*It also helps me at home like when I go play for tournaments I come back home with medals and stuff that makes my mother proud of me and she tells her friends, colleagues and neighbours about my success. And then we would go and celebrate or maybe buy me a gift. (A)*

### Career Options

T1: In the first phase, according to three coaches, working at MOD F increases their opportunities to participate in sport-related programmes, such as coaching sessions and training for new codes, organized by DCAS.

*With the MOD center programme I got the opportunity to go to workshop and learn more about other sport codes. [...] As a netball player workshops contributed a lot I learnt more about other sport codes, especially basketball, rugby, tag-rugby and table tennis. (M)*

One female coach feels that these opportunities lead to a change in her mind in terms of career choices and makes her confident to be able to work in the sport sector.

*Because now, since I want to go back to school, I want to do sports management, so I want to see myself maybe coaching one of the best clubs in the country or doing a presentation on sport programme in TV, or playing in the national team, maybe me myself. I'll try. (V)*

On the contrary – despite the appreciated opportunity to get certificates at the workshops - one male coach is alienated, whether he should go back to school or to stay with the children, feeling there is no further promotion available for him at the center.

*But I am considering going back to school next year. I can't be a coach all my life long. I have done my role here, but life must go on. But it's hard to leave those kids. I have been meaning to leave from last year onwards, but I can't. Now they are part from me, and it's hard to just go and forget. (H)*

T2: In the second round of data collection, no coaches but participants comment on MOD F with regard to career options. Being involved in the activities influences the choices of some children. Although two feel encouraged to become a professional



player and a coach, they still consider whether to pursue a sport-related career or stick to the plans they had beforehand.

*When I grow up I want to be a softball coach as well as a doctor. My passion for being a softball coach started when I saw my coaches here and I really love what they do, so I want to teach other kids what I have learnt. (J)*

*When I grow I want be a social worker, so I can help children who are in need and abused. I sometimes do wish maybe I could play for a national team, and this feeling started when I started playing here at the field. (F)*

Another one – inspired by the programme – wants to become a social worker to help others.

### Network & Friends

T1: In T1, engagement in MOD F activities is associated with new and above all good friends. Two female participants (N, K) mention that the friends they make at MOD F are the ones understanding them, which is not the case with the ones they make outside of the programme. Furthermore, one girl (Q) explains that she had been very lonely before, but that the sport activities helped her to overcome the loneliness by making friends. Also one female coach (M) emphasizes the opportunity to make new friends through her involvement, as the workshops organized by DCAS bring her in touch with other coaches from all districts.

T2: Extending social networks, by building and deepening friendships is also mentioned in T2 as outcome of the programme. Two participants elaborate that the programme helped them to make new friends, whom they also feel closely related to outside of the programme, as they share similar interest and ideas.

*The programme has helped when it comes to friends, like now I have friends that play so we both have the same mind and same ideas even though I am not that much in friendships. I am quiet and I love staying at home so my friend comes and see me. (F)*

Having a broader network through the programme also applies to one coach. He reports that since working at MOD F he is in regular exchange with the principal,

teachers, coaches from other provinces, community members and of course the children.

### Finances

T1: Two coaches (M, G) in the first phase explicitly mention that working at MOD F means a big financial change in their lives, as both are the only ones being responsible for income at home and can now provide food. None of the two coaches assessed in T2 comments on this.

### Processes underlying effects

T1: Rarely statements are made that allow conclusions on general processes that lead to change in participants' and coaches' lives. Two of the coaches refer to the broadened network (teachers and students and other coaches) and the opportunities to participate in workshops and gain certificates that encourage them to stay focused in life and pursue their goals. Being asked what it is that makes them change in behaviour and how they learnt skills, participants refer to specific codes, their relationships with the coaches, the exchange with other students or the mere opportunity to have something to do after school. However, according to the coaches, they experience the same, regardless of which code they teach, with the relationship to the kids being the same in any sport.

T2: Comments on what it is in the programme that causes pro-social behaviour and the development of skills in participants differ among the coaches. Whereas one assumes it is the coach initiating and thus it depends on the facilitator, the other leader suggests it is sport that makes people work together, regardless of the type of code.

The participants themselves refer to the codes (above all chess for an academic change) and the advices they get by the leaders, who – compared to tense

relationships with care takers – care for them. One also explains that it is simply the pastime causing the change in her life, though this could be also any other activity.

*Going to school helps me to distress and not to think much about my family problems, and also the time that I spend in sport helps me to not get home early and be affected by gossip. At least if I come home late I minimize the chance of being beaten (R)*

Looking at the reported improvement in coaches' self-confidence, the acknowledgment of their participants and the relationship with them, is seen as a motor to boost such.

### 5.2.3.3. Programme Coordinators

In line with the adopted MSC method and triangulation purposes superiors are supposed to be interviewed about participants' and coaches' stories. As the manager from DCAS who is responsible for that particular MOD center hardly visits the school – alike at the MOD S center – it is no other than the coaches who know the participants well. Thus those are selected to discuss the statements given by the participants and to explain their perception of them. However, as they do not live in the same neighbourhood, they have limited knowledge on how the programme impacts on the participants off school property. For the coaches themselves, due to difficulties, no direct supervisor shows up for dates – thus, with nobody available who knows the coaches in person, no further conclusions can be drawn on MOD S's influence on the coaches or give additional information on them.

T1: According to the four coaches about one third of the sample participants haven't changed through being involved in the activities at MOD F. In line with their stories, most of the other participants experience a change in communication skills and in making new friends. The leaders also see an increase in pro-social behaviour caused by the programme, as well as an improvement in one participant's social relationships, as others are proud about her winning tournaments. Furthermore, highlighted and picked as most important changes by the coaches, an increase in

softball skills in one and an improvement in academics in another one are seen as outcomes of the programme.

T2: In the second phase of data collection it is only one of the two coaches who makes himself available to report on the changes of the participants. However, as he only knows the ones in his code well, and not every participant in the sample, his statements only refer to two girls. While he can't identify a change in one of them (I) as she has always been an unproblematic child anyway (a statement that contradicts her own story), he sees a big change in the other girl (J) that is in line with what she told herself. She has improved a lot in skills to play softball and also acts pro-socially now, thus she stopped beating other kids. According to the coach, this change is due to the time that he spends with her, explaining what is right and wrong – whereas her parents are only shouting at her but not giving explanations.

#### 5.2.3.4. Significant Others

In the second phase of data collection participants and coaches are asked to point out individuals who they feel closely related to, who they trust and who know them well. These as trustworthy identified people are referred to as 'significant others'. In total, four significant others of one coach and two participants are interviewed, including one male friend and girlfriend (referred to by coach) and a mother as well as an aunt (referred to by participants; see appendix VI). Amongst other issues, they were questioned about their perception with regard to the programme's influence on the participants and coaches.

The main change through participating that one mother sees in her daughter is that she finally found something she loves to do that also keeps her away from peer pressure and other community challenges. She assumes that playing chess makes her daughter improve in mathematics, but isn't sure about the (negative) affect other subjects.

*The programme is helping her a lot because she is very good in numeric subjects now. Her results in other subjects have decreased like social science however I wouldn't blame the chess per say rather I think it is maybe one of her weaknesses or could be change in syllabus as well. (F1)*

With regard to one male leader, two significant others (his girlfriend and close friend) point out that MOD F has changed his relationships to children. Whereas he used to be rather indrawn before and was only connected to his family and very close friends, he now socializes, especially with children, talks about them in his free time and feels responsible for his participants and his community.

*It has also changed his mind-set, because now he sees a future in sport like when he looks around and sees kids wasting time, he would make comments like if there was sport programme around, these kids would be doing something useful. He loves community development. Sometimes even on weekends when we go as guys he would refuse, because he has games with kids and when he comes back he would be bragging that his kids won that and that. (H1)*

The leader's friend furthermore reports that it is through the programme that he gained knowledge about and interest in all kinds of sport codes.

Looking at the programme's impact on wider social development, the main change that is perceived by the significant others of MOD F participants is an increase in their own well-being, as they know that their children are in safe place. The caregivers emphasize that they are relieved to know where their children are, that they are glad they can thereby avoid getting in trouble and that by participating in MOD F activities they hang around with 'good' friends. Furthermore, and related to the above, they are happy that their children have found a hobby they themselves like and which also makes them proud.

*Even now look at those pictures I am very proud. It has helped me a lot because she would come back and tell me about it and she would be so happy and excited so even myself now I am happy about it. When a child is involved in sports it helps a lot because she avoids so many things that happen around, things like gossip, bad behaviour, even now she comes back around 4pm and she tells me wherever she goes. [...] I don't worry because I know she is safe, where we live it's close to the main road so I used to wonder and worry about their safety but now I know when she is the programme I relax because they are safe there. (I1)*

Furthermore, for one caregiver her child playing chess at MOD F programme gave her opportunities that she didn't have before, such as joining her to a tournament in Johannesburg and meet new people.

For one significant other her boyfriend working at MOD F means an improvement in ways to spend their free time, as he does now earn money – although she admits that any other source of income would result in the same change. Another friend feels his own knowledge in sport increased, as he is exposed to his friend talking about and watching it. However, he also sees a negative change in his life, because due to the friend's big interest and duties in job he has less time for him at the weekends.

### 5.2.3.5. Field Observation and Informal Conversations

Despite a few occasions the author of the study couldn't spend time with the participants and coaches off the field.

Observing the programme activities on the school ground however reveals that the children are very eager to play and enjoy being part of the programme. Especially the chess player gathered with many around one chess board, quietly observing every single move. The school floor is covered with trophies and medals from won chess tournaments, which – according to the students – encourages them to train harder.

The netball players, with the netball coach coming not often, are often frustrated to play alone, thus arguing and having discussions on the field. While the players have also sympathy for the coach who blames her child for her little time, her having a baby turns out to be not true. In T2, only the two male coaches are still working at MOD F – not knowing or not willing to say what happened with the other two from T1. The coaches (in T1 and T2) are not coming daily nor always in time – contrasting the commitment they stated to have in the interviews. However, when being at school, the two male coaches are eager to work with the kids and place their focus on preparing them for tournaments. They often state and show that winning

tournaments has high value for them, thus a rather holistic approach in the training can't be observed at all.

### 5.2.3.6. Summary

Although statements in T1 and T2 do not refer to exactly the same codes in both data collection phases, results display an analogous and therefore stepped up picture of MOD F's outcomes and impact.

Compared to the violent and dangerous situations that participants come across in the streets and at home, MOD F provides a safe place for participants, where – for the time of the project running – coaches protect them. Also, by having fun and being busy, the activities at MOD F distract the participants from their perceived challenges and give them enjoyment. While some would be prone to any kind of activity as a way to fight their boredom, the MOD F center decreases the risk of getting involved in bad ones by offering a pleasure activity. This also impacts on the community as significant others are relieved about their children's whereabouts. Both the fun of the children and the happiness of the caregivers with regard to the programme could also be observed in the field. Also for the coaches MOD F offers protection, not through internal structures but through the project being embedded in school. Though not directly caused by the MOD F center, the link to the school also leads to coaches being supported and advised through an increased network. In line with this, participants establish new friendships with schoolmates who they feel understand them better than other.

In addition, engagement in MOD F activities leads to skill development for the participants– regarding sport skills, but also communication, social and concentration skills. Furthermore, they learn discipline and respect and how to resist peer pressure by having an increased self-confidence. The skill development leads to a behaviour change in some of the participants. Confirmed by coaches and significant others, participants' relationships with parents are improved and pro-social behaviour is shown more often; whereas for others no change is visible. For some, also academic performance is enhanced through thinking more logically and

staying focused and through the advices given by the coaches. Working at the MOD F does also change coaches' self-confidence and offers them the opportunity to be a role model and work with kids. While this works towards the perceived challenge of having no role model, coaches do not always take this opportunity and do not show up regularly to work. The impact therefore seems to be rather limited.

With the participants facing the challenge of often having nothing to do and lacking facilities to get engaged in, the MOD F center counteract this challenge by keeping them occupied in a meaningful way. Moreover, they get access to food and equipment, something they wouldn't have otherwise. Rewards are also given by some parents for outstanding performance in tournaments; thus MOD F center offers the opportunity to show ones' abilities. This also applies to the coaches, whose reputation is increased through working for DCAS. Furthermore, their income also affects significant others' lives and increases their life quality. However, with regard to the career options the MOD F offers a rather inconsistent picture of change. While DCAS offers workshops and thus increases the expertise of their coaches, one coach feels DCAS rather prevents him from being promoted. Also for participants being engaged in the MOD F activities impacts on their career choices in a rather divided way, with some being encouraged to further a professional sport career, though field observation reveals that the chance of being scouted is rather unlikely.

Looking at the processes' underlying the effects of MOD F, a complex picture is revealed. Reasons for any change caused in participants and coaches vary from the relationship between the participants and coaches, the relationships with other teammates and the school staff to the particular sport and to simply the pastime – however for some it seems they would be prone for any kind of activity, even anti-social ones. With regard to the codes the role of chess and winning tournaments must be highlighted.



#### 5.2.4. Girls and Football South Africa

As Girls and Football South Africa is linked to a school in the city bowl of Cape Town, girls with different ethnicities and different places of residence take part. Some girls going to that school live in Khayelitsha though and in the following statements refer to those girls only. The coaches are also isiXhosa, but do not live in Khayelitsha. With the programme having just started shortly before T1, in the first round of data collection it does not take place every week. Between T1 and T2 it even stops for a few months due to a change in programme coordinator. The presented challenges are only based on participants' statements, and the results that focus on the effects of GFSA on individual and wider social development are based on statements from participants, coaches and programme coordinators (15 interviews). Field notes based on observation and informal conversations serve as basis for presenting results with regard to the research question. Because of the recent establishment of the project, inconsistent training sessions and an alternation in participants, the following data to define the outcomes and impact of GFSA is rather limited and has to be interpreted with caution.

##### 5.2.4.1. Challenges

Gangsterism, alcohol- and substance abuse and the government not providing enough houses for people living in shags are pointed out by four participants of GFSA as challenges. The high number of crimes influences one girl who is scared of going out the house and playing in the streets. Other personal challenges concern family issues and bullying.

##### 5.2.4.2. Participants

In the following, results are presented regarding the outcomes and impact of GFSA based on participants' statements. In the first data collection phase, seven participants were assessed via interviews with regard to the change that they

perceive the sport-in-development project has brought about in their lives. In T2, interviews are conducted with four participants.

Hereafter, results are structured in line with the overall coding and labelled according to the phase of data collection.

### Safe Hub

T1: Two participants (A, J) explain that through being involved in the GFSA programme, they have someone to talk to – namely the coaches – who they can open up to with regard to personal problems. Also, these two feel they are understood and appreciate the opportunity to work with and be part of a team. Also emphasized by participants is the mere opportunity to play soccer with girls at GFSA, whereas before they had (if at all) only the chance to play with boys, who they refer to being too rough.

*Playing with girls only is good. I prefer playing with girls because boys are quite rough. If there were mixed teams, I would not complain. But I prefer playing with girls. (D)*

*Playing with girls is fine. Boys are playing rougher so playing with girls is better. (C)*

T2: All three girls (A, I, J, E) explain that the GFSA offers them a safe and good place to spend their time, with trustworthy people, both coaches and teammates, who they can talk to about personal issues. While they put these statements in relation to spending time in dangerous areas instead and having no one or only few people to share with.

*I do like the life-skill sessions at the end of the programme. We talk about our weaknesses and strengths in soccer, and if you have a problem and maybe sometimes you don't want to share, so the coaches give us confidence to talk about it and to be more open to each other. For me I prefer to talk to the coach about personal stuff, because I am not really that open to teachers. And sometimes when I am scared to talk to my parents, then I talk to my coach. (I)*

*[...] all the things that are burning in me I always feel comfortable to share and ask. (E)*

Personal and Skill Development - Behaviour Change

T1: Almost all girls refer to an increase in their ability to play soccer through their involvement in GFSA, with a few of them saying that this is the one and only change they experienced. Related to sport skills, for one girl (J), a huge change by the programme is that it helps her to keep fit and do exercises. Furthermore, one girl (A) explains that she concentrates more on books than before, as she takes the coaches' advices into consideration. Another one (B) says she learnt how to control her emotions and to respect others, thus she stopped being a bully. She also refers to being more focused on books, but admits that it was not only the coaches but also parents and friends who told her to do so.

One of the coaches reports that through teaching and working together with the girls, she gets the opportunity to enhance her skills and increase her knowledge regarding girls' soccer – however, according to her it is rather learning through experience than external input.

T2: In T2, one of the girls (E) states she learns from her coaches how to deal with fights, as one of them is always listening to her so she takes her advice seriously vice versa.

Spend time meaningful

T1: Apart from one girl, all participants mention that the opportunity to become part of the GFSA team made them happy as they do now have an enjoyable hobby. One explains she is more interested in soccer in general, and watches soccer in television – something she hasn't done before. However, many of them were involved in other school sport before, mainly athletics, but that stopped due to the season. Thus GFSA fills a gap of being bored on a Friday afternoon – and thereby not getting involved in gangsterism. However, in line with this, one girl (G) remarks it could have been any other activity taking place – and again another one (B) explains that although she thinks the sport programme protects her from getting involved she was never involved in gangsterism before anyway.

T2: According to all three of the girls, being involved in the GFSA activities makes them happy and brings about a hobby that they didn't have before. They do now watch soccer in TV – something they thought was boyish and not interesting beforehand. Furthermore, two (A, J) of them assume that by being kept busy, one does not join gangsterism. However, one of them (J) admits that she herself would not get involved anyway.

### Career Options

T1: Only one respondent makes a comment regarding an influence of the programme on her career options. She (F) considers moving back her original plan of becoming a geologist and trying to become a professional soccer player instead.

### Network & Friends

T1: Almost all girls refer to their involvement at GFSA as having the opportunity to make new friends with teammates and coaches – due to the same interest that unites them. One participant explains further that GFSA presents a unique opportunity for making friends to her that she has not gotten in other programmes:

*There is a change with my friends. I am not the kind of person that really makes friends but I do make friends now because my teammates have also introduced me to their friends. I have been going to [name of the school] for my whole life. But I have never really made friends because I am a quiet person and I don't really like to talk. So, the biggest change of soccer in my life is that I have made friends and that I have a new attitude. By changing my attitude, I was able to make more friends. (D)*

### Reputation

T1: A major change for many girls and one coach is having a chance to fight the prejudices about girls and their ability to play soccer – thus changing their own reputation and other opinions on female gender. By coaching and playing soccer it is their own attitude that changes towards the sport, namely that they can do it despite being discriminated.

*I don't think that soccer is only for boys. Everyone can play soccer if they want to. But the most people that play soccer are boys. Now that I have started playing soccer, boys see me differently. When they were playing soccer before and I asked if I could play with them, they said yes sometimes. But sometimes, they said no because they wouldn't play with girls. Now they kind of say yes. (J)*

*[...] some boys are discriminating girls in terms of that they can't play soccer. So I also wanted to prove them wrong, namely that girls can play soccer. (F)*

Two girls furthermore explain that not only boys' but also their parents' attitude has changed, with one father even wanting to sign his daughter (C) up for a club, whereas before he had underestimated her playing.

### Processes underlying effects

The not so clear picture on the outcomes and impact makes it difficult to point out the processes underlying it. With regard to the change of having something meaningful and enjoyable to do, the girls explain that they are physically active with soccer and other codes during the week as well - at school, but also in the streets and in clubs. Therefore, GFSa is another opportunity to be active no matter of its characteristics. One other though explicitly explains that it is the code soccer and the atmosphere in the programme only that releases her mind.

*Soccer takes my mind off everything. So I can just train and not think about that side of life. So I am focusing on soccer and not on what bad is happening out there. [...] I don't really think any other activity would do the same thing. For example, I do knitting. [...]. But knitting doesn't take off my mind than sport does. Because you just sit doing something. But in your mind, you are not focusing on what you are doing there, but on the other things you still have to do. [...] That won't be a thing to take off my mind. (A)*

The perceived outcome of GFSa of increasing coaches' ability to work with girls is likewise pointed out to be caused by the experiences in themselves and not by assistance.

### 5.2.4.3. Coaches and Programme Coordinators

In line with the adopted MSC method and for triangulation purposes superiors are to be interviewed about participants' and coaches' stories. At GFSA activities the two coaches and the Dutch programme coordinator are usually present; however, the latter is most often busy with organizational issues and does not work directly with the girls. Furthermore, language barriers make it difficult to grasp full insights for her. It is therefore the coaches commenting on the participants only, whereby it needs to be acknowledged that they do not live in the same environment and can therefore not tell about transfer to real life situation. No information by the programme coordinator on the coaches is available.

