SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, PEACEBUILDING AND DEMOCRATIZATION THROUGH COMMUNITY-BASED SPORT: PERSPECTIVES OF GLOBAL SOUTH FACILITATORS IN RURAL NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
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ABSTRACT

Sport can be an important tool to facilitate learning for transformative social development, as a catalyst for development and peace in post-conflict contexts. This research involves semi-structured interviews regarding the first-hand accounts and perspectives, in relation to facilitation of sport activities for social development, of local volunteer trained facilitators, working in two sport for development and peace projects in South Africa and Namibia. A review of theory and research literature on democratic citizenship and peacebuilding provides a context for hearing and understanding the facilitators’ voices. This thesis shows what selected facilitators experienced and learned through participation in these community based projects, and situates their perspectives on how their sport for development and peace projects facilitated global and local belonging, democratic citizenship engagement, and peacebuilding. These counternarratives based on lived experience contribute to critical anti-colonial approaches to understanding sport for development and peace in rural Southern Africa.

Keywords: Sport for development and peace, citizenship, mobility, community development, South Africa, Namibia, rural, anti-colonial, international development, democratization
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Robin and Wes have been my companions and brothers as fellow graduate students at OISE, central influences on how I think about development and education, and people I could count on for library sessions and post lecture libations.

To Seodhna, Eric, Mandla, Anton, Guppy and all the baobab trees in Southern Africa, thank you for your inspiration, support and guidance. I am extraordinarily grateful to the facilitators, and contacts in South Africa and Namibia who took the time to share their experience and knowledge with me as participants in this research. Without them, there would be no thesis.

OISE graciously awarded me a Graduate Funding Package for my first year in graduate studies. I am very thankful to the University for their generosity and trust in me. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada honoured me with the Joseph Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship providing me with twelve more months of generous financial support for my Masters work. In addition, I could not have completed my research abroad without the Michael Smith Foreign Study Supplement. The financial support from SSHRC, CGS and OISE, enabled my transition from the role of teacher back to student and I am very thankful for such an opportunity.

The other major influence on my decision to undertake a Masters at this point in life were my mom and dad, who have been an enormous source of motivation to attain higher levels of education than they ever had the opportunity to obtain in their own lives. From their humble beginnings in their respective villages, all they ever wanted for their two daughters was to receive an education and enjoy the liberation and opportunity they
dreamt it could bring. My mom, a perpetually curious and inquisitive woman, has an endless thirst for knowledge. She did not have a chance to engage in formal schooling, but, that hasn’t stopped her from engaging constantly in the learning process. Her viewpoint on learning by doing, and by exploring what is around you, has heavily influenced me to think outside the box and classroom to seek learning opportunities.

Friends and family are crucial when one takes a leap away from structure into the relatively isolated research process. Miriam, my loving sister, Julia G, Kelly S, Sarah B, Elodie, Ken, Zartaj, Andrew, Tania, and Zucchini (my uber loyal canine companion) always let me turn to them when I needed companionship, support, gentle encouragement or switching from cognitive activities to physical movement.

Finally and essentially, to Karl, my loving husband and partner in all pursuits. You have been a steady source of support and love (tech support and printing) over the past two years always pushing me along, never entertaining the possibility of failure. Thank you for fostering our marriage to have as Kahlil Gibran puts it, “spaces in our togetherness, where the winds of the heavens dance between us, and our love is a moving sea between the shores of our souls.”
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FORWARD

Much of my motivation to seek knowledge in the form of formal education has been a result of my own informal learning experiences through film, literature, travel, and listening to the words of inspirational philosophers, storytellers and visionaries namely Ryzard Kapucniski, Dr. James Orbinski, Stephanie Nolen, Kuki Gallman, and Nelson Mandela. Dr, Orbinski has said, “We all have stories, ones that cannot go untold. We find ourselves in them, make ourselves in them, choose ourselves in them.” This thesis is a series of stories, from individuals trying to make a positive impact through sport. Orbinski has asked himself again and again, "How am I to be, how are we to be in relation to the suffering of others?" It is a question that has stayed with me since reading his book, An Imperfect Offering. This thesis is my attempt to imperfectly offer something as a symbol for my love of Africa, its citizens, and its heart and soul.

This thesis is dedicated to Maude Kenny, Stara Mama, Valerie Rhoda Mary Crasto, Marlene, Miriam, and Kathy Harper-Hall; the strongest woman I have ever known.
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIDE</td>
<td>Comparative International Development Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTL</td>
<td>Curriculum, Teaching and Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGS</td>
<td>Canada Graduate Scholarship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Federation Internationale de Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRS</td>
<td>Grass Roots Soccer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAO</td>
<td>Kicking Aids Outs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIT</td>
<td>Leaders in Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Master of Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MYSA</td>
<td>Mathare Youth Sports Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFA</td>
<td>Namibian Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OISE</td>
<td>Ontario Institute for Studies in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAY</td>
<td>Physically Active Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSA</td>
<td>Republic of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCORE</td>
<td>Sport Coaches Outreach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSCN</td>
<td>Sport for Social Change Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSHRC</td>
<td>Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>Sport for Development and Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDPIWG</td>
<td>Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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1. Introduction