In T1, the two coaches referring to the programme's effect on the participants, report that the programme changed the lives with regard to their psychological well-being (A) (distressing the mind from personal problems) and with regard to what they want in life (C, F). Furthermore, for one girl (D) a change in her communication skills is observed. However, according to the coaches, there is no change visible in three girls as they behave and perform like when they started getting involved. No data could be gathered in T2.

### 5.2.4.4. Field Observation and Informal Conversations

Due to the programme taking place irregularly or starting late, the ethnographic data on the participants and coaches is rather limited. Most of the girls enjoy the programme, but others are only sitting around and being not willing to participate. Often arguments take place between the girls, resulting in interruptions of the game. Also, as they have to get the transport home, some girls leave the training spontaneously while the activities are still ongoing. Furthermore, due to interruptions by school holidays, students visiting Eastern Cape and lots of homework the programme does not happen with the same girls on a regular base. However, despite some of them showing no real interest in what's going on, they would come back every other Friday in order to have something to do. While there

have been other extramural sport activities in the years before, those stopped for unknown reasons, leaving the girls with nothing to do in particular afternoons.

Apart from the activities at the school, the author of the study is able to join them to a tournament. The girls are excited to play against other teams, eleven a side and on a real soccer field. Although they lose, they are proud about themselves, value the opportunity to go somewhere else and meet other girls playing soccer.

The two female coaches are not showing up all the time, and are often in different moods. While one coach has lots of soccer experiences herself, is usually motivated and offers structured activities, the other is often distracted and performs on random exercises. Both of them do not get paid and are coaching on a volunteer base - thus with them being often moody without having been forced to come, it is difficult to deduce a change caused by the programme. However, they are supported by the project manager to apply to certain workshops.

#### 5.2.4.5. Summary

In the study on GFSA, the sample is very small, different girls participate in the study in both years and it has to be considered that the activities are skipped for a few months in between. Despite those difficult conditions some answers of the girls resemble in both phases of data collection. However, the data base is insufficient to make statements on any longitudinal trends. Also, because of external coaches and the programme being implemented outside of Khayelitsha no further impact outside of project hours can be distinguished. Thus an overview on the perceived and observed outcomes is given based on both phases of data collection.

Especially with regard to the perceived challenge of gangsterism, GFSA provides a safe place for the girls with someone they trust and can talk to. In contrast to family issues the girls worry about, GFSA gives them an enjoyable hobby to do – even off the programme. Confirmed by the coaches, GFSA keeps the girls' minds busy and makes them forget about personal problems. However, for some it is the particular character of soccer in doing so, whereas for others GFSA only serves as gap filler that could be replaced with any other (sport or non-sport) activity.

Furthermore, the sport-in-development project changes girls' skill development. While for few beneficiaries their engagement in GFSA leads to better concentration and self-control skills, all of the girls experience an increase in soccer skills. In line with this, GFSA changes girls' self-confidence with regard to the abilities they – being female – have. It also affects the way members think about female gender stereotypes in general and about the participants' in particular, assigning them a better reputation. Furthermore, GFSA allows the girls to compete with other girls in tournaments, which makes them excited and eager to play. Strikingly, in contrast to the self-announced enjoyment to play a contradicting picture is observed in the sessions. Some girls often only sit around and interrupt the activities. However, this might be due to the contextual circumstances and structured inhibiting the training (see chapter 5.3.3).

Working at GFSA provides the coaches with opportunities to take part in workshops and, by coaching, to develop their skills to teach soccer to girls. Noticeably, the enjoyment and eagerness to coach is contradicted by their work attitudes many a time.

### **5.2.5. Life Skill Development**

Translated and modified versions of questionnaires published in the Laureus Sport for Good Evaluation Toolkit are used to assess life skill development (including social skills, goal orientation and self-confidence) and sense of safety and belonging. Participants and coaches respond to a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Moreover, socio-demographic and participation data are collected to control for parameters like age, gender, living situation as well as position in the programme and duration of involvement.

In total, 220 questionnaires are answered in 2013 and 2014 in all four sport-in-development projects in focus (Amandla n = 118, MOD S n = 42, MOD F n = 35, GFSA n = 25). For the purpose of analysis only those are included that have no voids, leading to a sample of 161 respondents (Amandla n = 95, MOD S n = 33, MOD



F n = 33). Due to the small size of questionnaires of the Girl and Football South Africa project and the differences in sample characteristics, those are not included into the analysis. The participants and coaches are statistically similar to one another on measures of age (Amandla: 9 to 35, MOD S: 10 to 39, MOD F: 9 to 30). At Amandla and MOD S they are also statistically similar on measures of gender (Amandla: male 56%, female 44%; MOD S: male 55%, female 45%). A significant difference regarding gender is found in the sample at the MOD F center (male 11%, female 89%). The length of programme involvement differs between all three projects. Regarding the household situation, most of the participants live with both their parents (and others), shortly followed by living with only their mother (and others) and no parents (alone or with others). At Amandla and the MOD F centre there are also participants and coaches staying with only their father (and others), however, this is the smallest number (Amandla 3,8%; MOD F 5,6%).

Due to organizational and content-related difficulties, several limitations restrict the explanatory power of the data. First of all, no baseline data are conducted, thus all participants are to some extent involved in the programme. In order to reduce this bias, questions are asked related to the length and frequency of their participation. Unfortunately, reliable records are not available from the projects, and the self-assessment is often more a guess than a binding statement. In case of available documents, answers seem not always to reflect the records. Alike, programme participation differs throughout the years and the answers are irregular and not in consent with available written documents or supervisors' statements. Thus, the available data on programme involvement must be handled with caution with regard to drawing conclusions. Furthermore, data may be biased because of completing them in a different setting. Questionnaires in 2013 are not filled in one-by-one but in groups of seven, leading to little reflected answers and blank spaces (which especially proved true for younger children). The focus group data collection is changed in 2014. As this is more time-intensive not as many questionnaires are conducted. Besides, due to the already indicted organizational complications of collecting data, it is not possible to talk to exactly the same sample in both years, making it impossible to draw longitudinal conclusions.

Remained data gets analysed using t-tests with Bonferroni correction. The lengths and frequency of programme participation reveals a significant effect on life skill development and sense of safety/belonging. However, when exploratory analysing the data, a difference between Amandla and the after-school activities (MOD centers) can be noted.

With regard to life skill development - including social skills, goal orientation and self-confidence - participants and coaches of Amandla showed significantly higher scores than both MOD centres. Respecting a sense of safety and belonging, participants and coaches of Amandla score significantly higher than the beneficiaries at the MOD S centre. The sample from Amandla also scores higher than the MOD F centre sample, but this difference is not significant.

Based on the statistically similarity of participants and coaches (supposing them to have the same starting conditions in all programmes), these results could be interpreted as programme effect. However, results should be interpreted with caution, considering the lack of proper pre-/post-testing.

### **5.3 Influence of Contextual Circumstances and Structures on Modes of Action**

As discussed, the sport-in-development projects are located in a complex and instable environment whose inhabitants face challenges such as gangsterism, peer pressure, poverty, unemployment, substance abuse and violence. Thus after presenting the effects the sport-in-development projects have on their beneficiaries and significant others, this subchapter presents results with regard to the second set of research questions: *'To what extent are sport-in-development projects influenced by the wider social context and structures they operate in?'*. To do so, a detailed look is taken if and to what extent these contextual circumstances and the nature of the projects themselves influence the mode of action and how this is limits the outcomes and impact of the project.

The information base for identifying the influence of these contextual circumstances and structures on sport youth projects are statements from participants, coaches, programme coordinators and key informants. A total of 228 interviews were conducted throughout the research process. A large part is also based on field observations and informal conversations. Whereby the statements from participants and coaches only refer to the second round of data collection, statements from programme coordinators and key informants are gathered in both phases. Also data on the field was gathered in both t1 and t2. Because of the researcher's different exposure and involvement in the projects, the amount of data presented varies in length and depth. The results are presented according to the programmes. Structure wise, a rough subdivision in conditions resulting from external factors (contextual circumstances/cultural specifics) and from internal factors (nature of the project, NGO, government programme) presents itself as suitable. The latter, however, can't always be seen as isolated from the former as the phenomena are often interconnected and are mutually dependent. It is for example due to the contextual circumstances that the projects were designed and implemented in the first place.

Based on the content analysis, the following themes are presented and are representative for a multitude of mentions and observations. Also themes that derive from very few responses are displayed, as it is assumed that those can be of relevance as well. All themes are underpinned with major anchor examples and important single quotations, sometimes presenting opposite perceptions.

### **5.3.1. Amandla Edufootball**

Not only do the socio-economic circumstances and the poor living conditions in Khayelitsha affect the community, they also impact on the mode of action of the project and thus on the impact it has on development. Likewise, with Amandla being a South African and German non-governmental organization, certain

characteristics shape its operations. Therefore, in the following, the main influential factors that influence the operations and Amandla are presented.

### Limited access to electricity & communication technology

The poor living conditions that often include a lack of electricity also hit the project. The internet, which is necessary for the field staff to work properly, is often down. However, if there is internet, leaders would often use a computer in the office to enter social media, as they don't have internet at home themselves. This also involves the landline, as beneficiaries and staff use it for private purposes and thereby boost the organisation's phone bill. While disciplinary measures are taken to stop this, this again leads to coaches being upset. Also general power cuts in the neighbourhood affect the field, which makes playing impossible on Friday nights. Matches have to be dropped or rescheduled, which leads to frustration and annoyance for the teams.

### Lack of safety

Other incidents interrupting the smooth running of Crime Prevention League are participants bringing weapons to the field or showing up under the influence of drugs, which implies a risk for ex-gang members who are working at Amandla and are not armed. It is also dangerous for the staff to get home safely after the Crime Prevention League that often takes place till midnight. With most of them not having a car they either need a lift by someone or wait until daylight.

### Criminal incidents on the field

Furthermore, gangsterism is not only coming from people rarely involved, but also from some who participate regularly or even work at Amandla. Shirts, trophies and personal valuable items get sometimes stolen from the field and clubhouse during activities. Even pencils and paper are often swiped, disturbing the normal working

process as the office staff always has to make sure to not leave anything lying around unsupervised. In T2, doors are installed to protect the office room; resulting in inconveniences getting the keys.

### Difficulties of transferring learnt skills to real-life situations

In line with this, several participants state why they or others – despite being aligned with Amandla – can't stop criminal activities. One male participant raises the issue that Amandla won't be able to fight internal family responsibilities that come along with gangsterism:

*Because it's like the youth now who is taking over the gangsterism it's no longer only the elderly people because usually you see that if you have a gangster at your home, like your brother. And you know if your brother gets killed somewhere, then you have to take over. You can't just let that go. But people will say: your brother got killed by his neighbour, and you are doing nothing but playing football, not taking revenge. What will your brother do there in the grave? Maybe turning over, watching me, like I'm stupid". So you feel like you must take a revenge for him. (B)*

Few others report issues where they personally experienced the limited influence Amandla has on them. One male participant says that while Amandla had helped him to further his hobby of playing soccer, they couldn't help him with his career. Another male participant explains that as much as he tried to convince his friends who are involved in gangsterism to come to Amandla too and as much as he tried to apply the life skills he learnt, they always made fun of him. Also, with gang groups in other sections not knowing that he withdrew from gangsterism, he would always be at risk no matter how much Amandla does. The difficulty of easily transferring life skills to real life situations is also recognized by other male participants.

*[...] sometimes it's hard to apply the things that we learn from life skills programme into reality satiation, and I can't really tell you why is that, but it happens even to me. (N)*

*I do want a change, but it's hard because for gangsterism there is no way out. There's nothing that Amandla or any other sport programme can do to change that. It will always be there, even the cops failed [...] I love the field and I enjoy every programme there, but at the end of the day there's a reality that I have to face and that is me behind that field. (CC)*

Also one leader explains that as much as Amandla tries to show pathways out of gangsterism, with him having a baby now, in case he doesn't find a job after the end his employment at Amandla he would go back to previous criminal activities to fulfil his financial responsibilities. This discrepancy between what happens on the field and in reality is also described by another participant.

*My girlfriend is unemployed. My mum is also unemployed. So who's gonna feed my child? [...] So I'm gonna be forced, actually not forced, but I have to earn a living somehow. And if I don't have a job, I have another expertise. And when I say expertise, I mean things that I have done before, like things that make money. Easy way to make money. That will make money in ten minutes and cover me for three months. (U)*

*[...] the minute I leave the field premises another part of my life starts and that's the gangster life. (I)*

### Low work quality and poor work attitude

The challenge of partially exhausting living conditions also impacts on the people and thus the working quality of the coaches. Moodiness, bad performance and/or a lack of concentration can be observed regularly. Through crowded space at home, family responsibilities, poverty and at the same time sharing all belongings, sometimes participants and coaches would come to the field hungry and tired. For example, it is often expressed that in isiXhosa-culture individual income and property is family's income and property.

*It's difficult to save when you have a job and people know you earn money. Keeping the money for yourself and save for the future does only endure until for example your sister's children starve – and although it might be your sister's mistake of not having a job, how can you withhold the money for yourself and not fulfil your family responsibilities? (R)*

On the contrary to this lack of money, the payment the leaders get is often not spent in a responsible way. Despite some leaders complaining about financial problems as they had to co-finance their relatives, some of these would still spend their money on alcohol and status symbols, such as mobile phones, TVs and expensive shoes. This again increases their risk of being robbed, thus they would

rarely wear them in public. With regard to the way of spending money, one female leader – being Xhosa herself – gives her opinion:

*Xhosa people can't handle money. They spend everything at the beginning of the month, either on brands or booze. Only then they will consider how to survive the rest of the month. I wonder how mlungus do it. It is well known in xhosa-circles that they don't buy expensive clothes, although they could. They always like to wear Mr. Price. But from where I am from, that is a no-go. With Mr. Price, you are a Nobody. (Z)*

The need for status symbols and the lack of financial skills among the leaders is also pointed out by the programme coordinators.

The working habit of the coaches is another factor mentioned and observed to influence the programme's outcomes and impact on development. One leader admits that the decrease of participants throughout the year might be caused by him and the other coaches not exactly doing what they are supposed to do. Some argue that – even including themselves – the coaches wouldn't always come in time to the field or wouldn't show up at all. The criticism is agreed to by a few participants, who feel discouraged that the leaders, although meant to be role-models, behave opposite to what they teach. Coming late or skipping sessions as well as using vulgar language are two points mentioned as examples, as well as unfair referees and a chaotic registration system. However, the majority of participants do not perceive the coaches being late as bad. It is often themselves not coming to the programme in time, delaying activities. Several disciplinary measures are taken to make people come punctually (such as refusing entrance), however, this is hard to push through by the local project coordinators.

### No agency & Misunderstanding of NGO performance

According to the programme coordinators and one programme manager, there is a sense of being dragged down by South African society common among the coaches and participants. Due to this, many of them do not believe that they themselves can cause a change in their own lives – leading many to not take agency. Many have the perception that Amandla has to do something for them, and that a NGO by

foreigners has to fix their problems. While they face a poor resource environment, one project manager points out that the coaches do not see the value in the opportunities they get, or at least do not use them to take further agency. Especially the coaches raise the claim that it is the organization's task to organize their lives. The attitude that the organization is responsible for an improvement of their lives becomes evident in the personal development sessions taking place individually between coach and programme coordinator.

*It's like they want a change but are not willing to work towards it. Together we develop a step-by-step plan with goals for the week, and the next week they come saying they couldn't do it because of this or that. They want us to give them the meal ready to eat, but are not willing to assist in buying ingredients and cooking. Changing this attitude is hard work and is related to many disappointments. (Programme coordinator)*

For example, one leader missed his plane to an international workshop because he forgot to take his passport. Instead of feeling sorry for causing circumstances (the flight had to be rebooked), he accused the organization of not sending him a reminder shortly before he took off.

### Difficulty of balancing donors' and staff's demands

With Amandla being a non-government and non-profit organization, its running depends on funders. One of the main funders, who, amongst other things, built the field, is an American foundation. The working relationship is quite close and the U.S. foundation sends interns to Cape Town to work in the project for a year. This fact is pointed out critically by a few local staff members, who feel that having people on the field coming from privileged and other cultural backgrounds complicates things further. Also, locals start to rely on them and build close relations, with the interns going away after a year leaving the locals behind.

Not only interns, but also visiting donors and exchange students come and visit the field, which – according to some participants and coaches – increases their feeling of being stereotyped as 'poor Blacks' and thus patronized by 'rich Whites'. On the other hand, foreign visitors were highly appreciated and celebrated by staff



members and participants, and seen as a welcomed change and opportunity to meet new people. Thus, the field would usually be crowded with spectators. Apart from the visits by donors to see the programme and have a say in day-to-day business, they also want to see results that prove the effect of the intervention.

Also with regard to visits, comments are often made about an increase in work load, as the additional programme conducted with visitors makes the field staff work many extra hours. The normal programming also gets interrupted in order to satisfy funders and other visitors. Two project managers explain that although they understand that it's hard to balance needs of funders, staff and programme beneficiaries, they feel that participants should be the ones being done justice to, as they are the ones the programme is made for. By trying to show the 'sexy success story' of individuals and taking part in extraordinary events with a small number of beneficiaries, the normal activities that include all beneficiaries can't take place. Furthermore, with the funding often being ensured only last minute, proper programme planning (such as recruitment of leaders) is complicated.

Furthermore, nescience or ignorance of visitors about living conditions and social circumstances sometimes even works contrary to the organization's goals. Some of the visitors are giving cash to local project staff members or leaders, which – although intended to do good - often result in jealousy among the colleagues and in few cases fuel alcohol abuse that otherwise would not have been affordable in such an extent. It also intensifies the perception of the 'rich white' giving to the 'poor black' on both sides.

The difficulty of balancing funders', organization's and staff's demands is especially evident in the case of one local Xhosa staff member hitting a female leader. While everyone from the organization agrees on this behaviour is not acceptable and cause for dismissal, representatives of the American partner do not want him to be fired immediately. They have personally supported him throughout recent years, and are worried that kicking him out would personally destroy him, and draw him back to gangsterism and substance abuse. The fact that he is highly respected by certain participants (who were not present at the time of the incident) is taken into consideration and creates concerns that firing him would make some participants

stop coming. Furthermore, the female leader who has been beaten forgave him, and even acknowledges his (apart from this incident) positive role-model function. She also explains that it's not uncommon in her culture to be hit by a man, thus she doesn't want to attach too much importance to the case.

Furthermore, with different cultural backgrounds, mentalities, socio-economic backgrounds, working experiences and positions inherent at Amandla, there are internal quarrels between office and field staff, between foreign and local employees and between men and women. Because of safety issues, internet access, travel costs, and the necessity to work peacefully, management positions (with the majority of them staffed by the ones not living in Khayelitsha) do not work at the field, but in an office in the city bowl. Some decisions by the office staff can't be easily transferred to the field. Although office staff and some project managers from the field try to work together very often and come to solutions, the field staff often insinuated that there are nonetheless misunderstandings or even disagreements. This sometimes creates a wedge between office and field staff, with the field staff feeling neglected and their work being disrespected. Also working time is noted not to be highly valued by the management level, who are said to not exactly know how much time local staff members actually spend on the field. Again, with the funders wanting to have results, they rather keep pushing for things to be done, putting even more pressure on the local staff members. In a few cases this resulted in local staff members being over worked.

### Culture and gender clashes

In Khayelitsha, in many situations women are not seen or treated equally as men. This partly influences the work at Amandla. Two female project coordinators, one isiXhosa and one non-African, describe that they face daily sexual harassment comments by some male beneficiaries and do constantly get involved in power struggles with some men, who do not want to be issued instructions by higher-positioned women.

For one of them this is further intensified as she is not isiXhosa but from abroad and thus faces an inner struggle of defining what is culturally-acceptable, and what is wrong behaviour and need to be worked against.

*The reason that this job is so exhausting all the time is because it's a constant measurement to how far do I bend to culture and how much do I not; and where can I trust or where am I just being taken advantage of. (Programme coordinator)*

In line with this she reports that she constantly has to develop new strategies of how to frame things, so that the beneficiaries do not simply dismiss it as Western culture and her talking from a rich white perspective that has nothing to do with themselves.