Community based sport programming may be implemented as a tool for broad social development goals including education, health, empowerment, economic and/or social citizenship, capacity building and conflict resolution/peacebuilding (Schulenkorf, 2012) (R. Levermore, 2008). Sport for development and peace (SDP) focuses not only on the development of sport activities and capacities themselves, but also on the social development of individuals and communities by harnessing the power of sport to achieve broad-based social change within a global development agenda (United Nations (UN), 2003). Sport has been implemented as a catalyst for social transformation processes by several Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) around the world, such as Right to Play, and by governments such as Brazil’s (SDPIWG report, 2006). With the support of United Nations policies articulated and given some evidence of positive project results (see below), a well-designed sport and physical activity program can be a powerful tool for fostering healthy youth through social development, teaching positive values and life skills, strengthening formal education, preventing disease (particularly transmission of HIV/AIDS), and improving health and well-being (R. Levermore, 2008; Spaaj, 2009). These programs can help to promote the empowerment and inclusion of marginalized groups, especially girls/women, migrants, and people with disabilities. Furthermore, sport and physical activity programs can assist in preventing and reducing violent conflict by increasing social cohesion, mitigating and resolving interpersonal and intergroup conflict, and contributing to peacebuilding including community economic development (Right to Play, 2003).

This thesis is based on a qualitative inquiry about the perspectives of selected sport for development facilitators who grew up and work in the global South, and who had worked with one of either two particular sport for development and peace non-governmental organizations in rural South Africa and/or Namibia. The term “global South” will be used throughout this thesis, to denote communities of people in particular geographical locations experiencing a common set of development problems - which emanate, by and large, from deep inequities of power within and between nations (Reed, 2004).

By interviewing nine global South-based facilitators with varying levels of experience, as well as two key informants (local experts) for background knowledge, I set out to understand the lived experiences and perspectives of trained local community facilitators regarding the relevance of such sport projects to social (democratic and peacebuilding) development in the communities where they actually lived. I limit my research scope to facilitators working in two NGOs that run community
projects across South Africa and Namibia (many based in the most disadvantaged rural provinces). This research will supplement the scarce research base on sport for development practice that reflects or attends to the viewpoints of community leaders who originate in the marginalized global South communities that are served by these programmes (Nicholls, Giles, & Sethna, 2011). Interviewing facilitators from the global South is a way of recognizing and accessing indigenous knowledge and thereby enriching collaborative knowledge production (Burnett 2009). Facilitators from the global South are especially qualified to discuss how such development and peace initiatives fit (and conflict) with their local cultural and political contexts, based on their deeply rooted understanding of the needs of their own (and similar) communities. This research thereby serves as a counternarrative to notions of ‘best practice’ formulated by outsiders who are less connected to these Southern communities by offering locally grounded insights about how and SDP program works (and encouraging involvement by disenfranchised groups) (Edwards 2004, Kabeer, 2002, Robins et al., 2008). This research contributes a perspective on how sport for development and peace initiatives could respond to the theoretical and practical challenges of decolonizing social development (Darnell, 2011).

The fields of development, humanitarian aid and education are well established. However, the related field of sport for development and peace has been a relatively isolated niche, in which other seemingly complimentary disciplines often do not intersect. (Coalter, 2010). Sport often remains extraneous to serious discussions of global politics, economics and foreign policy (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011). The general mistrust of sport within the development community has been said to be a result of the tendency of some sport to reinforce forms of social domination, or to distract people from more ‘serious’ and urgent development issues (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011). Due to the consistent gaps between received theory and actual reality of sport for development and peace, a level of skepticism has arisen in development sociology (Fred Coalter, 2015; Portes, 2000). This thesis research takes sport for development and peace out of the ‘box’ to demonstrate to other disciplines, such as education, that sport can be a useful vehicle for creating learning that contributes to sustainable social development and peace.

Sport activities can function as a form of education that mediates and contributes to the transmission of moral and cultural values, language, and behavioural norms. Sport for development programmes are spaces for informal learning - socialization within media, family or community – and especially non-formal learning, meaning planned and organized education that is more flexible than formal school learning curriculum (or, may be combined) with formal schooling to build and transform disadvantaged communities (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000 p. ix). Within non-formal education opportunities,
children and youth take part in structured activities, outside regular classroom work, that aim to empower them by providing skills training, rights awareness and opportunities for collective (democratic) decision making (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Evans, 2008) Research on such sport-for-change programming can contribute to the intellectual and practical development of sport for development, by placing it within a much wider world of knowledge and research and by theorizing and documenting both its limitations and its potential (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011). Sport programming of this type constitutes a response - albeit not a complete answer - to some of the failings of dominant development orthodoxy (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011; Roger Levermore & Beacom, 2012) Especially informed by global South facilitators’ experience and wisdom of practice, careful inquiry regarding sport for development and peace programming can be a means for challenging current approaches to international development (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011).