### **5.3.2. MOD F & S**

Unlike Amandla, the MOD centers are government projects and thus funded by the state. Nonetheless, socio-economic circumstances and the poor living conditions in Khayelitsha also strongly influence the modes of action of the project and thus on the impact it can have on development. Likewise, structural characteristics of government projects are evident, influencing the MOD centers' running. Due to the similarities apparent in the statements and observations in both MOD centers, the main influential factors that encroach on the operation are presented together. For distinctions, conspicuous features and direct quotations it will be referred to the particular MOD center.

#### Programme cancellation & interruptions

The infrastructural, political and socio-economic circumstances in Khayelitsha also impact on the programme and its participants. Sometimes the programme had to be stopped because of over flooding, coaches not showing up, teachers striking, service delivery strikes paralyzing public transportation, unannounced school closings, turf wars, violence restricting the normal programme delivery. Also certain

family responsibilities such as fetching siblings from crèche or cooking food influence the effectiveness of the programme, as students have difficulties in coming to the project and fulfilling their duties at home.

### Violence at the programme / safety not guaranteed

Not only in the community or at home, but also on school ground participants are faced with violence by principals and coaches alike. Despite their loving relationship to their participants, the coaches spank them as disciplinary measures, as do the teachers and headmasters.

*The biggest challenge in the community is the drug and alcohol abuse young people rob people so that they can be able to buy alcohol and drugs. Some kids even here at school do smoke and do not listen to their teachers. The principal beats them, but still they don't want to listen, some come to the programme, but they don't last long because they don't want to listen even to the coaches and sometimes even bully other players, so they get kicked out of the programme. For such people I don't think there will ever be a change, because they don't want to listen to their parents at home so I don't think they can listen to a stranger. (R2, MOD S)*

Strikingly, a lack of safety is pointed out by one coach who fears the violence from outside.

*So it is bad in that manner at the same time that the kids in this area they are not safe, the equipment, so you have to work under the pressure. You know if you see a lot outside the fence, you know that this might not go well as you intended it to go. [...] Even in here it is not safe. If they want to come there is nothing that is going to stop them. There is no security as you can see. Even in the neighbourhood there is nothing. If they come maybe closer to the point that they tell themselves, we must go in and take the equipment they can come. There is nothing to stop them. (H, MOD F)*

Furthermore, while bullying and disrespect against gay people is officially not tolerated, it is apparent at MOD S.

Criminal incidents on the field / Lack of access to equipment and sport facilities

A lack of equipment can be observed at both centers. Apart from normal wear-and-tear, this is often due to theft either by internal people with a key to the storage room, by regular break-ins at night or by vandalism from learners. Although DCAS is responsible for its replacement (with the school helping out if there is no money), this either takes time or doesn't happen at all. According to coaches at MOD S, in one case this led to months of missing certain rackets and balls, which consequently inhibited teaching certain codes. Furthermore, proper grounds are missing; the fields are uneven, often covered with rubbish and with many potholes. This fact causes annoyance with the management level among participants and coaches likewise, that have promised to renovate the fields at both schools.

*Things that come to my mind when I think of the after school programme is that we don't have balls, we don't have field, and we don't have net poles. We currently using basketball grounds to play and we also use basketball ball. We were told that the court will be made during school holidays, but we came back and the courts were still not made. Like if we have both netball and basketball games we have to share the time. Also this affects our fitness, and sometimes we get invitations from other school, but we get told that we cannot go play, because we not ready because we did not practice enough. Or sometimes other schools cannot come and play here at school, because we don't have resources. It would be nice to have proper grounds, because we have been waiting for ever now. (MOD F, F)*

According to the coaches at both schools, this has further implications for the participants' athletic performance, as they can't organize competitions at their schools and thus students are only involved in training but not in tournaments.

Disagreements between DCAS management level and field staff

The coaches show dissatisfaction with regard to their professional training. According to coaches at MOD S, on the one hand they learn codes they can't teach due to missing equipment – and on the other hand, they are supposed to teach codes they are hardly familiar with. There was also a general inequality perceived with regard to other schools, as coaches do not get the same workshops opportunities. According to one programme manager, this problem occurs because

of the high turnover among coaches, who start workshops in different times, making it hard to offer different level courses in a row.

On some days, coaches from other MOD centers in Site C are hanging around at MOD S, although they are supposed to be working at that time. They say they are bored, have no motivation to go to their schools and even make fun about one of them teaching a code that he doesn't know himself – thus questioning the effectiveness of their work.

Further critical comments throughout the time of data collection are mentioned by coaches at MOD F. According to them, DCAS does not act professionally, gives them last minute tasks and favours certain coaches. The critique goes further, casting some of the DCAS staff members as racists who use their power against the ground staff.

*The biggest challenge, now, to be honest is when I sit and look at the programme I don't see any success in this programme of MOD center. You know it's like if you are here at the ground level, you don't have hope that maybe in three years to come, where are you gonna be. It is like something that especially to us as the blacks, there are a lot of racists in the programme, because a lot of things happened if you say something that they talk a lot of thing that they try to trap you in what you said, now it's like that. A lot of racists. The relation between the ones who have the power to kick me out and the coaches it's not good. I can say even that the trainings that we get is not, actually, highly rated good for us. Because when we can just go to other provinces or to the same codes that you are doing, but when you look at the coaches from other provinces, you will see that you are still immature coach. You are not in the same level with those coaches, you don't have the qualification. (MOD F, G)*

One of the coaches also criticizes DCAS for employing coaches who are good in their code, but not necessarily in dealing with kids – thus not being qualified for the implementation of the programme and working towards the goals.

The lack of collaboration and communication between management and coaches is very visible in one incident. One coach of MOD S is hysterical, as she has just gotten a phone call that MOD S is going to be stopped and thus worries about the whereabouts of the children. No reasons are given by DCAS; the only information she gets is that she would be relocated to another school. Being in this unstable position for a few weeks without getting further information, the decision to close

that particular MOD center is taken back. Requesting information from the management level why the center was meant to be closed in the first place, one representative admits to the author that DCAS is facing discrepancies in the management division and thus often ad-hoc decisions are made to be revoked later. A further deficit that influences the working atmosphere is the contract situation the coaches face. Although the coaches in both centers are happy to have a job and earn money, they struggle with the short-term agreements (mostly one year) and the random relocation of coaches to other schools. It is also for this reason that some of the coaches are not available in the second round of data collection (see also chapter 5.4).

Furthermore, one coach at the MOD center E explains that she wants to study further, but doesn't feel encouraged by the project managers to do so, as they want to keep her in her current position.

### Poor work attitudes on all levels

Responsible people from the management level at DCAS come irregularly and rarely to supervise the programme and coaches.5.4 As result, DCAS has few insights on what is happening on the ground and the responsible implementation of the project depends on the school and working habits of coaches.

While at MOD S coaches are almost always present, MOD F coaches' attendance heavily fluctuates. In many cases few or none of the coaches are available nor do they always come in time. For example, one female coach tells the participants that often she can't make it to the programme because she has a small baby at home, however this isn't true. In those cases, students would get the equipment themselves and start playing informally – which often results in discussions among them.

Especially in unsupervised coaching time, which happens often due to the limited number of coaches at the school, participants are observed to get into fights with each other about picking players and rules of the game in both centers. Also, if

coaches are available, training only lasts like 30 minutes. Almost all participants express this as a limitation at MOD F.

*I think if the coach was coming every day we would get proper guidance and we would know more than now, like it would be nice if she was coming everyday so we can have more practice and also learn other stuff like respect. Sometimes you'd find that we go for a match not ready and we would lose the match because we did not get enough practice or guidance. (Q, MOD F)*

*So if we had a coach that comes all the time, she would teach us to play in mix and that would help us in life to accept the weakness of others and to embrace them, instead of separating them. But other kids don't see a point, because they just want to win the game and I cannot tell them that, because they won't listen to me whereas if we had someone older they would. (L, MOD F)*

### Lack of programme management and interest from Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport

Factions who are not interested in the evaluation process are also evident at the management level of DCAS. Despite showing initial interest in learning about the MOD centers input, several appointments with people from the management level are cancelled without notice or with very little warning. One stakeholder reports:

*I think the big challenge in their set-up is the managing of the programme, the management is very weak, and they have to really manage the delivery, which is weak, and I think the delivery on what they do on the ground is weak as well. Systematically. That's the classic government challenge around that are trying to achieve too much and not achieving much at all. [...] They don't value research; they are scared of sharing, scared of exposing themselves.*

### Dispute between Department of Education and Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport

Although the projects are implemented at school, the MOD centers are not run by the Department of Education but by the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (see chapter 3). The Department of Education is responsible for the facilities, while DCAS is responsible for the equipment. One stakeholder explains that whereas in



some schools the coaches even overtake P.E. lessons when asked for by the head teacher, the Department of Education doesn't like it as it takes place within school hours and they do not see the value of any physical activity. This is reflected in the low quality of sport facilities.

Furthermore, nobody at school is officially responsible for the project and the concession of headmaster and other school staff is voluntarily. Thus the relationship between the headmaster and the coaches differs from MOD center to MOD center. At the MOD center E coaches emphasize the good collaboration between them and the headmaster, who supports them and is interested in a successful running of the programme at the school. This is also supported by the headmaster showing interest in the study. However, the coaches are frustrated that there isn't any teamwork with the teachers, although they have tried to initiate such in order to learn about the participants outside of the programme. At MOD F, with the project not being the only after-school activity, no one takes further notice of the author of the study.

With the projects being initiated by the government, the head of the project is located in Cape Town City Bowl. The direct programme manager is located in the districts the MOD centers belong to. With regard to DCAS, the coaches at MOD S complain that despite DCAS being the initiators of the programme, it is apparently the Department of Education who provide transport money and registration fees for tournaments between the MOD centers. Thus there is never a budget to go, which decreases students' and coaches' motivation. At MOD F, the chess coach especially feels that the school is the one providing this financial support.

### **5.3.3. Girls and Football South Africa**

Girls and Football South Africa is a non-government organization that does not implement programmes in Khayelitsha itself, but still targets girls who are from the township. It is located in a neighbourhood with less socio-economic challenges, and also the school itself is not in such a bad condition as the former homeland schools

where the MOD centers are located in. With the sport-in-development project still being in its beginnings, in the following it is explained how the contextual circumstances and the nature of the project - namely being a foreign NGO - influence the establishment of such a programme.

### Lack of support by teachers and parents

While the activities offered by GFSA are supporting by the head teacher, many others do not promote girls' participation in the programme. Often teachers do not inform the girls about the activities, such as handing letter to the kids. Also some of the parents, although they have signed an agreement for the girls to take part, do not really approve of the activities, and many girls report that their parents aren't happy about them playing soccer. The facilitators report that few were even beaten up for doing so, as soccer for girls is controversial in South Africa.

### Programme cancellation and interruption

Furthermore, due to the missing support by teachers, interruptions by school holidays, unannounced school closings, students visiting Eastern Cape and lots of homework the programme can't take place regularly and does not happen with the same girls. Usually after exams some girls wouldn't come to school to save transport money, despite the school being still ongoing. Due to a change in programme coordination and despite the programme having been shortly implemented before the first round of data collection, the programme stopped in-between for a few months. Nonetheless, girls would come back every other Friday in order to have something to do. While there have been other extramural sport activities in the years before, those stopped for unknown reasons, leaving the girls with nothing to do on some afternoons.

### Lack of proper facilities and clothing

Further interruptions take place within the ongoing programme, as the activities take place at a nearby public playground with tarred ground and some play items. Thus it is used by many others at the same time as the activities take place. With soccer often being labelled as sport for lesbians only and is hardly played by girls, spectators often gather around the fence to see the girls play. The small facility and viewers interrupt the programme activities often, and girls are distracted by other children at the playground. Furthermore, some of them come late, show no real interest in what's going on and often suddenly leave the field to get their transport home, shortening the programme time.

Also, due to the poor living conditions that the girls face, most of them do not have proper shoes to play soccer and they show up in their school uniform. While the latter does not necessarily influence their performance, wearing sandals or loose shoes does. It was originally meant to be a criterion for exclusion, but not enough girls would have been there to play. The coaches do often not show up in proper equipment, although they are the ones telling the girls to wear proper clothing.

### Low work quality & poor work attitude

The coaches often show up late, are not motivated and very moody. While this is not pointed out by the participants who highly value the coaches, it often delays the programme further. In a few occasions, the coaches cancel at the last minute or cancel without prior notice. Because of them working as volunteers and due to the lack of money the small NGO has, the project coordinator explains that there is nothing she can do to force them to come and likewise she can't afford professional coaches.

### Dependency on funders

In line with the low budget to pay the coaches, the project managers point out the difficulty for them as a non-government organization to rely on funders. While they

get funding to implement the programme, by buying some equipment and partly paying the project coordinators, funding is not sufficient to pay proper income. In addition, one of them points out the funder wants to see results, while in reality implementing a programme in a foreign country should be seen as a learning process. With regard to GFSA she points out that once they have figured out how it works, funding is already finished. Alike, there is the problem that to get funders, the programme activities must already be in place, whereas to put those in place funding is already needed. Another discrepancy with giving feedback to donors or stakeholders is pointed out to be invitations to other events. Those usually have to be accepted, while the same time and effort could be used to work on the sustainability of the programme. Because of a lack of money and support from home available among the beneficiaries, the project coordinators have arranged transport, food and equipment themselves for events such as tournaments; something that is said to be almost hard to realize with the limited financial and staff capacities.

### Culture clash

One of the programme managers points out that for her, being from a foreign country, it is hard to decide on how much to intervene in what might be a cultural feature. For her, being in time is of utmost importance in order to push the project, whereas she experienced that urging the coaches and participants to be in time doesn't help either. She also exposes the problem of foreign NGOs. According to her and supported by observations, at GFSA, the girls do not look up to her in the way they do to their coaches, who are from the same culture and have probably gone through what the girls deal with, thus being more trustworthy.

## 5.4. Perceived Challenges in Conducting Sport-in-Development Research

The research takes place in an area where people face harsh living conditions, socio-economic challenges, high rates of gangsterism and violence, alcohol- and substance abuse and a lack of facilities and opportunities as well as a lack of role-models. While the sport-in-development projects in focus try to work against this, they also face challenges caused by the abovementioned, and are thereby restricted in their operations. Thus, conducting research in the projects in Khayelitsha and with the people living there poses challenges for the researcher and the research process. Furthermore, with the researcher not being from that community, certain challenges in interpersonal relationships occur. While some of the general challenges that come with ethnographic fieldwork have been elaborated in chapter 4.2.3, this subchapter specifically refers to the third research question: *'What challenges and barriers are faced by Western scholars conducting research in marginalized populations in the Global South?'* It gives an overview of the concrete experiences and perceived difficulties in the research process and how those are navigated.

### 5.4.1. Value of Research

In this study, the appreciation of research on the management level and on the ground level among field staff, coaches and participants plays a major role in the feasibility of the research process. Apart from the low value of research apparent on some levels of the sport-in-development projects, it is also the partly poor facilities making the research process more difficult.

At Amandla, the management level assigns research a high value. They conduct internal monitoring and evaluation activities themselves to capture the outcomes the programme has on the beneficiaries and thus improve their programme activities. This makes research at Amandla easier, as the researcher doesn't have to collect ethical consent forms to talk to the beneficiaries beforehand. However,

despite the support of the management level, conducting these activities – internally and externally – turns out to be difficult. Despite explanations from the management level, workshops and presentations on the importance of learning about the programme’s impact and the instruction that assisting in those activities is part of their work, most of the coaches do not support the evaluation process thoroughly. Some explain that they don’t see how the extra burden of effort and work connected with the data collection process is worth the outcome of the evaluation. Thus at the day of the data collection, not all show up nor do they do what they are supposed to do – hence negatively influencing the quality of data collected. For the interviews, both participants and coaches are often difficult to get a hold of. Although programme coordinators provide support on the field and remind beneficiaries by phone, many of them would not show up to scheduled dates and have to be tracked down differently, which costs lots of effort and time. While the interviews are scheduled outside of the project hours in order to make them not miss any session, this does not prove to be successful, as especially the young ones don’t want to take the risk of coming to the field alone. Thus, in this study, interviews with participants of the Amandla project are conducted mostly within project time, as it is very hard to get hold of them on other occasions. In t1, the sample is partly predetermined through the position at the field (coaches) and a random mixture of participants. For the latter, the researcher goes towards whoever is available for the interviews whenever she sees the opportunity. In t2, the same participants are chosen to talk to. Due to a lack of private atmosphere, interviews have to be held in the car or in the storage room – and are often interrupted by curious students from the neighbouring school or other participants. However, despite not being keen for the interview in the first place and despite unfortunate conditions of the data collection location, once the interviewer sits down with them, the beneficiaries are happy to share their story. This also applies to the coaches.

At the MOD centers the management level does not value research, which complicates the research process. While the Department of Cultural Affairs and

Sport (DCAS) shows initial interest and wants the study to be conducted, they do not transfer this to the field staff. This results in the researcher showing up at school without the head teacher or coaches knowing about it. Nonetheless entry to school property is granted easily. Also with regard to the story selection process or the results, only one manager from DCAS shows up, with the others cancelling without notice or at the last minute. For the interviews with the participants at MOD S, coaches are extremely helpful and interested in the study's results. Coaches at MOD F are not pleased at all about the extra burden, such as looking for participants to take part in the interviews. Also, at that MOD center, coaches don't show up regularly, miss training sessions and thus – despite reminders and promises – don't keep appointments with the researcher. As DCAS has given its consent for the study - but isn't the official generator for it - some of the coaches do openly show their displeasure about the author of the study being interested in their programme. Also, as much as the researcher explains her interest, it takes lots of effort to establish trust and convince two of the coaches at MOD F that the researcher is not sent to control coaches' attendance. The displeasure about taking part in the research among the coaches is also visible in the story selection process. Whereas at both MOD centers coaches do not read the stories of the participants beforehand, at MOD S in t1 and t2 leaders are willing to have an extra session on them. At MOD F, in t1 half of the coaches do not show up and the ones available don't want to read or discuss them. In t2, no time or day to discuss the stories is agreed to by the coaches. Getting consent to talk to the students takes time, as it often happens that children do not return the consent letters as they do either forget it or say caregivers aren't interested in what they are doing anyway. In those cases, the researcher tries to get hold of the caregivers to explain what the study is about. At MOD S the coaches help in reminding the students, whereas at MOD F the coaches don't see the bureaucratic necessity of such letters and thus don't support in getting them back. However, once the one-on-one interview sessions take place, both participants and coaches are often talkative and happy to share their opinion.

At the MOD centers, interviews only take place after school hours, but within project hours. Again, with teachers and coaches working for different government departments, the school staff is not necessarily supportive of the interviews and often doesn't allow using an empty classroom. In those rare cases in which the researcher could use one, private space isn't guaranteed, as broken windows cause noise, curious children stare through them or staff enters the room and disturbs the interview. Therefore, in many cases, interviews take place in the car.

At Girls and Football South Africa the manager values research and the programme coordinator supports as much as she can in both t1 and t2. However, getting consent forms from the girls takes time, as they seldom return the letters and have to be reminded several times. In those cases, the researcher tries to get hold of the caregivers to explain what the study is about. With the girls not living close by, often coming late and/or leaving early, they are only available at short period within programme time, thus assessing them in programme time causes irritation among the girls. The two coaches do not approve the extra time they are asked for in order to be interviewed and are thus asked to write down their stories instead. Despite initial agreement that they would like to do that, only one hands in her story. It is also only in t1 that they agree to take part in the story selection process – and only in programme time. For that particular session, a German volunteer coaches the girls instead.

Also for the GFSA project interviews take place within project time and in the car, as the playing field is public space and noisy all the time. Furthermore, a white person interviewing someone causes restlessness and interruptions by children who do not belong to the project. Talking to the girls outside of project hours is difficult, as they are either at school or hurry home. While the researcher tries to schedule interviews at homes, this is rarely approved by the parents, as they don't want a stranger at home with them still being at work nor do they want the interview to take place in the evening or at the weekend.



#### 5.4.2. Dependency on Others

As the researcher conducts a study in an area she is not from, her language skills, knowledge about township life and understanding of isiXhosa culture are limited and she depends on help from locals to assist with conducting the research.

The researcher knows some isiXhosa, which is appreciated by the people in the community who warmly welcome her to conversations. However, to assure content quality it is necessary to allow participants and interviewees to express themselves in their mother tongue, thus for the interviews isiXhosa speaking research assistants are needed. Through job advertisements at the University of Western Cape and in the community many apply, but the amount of time and effort restricts most of them not getting involved. The ones agreeing to work (one being a student from University, two having completed their final secondary-examinations but being unemployed and one without graduation) do not prove to be good research assistants. As the interviews are often conducted with younger children that need empathic people to talk to, the research depends on the intrinsic motivation of the research assistant. Also a lack of English language skills and, despite training, in interview skills lessens the content quality of the interviews. Furthermore, with the research assistants having no computer, the researcher has to plan additional time for supervising their transcriptions with her own computer. Again though, due to low language skills, the transcriptions suffer. Summarizing, although many in Khayelitsha's community are bored and ask the researcher for work in the first place, after a few hours of working none of them proves to be reliable and willing to stick to certain working hours.

In the second phase of data collection, the researcher manages to employ one woman, who – after studying at UWC – has just moved back to Khayelitsha. Thus she perfectly knows about cultural norms and issues, while not being too much aligned with the people of interest yet. The researcher trains her in the necessary data collection tools, and while the researcher is always present, the research assistant conducts the interviews with the ones that aren't fluent in English or asks

additional questions. As the researcher understands more than she can say, this leads to interruptions or asking additional questions at the end when necessary. With the research assistant being fluent in both languages, having computer skills and knowing particular cultural circumstances, the translations reflect local realities. Furthermore, she has volunteered at Amandla a few times before and is thus familiar with the general structures of sport-in-development projects.

Furthermore, having a local research assistant is necessary in order to get around and schedule appointments. While the researcher knows how to get to the projects, in order to meet significant others at home someone knowing the area and logistical system is needed. In most cases streets do not have names or people live in shags in the outback, thus those places are not visible nor accessible when not familiar with Khayelitsha and the language. In order to schedule appointments and get hold of people via phone a native is needed, as the significant others, with the researcher speaking English, would often drop the call thinking it's someone collecting debts. On the contrary, as much as it is difficult to schedule appointments and finally make people commit, it is on the other hand easy to get hold of people spontaneously. Especially on Sundays, people have nothing to do and hang out on the streets, happy to share their stories. In those cases, driving or walking around as a white researcher and thus being an extraordinary appearance in the townships (that in other cases is a restriction for the research process) helps to get attraction and thereby people to talk to. Despite scheduled appointments, people often do not show up or are not at home, thus planning capability is limited and the research process is very effort and time-consuming.

Additionally, while working in Khayelitsha, the researcher faces the same challenges and potential risks than the community members. As being white identifies her easily as a stranger, the risk might even be higher. Thus the researcher can't walk around freely to conduct research but has to understand and take seriously the restrictions that come with those circumstances, such as driving around with doors locked, always being cautious about the surroundings and not taking valuables with her. In this study, by knowing locals who work in the programme and by driving

around mainly with the research assistant, the researcher is given advice on how to behave and where to go, in order to avoid risk engagement. However, as many of Khayelitsha's residents are scared of robbers or gang fights themselves, this does not always help to take off the tension. As the researcher generally isn't scared to talk to people or to walk around this makes many people open up to her, as they are usually ignored or avoided by people from other cultures – or at least not seen as on a level playing field. Additionally, the author of this study is not only spending time in Khayelitsha in the projects, but also at the weekends or after project's hours for fun activities with her newly made friends. This allows her to become part of their community and she adopts their behaviour of dealing with potential risks.

### **5.4.3. Positioning of the Researcher**

Due to the ethnographic approach, the author of this study builds friendships with some of the researched. As much as the close relationships to the researched helps to understand and learn, it is often hard to keep the necessary distance and objectivity. Thus, while spending a total of a year in the township, the author of this study sleeps in Cape Town city bowl. Apart from safety reasons, this allowed the researcher to distance herself for a few hours from the scene and to reflect on things as well as making field notes in a quiet setting. It also allowed sharing insights with other colleagues. However, due to the often existential problems the people in focus deal with, the researcher gets involved emotionally and worries. Especially with the younger children, sensitive topics come up in almost every interview. It happens a few times that children burst out in tears, due to violence, alcohol abuse or rape at home and fear of gangsterism. The research assistant reacts accordingly, and asks for permission to share with their close persons. As these are often the coaches, who are also known by the researcher and assistant, they would talk to them and discuss support strategies. While those serious conversations are causing stress on the one hand, on the other hand they are often seen as a release by the participants, as hardly anyone has been interested in their personal well-being

before. Furthermore, also significant others of all ages are very emotionally involved in the conversations, as topics range from death and murder to unemployment and corruption to existential fears. Again, it proves more than helpful to have a local research assistant, as the interviewees can talk to someone who has a similar background or sometimes even similar experiences, and is therefore someone who they can easily open up to. In one occasion the researcher is called by a coach who is about to commit suicide, thus objectivity and staying distant is not possible. Leaving the field and the people the author of the study has spent so much time with leads to mixed feelings, ranging from relief, anticipation, sadness and feelings of guilt.

Establishing trust and relationships with the ones in focus and spending a lot of time in the foreign community also leads to cultural clashes and/or clashes of different opinions. Keeping the observer position without interfering and presenting one's own opinion is thus often challenging. With the older individuals, attitudes and actions are often displayed that aren't along the researcher's moral understanding and are often upsetting for her. Themes on such as cheating, being violent, being involved in gangsterism and mistreating women come up often. The researcher withholds her opinion and tries to react objectively, in order to learn about reasons and explanation patterns for such behaviour. However, when relationships, especially with the key informants, become closer, discussions often turn to a personal level, and the researcher is explicitly asked for her attitude or values. These open discussions allow others to be open and honest themselves and to freely share their opinions.

Furthermore, within the context of this study, sexual harassment such as staring, wedding proposals, sexual assaults and unwelcome touching is experienced with men; thus the author feels more comfortable talking to women. Also the research assistant, who is a female living in Khayelitsha, experiences the same. However, this is not due to her working for the researcher - a white person - but rather due to the common way many men treat women in isiXhosa culture. The difference in gender

does not occur to children though. In general, having a native research assistant greatly helps to gain insights that would have probably been hidden otherwise.

As much as the author of this study gets information on do's and don'ts in township life, she isn't fully prepared for the staring gazes that occur as white people are hardly found there. Continuously, the author of this study is asked for goods and a ride. Denying those requests, while being aware of the intergenerational poverty in Khayelitsha on the one hand, and the socio-economic powerful position of the researcher on the other hand, is often challenging and frustrating. It also happens a few times that the researcher is approached by interviewees or their relatives or neighbours to ask for a job or money – as they associate the white person to wealth and employment. In other comments or situations, it becomes clear that the researcher is expected to have money, provide food, give lifts and pay for everything. Some children for example ask for money, with that sentence being one of the few they know in English. When explaining that she is still a student and not in a position to give jobs, incomprehension or disbelief was the reaction showed to her. Those examples point to the sometimes subliminal or sometimes even openly discussed power structures in the society, and more concretely, between the researcher and the researched.

On the other hand, being white sometimes helps to conduct the research and gain access to people's lives, although again inherent power relations often underlie those occasions. A few times the significant others explicitly say they feel honoured to have a white person in their place. On other occasions, the interviewees give food gifts to the author of this study and her research assistant. However, knowing that she is from abroad, the researcher is perceived differently than white South Africans by many of the people in focus. Funny comments on white South Africans, but also on Western culture in general, are made quite often in front of her. While this on the one hand might show that the people the researcher spends time with see her as one of them, on the other hand it shows the reverse racism that also stereotypes the researcher who is white. While the researcher's task, especially at the beginning, is to establish rapport, it is hard to meet the fine line between being

exploited for the sake of the research and between being accepted as just a 'normal being' – on both the sides of the researcher and the researched.

## 6. Discussion and Interpretation of Results

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In this chapter, the results of the empirical study are critically discussed and interpreted with regard to individual, programme-related and contextual drivers that determine the outcomes and impact of the sport-in-development projects in focus. Special attention is thereby drawn to the role of sport and the meanings of the results with regard to the development discourse. Subsequently, the challenges for research and the researcher when conducting a study in foreign marginalized communities are critically elaborated on. Embedding the results in existing literature, this chapter helps to relate the reality on the ground to the present body of knowledge and the theoretical framework presented beforehand.

### 6.1. Opportunities and Limitations of Sport-in-Development Programmes

The study reveals that the majority of participants and coaches benefit from the sport-in-development projects, as those offer opportunities that are otherwise hardly available – and thereby increase beneficiaries' well-being, at least during the time the beneficiaries are involved in the project. This positive change is not only found in beneficiaries, but also in the majority of their significant others. Findings furthermore indicate that when sport-in-development programmes are well-designed and consider a range of enabling factors, programmes can partly influence skill development and behaviour change. Sport itself thereby plays a rather subordinate role. However, being able to provide those conditions and cause short- and medium-term or even long-term changes is connected to many challenges, including the infrastructural, political and socio-economic circumstances in Khayelitsha that affect the community and likewise the performance of the programme, the capacity to transfer learnt skills and behaviour into real-life situations, as well as the specific situation of the individual. Therefore, any wider

impact on other levels than the individual one is the exception and is subject to the individual's unique biography, contextual circumstances, and structural inequalities.

### **6.1.1. Outcomes: Strong Discrepancies in Well-Being, Skill Development & Behaviour Change**

Coalter & Taylor (2010) state that any programme always has some success, even if it's only the existence of the programme in someone's life. This is also true in this study, in which the increase in well-being among beneficiaries is in most cases related to the availability of a fun pastime in a safe environment. With many beneficiaries experiencing boredom and having nothing to do (due to a lack of free time opportunities in the township) in their everyday lives, they perceive engaging in Amandla and the MOD centers as a meaningful and joyful activity that counteracts their otherwise boring (and sometimes criminal) pastime in the streets. This is in line with results from Morris et al. (2004) who found out that boredom, being linked to depression, homelessness, loneliness and distractibility, is an important risk factor for anti-social behaviour. With the beneficiaries often worrying about private issues, the enjoyable way of spending time offers an opportunity to forget about the challenges – and thus temporarily releases them. Furthermore, the majority of beneficiaries perceive the programme sites as emotionally and physically safe environments. This contrasts their everyday experiences, which are characterised by fear of gangsterism and violence, bullying and missing playgrounds. The increased feeling of safety and the related improvement of well-being also spread to significant others, who – temporarily – do not have to worry about their friend's or child's whereabouts. Although an *enhanced well-being* as the main outcome sounds rather mundane, it shouldn't be underestimated, as other studies provide evidence that feelings of well-being are found to be related to other psychological and physiological benefits (e.g. De Neve et al., 2013; Lyubomirsky, King & Diener, 2005; Diener, 2012). While these relations were not explicitly tested for in this study (and acknowledging that the other studies were conducted in



places with very different characteristics), similar results - when well-being is enduring and not only short-term - could be possible.

It needs to be critically pointed out though – and this is often not mentioned when talking about a general and overarching ‘sport-in-development’ effect - that the extent and intensity of well-being strongly varies with the availability of the programme site, the frequency of the programme taking place and the accessibility of the space outside of programme hours as well as certain norms lived and accepted within the programme.

The programmes that run in Khayelitsha (Amandla and the MOD centers) sometimes have to be cancelled because of external and non-preventable occurrences, such as violent service delivery strikes or gang fights that make it impossible for the staff and beneficiaries to get to the programme site, power-cuts, or break-ins – with the latter possibly being conducted by associates of the organizations themselves. Other incidents that also lead to programme constraints and cancellation are caused by issues related to the organization, such as coaches not showing up, not having enough equipment or no proper space to be physically active. Furthermore, the programmes’ structure and design determine the availability of the programme and thus the perceived well-being of the beneficiaries. While the coaches of Amandla spend almost every day at the programme site, the participants have guided sessions only once or twice a week. Nonetheless, they can also come on other days to hang around. With Amandla being located in the middle of Site B and thus being visible and accessible to the surrounding community, the beneficiaries can use the safe hub very often. It is therefore not surprising that almost all of Amandla’s participants and coaches have a strong sense of belonging with the organization as well as a subjectively perceived improvement of life quality through the offers available in the programme. On the contrary, while the MOD centers operate almost every day on the school properties, the space is not accessible in school holidays nor is it open and supervised apart from the official working hours during the week – thus being less available for the students. Also, GFSA, because it is located rather far away from the

beneficiaries' homes, only temporarily provides a safe place. Furthermore, the programme only takes place once every other week and is interrupted frequently by others joining the public playground, and thus, the girls do not get an intense sense of safety, nor do they feel strongly connected to the organization.

Participants and coaches experience different drivers of well-being through their engagement in the projects, such as material gain (getting freebies, winning trophies, receiving food, having sport equipment or earning money) and social gain (others being proud about beneficiaries' sports performance, gaining reputation beyond programme circles when being associated with the programme or a certain role inherent to it). Mostly, these are opportunities that are otherwise hard to obtain in the environment of Khayelitsha. Especially being employed, earning a stipend (Amandla and MOD centers) and having the chance for further qualification (only at Amandla) are perceived as positive opportunities. Through the ethnographic approach used in this study, it turned out that seemingly positive results are not necessarily in line with what the programmes were established for. While the intended goal of discharging the financial pressure in the coaches' households does occur in many cases, in some cases the money is not spent accordingly, but is rather directly spent on payday, e.g. on status icons and alcohol. Whereas this still adds – temporarily – to subjective well-being, this finding counteracts the common presumption that income opportunities are directly linked to an overall reduction of poverty (e.g. World Bank, 2012) and do not consider that the earned money – due to a range of reasons– is not necessarily invested in long-term gains.

Despite the overall improvement of well-being, some beneficiaries critically point to negative experiences that they associate with their engagement in the projects. In previous studies, negative associations were often not targeted and thus not collected nor published. In the case of the projects in focus, the negative feelings of beneficiaries mostly relate to disputes and misunderstandings between management and field staff, disagreements between different parties about responsibilities and to expectations of participants and coaches that are not met by

programme involvement. The latter is sometimes even contra-productively reinforced by donors and visitors, who maintain these high expectations and underpin current hierarchies, as well as by the structures that both non-government and government programmes are embedded in. Although the organizations intend to work against the inequality apparent in South Africa and aim to empower the marginalized, their own structures, top-down processes and communication procedures sometimes rather add to it. Especially for the MOD centers that are run by a government department, the question remains whether they are aware of this and are comfortable with this status quo – as raised in critical theory (Sparkes, 1992; MacDonald, 2002) and post-colonial as well as post-development approaches (Escobar, 1995; McGregor, 2009; Rooney, 2012). The occurring feelings of frustration and anger among beneficiaries and exhaustion of coaches negatively impact on the level of engagement and can contribute to drop-outs. Other reasons for drop-outs are caused by external circumstances, such as that beneficiaries can't take part anymore because of family responsibilities or that they are not allowed to go back home on their own and thus have to stop coming. Strikingly, in most of the cases, the negative experiences within the programmes do not stop the beneficiaries from participating. With the participation being not compulsive but by choice, two reasons are possible for the beneficiaries' ongoing engagement. It seems that a) positively associated experiences outweigh the negative ones and still cause an improvement in well-being or b) there is no alternative to reach the desired benefits. As such, while the differences of offers do obviously relate to the programme design and structure, the extent on how much a project influences subjective well-being depends on the significance the offer has for the beneficiaries, that is how much value it has for them. As long as offers are perceived as desirable opportunities and as leading to well-being, orientation towards other parties that offer the way to well-being is very unlikely (Theron & Malindi, 2010; Ward, 2007a/b; Catalano & Hawkins, 1996). It is in this vein that sport-in-development projects are for example understood to contribute to less gangsterism or violence, as beneficiaries are kept busy for a certain amount of time. Such an assumption however is based on a deficit model (Coalter & Taylor, 2010;

Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008) and implies that participants and coaches would be acting anti-socially whenever not in the programme – an expectation that doesn't prove right for the sample in focus, with many of them having been well-behaved anyway. However, in order to assure regular attendance and keeping them in the programme, the findings point to the necessity of strongly basing the programme structure, activities and offers on beneficiaries' needs. Such a call supports other development authors, who emphasize that programmes have to match beneficiaries' needs and their local realities (Mintzberg, 2006; Elliott, 2008; Millard, 2014).

Although an enhanced well-being through engagement is already a positive result on its own - and psychosocial well-being has recently received more attention as benefit of physical activity by sport-in-development scholars and practitioners (e.g. International Federation of Red Cross & PC Centre, 2014; Hanrahan & de Lourdes Francke Ramm, 2015), the majority in the sport-in-development community postulates that participation in sport-in-development projects automatically causes much more than this. Most often, in line with logical frameworks or narrow understandings of the theory of change, many sport-in-development officials present individual and social change as linear cause-effect-relationship and state that a) by taking part in the project beneficiaries become well-equipped for any challenge that they come across in their lives through enhancing their skills and that b) by causing behavioural change, a long-lasting change above the level of the project will take place. In this context, it must be critically highlighted that by focusing on the individual as agent of change, "romanticized notions of agency [...] by problematically reducing the politics of development to simply a matter of local action or discourse of 'action' or 'choice'" (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 118) are displayed. Alike, Weiss (1993) dooms such a 'blame the victim' approach.

Looking at the sport-in-development projects in focus and their impact above well-being, some of the beneficiaries do indeed develop skills and/or change their behaviour – with big differences, not only between the projects but also in between beneficiaries in one project. Besides sport skills that are acquired in all three

projects, at Amandla skill development regarding conflict resolution and communication are found to have increased in some beneficiaries as well as growth in leadership skills for the coaches. Participants at MOD S are found to have acquired communication skills and how to handle peer pressure and bullying; also, one coach has improved in communication skills. Participants at the MOD F center have extended their social and concentration skills. For some, academic performance is enhanced through thinking more logically and staying focused and through the advice given by the coaches. The latter is especially related to participation in chess. At GFSA, skill development is mainly restricted to an improvement in soccer skills.

Regarding behaviour change at Amandla, some beneficiaries show an increase in pro-social behaviour, which in most cases improves communication with family and/or friends. With some of the participants and coaches passing on their newly gained knowledge and certain behaviour patterns to others who are not directly involved in Amandla, a disseminator effect takes place. Strikingly, triangulation reveals a contradicting picture, with beneficiaries assigning Amandla to have positively influenced them with regard to behaviour, whereas this is not supported by significant others and programme coordinators. Some are said to have been well-behaved anyway, whereas others seem to lie about the pro-social change in behaviour. Also, most participants of the MOD S center were well-behaved anyway; however, for some participants the programme indeed positively influences their behaviour at school, in the community and at home, leading to better academic performances, better relationships with parents and less engagement in negative activities. Thus, the significant others' lives and community life is impacted on as well. At MOD F, many participants acquire discipline and respect and through showing pro-social behaviour more often and relationships with parents are improved.

While other authors in the field also report on improvements in leadership skills, parents being untroubled by their children's whereabouts (e.g. Belewa, 2005; Brady & Bhanu-Khan, 2002), improved relationships with family and friends (e.g. Whitley, Wright & Gould, 2013; Gilbert & Bennet, 2012) and positive behaviour change (e.g.

Kay, 2009; CABOS, 2006), this study reveals that besides these positive results for many beneficiaries of the projects in focus, no obvious skill development and behaviour change could be revealed and that the behaviour of few even worsened over the course of engagement. Therefore, in the following it is critically looked at what determines the different outcomes.

### **6.1.2. Determinants of Effects**

Looking at the different and partially opposing results in well-being, skill development and behaviour change, the question comes up what determines the different outcomes. While a range of scholars (e.g. Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014; Donnelly et al., 2011; SDP IWG, 2007; Coakley, 2012) state that isolating influential factors of any occurring change is almost impossible, in this study it was possible to carve out a range of programme-related, contextual and individual factors that enhance and inhibit the influence that the projects have.