1.1 Research Context: Rural South Africa and Namibia

Rural poverty in Southern Africa is associated with limited access to transportation, food, clean water, employment, and quality education. The work of the two NGOs featured in this thesis extend to several provinces and regions within several sub-Saharan countries, however, the South African and Namibian based facilitators interviewed for this study worked primarily in three provinces: Limpopo and Mpumalanga (South Africa) and Khomas (Namibia). These provinces are targeted by many NGOs because more than half of their populations reside in rural communities with the highest prevalence of HIV and AIDS. Mpumalanga’s HIV and AIDS rate of 36 per cent of the population is the highest in South Africa. In this province, 90 per cent of the population is comprised of black Africans of Swati, Zulu, Sotho and Ndebele groups (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Limpopo province has the fifth largest population (of South Africa’s nine provinces) of 5.4 million people (www.gov.za). The variety of languages, dialects, ethnic and tribal alliance is vast. The province’s rate of HIV rate is the same as the country average 18.9 per cent. The main drivers of the economy in Limpopo are tourism, mining and agribusiness. Despite this, Limpopo is the province with the highest level of poverty: 78.9 per cent of the populations live below the poverty line. In 2011, 74 per cent of local dwellings were located in a tribal or traditional area, compared to a national average of 27.1 per cent (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Khomas provinces, share commonalities of poor social infrastructure, lack of opportunities for schooling children, and an overall fear for safety (UNICEF, 2007).
In my own experience, certain Southern African rural communities continue to be adversely affected by the economic problems described above. They have little access to infrastructure resources such as public transit, which makes them isolated from urban centers and from stable employment. Inadequate upkeep of roads (many are not tarred) also impedes delivery of supplies to the communities, schools and shops. Hospitals remain underfunded, provide inadequate care, and are usually not located within remote, rural communities. According to a UNICEF report, 54 per cent of children in Limpopo and 34 per cent in Mpumalanga live in households with no employed or self employed household members (UNICEF, 2007). In such a context of systemic lack of employment and stagnant economic activity, improving opportunities for community engagement and meaningful active citizenship learning could impact children and youth in a positive way.

Namibia, with a population of 2,212,307 people, has the sixth highest HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate in the world of 15.97 per cent (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Namibia struggles with similar issues of high youth unemployment (56.2 percent which affects more females than males) and a history of racial inequality and oppression. 87.5 per cent of the population of Namibia is black of whom 50 per cent are from the Ovambo tribe. There are 13 recognized national languages including 10 indigenous African languages. The diversity of the people who make up this smaller and more sparsely populated nation (compared with RSA) adds to the complexities of the thesis research context. Namibia was ruled by South Africa for 75 years - almost considered as an extra province thus it shares with its neighbour a deep history in Apartheid, economic poverty, racial inequality, armed conflict, a war for independence, and later, reconciliation among nations, former colonial rulers, ethnic (tribal) and political groups. Namibia achieved independence from South Africa in 1990 after a 25-year bush war. In 1991, South Africa negotiated an end to Apartheid, held its first non-racial election and formulated a government of national unity (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). So, the multilayered elements of post colonial and armed struggles have checkered the post armed-conflict histories of these nations to be complex and tumultuous.

Despite the conflictual histories and dismal statistical evidence regarding poverty, HIV and AIDS, optimism prevails through the palpable enthusiasm for sport for development in South Africa and Namibia. A series of public-private partnerships have mobilized sport programming to help achieve a range of development goals (Whitley, Hayden, & Gould, 2013). The two NGOs in this study gained momentum in transmitting health messages, education and development strategies to many of the impoverished, rural communities of South Africa and Namibia.
Since 1991, the South African based SDP NGO, which will be referred in this thesis by the pseudonym SPIKE, has established several partnerships with international funding and volunteers in order to roll out sport for development initiatives within numerous communities affected by high levels of poverty and (in some instances) geographic isolation. The NGO SPIKE has a proven track record of 25 years of rural sport for development and peace programming and continues provides ongoing community based programs in South Africa, Zambia, and Namibia including training and support services to private and governmental partners. The second NGO in this study, which will be referred in this thesis by the pseudonym PIE, was designed and implemented in Namibia in 2002 to support the high school students having difficulty passing their Grade 10 national exam. This programme combines sport, recreation, health education and academic tutoring to provide a holistic sport for development and peace framework.

1.2 Researcher’s Standpoint

Sport for development and peace uses sport programming as a tool to achieve health and other social development goals. To extend this definition, sport for development and peace draw strength from community-based capacity building practices that are committed to privileging indigenous knowledge (Nicholls & Giles, 2007; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Smith, 1999). My study investigates the personal experiences and perspectives of facilitators from South Africa and Namibia in sport for development and peace programmes in their sub-Saharan African post-conflict context. From my own perspective, there remains much to be critically examined when it comes to considering sport as a vehicle for development and peacebuilding around the world (Fred Coalter, 2015; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Roger Levermore, 2008). I advocate a greater recognition of the viewpoints of those directly involved in local communities, at the ground level of sports for development and peace projects in the global South. Facilitators insights and viewpoints have gone unacknowledged: thus in my thesis, I connect the worlds of academic scholarship with personal narratives based on in-field experiences. Sport for development and peace projects in southern Africa constitute a form of alternative (non-formal) educational programming. Incorporating into scholarship on this work the voices and indigenous knowledge of facilitators from the global South embeds elements of anti-colonial education scholarship, to reclaim and strengthen multiple sites of knowledge (George J Sefa Dei, 1999).