#### *Relationships and Role-Models in the Programme*

While offering a safe space for a few hours already enhances beneficiaries' and significant others' temporary well-being and short-term feelings of safety, results indicate that it is only by having an emotionally and physically safe place to consistently spend time that the strong relationships necessary for development and behaviour change are established. Emphasized by theories on human development (both bio-ecological and social development model), proximal processes and social bonds are primary mechanisms for such. Only if an individual's interaction takes place on a regular base and over an extended period of time social bonds are created and effective human development becomes possible (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Catalano & Hawkins, 1996). Once again it becomes apparent that the different offers and access opportunities of the sport-in-development projects can be limiting. As such, applying Bronfenbrenner's theory,

the sport-in-development projects, depending on how often they operate, can enhance the chance of becoming a new microsystem in the lives of the beneficiaries (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Bronfenbrenner, 2005) – a system in which adolescents spend much of their time engaging and interacting with others. With Amandla having consistently operated in Site B for many years and Amandla's beneficiaries spending much time on the field, even away from sessions, with people from the organization, many adolescents feel connected to the social unit and thus (at least on the field) adopt the behaviour of that unit. Furthermore, some of the superiors and coaches live in walking distance from the field, which makes them available even outside of the operating hours of the project. At the MOD centers and GFSA, coaches and participants are separated outside of programme hours, thus leading to fewer and less intense periods of contact. In addition, and this applies to all projects, poor work attitudes are displayed, with some coaches and superiors arriving late or not showing up (which seems to be accepted or at least not actively worked against) and thus reducing the chances for consistent interaction.

With many of the beneficiaries growing up in instable relationships, a project that consistently offers people to talk to and who do not let the beneficiaries down allows the beneficiaries to build new – and of utmost importance – strong and reliable social bonds with others. It also creates networks of people to rely on (participants, coaches, superiors, and friends). By developing attachment and commitment to the people or activities within the system, beneficiaries believe in the behaviour that they engage in and in the system unit (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996, p. 163 f.). Depending on how strong proximal processes are with people from the field, how available they are in the time outside the project hours, and how relevant those relationships are frames the extent of the impact. If socializing processes are consistent, adolescents feel connected to the social unit and adopt the behaviour that is accepted by that unit. Whereas the importance of valuable relationships in sport settings is consistently shown in other studies (e.g. Meier, 2013; Weiss et al., 2013; Bailey, 2006; Fry & Gano-Overwey, 2010), whereby age and experience are portrayed as the main drivers of these role-model relationships (van Petitpas, Cornelius & van Raalte, 2008; Sandford, Duncombe & Armour, 2008).

Differently, in the sport-in-development projects in focus, it's not age but rather the same culture and background that lead to valuable relationships. The findings show that in those cases where participants, coaches and superiors are from the same community and background and have gone through the same experiences, social bonding happens more easily and more intensely. At Amandla and the MOD centers, this is for example displayed in the close relationships between participants, coaches and superiors, which sometimes even outweigh the importance caretakers or previous friends have. It is also striking in the selection of significant others, with many at Amandla initially choosing people from the projects.

Being from the same community and having the same background was found to be an essential criterion for being accepted - especially with regard to role-modelling. As such there are strong differences between the programmes in how intensely coaches and/or superiors are pointed out to be role-models — a phenomenon also referred to by Schulenkorf & Sugden (2011) when examining coaches' roles in divided societies. Not only the attribution by others but also the self-perception and self-attribution differed strongly, as well as the quality of being a "good" role-models.

At Amandla, through the experience of working with kids and being perceived as good examples, coaches discover that they have qualities that they didn't know of before and realize their potential to actually leave a positive footprint in someone's life. Having an obligatory curriculum and workshops, Amandla confronts participants with mainly 'good' role-models - at least on the field when being supervised – and thereby enhances the chances of imitating those instead of 'bad' ones outside the field. With many coaches living in the same community, they are also recognized outside of their working hours. In contrast to appreciating the opportunity of being a good example, some coaches do not behave accordingly and display poor work attitudes – thus limiting their good role-model capacity. Similarly, at the MOD S center, coaches do not always act like pro-social role models. In rare occasions, they use beating to discipline the beneficiaries – a behaviour that seems to contradict the common understanding of a 'good' role-model and what the



programme intends to fight against. Interestingly, the beating is not ill-perceived by the students and does not seem to negatively affect the relationship, indicating that violence is perceived as normal and that there are no codes of conduct prohibiting violence in the programme. Also at the MOD F center, contrasting trends occur. While many coaches appreciate being seen as a role-model by the students and are aware of the responsibilities that come with this, they often do not perform accordingly and display poor work attitudes.

The results show that being from the same community, facing the same challenges and being available outside of programme activities makes the coaches authentic and relatable. However, being a role-model all day long when also being faced with a range of personal problems reinforces the burden the role-models carry. This adds to the knowledge base built by other studies in the sport-in-development field that only point out the benefits of role-modelling but do not consider the challenges they might have. In this vein, the partly disturbing experiences the participants share with the coaches have to be pointed out. While at Amandla coaches get some education on social work, the coaches from the other projects lack such training. In any case, coaches can only give limited feedback and input, as often trained professionals such as psychologists would be needed instead. Not being able to adequately address the participants' concerns frequently stresses coaches. Looking on the one hand at the marginalized living conditions and the lack of trustful people that beneficiaries could turn to with their problems, and on the other hand at the high frequency that locals with no qualifications are employed as coaches, it is likely that many workers in development programmes experience the same stress and are overstrained with their tasks.

### *Content and Facilitation of Programme*

Beyond the relationships with trustful people and the availability of good role-models, this study shows that it is furthermore the intentionally-planned learning situations with systematic messages in the programmes that trigger development and behavioural change. The findings emphasize that in order to provoke such,

structured programmes with a systematic focus on skills to be acquired and uniform appearances are necessary, as well as a consistent implementation of the targeted and desired norms and behaviours. Although this finding is not surprising, it is striking that there are huge differences in programme design for beneficiaries as well as in the training of the coaches in the projects in focus, as those do obviously influence the consistency and quality of the programme.

With regard to programme activities, Amandla's participants – depending on their age – can come twice a week for life skill and soccer training and/or for tournaments/leagues as well as to events. Life skill sessions and soccer sessions are intermingled for the younger ones, with rules of conduct being clearly articulated in the beginning. Also, the coaches are introduced to a range of educational programmes. The structured programme for them includes facilitation of the sessions with a curriculum as well as an additional apprenticeship with credited classes. With the supervisors being at the field all the time, the consistency and quality of the facilitation and the contents of the sessions are largely assured.

At the MOD Centers, the coaches' educational background and experiences differ greatly. They get training on several codes but have no curriculum to base the sessions on. With no close monitoring and no curriculum, the quality of the programme fully depends on the coaches' skills, knowledge and motivation. As such, participants are exposed to a wide range of programme design and input when taking part in the MOD center activities, which are irreproducible and complicate a clear distinction between influential factors. Also at the GFSA, a lack of conceptual unity can be found. With the programme being in its beginning and the coaches not having any or much experience in coaching, the programme is often unstructured and poorly facilitated.

Looking at these results, lack of conceptual unity and unskilled coaches are found to be present elsewhere in the sport-in-development sector (e.g. Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011; Coalter & Taylor, 2010). Therefore, it becomes apparent that when sport-in-development projects achieve their desired goals, it is likely a product of random circumstances rather than by explicit design. Any other assumption

misjudges the complexity of change and development processes. These findings support Reis et al. (2015) who summarizes that “a potential instability [that] can severely jeopardize any attempt to consistently achieve ‘development’ goals in a long-term scenario, as the focus can change with (...) any other alteration” (p. 11) within the programme.

### Contextual Circumstances & Difficulties of Transfer

To what extent the projects represented norms and behaviours that are internalised and transferred into real life situations strongly depends on the contextual circumstances of the individuals (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a; Kay, 2011; Coalter, 2013). In line with the theories of human development, the macrosystem, exosystem and mesosystem are influential factors of development as well. The more microsettings in the beneficiaries’ lives outside the projects support norms that allow positive youth development, the more likely this is going to happen. Therefore, beyond proximal processes, it is the accumulation of opportunities and rewards for certain behaviour that result in the performance of such (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996). For the beneficiaries in focus, it has to be considered that they often participate in other programmes and spend a lot of time with other people than the ones from the sport-in-development projects. At Amandla and the MOD centers, almost all beneficiaries attend other programmes or activities. Many participants and coaches have been and still are physically active in informal and formal ways apart from the programme activities. Examining the sport and development nexus for farm workers in the Western Cape in South Africa, Kaur (2016) concludes “sport was followed and pursued irrespective of direct or corollary ‘developmental’ benefits” (p. 261), and thus has been valued and practiced by many irrespective of sport projects. The beneficiaries of the sport-in-development projects in focus furthermore go to church groups or community groups, attend support groups (this accounts for participants only) and, if still a student, attend the life-skill sessions that are provided at school. To what extent and which topics are

discussed in those as well as how the students perceive those can't be said. As such, the same behaviour that is rewarded within the project is not necessarily compatible with the contextual circumstances the beneficiaries face elsewhere and that positive behaviour enhanced by the sport-in-development projects can't necessarily be performed successfully outside of the project. With the living circumstances of Khayelitsha's residents, it is likely that beneficiaries also face rewards for negative behaviour (Ward, 2007; Swartz, 2007; Reddy et al., 2013). Therefore, some beneficiaries take the opportunities on the field and act accordingly, but they switch their behaviour off the field in order to again get positive rewards. Some of the beneficiaries explicitly refer to difficulties in transferring newly gained knowledge, skills and behaviour to real-life situations outside the projects, as they discover big discrepancies between what happens in and outside the projects. At Amandla, the ones describing transfer difficulties are mostly older ones (both coaches and participants). It seems as if they have internalised behaviour patterns, have strong social bonds with people who do not give them reciprocity and are quite stuck in their positions within their social networks. It is also likely that the aspirations related to manhood in isiXhosa and the norms proposed by the sport-in-development projects are too far from each other. This raises questions on the significance of the desired changes, which underlines Meier's (2013) notion that life skill development only makes sense when they are transferrable to other situations outside the project's boundaries and culturally significant (Guest, 2009; Darnell, 2014b). In cases when beneficiaries hardly spend time in the project or do not want to engage, when they do not think the offers are opportunities for them, it is more likely that they have other people who they spend more intensively time with and who are thus more influential, leading beneficiaries to act according to other system norms. With the environment changing all the time, individuals' microsystems also change throughout their life (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996; Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Pawson & Tilley, 2006), as do the interpretations of sport experiences (Coakley, 2011). This is evident in ex-beneficiaries who stopped participating or in some changing their attitudes towards the projects.

### Individual Drivers

One so far less-considered but very important factor for any development are the individuals themselves, as they are not only a passive product of development but active producers of it (UNDP, 2010). Looking at the personal characteristics and the unique biography of the beneficiaries, the motivation of getting not only physically but also emotionally involved, the initial conditions and reasons for participation differ and do thereby influence the extent of any measured effect and impact (Burnett, 2013 b). Also, considering the macrotime and looking at the bigger picture, the past still influences current lives. Because of long-term power inequalities, many marginalized South Africans feel they do not have control over their lives and do not have the power to change something. Thus, youths in South Africa have been and still are influenced by the historical period, apartheid legacy and culture, which strongly impacts on everyone's resource, demand and force characteristics (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As these personal attributes are decisive in human development, some beneficiaries are more responsive than others, and some have better physical and cognitive skills than others to engage in the programme. In this context, importantly, it needs to be recognized that not all beneficiaries have acted anti-socially or have lacked skills before they got engaged. As such, in some cases, the beneficiaries do not represent the target group the project actually focuses on and set its goals for – e.g. they do not possess the deficits and violent character they are often identified with (cp. Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Coalter, 2013; Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008). This supports IDS' (n.y., p. 11) remarks on self-selecting programmes. Findings of this study also strengthen Pawson's (2006) proposition that some arrive in the programme after they have decided to change their way of living. For them, the projects can build a supporting structure by giving them something meaningful to do and by providing a trustful network that presents their desired norms and values, but it is also the basic attitude and personal features of the beneficiaries to participate in the first place that plays a role in generating change.

In the following, opportunities and limitations of sport-in-development programmes are shown using the specific example of children and youths in marginalized communities in South Africa. The figures are not meant to be fully extensive.

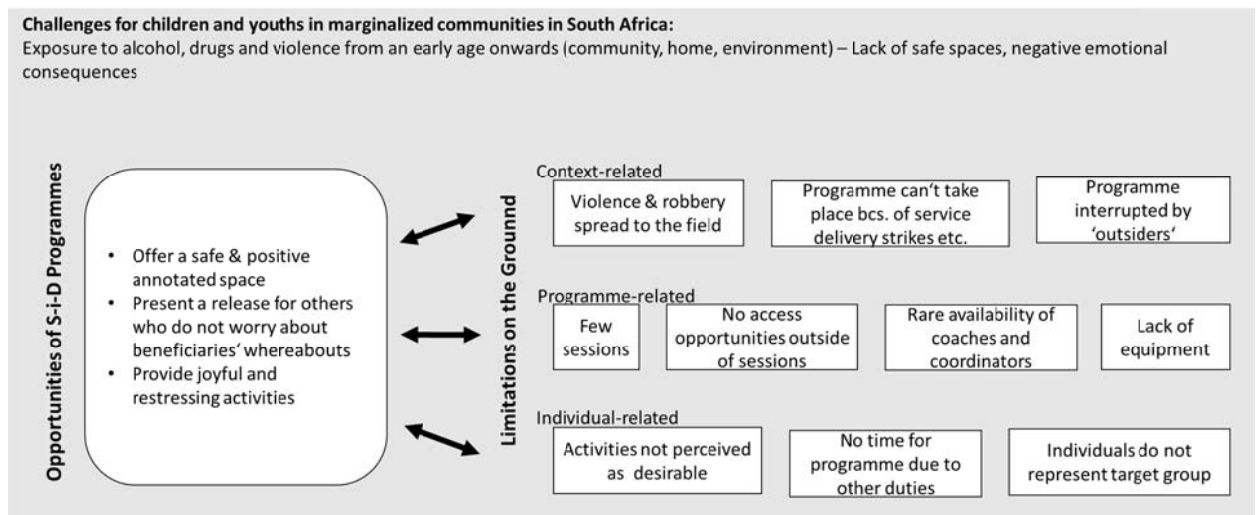


Figure 4: Opportunities and Limitations of Sport-in-Development Programmes - Safe Hub & Pastime

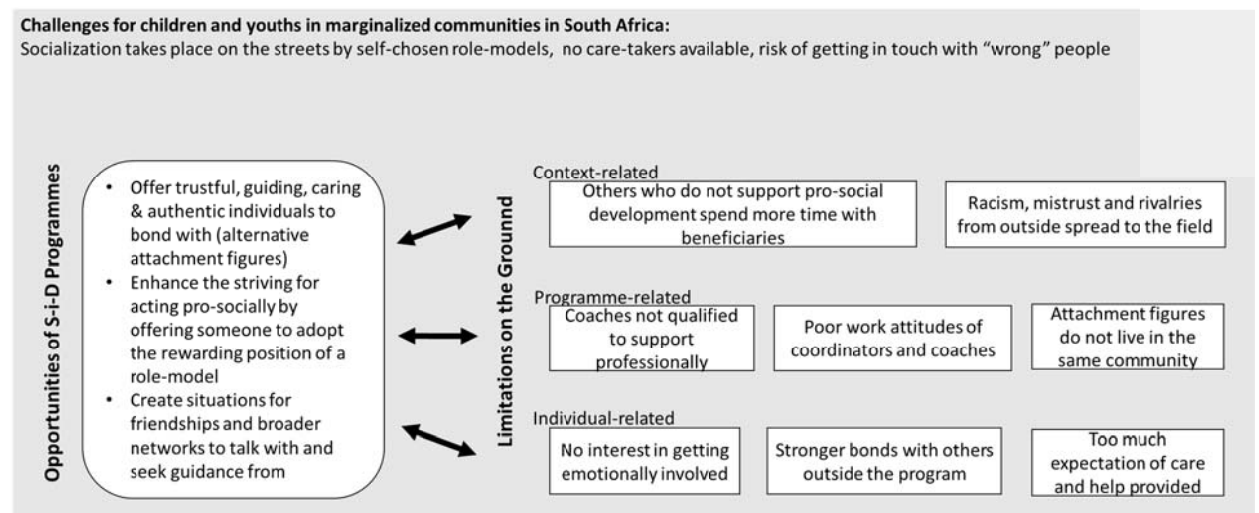


Figure 5: Opportunities and Limitations of Sport-in-Development Programmes - Relationships & Role-models

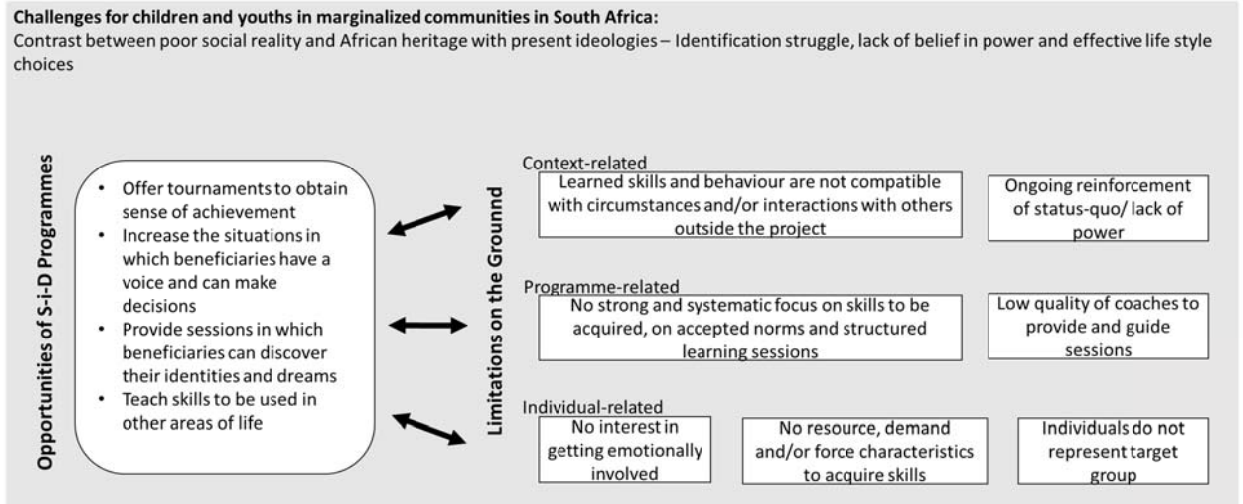


Figure 6: Opportunities and Limitations of Sport-in-Development Programmes - Individual Development

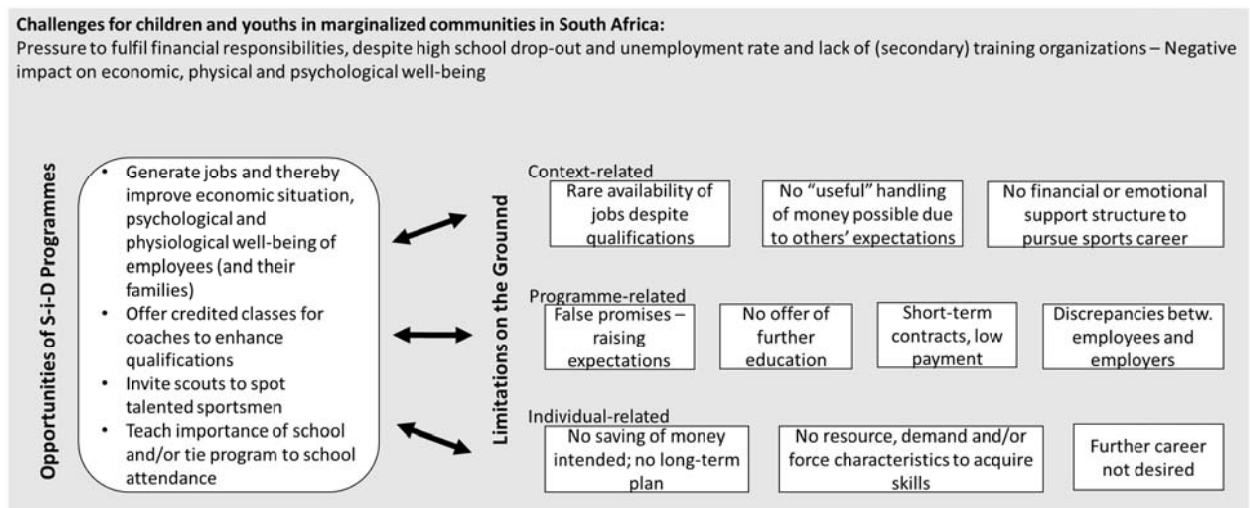


Figure 7: Opportunities and Limitations of Sport-in-Development Programmes - Career & Employment

### 6.1.3. The Role of Sport

A general sport-in-development effect that can be reduced to the physical activity inherent in all projects is difficult to detect. Nonetheless, in general, when looking at the role that sport plays in beneficiaries lives (irrespective of the availability of a project) and its reputation in Khayelitsha’s communities, sport can be assigned a

low threshold for participation that has yet to be matched. This is also revealed by Whitley, Forneris & Baker (2015). In the projects in focus, having access to certain sport equipment and, in the case of Amandla, to artificial turf attracts many beneficiaries to participate in the first place. The sole role of sport as the initiator of change though is rather subordinated in the sport-in-development projects in focus, with many beneficiaries mentioning that it could be any other activity leading to the same effects. However, in Amandla, MOD F and MOD S, few beneficiaries explicitly refer to the effect of physical activity resp. sport. These outstanding specifics of sport compared to other non-sport activities shall be accentuated here.

### Stress Relief & Distraction

Being physically active (in a game) – independent from the code – seems to contribute to distraction, as being busy with the body and the mind at the same time seems to facilitate distraction and thus relieving stress. A positive relationship between physical activity and mental health resp. distress is also presented by other authors, not only with regard to subjective feeling (e.g. Snyder et al., 2010; Pyle et al., 2003; Allison et al., 2005), but also with regard to neurologic processes (e.g. Fleshner, 2005; Hamer, Endrighi & Poole, 2012).

In this study stress relief is explicitly reported to not happen when being busy with other non-sport activities. While this could mean that the same happens when being physically active unsupervised, this is not the case in Khayelitsha, where playing in the street increases the level of alertness and, thereby, of stress. Any sport-activity in a safe environment, no matter the extra programmes attached to it, would contribute to reducing stress. As many of the beneficiaries would be physically active anyway and are thus interested in sport- supporting Kaur's (2016) findings that people do sports regardless of their intended developmental outcomes - this allows sport-in-development projects to reach many individuals and provide them with a safe and thus stress-free space.



### Career Springboard

Soccer, due to its immense popularity in the townships often serves an eye catcher for males, who aim at becoming professional soccer players. However, having those high expectations of being scouted is not necessarily good. While it makes some beneficiaries take part in the first place, if they are not successful, the positive attitude towards the organization turns over into a negative one and they withdraw. For example, at Amandla, some are solely attracted by the programme because of soccer, and join in order to play against others, play on artificial turf and for the chance of being scouted. For them, soccer is the initiator of any change happening in them and they would do whatever is required to become a professional player, even engage in anti-social behaviour. In this regard, it needs to be remarked that such hope, in the long run, can lead to the opposite of the wanted pro-social values postulated by the organization. For example, some participants who wanted to use Amandla as a career springboard for professional soccer became frustrated when this didn't prove to be successful.

### Outstanding: Chess

Although chess is hardly represented in sport-in-development projects, results in this study show that almost all participants playing chess at MOD F show better concentration skills and attain higher academic achievements. The influence on scholastic performance wasn't associated with any other code in this study. Various studies conducted with school children support this relation and have results that show that playing chess improves achievement in mathematics and non-verbal cognitive ability among school children (e.g. Smith & Cage, 2000; Kazemi et al., 2012; Trincherro, 2013). Most interesting for this research is the study by Aciego et al. (2012) who compared chess training and physical sport activities with regard to cognitive effects. The students between 6 and 16 years who received chess training were significantly better in mathematical problem solving than the students who did sports instead. However, the sample in all studies mentioned referred to

industrialized countries; nonetheless, it can be assumed that cognitive effects are similar among all humans.

### Reputation

The possibility to win, for example by taking part in chess tournaments or team sports matches, can be seen as another so far underestimated factor in sport-in-development projects, as successful games do not only affect the player but also on significant others being proud. Beneficiaries at both MOD F and Amandla pointed this out. While other studies point to stress and anxiety linked to competition (Hansen, Larson & Dworkin, 2003, p. 51; Brustad et al., 2001), in the projects in focus there were only positive meanings attached to winning.

Likewise highlighted, although only referring to a minority of the sample, can be codes that are associated with being formerly 'white' codes or normally associated with being 'male' codes. In the still unequal environment with regard to ethnicities or gender, being successful in a code that is related to certain stereotypes can create positive rewards in circles close to or connected to the person playing. In line with Ogunniyi's (2015) results, changes regarding hegemonic gender and/or ethnic relations take time and, if at all, arise from the individual level not more than from the peer- or family levels.

#### **6.1.4. Embedding the Results in the Development Discourse**

Shifting the discussion to a more conceptual level, the presented results are now interpreted in the context of the contemporary understanding of development. According to Sen (1999, 2005), development must be judged by its impact on people in terms of their choices, capabilities and freedoms. This includes not only "the various things a person may value doing or being" (Sen, 1999, p. 75), and the instruments he or she acquires to pursue this, but even more whether a person is actually and effectively able to do the things he or she would value doing or being

(Sen, 2005; Robeyns, 2005). Development does thereby also describe the capacity of the system to provide circumstances for the adaptability of the capabilities. Taking this broader understanding of development into consideration, it becomes apparent that the sport-in-development projects in focus contribute in different ways and to very different extents to the first part of development. In some cases, participation leads to personal development and skill acquisition as well as to behaviour change, which indirectly affects significant others. Thus the sport-in-development projects in focus can offer those acting pro-socially an area for acting out those norms and solidifying them further. This also applies to those who decide to change from genitive manners and due to this decided to participate. However, those who acted negatively outside the field and only come for entertainment are the least likely to develop. However, looking at the second part of development, it also becomes apparent that there is much more needed than development on the individual level to reach 'development as freedom' (Sen, 1999) for everyone. Although in the South African constitution human rights and freedom are given absolute priority (Government of South Africa, 2015) and thus, theoretically, the legal framework allows people to "assert themselves as full citizens" (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 118), looking at the inhabitants of Khayelitsha or broader South Africa and the unequal power relations, the reality looks different and inhibits this kind of development. To some extent, certain structures the projects are embedded in can reinforce the power structures and thereby add to the inequalities, instead of creating pure enabling conditions to apply capabilities. Even if the sport-in-development projects enhance capabilities and improve life quality, which, again, shouldn't be underestimated, the long-standing, broad problems can not only be fought with projects focusing on the individual. Keeping in mind that individuals are not the cause but the results of the cause, the development resp. freedom Sen postulates can't be realized. It is the structures that need to change, to allow the beneficiaries to apply capabilities and to support development on other levels. Having opportunities to be and do what the individuals want only within the boundaries of the project is not enough, but must also be provided in real-life situations outside of the project. As much as individual well-being and skill-

development is important, it is not sufficient to challenge dominant political and economic structures and power dynamics that are actually the ones reproducing and not fighting the inequality. Coalter (2013), pointing to Ungar (2006), suggests that “it might be better to ‘change the odds’ rather than try and resource individuals to ‘beat the odds’ in environments that do not support behaviour change or fail to offer broader opportunities for ‘development’” (p. 73). The findings of this study strongly support this view, as they reveal that changes on one level are not adequate for broader large-scale development. Unless sport does not directly engage with the dominant political and economic structures and the sources of structural inequality, wider social change as postulated by many sport-in-development officials won’t occur. Thus, a synergy between institutions at all levels is of utmost importance to expand people’s choices (social, economic and political; Fukuda-Parr, 2003) and to strengthen any development beyond the playing field. Only by removing the “obstacles in their lives [...] they have more freedom to live the kind of life that, upon reflection, they have reason to value” (Robeyns, 2005 referring to Sen).

### **6.2. Challenges for Research and Researcher**

This study’s results show – supported by Bronfenbrenner’s (2005) theory on mutual influences - that it is not only the individual and the projects affected by a myriad of contextual, personal and organisational influential factors on all levels, but also, directly and indirectly, the researcher and the research process. This is also recognized by SDP IWG (2007) stating that “sport programmes (...) cannot be implemented or evaluated in isolation of these conditions” (p. 32). The findings of this study invite to further elaborate on methods of research and the position of a researcher from the Global North, when conducting a study in foreign underprivileged communities.

While there are opposing thoughts in literature on how ‘adequate’ research in the sport-in-development field should look like (multidimensional, context- and culture-sensitive and participatory versus quality criteria reliability, validity and objectivity; e.g. Levermore & Beacom, 2009a; Kay, 2011a; Coalter, 2013), detailed accounts of barriers that occur when applying either the scientific gold standards or alternative research approaches in complex and instable environments are scarce (Peachay & Cohen, 2015). This research reveals that the standards of scientific research, as often asked for by researchers from the Global North, require a certain procedure that was at odds with the realities and possibilities on-site. While all experienced difficulties can serve as data on its own (Gratton & Jones, 2010), programme cancellation and interruptions, internal disputes, lack of space to conduct surveys and interviews, logistics within the township, low commitment of the beneficiaries and staff members to take part in the study, non-compliance of agreements and safety issues affected and delayed the planned research process. Also, the differences in the structures the organizations were embedded in and the valuing of research on all levels as well as a lack of staff continuity determined the implementation of the research. The latter is also remarked by Coalter & Taylor (2010), who see that fluctuating players further strongly influence the quality of research when trying to establish an internal M&E system.

In all the sport-in-development projects in focus, the overall lack of understanding and insight for research on the ground shows that before discussing methods and measurements, in the first place, the staff and beneficiaries need to become aware of why engagement with and participation in research (however it looks like) is substantial, and, even more important, how they can benefit from it (Israel & Hay, 2006). Concurring with, amongst others, Harris & Adams (2015), findings are often not known, as there is a lack of dissemination from academic knowledge among practitioners.

The flexibility and pragmatism in this study is emphasized by, amongst others, Fetterman (2008) and Flick (2009). Although the non-compliance of many participants, coaches and significant others caused delays in the research plan,

spontaneously conducting interviews was often possible when meeting people in the street. However, the inconsistency and dynamic in the research – caused by factors such as instable life choices and fast changing environments - challenges the replicability of the study and its results. This has also recently been pointed out by Reis et al. (2015), who argues that the “instability and lack of consistency is also problematic for monitoring and assessments, where it will be the case of comparing ‘apples with oranges’” (p. 11).

With regard to the research procedure, the facilitation of the quantitative measures and the survey itself caused many challenges. The attempt to conduct the survey in small groups failed, and thus surveys had to be continued to be filled out one-by-one, which obviously affected the collection of large-N data sets. Despite having developed the instruments with locals, misunderstandings, not only in language but also in completing it, occurred. These incidents might be, among other reasons, caused by the low education/reading level of some, missing will to engage or concentration problems. Developing simpler and shorter surveys would not have done justice to the demand of significant statements. As the one-by-one facilitation showed, when going through the questionnaires together the beneficiaries answered thoughtfully. The problem might therefore not lie in the instrument itself per se, but rather in the facilitation of such. Similar problems, though with regard to research in conflict environments in the Middle East and in refugee research, were identified by Clark (2006), Romano (2006) and Jacobsen & Landau (2003). Alike, this study strongly advocates for qualitative approaches that allow fully dealing with the complexities of social reality when aiming at revealing sport’s impact on development. The information value of the questionnaires compared to the qualitative methods applied was very limited and does once again mirror the Western claims of knowledge production that often reduce knowledge gain to significance and carry an “overt faith in scientific evidence” (Nicholls et al., 2011, p. 259). Harris & Adams (2015) – suitable to the results of this study – summarize that “legitimising quantitative measures of evidence does not, and cannot, account for the nature of SFD interventions. These interventions are complex and difficult to

measure, not because they have been designed as such, but because they are overwhelmingly focussed on human conditions” (p. 9 f.). Through pre-established constructs in questionnaires and traditional approaches to research design and data, the (social, psychological, material) conditions that frame the lives of the beneficiaries and their sporting experiences are mostly omitted, so is alternative knowledge (Sherry, Schulenkorf & Chaplin, 2015). In this study, despite the difficulties of finding reliable ones in the first place, having local research assistants and local practitioners in the selection process added value to the research. Thus this study once more underlines the importance of working together with local actors in order to get a holistic and in-depth understanding and not “perpetuate[d] the construction of ‘truths’ on the premises of northern subjectivity without questioning the very roots of knowledge production” (Burnett, 2015, p. 387).

It has to be acknowledged that the difficulties the researcher came across in this study with regard to her own person have been elaborated upon in other development studies and guides to qualitative research. However, apart from few recently published auto ethnographies (Forde, 2013; Chawansky, 2015), those experiences have, if at all, been only tangent in discussions in the sport-in-development field. This is likely to be caused by short-term stays and/or a lack of in-depth engagement by foreign researchers with local conditions and local people. Another explanation for the absence might be that many studies are based on contract research or are conducted internally (Jeanes & Lindsay, 2014; Levermore, 2011), and are often done to prove success - thus researchers are employed for certain research questions and outcomes that exclude personal experiences. This is above all interesting, as this study shows that those personal challenges are linked with the research itself and do inevitably influence it.

In this study, through the true partnership that was developed over time (which is declared as phase five of in-depth fieldwork by McGinn, 2008), the researcher faced ethical questions concerning moral and sensitive issues. This is also exposed, among many others, by Swartz (2007). Especially when topics referred to private issues such as crime, theft and betrayal, the researcher in this study felt pressured to

choose appropriate response mechanisms to not judge the other. Fetterman (2008) and Flick (2009) suitably underline that it is a fine line between fully participating and fully participating while systematically observing. Furthermore, choosing always (culturally) appropriate norms that were often contrary to the researcher's own worldview (Marshall & Batten, 2004) turned out to be challenging, as particular topics and behaviours - often related to gender and race - clearly distressed other people or the researcher herself. The safety issues that the researcher had to deal with are outlined to be part of researching marginalised communities (Linstroth, 2008; Madden, 2011), and reflect once more that challenges that the researched come across also impair the researcher (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). While the challenging situations were partly caused by the contextual circumstances and the ethnographic approach, it was also caused by the appearance of the researcher. Being a white, educated, middle-class woman with a different culture than the research group definitely affected every step of the research. In line with this, and pointed out by other studies, were the unequal power dynamics that occur between researchers from privileged backgrounds and the researched (e.g. DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Finley, 2008, p. 98). This as well as "oversimplified, universalizing and 'homogenising' interpretations" (Parkes, 2007, p. 120) sometimes re-emphasize the existing power positions and continue to 'colonise', thus the researcher in this study cautiously tried to consider such when collecting and analysing the data (Sugden, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Jeanes; Magee, Kay & Banda, 2013). Against this background, local research assistants and local scholars have to be encouraged to steer the dominance of Global North researchers (Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010; Sanders, Philips & Vanreusel, 2012; Sherry, Schulenkorf & Chaplin, 2015) – and sport associates from all backgrounds should seek further engagement and integration with the wider development sector.



## **7. Conclusion: Sport-in-Development – Closing the Gap and Opening New Ones**

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After having presented, discussed and interpreted the results of this study, this chapter offers a final conclusion. The upcoming review starts with a focus on the initial points of this thesis as well as the connected theoretical considerations, before the methodological limitations that have been indicated throughout the thesis are further critically looked at. Following, the most important results are summarized to deduce the gained knowledge this research offers. An outlook with recommendations for future research and practical considerations concludes the elaborations.

### **7.1. Academic Approach**

In the last three decades, sport has gained impressive momentum as a tool for development – emphasized by international, national and local actors. Sport is seen as having the ability to improve social, cultural, and educational to psychological circumstances that frame the lives of marginalized and poor communities (e.g. Schlenker, Sugden & Burdsey, 2014). Away from this glorification, some have posed more critical questions about the impact of sport to achieve its proclaimed goals and about the ways to prove such (e.g. Levermore, 2008; Serena, 2009; Kay, 2009; Coalter, 2010; Okada & Young, 2011; Spaaji & Jeanes, 2013). It is within this thematic area that this study was established.

Studies indicate that sport may contribute to personal development and well-being of disadvantaged children and youths and may cause individual and wider social change. However, due to a range of contextual and methodological limitations, those results cannot be interpreted to the extent that sport always has a positive impact on development, but rather that it is under certain conditions and most likely due to non-sporting components, that any change occurs (e.g. Hartmann, 2003; Coakley, 2012; Njelesani, 2011; Kidd, 2011; Theron & Malindi, 2010; Pawson

& Tilley, 2004). The mechanisms underlying the intended and unintended outcomes as well as multiple social and political ecological factors that play a role for such are not fully researched yet (e.g. Haudenhuyse, Theebom & Coalter, 2012; Maguire, 2013; Larkin, Razack & Moola, 2007; Lindsey & Jeanes, 2014). Scholars criticize current research practiced in the sport-in-development field and present partially conflicting concepts on how future research should look like (Coalter, 2013; Okada & Young, 2011; Kay, 2011; Donnelly et al., 2011). Also not elaborated upon are first-hand insights on challenges and barriers that researchers from the Global North come across when applying what is said to be proper monitoring and evaluation tools in the context of sport and development in marginalized communities (e.g. Cohen & Ariely, 2011; Peachey & Cohen, 2015).

Based on this research gap, the overall aim of this study was to contribute insights into the often broad and inscrutable sport-in-development field. This study wanted to find out about sport-in-development projects' outcomes and its impact on development as well as the processes underlying such, while including the living circumstances and wider socio-political context that enhance and inhibit the beneficiaries and the projects in their development and functioning. To do so, this thesis has questioned and critically engaged with the taken for granted assumptions and practices underlying the sport-in-development sector and identified multiple factors that enable and disable the effects sport-in-development projects have on development. Furthermore, the study aimed at exposing the challenges that occur when conducting studies according to Western thought systems in complex and foreign environments. Therefore, both the position of the researcher as well as the research process were critically analysed.

In more concrete terms, research was conducted in four sport-in-development projects that aim at individual and wider social development in South Africa. Unlike other studies, the selection of the projects is characterized by the diversity of the projects in focus – that is being very different concerning their type (non-government organization versus government organization; not linked to any other institution versus attached to a school), their anchoring in the community (open for

every child and youth in the community versus open for every school kid versus open for only girls; being based in Khayelitsha, being located outside of Khayelitsha), their design (curriculum-based versus non-curriculum oriented), their employment opportunities (paid versus volunteer) and their size and level of development. It was assessed how coaches, participants and the wider community perceive the projects, what change (if any) in their lives they assign to them and what role sport plays in this regard. The beneficiaries of the sport-in-development projects were children and youths from Khayelitsha and they were questioned with regard to life skill development (questionnaires) and changes in their lives as outcome of the project (interviews). Furthermore, to understand the meaning of the changes described, they were interrogated about their challenges and about the importance of sport in the programme for any change. Challenges and changes were also part of the interviews conducted with significant others and programme coordinators. It was investigated whether and how the beneficiaries transfer learnt skills to other life domains such as family and peer contexts. To verify outcomes and to understand the impact on the whole community better, ethnographic field research complemented the data collection. In order to draw conclusions upon the cross-sectional level and thus learn about sustainability, the data collection took place in two points of time with one year in-between. Focus was also drawn to the specific experiences that were made by the researcher concerning conducting research in foreign marginalized communities as well as on the effect this had on the research process.

Based on a total of 220 interviews, 217 questionnaires, numerous informal conversations and page by page field notes, results were determined that are presented in their very essence in the chapter after the following one. Before doing so, critical remarks concerning the methodology and limitations of the study are outlined.

## 7.2. Methodological Critique

Despite the content-related and methodological progress this thesis provides – that is elaborated upon in the next subchapter - there are some methodological aspects and limitations that have to be critically discussed. The, as discussed in chapter 6.2, results concerning the challenges for researchers and research as well as the implications deriving from them are thus further complemented in the following.

With this research being conducted in the field – in contrast to laboratory studies - disturbance variables couldn't be avoided. Especially in the complex and fluid environment of Khayelitsha, which strongly differs from the researcher's background, those variables were hard to detect. However, the aim of the ethnographic approach in this study was to outline a realistic and holistic picture. By spending much time in the field and applying a triangulation of methods and sources, the disturbance variables were sought out as best as possible and were then considered in the analysis and interpretation of the data.

Also, some problems occurred throughout the research process and thus required an adaption of the initial research plan. These less than optimal research conditions strongly influenced the study's design and resulted in dismissing trying to have a randomized sample. Instead, different sampling techniques were used for different study groups. Although snowball and convenience sampling carry the risk of only talking to a certain population, namely to the ones willing to talk (selection bias; detriment to representation and validity), it allowed to explore and to create contacts with an otherwise often hard to reach population.