The idea for this research originated eight years ago. I have always had a desire to work in an African context where I could find a way to tangibly interact with the culture, history and politics of a region that made me feel a complex blend of sympathy and admiration. I wanted to connect my passion
for sport, community development and education within a context outside of Canada, in a developing nation. In 2004, I completed my first International Development Through Sport Internship as a Healthy Lifestyles Assistant Regional Project Manager in the Eastern Caribbean. Being only two of eight volunteers placed in the Caribbean, while others were deployed to sub-Saharan Africa, I began to learn about these regions of the world and to gain a small insight into the global development agenda. In 2007, I was awarded a second Commonwealth Games internship as a Provincial Project Manager for a Sport for development programme in Limpopo, South Africa. This position involved being a Provincial Coordinator for a multi provincial project fostering an environment for increased participation for girls in football. As a Canadian volunteer, being supported by government funding, these internships facilitated an exposure to the geopolitical, ideological and cultural implications of external agencies providing the funding for projects in developing countries. Though the internships were personally transformative and exposed me to experiences in international development through sport (including some monitoring and evaluation), they did not provide me sufficient critical reflection. I began to consider ways that academia could provide greater insight or opportunities to better understand how these projects are perceived or experienced by the facilitators themselves as well as the connection to the bigger picture of sport for development, peacebuilding, mobility and social transformation. Furthermore, my experience in health promotion, education and curriculum studies compels me to inquire upon the way facilitators understand and enact citizenship and social transformation at the local level. As the people from around the world become more connected a result of technology, globalization, and programme synergies such as in these sports for development and peace projects, I realized the impacts on peoples’ affiliations and a greater sense of connectivity than ever before. Some people can enact multiple identities with citizenship, they could experience multiple or fluid citizenships contingent upon the spaces they are in. I learned that perhaps more than ever before, a cross cultural or cross border dialogue of sharing personal experiences could be useful, motivational and can help in critiquing the privilege of some and questioning what could be done to improve the life of community members that may have once be completely isolated from any outside forces or factors. What bothered me was seeing talented facilitators in rural communities not receiving the opportunities they deserved, based on their hard work and belief in an approach to development that valued indigenous knowledge. I became motivated to attend graduate school and start studying this subject in order to better understand why it appeared that global North volunteers had greater social and professional trajectories than global South facilitators when these projects were actually aimed at improving the lives and situations of people within the global South communities? I wanted to hear
from these leaders personally and in one on one interviews about their perceptions of these projects. Once I began to review SDP literature, I also recognized a gap (that others had also acknowledged) in first-hand accounts from global South facilitators. Furthermore, I agree with literature that claims “no amount of community-level peacebuilding can make a sustainable difference in the absence of broader, structural-level change in the relationship between state and society” (McCandless et al., 2015 pg.6).

1.3 Research Goals and Overview of Proposed Research

Sport for development and peace programs have been often reviewed in overly positive or uncritical ways. Where evidence or narrative testimonial claims that a sport for development program is effective, it is important, for instance, how the program’s effects were measured at the local level and whether they might have assumed to have a multiplier effect at a larger scale (Fred Coalter, 2015). The vocabulary, discourses and goals in sport for development and peace programs stem from Western (or westernized) sources and these may not necessarily be appropriate or sustained within an African context (Darnell, 2010). For instance, HIV/AIDS education that is based on research and curriculum design from the global North, and delivered in English under the leadership of global North project managers, may be irrelevant or unresponsive to members of a rural community in Namibia or South Africa. What are often missing from such research are the voices of the facilitators and programme managers who are from the global South.

Apparently, active citizenship capacities and social capital can be developed through volunteering in sport, and through sport for development programs (Coalter, 2010). My thesis inquiry asks: how do selected SDP community facilitators from the global South view their participation in SDP, in relation to their belonging to their South African and Namibian communities? Also, this thesis aims to display similarities and differences between two SDP organizations which could indicate that particular SDP activities and learnings do not follow one format and success is achieved through programming that is tailored to its participants and its context.

And, how do the facilitators view sport-based activities, as an alternative approach to social development, as contributing to or interfacing with democratic citizenship, peacebuilding and/or anti-colonial approaches toward development? I inquire about their perceptions, motivations and learning embedded in their experiences with sport for development in rural South African communities.

My motivation is to learn about program facilitators’ experiences and perceptions, in order to contribute to scholarly and practical understandings of how sport-based programming may be a viable approach to social development. Thus, this study is intended to shed light on the implications of SDP
initiatives for fields of development and curriculum and pedagogy. This thesis invited and collected, in particular, the points of view of selected facilitators who themselves originate in the global South, and compares their perspectives with published citizenship, peacebuilding and development discourses. I asked facilitators about their working contexts, their conceptions of citizenship and peacebuilding and development education implications of their programme, their histories with and investments in the work, and their sense of the conditions which support, constrain, sustain and shape possibilities within their programming. This thesis will add to critical research vital to the field as it will contribute to the knowledge base (supplementing work by non-governmental organizations) on how sport for development and peace programming may encourage social citizenship engagement and peacebuilding by a wide range of people, including those from disenfranchised groups (see also; Edwards, 2004a; Fine & Harrington, 2004; Kabeer, 2002; Robins et al., 2008). For instance, physical activities such as playing football may yield spaces for democratic thinking and enacting citizenship about issues such as HIV/AIDS transmission, thus becoming a vehicle for social transformation.