Furthermore, this was enhanced by a high level of visibility of the researcher in the target group which created trust and enlarged the network of people to talk to. The size of the sample was furthermore dictated by the complex conditions Khayelitsha's population – and thus the study - faces. Due to beneficiaries not being available in both points of the time (with some having stopped, others not willing to talk anymore, others not being located there anymore, etc.) the sample slightly differed between t1 and t2. A pure longitudinal design, which would have allowed tracking changes over time in anyone of the sample group, could therefore not be

applied. Furthermore, it was not possible to detect exactly when the beneficiaries started participating in the programme, as statements from themselves and programme coordinators differed over time. Therefore, an allocation of the results to the exact duration of participation wasn't possible.

In line with this is another limitation of the study: the size disparity between the two samples and the dissimilarity in access opportunities to the projects. For these reasons, this study refrains from comparing the projects and from delivering overall, one-size-fits-all generalizations. Concerning the different amount of time that the researcher spent in the projects and thus with the beneficiaries, and along with the aim of ethnographic research to establish relationships, the researcher's objectivity was challenged. By being aware that this was likely to influence the data she gained and in order to interpret the data correctly, the researcher included multiple sources to cross-validate data and to capture different dimensions of one phenomenon. Thereby, and by adopting a critical left-realism point of view, the author was open to critical remarks and reconsideration of her own thinking. She was aware of inherent power relations, perceptions and occupied attitudes, and did thereby recognize a possible bias when collecting, analysing and interpreting data. With regard to the research population, while being white European researcher carries attitudes on both sides (see chapters 5.4. and 6.2.), listening to local voices, establishing friendships and living with the research population diminished the risk of observer effects instead of enhancing them.

In the quantitative part, a few more limitations come into play, such as the lack of baseline data. Due to the rolling recruitment at the MOD centers and Girls and Football South Africa, this would have been very problematic. Also at Amandla, with most beneficiaries having participated at some stages in their lives or have been tangent to the projects by events and its open-access in the community, the collection of baseline information was problematic. For the same reasons, having a control-group was not possible. Especially the facilitation of the life-skill questionnaire, most likely replaceable by other surveys, was difficult and took much longer than anticipated. Assuming that the tool itself, due to its development with and adaption by locals, was suitably tailored for the target group, its proper

completion by a large sample caused problems. As discussed in length in chapter 5.2.5, the difficulties in facilitation and the small number of accurately completed surveys led to the questionnaires not being meaningful with regards to the outcomes and impact of the projects. However, coming across this conflict between theory and practice and discovering the challenges for research when using, facilitating and interpreting the surveys, these insights are useful for future research in the sport-in-development field.

### **7.3. Gain of Knowledge**

The results concerning opportunities and limitations of sport-in-development projects and the role of researcher and research were summarized, discussed and interpreted in the context of development in chapter 6. The theoretical framework of this study did thereby serve as an explanatory base. Concluding, the conducted study offers both conceptual as well as content-related uniqueness.

On a conceptual level, to focus on a more reality-congruent body of knowledge (as asked for by Maguire, 2013; Donnelly et al., 2007; Coalter, 2013, p. 44; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 121; Marshall, 2011), this study used a variety of methods, included a range of people, and engaged in an ethnographic manner. By doing so, it answered the call for multi-dimensional, context-and culture-sensitive and participatory research and worked against the often found research procedures that are characterized by short stays of researchers in the country to be researched, uncritical adoption of methodologies and no consideration of mutual influences that are apparent in everyday lives' (Donnelly et al., 2007; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 111/117; Okada & Young, 2011; Kiss, 2011, p. 605; Njelesani et al., 2014, p. 791). Furthermore, the study was conceptually embedded into a sound framework with theories from the broader development field – an often missing necessity in other studies (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Marshall, 2011; Burnett, 2009; Schnitzer et al., 2013, p. 607; Darnell & Black, 2011, p. 370, Kay, 2011; Donnelly et al., 2011, p. 594 f.).

In relation to content, this study tackled the task of investigating structures, processes and experiences in and around sport-in-development projects (as asked for by Haudenhuyse, Theebom & Coalter, 2012; Coalter, 2007; Maguire, 2013; Larkin, Razack & Moola, 2007; SDP IWG, 2007; Darnell, 2012) in order to outline their effects in the context of development – something that has not been considered by many scholars. This study identified special characteristics of sport and the role sport plays with regard to the impact (as asked for by Holt, 2008; Donnelly et al., 2007; SDP IWG, 2007; Brady, 2005, p. 38; Kay 2011a). Furthermore, this research uncovered intended and unintended outcomes (as asked for by Maguire, 2013; Donnelly et al., 2007; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 114; Coalter, 2013, p. 45), an approach that is opposite to a range of existent studies that work with pre-set performance indicators (Coalter, 2010). Following the appeal of Sugden & Haasner (2009, p. 10) to track the influence of the changes on transcending and political context, this study avoided confusing micro-level outcomes with macro-level impacts (Coalter, 2010, p. 295). Through the theoretical framework, the critical philosophical superstructure underlying this thesis and the ethnographic approach, this study did justice to the multiple calls for detailed – and so far missing – accounts of barriers that (Global North) sport-in-development researchers come across when engaging in research addressing people in instable and marginalized communities (e.g. Peachey & Cohen, 2015).

Regarding the effects of sport-in-development programmes in the context of development, the empirical results of this study show that there were no linear cause-effect-relationships that led to a general sport-in-development impact for all beneficiaries (cp. Coakley, 2012). Findings reveal that the outcomes are manifold and highly individualized, and that the extent of well-being, personal development, learnt skills and behaviour resulting from engagement in the programmes differed strongly - not only between the projects but also between the participants, coaches and significant others within the same project. Looking at what framed these changes, results indicate that it depended on how often the beneficiaries came to the organization, who they talked to, who they trusted, how intense social bonds

were with people on and off the sport-in-development projects and whether they articulated the same norms than the organization. Subject to how strong proximal processes were with people from the field, how available those are in the time outside the project hours further framed the scope of any outcome and thus impact. Along Bronfenbrenner's theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), the findings also show that if people were alike and had gone through similar experiences, social bonding happened more intensely. At the MOD centers, ongoing changes in staff members (coaches) and the lack of support and supervision for the coaches led to a range of interpretations of coaching and role-modelling. With the coaches not living in the community and the programme running inconsistently, interactions between coaches and participants restricted establishing close relationships. At GFSA, with the coaches being volunteers and the programme being on and off, social bonds could hardly be built to enhance development. At Amandla, the coaches were encouraged and supervised in their relationships to the participants, and had significant and reliable contact people within the organization. And, with the project being located openly in Site B and staff members coming from within that community, participants, coaches and programme coordinators had many opportunities to get engaged and interact with each other.

Furthermore, a strong, visible focus on accepted behaviour and norms was necessary to engage and promote the development of beneficiaries. Whereas at Amandla there were rules of conduct from the organization and unfair behaviour was (in most cases) punished, at the MOD centers this was not regulated – resulting in a range of behaviours among the coaches and participants. Also, underlining the social development model (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996), findings indicate that when organizations managed to offer opportunities that were recognized by the beneficiaries as such, they were in most cases changing their behaviour according to the organizations' rules.

Offering structured activities and other opportunities - which included a great scope that depended on individuals' cultural and relational situation - was found to enhance beneficiaries' physical and emotional engagement. Results show that in cases when beneficiaries did not think the offers were opportunities for them, they



were most likely not deeply engaging, had other people with whom they spent time with and who were thus more influential, leading beneficiaries to act according to other system norms (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996). In the cases in focus, the valued opportunities included sport facilities, money, joyful and meaningful activities, food and opportunities to get qualifications. Regarding structured activities, at Amandla, depending on the beneficiaries' ages, a life skill curriculum complemented the soccer training. The coaches had a curriculum themselves, including classes and tasks to study further with regard to personal development and related to sport and child care. Coaches at the MOD centers were – apart from being allocated to a specific code – free in the design and structure of their training. Also, if at all, they could participate in workshops in irregular intervals to acquire skills in codes.

Based on these findings, the following factors maximizing the chances for sustained change were recognized:

- (1) A physically and emotionally safe place to go to (consistent and accessible as often as possible)
- (2) Having relationships with trustful, guiding, caring and authentic individuals over an extended period of time, who are from the same community and have had similar experiences
- (3) A strong and systematic focus on accepted behaviours and norms
- (4) Structured activities and offers that are valued by the beneficiaries (the more the better)

These influential factors for development are mainly in line with what has been found by scholars from the general (positive youth) development field (e.g. Coakley, 2011). The importance of relationships for development is especially highlighted in theories on human development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Hawkins & Catalano, 1996) and has been emphasized by a range of scholars (e.g. Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012; Meier, 2013; Bailey, 2006; Coalter, 2012; Sandford, Duncombe & Armour, 2008). New insights though could be gained regarding the realization of ideal conditions. Other than studies from the general positive youth development or general sport/physical activity field, findings in this research reveal that in a

poverty-stricken and marginalized community such as Khayelitsha, these ideal conditions were not or couldn't be thoroughly implemented and maintained in the sport-in-development-projects in focus. Reasons why the conditions were, if at all, only covered to a certain extent were found to be manifold and support Bronfenbrenner's theory of a range of influential factors on micro, meso and macro level whose interplay determinates development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

Results of this study show that the infrastructural, political and socio-economic circumstances in Khayelitsha did not only affect the community, but also impacted on the performance of the programme. Sometimes the programme had to be stopped or interrupted because of flooding, service delivery strikes paralyzing public transportation or unannounced school closings. Turf wars as well as violence also restricted the normal programme delivery. Other reasons inhibiting programmes being were personal-related (personal issues, group dynamics) and – often connected - staff members, coaches and participants not showing up. Also, poor working habits that were anchored in a myriad of causes hindered the implementation of enabling conditions for development.

While findings of this study indicate that many of these factors lied outside the projects' scope to change, there were also a range of disabling factors that could have been prevented; such as the ones that were pertain to the organizational structure, management, location, facilities and sport material, self-conception and collaboration with other institutions, practitioners and locals. Results display that choosing quantity over quality and unreflectively implementing large-scale projects, long links between field staff and head quarter and having no interest in best practices (such as being open to change, modification and errors) impeded the chance of impact. Moreover, not working with practitioners and locals, ignoring their advice and having top-down policies were found to be factors for an environment that complicated purposeful influence (cp. SDP IWG, 2008; Mintzberg, 2006; Forneris, Whitley & Barners, 2013). Amandla had been implemented with widespread local involvement and was constantly modified and adapted to the beneficiaries' needs. However, despite the head quarter including practitioners and field staff in their modification processes, sometimes programme decisions were

made prioritizing donors demands and were thus not realistic or achievable in the field environment. At the MOD centers, quarrels about responsibilities between DCAS and the Department of Education negatively influenced the programme resp. working conditions. Furthermore, DCAS was found to be engaging more in symbol politics as opposed to actually focusing on the improvement or adaption of the programme. The participation and collaboration of the coaches was limited by hierarchical power structures. At Girls and Football South Africa, due to the rather top-down implementation and dependency on funders as well as only temporary non-South African project leaders, the implementation was very inconsistent and programme modifications limited.

On top of the disabling and enabling factors that were subject to programmes' mode of action, findings also show that the reach of impact was influenced by the unique circumstantial conditions of each individual in Khayelitsha. Results indicate that the effects of the sport-in-development programmes were linked to whether the beneficiaries had an environment that supported development as well as the amount of situations to implement certain behaviour in real-life situations (transfer possibilities). The more micro settings in the beneficiaries' lives supported pro-social norms and behaviours, the more they were implemented outside the projects' boundaries and sustained. Because of an enabling environment not always being the case in Khayelitsha, positive individual outcomes on the micro level were only partially transferred and thus rarely caused changes on other levels. Furthermore, findings affirm that development was formed by personal attributes, attitudes and experiences (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) respectively by beneficiaries' identity, relationships and experiences (cp. Coakley, 2011). Therefore, any effect also depended very much on the initial situations of the beneficiaries, such as if they had been acting in different ways than the project norms beforehand and whether they wanted to change that, which skills they already had, which experiences they had and which attitudes they carried in them before getting involved (cp. Burnett, 2015, Coalter, 2012). As in many cases the beneficiaries had not been acting anti-socially beforehand, results of this study challenge the prominent deficit view and question whether the beneficiaries were the ones the

programmes aimed at (Coalter, 2012). Moreover, the findings reveal that for many beneficiaries of the projects in focus, no change but the availability of the project in their lives' was apparent, for many the effect was short-lived, and a few, during their time of involvement, even developed in a negative direction. This disputes purely positive results presented in other studies.

Referring back to the often quoted statement by Nelson Mandela that “sport has the power to change the world”, conclusions were drawn about the role of sport in interventions. While all of what's been said could apply for social development programmes in poverty-stricken, violence-prone, marginalized and instable environments in general, in the sport-in-development projects in focus, sport was relevant for the beneficiaries. Due to its prestige and popularity, it fell into the line of offering a joyful and valued activity and did thus create one of the conditions that enabled favourable circumstances for development. Apart from being a tool for attracting people, sport also offered distraction and stress relief through being physically active in a safe environment and helped create a sense of achievements. Furthermore, chess came forth as code that consistently enhanced concentration skills. The code and activity however were hardly found to be the sole sources of development; simply being physically active or playing sport on its own did not turn out to cause development. If at all, it was the personal relationships and social bonds with other participants, coaches and superiors and the structures sport was embedded in that were found to be initiators of development and behaviour change that again changed habits of some beneficiaries and thus significant others. Such findings support other scholars who argue that sport - when embedded in a well-designed programme - can offer a site for socialisation that increases the chance of developmental processes to occur, but is not on its own the cause for specific development outcomes (cp. Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2012) or for changing the world.

Classifying the main findings of this study into the present discourse of sport-in-development and development scholars, the following was retained.

1. Statements about sport-in-development programmes range from sport officials praising sport (and thus sport interventions) as *the* means to reach development to critical scholars assigning any other element in the programme than sport (and thus pure development interventions) the value to do so. This study reveals that sport-in-development programmes must be classified somewhere in-between those extreme positions of sport evangelists and sport critics. Considering the range of diverse and multifaceted projects operating underneath the term ‘sport-in-development’, findings indicate that when sport is embedded in well-designed projects, it can create an environment to affect development of the beneficiaries. Despite the limited generalisability it can be assumed that the findings are transferrable to children and youths with similar characteristics and living conditions.
  - When children and youths are exposed to violence, substance and alcohol abuse they often fear crime and violence, which leads to negative emotional consequences and decreases their overall well-being. In those cases, well-designed sport-in-development projects can offer a positively annotated space and a safe place to go to.
  - When adolescents are socialized on the streets by self-chosen role models and have no caretakers available or people to ask for advice, they run the risk of getting in touch with the wrong people in search for psychosocial support and belonging. Hence, well-designed sport-in-development projects can offer alternative positive attachment figures and learning situations for acting pro-socially.
  - When poor adolescents are expected to take financial responsibilities and are not able to fulfil the expectations as providers, this negatively impacts on economic, health and psychological well-being. In this regard, well-designed sport-in-development projects can improve job creation for a small number of people, and by employing leaders their economic situation and psychological well-being can be improved.
  - When adolescents have feelings of not being able to control their lives and that any choices made are not decisive anyway, well-designed sport-in-

development projects can offer situations in which beneficiaries experience a sense of achievement and in which they learn that they can in some extent influence the course of their lives.

- When children and youths have a huge amount of unsupervised time and little pro-social reinforcement, it is up to them to build their identity and decide what's right and wrong. Well-designed sport-in-development programmes can offer learning situations for certain norms, and can thus offer the opportunity to frame adolescents' identity.
- When adolescents face a lack of sport facilities, sport-in-development projects can extend the opportunities for physical activity adolescents have by offering access to these and to sport equipment.

Sport, being popular and favoured by many, can provide the chance to attract children and youths and then keeps the beneficiaries in the project – and by this improves their well-being for at least the time of engagement. While beneficiaries' improvement in life quality shouldn't be underestimated considering the contextual circumstances and challenges they are confronted with, any impact beyond cannot be generalized as specific outcome of sport-in-development projects. With the diversity of programme designs and individual contexts, there is no general 'sport-in-development' effect that can be traced back to sport itself. It is the additional features of the programme and the social bonding created in them as well as an enabling culture outside of the programmes that are central for personal development and behaviour change. The sport context is promising in this regard, as it creates a setting for people with shared interest and thus gets them interacting – both verbally and non-verbally, and thereby sets the prerequisite for establishing relationships. However, even if the right conditions are in place, it then depends on the varying life styles and life choices of the beneficiaries themselves that are again subject to manifold contextual and uncontrollable conditions; thus a programme outcome is never equal nor guaranteed (cp. Pawson & Tilley, 2004).

2. The debate in international development has shifted from economic growths indicators dominated by Western ethnocentricity (Sidaway, 2008; Millard, 2014)

to human development indicators that put the individual at the centre of development work (Elliott, 2008; Midgley, 2014; UN, 1986). It is understood that through empowering and educating individuals, social, political, economic and material change is achieved and thus poverty, inequality and injustice diminished (Finnemore, 1997; Peet & Hartwick, 1999; Sachs, 2005; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Kidd, 2011). Sen's understanding exceeds the individual perspective by arguing that above the acquisition of competencies and capabilities, people's choices (social, economic and political) have to be expanded and that there need to be opportunities to implement and apply them to levels outside the micro level sphere (Sen, 1999, 2005; Robeyns, 2005; Fukada-Parr, 2003). Results of this study indicate that while the programmes – to very different extents and intensities – were able to enhance beneficiaries' capabilities, in the majority of cases they couldn't or wouldn't be utilised on the outside. Existing power relations and other grievances in the community hindered such – and were themselves not challenged by the beneficiaries. To some extent, certain structures the projects were embedded in reinforced the power structures and hindered ideal conditions for enabling development. Whereas the findings indicate that well-designed sport-in-development programmes can improve well-being and partly influence skill development and behaviour change, the study's results also demonstrate that long-standing, broad and gauge problems cannot be fought with projects focusing solely on the individual. Any wider impact on other levels than the individual depends on the unique biography, contextual circumstances, unequal power relations and structural inequalities that made the beneficiaries the target group in the first instance. Having opportunities to be and do what the individuals want only within the boundaries of the project is not enough, but must also be provided in real-life situations outside of the project. Unless sport does not directly engage with the dominant political and economic structures and the sources of structural inequality, wider social change as postulated by a range of (sport-in-) development theorists and practitioners won't occur.

Regarding the role of the researcher and research itself, the exploratory findings reveal that the contextual circumstances, the arrangements of the programmes, power relations between the (Western) researcher and the researched and the difficulty to grasp social and individual change in its full contexts caused challenges for the realization of research.

The myriad of contextual and social factors that made up the fast changing environment that people in Khayelitsha lived in also influenced the programme activities – and thus affected the planned research activities. Programme interruptions and shutdowns, staff turnovers and beneficiaries not showing up hindered the feasibility of the research process. Also regarding the research sample that was not directly involved in the programme, logistics within the township and missed engagements delayed and sometimes totally disabled the prospective research. Within the projects, apart from organisational issues where to conduct research, the lack of value for research on all levels turned out to be one of the biggest challenges. Often this was connected to the programme's philosophy on M&E and/or the additional workload that was attached to the research that outweighed any visible benefit for the ones involved. Findings furthermore reveal that with the research being conducted by a white European woman (and thus easily identified to be in a better socio-economically position), biases were often inherent in the group of interest. Unintended, but inevitably existing, were power relations between researcher and researched that pulled through the research process and thus changed not only the way the researcher conducted the data collection but also on the data itself. Furthermore, finding showed that it was only through the help and collaboration with locals in the development of instruments, sample recruitment, accumulation of data and interpretation and in almost every daily activity such as issues regarding culture, language and safety that the researcher could gather the data. These findings strongly advocate for what's been pointed out by a range of other scholars (e.g. Sherry, Schulenkorf & Chaplin, 2015), namely that only by working together with locals, culturally and contextually relevant research approaches are possible. However, while such support was



essential, it turned out that finding reliable people to do so imposed another challenge – and the qualification of the assistants again determined the research facilitation.

Also apparent in the exploratory findings of this research were the personal issues of the foreign researcher establishing and challenging the research process. Connected with the specific situation, the privileged background of the researcher and with her coming from Europe, the legacy of apartheid, isiXhosa culture and dominant gender ideologies challenged the researcher in manifold ways. Other issues the researcher had to consistently follow up on were ethical considerations and ways to deal with the sensitive information and experiences, as those often related to violation of human rights.