In order build upon the questions I had lingering from my own brief experience as a sport facilitator in the field, this qualitative study focuses directly on ground-level facilitators’ voices, perspectives and practices (Vandra Lea Masemann, 1982; Mintzberg, 2006). Thus, my purpose is to “experience, interpret, and represent culture and society” (Pink, 2001 p.18) - informed by, and to inform, theoretical and practical discussions about community sport activities as vehicles for non-formal education for social development.

In my experience I have seen that, through sport’s popular appeal, it can be a highly effective tool for communication, education and social mobilization. In particular, the dissemination of health information through from local facilitators’ points of view may provide space for learning to enable development of individual agency and/or social transformation. Drawing on a growing body of critical and post colonial literature of sport for development and peacebuilding, I argue below that SDP initiatives, as currently organized, may not alter a ‘glass ceiling’ (of limiting mobility) for global South facilitators. Thus, the opportunity for facilitators’ voices to be heard may contribute to strengthening programming for social transformation.
2. Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

This literature review articulates a conceptual understanding of the issues that surround sport programming for development and peace. I highlight how theories on anti-colonial education, co-creation of knowledge, and citizenship are interconnected and how they may inform my research. First, I outline definitions of development, violence and peacebuilding relevant to this research. Then, I define the term post-conflict context, then, I examine approaches to development through various critical and anti-colonial perspectives. I review the policy history of how notions of sport (alone) and sport for development and peace emerged and developed. Next, I review the arguments of sport for development scholars, both critical and supportive of the movement. Further, I present the arguments of anti-colonial and critical theorists that repressive colonial structures grounded in Northern knowledge and Western hegemony remain in place today, especially in projects in the sub-Saharan Africa, in particular South Africa and Namibia. I outline approaches to the co-creation of knowledge through opportunities for multiple community viewpoints to be heard, and apply these ideas to the context of development and peace, including decolonization (the disruption of northern hegemony). These conceptions are brought together as a frame for my subsequent analysis of the experiences and perspectives of selected global Southern origin facilitators on the sport-based programming they have helped to implement in their South African and Namibian communities. I also review various perspectives on what constitutes sport for development and peace, and the findings and challenges of previous research on SDP programmes. I discuss the location of such programming within a Westernized model of education and development.

2.2 Learning Context: Sport for Development and Peace

2.2.1 Description and Goals of SDP

It has been commonly understood that sport has the potential to foster leadership, good citizenship and self-esteem (Maguire & Young, 2002). However, the use of sport as an engine to drive international development and peace education has stood on the periphery of development and of the common conceptions regarding sport’s role in society. The notion of sport for development is not a single intention to develop sport, but also on the development of individuals, communities and nations by harnessing the power of sport to accomplish broad-based social change within a global development agenda (United Nations (UN), 2003). For centuries, sport and its practices have been deeply embedded in the rich cultural heritage of many groups of people around the world. It can be a tool for building
community, sharing knowledge, and bonding. On the other hand, sport has also fostered societal division and promoted intolerance, aggression and maintaining hegemony. For instance, predominant values or ethos associated with contemporary sporting practice tend to celebrate and reinforce ideas of hyper-competitiveness and specialization that habituate participants (both athletes and spectators) (S. Darnell, 2010). Sport has also had a history of being a ‘potent element’ within wider colonial projects, such as with Britain using the social, political and ideological functions in sustaining imperial rule (Giulianotti, 2011).

Sport for development is a rather recent social construct, in which sport is positioned as a tool for social development to provide a channel for individuals and communities to realize their potential (Okada and Young, 2011). In the late 1990’s, the sport for development movement evolved from fragmented and unorganized interventions to a more cohesive field with the founding of several organizations. With a more increased profile, during the late 1990’s, the field of sport for development became a field of its own due to two broad shifts in social policy (Jarvie, 2011). First, UK Policy (Bloom, Grant & Watt, 2005; The Australian Sports Commission, 2006) shifted from the approach of developing sport in the community, to seeking to develop communities through sport (Fred Coalter, 2015). Second, the United Nations included sport to support the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Moving away from a singular focus on economic-oriented human capital, the MDGs shifted investment to social capital, with a emphasis on social inclusion. That is to say, development discourse in the MDGs focused on improving community safety, social cohesion, and education, and addressing issues of public health (Fred Coalter, 2015; Kidd, 2008a). Based upon the theoretical foundations of development studies, of sport for development and peace is a field with an initial body of literature. Many organizations around the world (including Magic Bus in Mumbai in 1999, Edusport in Zambia also in 1999, as well as EMIMA in Tanzania in 2001) have helped put SDP on the radar of development workers and educators around the globe. These organizations use sport in various ways to achieve local community development goals. With this relatively new and narrower definition of development, there resides hope and curiosity of how sport can foster development in its own unique manifestation.

There is some evidence of contention and skepticism from the traditional field of development taking longer to warm to the idea that sport might be considered an engine that drives development forward (R. Levermore, 2008). However, many policies and resolutions have legitimized the field as well as the formation of the International Platform on Sport and Development (sportanddev.org). In 2001, a Special Advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace
was appointed. In 2003, the United Nations adopted Resolution 58/5 entitled *Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace.* This resolution solidified the potentiality of sport as a vehicle to promote development and contribute to public health, universal education, gender equality, poverty reduction, and peacebuilding and conflict resolution. (*Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Report from the Athens Round Forum.*, n.d.) Several international groups, NGOs, scholars and practitioners have since begun investigating the field and contributing to the literature in this area. 2005 marked the UN’s International Year of Sport and Physical Education (UN, 2005b). In 2007, the European Council published a white paper on the powerful potential of sport arguing that it, “generates important values such as team spirit, solidarity, tolerance and fair play, contributing to personal development and fulfillment” (Kornbeck, 2013). Sport can teach values for instance, when athletes form teams that work together to reach goals, these activities simultaneously promote social development and conflict resolution skills. As of 2012, 166 organizations are engaged in this type of programming (Kidd, 2008b).

### 2.2.2 Locating SDP in relation to Formal, Informal and Non-Formal Education

Non-formal education refers to planned and organized educational initiatives outside the school classroom; it can be a valuable addition to empower many communities (Evans, 2008). SDP is an example of non-formal education, as it refers is an initiative where youth take part in structured, facilitated activities aimed to empower participants by providing skills training, rights awareness and opportunities for collective (democratic) decision making. In South Africa and Namibia, rural government schools are gravely underfunded, often with oversized classes and lack of sufficient teachers. However, non-formal educational programming in the form of sport for development and peace may infuse much needed hope and opportunity, perhaps supplementing or mitigating dependence upon the formal education system.

Peacebuilding is a long-term process, consistent with Galtung’s idea of sustainable positive peace (above) - includes transforming social structures and building equitable, nonviolent social institutions (Lederach, 2005; Maiese, 2003). Peacebuilding educators such as Lederach and Galtung have worked primarily in non-formal education environments: relatively voluntary, flexible, malleable spaces for facilitating learning and development of capacities, in this instance, for democratic relationships, social conflict transformation and other elements of sustainable peace. Curriculum and pedagogy embedded in SDP projects may generate spaces for the inclusion of elements conducive to building sustainable democratic peace. The root causes of conflict must be addressed in order to change
social structures and prevent continued structural and cultural as well as direct physical violence. In South Africa and Namibia, change at the community level would be impeded by structural inequality and/or disrespectful cultural beliefs related to gender, ethnicity, power or mobility. At the same time, a programme that stems from grassroots beginnings, if entirely disconnected from wider political dynamics and knowledge/experience (such as that surrounding sport for development and peace initiatives), could be more palliative than transformative (Mccandless et al., 2015). Sport for development and Peace programmes can be contributors to the realm of non-formal education in that they address conflict and violence through the activities both physical and social they deliver. The curriculum and pedagogy though not necessarily delivered in a school setting, can still teach facilitators and youth participants certain skills pertaining to the promotion of transformative social development and peacebuilding.

2.2.3 Sport for Social Development and Conflict Resolution

Community sport activities as a way to reconstruct communities have been a strategy used by many organizations all over the world. Sport has been viewed as a means for establishing community regeneration, social inclusion, and reconstruction efforts in post-conflict situations. Some argue that sport contributes to the development of social capital in the form of bonding, bridging and linking among people and groups (Burnett, 2006; F. Coalter, 2010). Sport may contribute to individual, economic and community safety (Brady, 2005; F. Coalter, 2010). For these reasons, sport has been implemented as a development tool in rebuilding areas that have suffered violent conflict. In 2004, a sport and development conference in Switzerland presented several recommendations to stakeholders regarding the inclusion of sport in society. One recommendation was for sport programming focused on conflict resolution and reconstruction to be implemented in post-conflict and divided societies (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004). Similarly, Nelson Mandela conveyed his belief in sport education as a viable vehicle for peace at a meeting with the president of the international organization ‘Peace and Sport’ by stating: “I find in ‘Peace and Sport’ two aspects which I particularly adhere to and I am convinced that they can serve to promote Peace in the world: education, first of all, which is a powerful tool that helps mentalities to evolve and differences to be transcended; and then sport, which is a source of inspiration for youths, to surpass oneself, to learn tolerance and respect” (Organisation pour la paix et le sport, manual, 2007, para. 4).

Sport for development and peacebuilding programs often educate about challenging topics such as HIV/AIDS, women’s rights, acts of violence and social inequality (Spaaj, 2009). Through qualitative
interviews with on-the-ground local facilitators, this thesis examines whether (or not) and how their particular programme uses pedagogical tools such as inclusive, learner-centered discussion to help community participants develop an understanding and commitment to democratic values, for instance, taking opportunities for facilitators to discuss difficult topics.