While these explorative findings are kept under wraps or are at least - with rare exceptions - not explicitly pointed out by sport-in-development scholars, the majority of them has been outlined by scholars from other disciplines researching in instable and poor communities (cp. DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Patton, 2012; Flick, 2009; Linstroth, 2008; Kögler, 2008; Thiele, 2003; Madden, 2011). Thus, the key knowledge acquired in this study addresses mainly the popular discussion in the sport-in-development field of countervailing qualitative and quantitative approaches when dealing with marginalised people living in a context of poverty and inequality.

Findings of this study show that for grasping social and individual change in an environment characterised by complexity and marginalisation, the ethnographic approach underlying this study offered insights that would not have been captured with a purely quantitative approach. While a quantitative approach (if the facilitation allows a proper design) might present significant changes and strong research as asked for by funders, it could not have displayed the complexities of social reality and would have limited information for the research questions in focus. Furthermore, results show that the scientific gold standards resp. Western claims of knowledge production were often at odds with realities and possibilities on-site. The chosen methods (interview and storytelling, participant observation,

informal conversations etc.) offered the required flexibility and pragmatism needed in Khayelitsha to provide an in-depth picture of the phenomenon under study, namely sport-in-development programmes' opportunities and limitations to cause individual and wider social development in an area where socio-political problems remain notably high.

## **7.4. Outlook**

Concluding, an outlook is outlined that derives from the overall thesis. The following considerations are thereby grounded in both the empirical study about opportunities and limitations of sport-in-development projects and its effect on research and researcher as well as in the state-of-the-art of such. The knowledge gained in this research allows drawing practical and scientific consequences to be considered in sport-in-development programmes and further research efforts.

### **7.4.1. Practical Consequences**

Based on the results and the knowledge gained through entering the field of sport-in-development in Khayelitsha as a critical scholar, practical consequences must be outlined for organizations and other sport-in-development stakeholders.

Having highlighted that social bonding and having trustful and caring people from the same community to talk to are prerequisites for development, organizations are in charge to offer professional development sessions as well as content-preparing sessions to assure coach quality in this regard. However, it needs to be considered that putting the coaches as the main ones responsible for building and sustaining relationships lifts them into a unique and heavy position. With them ideally being from the same community, they most likely face the same difficulties and challenges as the participants. Because of this and the fact that they get confronted with sensitive issues that they are usually not trained for, they need – apart from

qualified training – people to support them (supervision) and people who they can refer their participants to in unique cases.

Acknowledging the challenge of recruiting and retaining effective staff, organizations need to value staff members' work (financially or through other needs, such as further qualifications) so that the benefits of working outweigh the (emotional, temporal, financial) costs they put in. Acquiring skills and qualifications that make them interesting for further education and employment seems desirable; however, realistically, the high unemployment rate in South Africa does make the latter very complicated.

Considering that the extent of impact are above all dependent on the amount of time with people who reinforce the norms of the organization, it's unavoidable to involve beneficiaries' significant others in programme activities and thus address as many microsystems as possible. In general, and with the range of newcomers showing up in the sport-in-development sector, learning from longer established organizations (especially the ones who do not focus on sport) and community stakeholders and act in concert with locals is key to improve performance.

Attached to this is a necessary change in thinking, not only on organizations' but also on donors' sides that programmes need to be adapted and modified with the involvement of locals at all levels. Short-term funding for one programme cycle only or funding attached to positive results leads to short-term projects that might cause more harm than good. To support rethinking, practitioners and academics should be encouraged to report on the challenges they come across when implementing programmes. An M&E culture that allows positive and negative results and does therefore reflect the realities on the ground might also help the staff understand why engagement with and participation in research is substantial. Believing that programmes could be implemented without being affected by the complex contextual circumstances and problems they were established in and for is escapist.

Ignoring the complexity of social phenomena and shifting the problem of a country to the individuals at the bottom is current practice by politicians and sport-in-development officials. Political failures, inequality and other major global issues

won't be solved by unreflectively implementing (large-scale) projects that focus on the individual only. As changes on other levels are necessary, it is reflection and critical reconsideration that is asked for when it comes to programme quantity, scope of impact and the deep-rooted complex and manifold social realities that cause drawbacks. In line with this, caution needs to be drawn with regard to inherent project structures and critical reflection is required as to whether they might actually reproduce what they are officially working against.

Last but not least, sport should not be treated as an apolitical tool. Sport is embedded in society's greater structures and it should be discussed how it can be used to bring about the concrete political changes it often aspires to.

#### **7.4.2. Academic Consequences**

In the course of this research, especially in focusing on the role of the researcher and research, it became apparent that the feasibility of what counts as rigorous scientific research in the Global North was often at odds with the situation on-site. To do justice to social phenomena and the variety of processes regarding change and development underlying such, time, flexibility, manpower and open-mindedness were needed. Although such an approach is inescapable for a holistic view and in-depth understanding, usually academic and non-academic funders do not finance these flexible approaches as they do not present their view on 'truth'. As such, rethinking funding for research approaches that are not mainstream but embrace a diversity of cultural-appropriate research designs and mixed methodologies as well as indigenous knowledge construction is required. Furthermore, to reinforce this necessity and to increase transparency and validity, researchers are asked to publish the difficulties and compromises they make when conducting research – regarding the research process but also regarding themselves as stranger entering a new world. Alike, with researchers from the Global North conducting research in the development field, biases and power structures are

inevitably there – on and between both sides. A critical reflection of such needs to be part of every research.

Not only, but also because of this necessity, the sport-in-development field cannot and should not be discussed by scholars from one discipline alone. Scholars have to orient themselves towards other disciplines who are experts in what they do. This embraces a multitude of sciences that operate on different levels: psychology, sociology, politics, ethnology, pedagogics and development, to name a few, with many of them having operated in the area of development for a long time. With sport-in-development constantly growing and more researchers engaging in it, it is of utmost importance to learn from what's already there – methodological- and content-wise. Sport, as a common and prevalent societal interest, can offer an area to get in touch with otherwise hard to reach population groups and might therefore present one possibility to learn and understand about other people's realities.

Despite the practical and organizational challenges in conducting longitudinal studies, it is important to aim at this kind of research in hopes of discerning any possible sustainable impact created by sport-in-development, be it in regards to individual, community or social change. With regard to this study, a follow-up on the sample would be desirable.

Content-wise, following some gaps of this study, the later are starting points for further studies:

- Scrutinize the role and interests/intentions of agents involved, such as government, local, national and international organizations, donors and volunteers
- Inquire what sport means for Global South players and how it is valued or contested in their everyday lives.
- Focus on the role of other free time activities (including informal sport activities, support groups, etc.) in beneficiaries' lives
- Explore the challenges of programme implementation and proposed solutions.

- Analyse the relationships between participants and coaches while focusing on the coaches.
- Dismantle the extent of coaches' responsibilities and the way they cope with them.
- Examine the effects on development regarding diverse codes (former white versus black codes, team codes versus individual sport; stereotyped male vs. female codes) as well as age and gender.

To investigate those research gaps appropriately, more focus needs to be drawn towards the collaboration with community members, practitioners as well as academics from the Global South to exchange ideas and experiences and learn from each other. In this vein, there should be better ways to circulate academic knowledge among practitioners and vice versa – no matter how the data underlying the results was gathered.

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## Annex I: Amandla – Sample Interviews Beneficiaries

	Gender	Age in 2013	Position in 2013	Age in 2014	Position in 2014
A.	f	-	-	20	Leader
B.	m	19	Participant	19	Participant
C.	f	9	Participant		
D.	m	21	Senior Leader	23	Leader
E.	f	16	Junior Leader	17	Participant
F.	f	12	Participant	13	Participant
G.	m	32	Senior Leader	33	Leader
H.	m	15	Participant	16	Participant
I.	m	15	Participant	16	Participant
J.	f	11	Participant	12	Participant
K.	f	21	Senior Leader	21	Leader
L.	m	22	Senior Leader	23	Leader
M.	m	18	Junior Leader	18	Participant
N.	m	14	Participant	15	Participant
O.	m	12	Participant	12	Participant
P.	m	23	Senior Leader	26	EX-Leader
Q.	m	14	Participant		
R.	m	25	Senior Leader	26	Leader
S.	m	25	EX-Leader	25	EX-Leader
T.	m	18	Participant		
U.	m	29	Senior Leader	30	Leader
V.	f	21	Senior Leader	22	Leader
W.	m	17	Junior Leader		
X.	m	13	Participant	14	Participant
Y.	f	15	Participant		
Z.	f	22	Senior Leader	23	Leader
AA.	m	9	Participant	10	Participant
BB.	f	12	Participant	14	Participant
CC.	m	14	Participant	15	Participant
DD.	m	20	Senior Leader	22	Leader
EE.	f	17	Junior Leader		
FF.	f	12	Participant		
GG.	f	24	Senior Leader	25	Leader
HH.	f	15	Participant		

## Annex II: Amandla – Sample Interviews Significant Others

	Significant Other	Relationship to Coach/Participant	Gender
<b>A.</b>	A1	Friend	f
	A2	Mum	f
	A3	Coach	m
	A4	Workmate 1	m
	A5	Workmate 2	m
	A6	Workmate 3	f
<b>B.</b>	B1	Sister	f
	B2	Girlfriend	f
<b>C.</b>			
<b>D.</b>			
<b>E.</b>			
<b>F.</b>	F1	Dad	m
	F2	Teammate 1	f
	F3	Teammate 2	f
<b>G.</b>	G1	Dad	m
<b>H.</b>	H1	Mum	f
	H2	Teammate 1	m
	H3	Teammate 2	m
<b>I.</b>			
<b>J.</b>	J1	Friend	f
	J2	Teammate	f
<b>K.</b>	K1	Mother	f
	K2	Friend	f
<b>L.</b>	L1	Mother/Sister	f
	L2	Girlfriend	f
<b>M.</b>	M1	Dad	m
	M2	Teammate	m
<b>N.</b>			
<b>O.</b>			
<b>P.</b>			
<b>Q.</b>			
<b>R.</b>	R1	Girlfriend	f
	R2	Family friend, former caretaker	f
	R3	Workmate 1	f
	R4	Workmate 2	m
	R5	Housemates	m
<b>S.</b>			
<b>T.</b>			
<b>U.</b>	U1	Girlfriend	f
<b>V.</b>	V1	Coach	m
	V2	Girlfriend	f
	V3	Workmate 1	m

	V4	Workmate 2	m
<b>W.</b>			
<b>X.</b>	X1	Teammate1	m
	X2	Teammate 2	m
	X3	mother	f
<b>Y.</b>			
<b>Z.</b>	Z1	Boyfriend	m
	Z2	Community Leader	f
<b>AA.</b>			
<b>BB.</b>	BB1	mother	f
	BB2	Friend or teammate	f
<b>CC.</b>	CC1	mother	f
<b>DD.</b>	DD1	Sister-in-law	f
<b>EE.</b>			
<b>FF.</b>	FF1	mother	f
<b>GG.</b>	GG1	Workmate	f
<b>HH.</b>			

### Annex III: MOD S – Sample Beneficiaries

	Gender	Age in 2013	Position	Age in 2014	Position
<b>A.</b>	m	13	Participant	14	Participant
<b>B.</b>	m	11	Participant		
<b>C.</b>	f	11	Participant	12	Participant
<b>D.</b>	f	38	Leader	39	Leader
<b>E.</b>	m	11	Participant	12	Participant
<b>F.</b>	m	11	Participant	12	Participant
<b>G.</b>	m	11	Participant	12	EX-P
<b>H.</b>	f	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>I.</b>	m	13	Participant	14	Participant
<b>J.</b>	m	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>K.</b>	m	28	Leader	29	Leader
<b>L.</b>	f	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>M.</b>	f	12	Participant	12	EX-P
<b>N.</b>	m	10	Participant	12	Participant
<b>O.</b>	m	13	Participant		
<b>P.</b>	f	11	Participant	12	Participant
<b>Q.</b>	f	11	Participant	12	Participant
<b>R.</b>	f	13	Participant	14	Participant
<b>S.</b>	f	12	Participant	13	EX-P
<b>T.</b>	f	11	Participant	12	EX-P
<b>U.</b>	m	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>V.</b>	m	12	Participant	12	Participant
<b>W.</b>	m	12	Participant		

## Annex IV: MOD S – Sample Interviews Significant Others

	Significant Other	Relationship to Coach/Participant	Gender
<b>A.</b>			
<b>B.</b>			
<b>C.</b>	C1	Friend (used to be involved)	f
	C2	Friend (used to be involved)	f
	C3	Mother	f
<b>D.</b>	D1	Boyfriend	m
<b>E.</b>			
<b>F.</b>	F1	Mother	f
<b>G.</b>			
<b>H.</b>	H1	Mother	f
	H2	Teammate	f
	H3	Teammate	f
<b>I.</b>			
<b>J.</b>			
<b>K.</b>	K1	Cousin 1	f
	K2	Cousin 2	f
	K3	Father	m
<b>L.</b>	L1	Mother	f
<b>M.</b>	M1	Friend	f
	M2	Mother	f
	M3	Teammate	f
<b>N.</b>	N1	Mother	f
	N2	Teammate	m
	N3	Friend	m
<b>O.</b>			
<b>P.</b>	P1	Mother	f
<b>Q.</b>	Q1	Teammate	m
	Q2	Mother	f
<b>R.</b>	R1	Sister	f
	R2	Teammate	f
<b>S.</b>	S1	Friend	f
<b>T.</b>	T1	Mother	f
<b>U.</b>	U1	Sister	f
<b>V.</b>	V1	Teammate	m
	V2	Mother	f

## Annex V: MOD F – Sample Beneficiaries

	Gender	Age in 2013	Position	Age in 2014	Position
<b>A.</b>	f	9	Participant	11	Participant
<b>B.</b>	f	11	Participant	12	Participant
<b>C.</b>	f	12	Participant		
<b>D.</b>	f	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>E.</b>			Participant		
<b>F.</b>	f	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>G.</b>	m	27	Leader	28	Leader
<b>H.</b>	m	23	Leader	24	Leader
<b>I.</b>	f	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>J.</b>	f	12	Participant	13	Participant
<b>K.</b>	f	13	Participant		
<b>L.</b>	f	13	Participant	13	Participant
<b>M.</b>	f	30	Leader		
<b>N.</b>	f	12	Participant	12	Participant
<b>O.</b>	f	9	Participant		
<b>P.</b>	f	10	Participant	11	Participant
<b>Q.</b>	f	13	Participant	14	Participant
<b>R.</b>	f	14	Participant	15	Participant
<b>S.</b>	m	12	Participant		
<b>T.</b>	f	13	Participant		
<b>U.</b>	f	9	Participant	11	Participant
<b>V.</b>	f	27	Leader		

## Annex VI: MOD F – Sample Significant Others

	<b>Significant Other</b>	<b>Relationship to Coach/Participant</b>	<b>Gender</b>
<b>A.</b>	F1	Mother	f
<b>H.</b>	H1	Best friend	m
	H2	Girlfriend	f
<b>I.</b>	I1	Aunt	f



## Annex VII: Girls & Football South Africa – Sample Beneficiaries

	Gender	Age in 2013	Age in 2014
A.	f	12	13
B.	f	12	
C.	f	13	
D.	f	13	
E.	f	12	13
F.	f	12	
G.	f	12	
H.	f	11	
I.	f	12	13
J.	f	11	12

# CV: MARIE ANNA BIERMANN



## SELECTED PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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Since 02/2015

### German Sports University Cologne

*Research Assistant for the Program 'Boxgirls Afterschool Clubs South Africa'*

- Supervision, monitoring & evaluation of sport-in-development programs in Khayelitsha, South Africa (including frequent field visits)
- Training of local assistants in basics of research and data collection methods on-site

*Expert Advisor for the GIZ-Program 'Sport for Development in Africa'*

- Supervision, monitoring & evaluation of sport-in-development programs in six African countries
- Support with the WoM-system

*Evaluator of the Program 'Sport for Social Change and Education' in Bosnia-Herzegovina (in collaboration with CARE International)*

- Setting up strategies on how to adjust football training in order to achieve the project objectives together with local coaches
- Development of curriculum, which defines thematic areas and provides related drills and games
- Scientific monitoring and evaluation of the program through quantitative and qualitative data collection before and after the intervention

*Lecturer for BA/MA-Students & Supervision of BA/MA-Theses*

- Topics including sport didactic, sport pedagogy, sport sociology, sport and international development as well as research methodology

02/2013 - 07/2013

01/2014 - 07/2014

### Development Programs in South Africa

*Program Evaluator for AmandlaEdufootball and Girls and Football South Africa (both NGOs) and for two Afterschool Projects (organized by South Africa's Western Cape Government, Department for Cultural Affairs and Sport)*

- Ethnographic fieldwork
- Analysis of projects' contextual factors with a focus on socio-economics in townships
- Consulting organizations with regard to program development and evaluation strategies
- Implementation of strategies to evaluate effects of sport programs via questionnaires, focus groups, interviews and participant observation

*Research Assistant at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Excellence in Sports Science and Development (ICESSD)*

- Literature search and state-of-the-art analysis on sport and development in the Western Cape
- Getting to know sport-related development projects and their internal evaluation strategies
- Training of local assistant in basics of research and data collection methods
- Developing a network (clubs, GOs, NGOs) with regard to data collection
- Organizing an event for young women on possibilities and opportunities to study at the University of Western Cape

- 04/2011 - 01/2013**      **University of Paderborn, Germany**  
*Research Assistant in the EU-Project 'Active Lifestyles – Physical Illiteracy as a Way to Promote Activity in Inactive Groups' (Prof. Dr. Brandl-Bredenbeck)*  
  
*Lecturer for BA/MA-Students & Supervision of BA/MA-Theses*
- 06/2010**                **ISCPES-Conference in Nairobi, Kenya**  
*Speaker on 'Sport – a tool to reach the millennium development goals?!'*
- 2009 - 2010**            **Coca-Cola GmbH & DOSB, Germany**  
*Assistant and Evaluator at 'Mission Olympic – gesucht: Deutschlands aktivste Stadt'*
- 10/2009 - 05/2012**   **ASC Paderborn, Germany**  
*Sports Coach for Families*
- 08/2009 - 02/2010**   **TuRa Elsen, Germany**  
*Sports Coach for People with Disabilities (certificate acquired by BSNW)*
- 09/2008 - 03/2009**   **Florida State University in Tallahassee, USA**  
*Intern in the Department 'Sport & Exercise Psychology' (Prof. Dr. Tenenbaum)*
- 2007 - 2011**            **University of Paderborn, Germany**  
*Student Assistant in the Department 'Sport & Health' (Prof. Dr. Brettschneider)*
- 12/2007**                **European Academy of Sport, Germany**  
*Student Assistant at the German-Chinese Symposium*

## SELECTED SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

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- Since 2008**                      **Non-Government Organisation ‘Watoto wa jua – Kinder der Sonne e.V.’ in Tanzania and Germany**  
*Founder and President*
- Fundraising, such as presentations to potential finders about life in Mwangaria
  - Planning and implementation of projects with local partners; including financial support of children and youths, building a kindergarten and starting the Mwangaria Institute of Agriculture and Livestock
  - Control and administration of projects by regular visits to meet with responsible actors
  - Collaboration with National Council for Technical Education (NACTE) and Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) to develop school curriculum
- 07/2004 - 11/2004**            **Ghona Secondary School in Mwangaria, Tanzania**  
*Teacher and Parish Worker*

## EDUCATION

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- Since 08/2012**                      **German Sports University Cologne**  
PhD Program at the Institute of European Sport Development and Leisure Studies
- Title of Thesis *„Sport-in-Development Programmes in Marginalized Communities in South Africa: Analysis of their Opportunities and Limitations and Challenges for Research(ers)“*
  - Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Mittag (DSHS Cologne) and Prof. Dr. Vanreusel (KU Leuven, Belgium)
  - Scholarship from Cusanuswerk e.V.
- 04/2005 - 05/2011**            **University of Paderborn, Germany**  
Diploma in Sport Science (1,5)  
First State Examina in English and Sport for teaching at secondary schools (1,9)
- Title of thesis: *“Claims and Effects of Sport-in-Development Projects – A State-of-the-Art-Analysis“*
  - Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Brettschneider

## COMPUTER- AND LANGUAGE SKILLS

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German (native), English (excellent), French (good), Xhosa and Swahili (basic)  
MS Office (excellent), NVIVO (excellent), SPSS (good)