2.2.4 Critiques and Concerns About SDP’s Usual Approach

The sport for development and peace framework typically stems from North-driven policies, funding and leadership. Therefore, SDP curriculum can fail to promote and/or value indigenous knowledge, instead promoting neoliberal ideologies and hegemonic colonial assumptions. Scholars and practitioners within the sport for development movement support that such ‘top down’ programming can lead down a dangerous path of inappropriate and culturally insensitive programming (Burnett, 2013; S. C. Darnell, 2007). For instance, in 2007, I worked on a sport-based project to promote young females’ participation in soccer in rural South African villages. At the same time, the Federation International de Football Association (FIFA) was promoting its first-ever World Cup tournament on the African continent. It occurred to me to question the motives of government policy makers who use sport for social development to achieve the neoliberal capitalist goals of major sporting governing bodies and world scale events. It is important to consider whether the inclusion of multiple forms of knowing may lead to a stronger sense of active citizenship.

Darnell argues that when sport for development and peace programming is based on ‘northern stewardship’, this frames international development as benevolent delivery of aid and expertise from the northern ‘First World’ to the southern ‘Third World’ (S. C. Darnell, 2007). Despite evidence of sport challenging dominant systems and processes, far more prevalent is the largely one-way communication process whereby Northern governments, development agencies and sport associations provide support, information and advice and set up sport programmes in the global South. The sport for development and peace sector reflects the historical interface between sport and the (global) society, including highly asymmetrical power relationships between global North and South (Tiessen, 2011). This is “inevitably a problem that is concerning from dependency and post colonial perspectives, especially when programs and policies are initiated with excessive influence from powerful institutions and actors” (Roger Levermore & Beacom, 2012, pg. 12). Another downfall to programmes in SDP being based on pre-conceived global agendas that it may fail to address local issues or needs (Whitley et al., 2013). However, as in the MYSA project in Nairobi, Kenya, despite being largely supported by northern
funding, emphasis on local participation and administration lead to the facilitation of a positive social identity for its members and mitigated Northern dominance (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011).

The traditional framework of delivering sport for development programming from the top down raises questions about sustainability and democratic agency; I wonder how ambitious claims regarding the universal value of sport actually play out at the community level. Masemann contends that all knowledge forms are socially conditioned, and this argue for the adoption of a holistic paradigm acknowledging multiple knowledge forms, and the redistribution of power and authority among researchers and practitioners as well as dominant and marginalized groups (Masemann, 1990). By considering on-the-ground practitioners’ perspectives on implemented programming in accordance to the above recommendations, my thesis explores local perspectives and embraces a reflective discourse to co-create the knowledge useful for sport for development and peace programming.

My thesis inquires about barriers to knowledge building from the sport for development and Peace programme. For instance, are facilitators receiving information that is based in hegemonic colonial and neoliberal ideologies? Perhaps the liberating knowledge does not fall in line with their traditional and cultural ways of life, for instance promoting girls to play sports. Are projects being ‘revived’ but lack sustainability? One of the challenges is to balance the global and the local without privileging one over the other (S. C. Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012). My thesis answers these calls for research studying SDP programmes in their respective community contexts. This thesis also addresses the need for research that listens carefully alternative voices, such as those of facilitators originating in the global South, that have been previously unheard. Thus, it supplements existing scholarship with qualitative research to facilitate understanding of the experiences, perspectives, and realities of those on the ground (Genat, 2009). Allowing people from diverse social and cultural backgrounds to describe their sport and leadership experiences in their own words, is often overlooked by Western researchers. There remain few examples of studies that consider the perspectives of these kinds of stakeholders in the aid chain, in truly participatory and collaborative ways (S. C. Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012). This research project will enhance practical understanding and assist in the decolonization of sport in development scholarship.

One 2006 evaluation of Grassroots Soccer (GRS), an American-based sport for development NGO in Zimbabwe assessed the impact of GRS’ health education through sport curriculum that was delivered by professional Zimbabwean soccer players to students in schools in Bulawayo. The results showed students had a higher understanding of the stigma around HIV/AIDS, and a better understanding of the effectiveness of condoms from 53 per cent to 78 per cent (Clark, Friedrich,
Ndlovu, Neilands, & McFarland, 2006: pg. 4). Further, learnings of the project caused a diffusion of information and unexpected positive effects throughout the community through peer-to-peer interactions (Clark et al., 2006). This is an example of programming using local Zimbabwean role models and sport leaders of global South origin to deliver this programming demonstrating post colonial sensitivity (Nicholls & Giles, 2007).

By examining the power relations embedded in the international movement of sport for development, it is evident that driving forces such the partnerships and donor-driven priorities have often subjugated local sport for development facilitators’ knowledge. If knowledge is not co-created by all parties involved acknowledging and privileging the contributions from grassroots facilitators who are typical female, young, black Africans - then this would perpetuate a lack of evidence discourse (Nicholls et al., 2011). There are many examples of innovative and successful sport for development and peace programmes in Southern Africa (including LIT (Leaders in Training), PAY (Physically Active Youth), SCORE (Sport Coaches Outreach), KAO (Kicking Aids Out), GRS (Grassroots Soccer), in South Africa, Zambia, Namibia, Zimbabwe) but their information and results are not published in peer-reviewed academic journals. Few of these projects have access to privileged academic discourses on the use of sport for development (Nicholls & Giles, 2007), because of scarce human or financial resources to access this domain, or being too busy implementing grassroots programming. The lack of well funded and theorized monitoring and evaluation of SDP programming had rendered much of their research anecdotal and thus not very persuasive (Nicholls & Giles, 2007). With this thesis research, I join an emerging community of practice that privileges the contributions and existing strategies of global South leadership and SDP organizations, in academic discussions on the use of sport for development to support socially transformative community development.

2.3 Approaches to Development and Peace: Structural Violence, Colonialism and Sustainable Democratic Peacebuilding

Sustainable peace requires redressing and resolving structural inequity, and cultural beliefs legitimizing enmity and direct forms of violence (Galtung, 1974). My research is intended to generate understanding of the limitations and contributions of sport-based social development initiatives for addressing such violence. One previously published ethnographic case study, for instance, showed that particular football activities in Sierra Leone aided the socialization and respite from direct violence for youth participants who had been former combatants in the civil war (Dyck, 2011). In general, recent research has drawn attention to the contributions of sport programming to sustainable social
development such as facilitating community cohesion, within and across the global South (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011).

Building sustainable peace requires more than simply reducing or removing overt (direct) violent conflict, ‘positive’ (sustainable) peace includes transforming (democratizing, building justice into) a complex range of social structures, cultural patterns and beliefs, and relationships that underlie any conflict situation (Galtung, 1969). Sport for development and peace projects can provide space for a multitude of voices to be raised and heard, generating knowledge to move societies toward peace. To implement activities to build such positive (just, sustainable) peace, we need to discern the viewpoints that sport for development and peace programming have often neglected: those of SDP community-based facilitators who work and grew up in the global South. Recent research has drawn attention to the contribution sport-based programming has made in supporting sustainable social development, such as facilitating community cohesion within and across the global South (S. C. Darnell & Black, 2011). In order to reduce the impact of cultural, structural causes of violence and thereby enable positive peace in a community, it is imperative that SDP initiatives undergo ‘transformative knowledge creation’ by allowing those voices to be heard (McCandless et al., 2015). Critical peacebuilding education, such as global citizenship is concerned with the transformation of society, the creation of a new social order more inclusive of (or led by) those who have been silenced or exploited (Andreotti, 2014). By examining, alongside its practitioners, the planned and enacted curriculum for two particular SDP projects in rural South Africa and Namibia, this research addresses the need to further understand the critical role that literally active non-formal education can play in building sustainable democratic peace.

2.4 Post-Conflict Contexts: Comparative Perspective

Prolonged armed conflict has several negative impacts on humans and infrastructure, as well as damaging governance institutions necessary for a society to become stable, democratic, effective and peaceful (S. D.-P. K. Mundy, 2011). A post-conflict context is a “conflict situation in which open warfare has come to an end. Such situations remain tense for years or decades and can easily relapse into large-scale violence” (Junne & Verkoren, 2005, pg.2). In post-conflict contexts, there is an absence (or at least mitigation) of war, but not necessarily the political institutions, infrastructure, culture and social relationships necessary for positive (sustainable, democratic) peace. A former special advisor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on state building in post-conflict countries explained that the end of fighting does propose an opportunity to work towards lasting peace, but that requires the establishment of sustainable institutions, capable of ensuring long-term security for the entire
population (Rocha Menocal, 2011). Prolonged armed conflict leads to several negative impacts including human and infrastructure destruction as well damage to governance institutions that allow a society to become stable, democratic, effective and peaceful (Collier, 2003).

I apply the term post-conflict to Namibia and South Africa because these countries have been violently impacted by Apartheid, and violence linked to poverty, unequal access to resources and unstable government transitions. The governments of South Africa and Namibia have made efforts toward reconciliation and societal integration. However, racial tensions and distrust among the widely varied ethnic groups that make up both countries’ populations creates many challenges to cultivating a peaceful society. South Africa and Namibia are post-conflict in the sense that Apartheid has ended, there are no ongoing civil wars, and relatively democratic governance is taking root. The specific rural communities where the selected facilitators have worked are post-conflict due to the diminishing prevalence and severity of structural as well as direct physical violence. Black Africans have suffered under colonialism, Apartheid, political and economic oppression and continue to endure unequal access to resources, opportunities for employment and social mobility. Namibia was forcibly ruled by South Africa from 1915-1990 and achieved independence only after a brutal 25-year armed conflict. In South Africa’s Limpopo province, where many of the selected facilitators have worked, faces unique challenges within South Africa: for instance, illegal migrants head across porous borders from Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Limpopo province, located in the North Eastern region of South Africa, has one of the highest poverty rates in the country and remains a hot spot of racial tension between white Afrikaaner farmers, and black Africans of Basotho, Bapedi, Venda, Ndebele, and Tsonga ethnicities.

For countries like South Africa and Namibia, which have struggled along a rocky road toward democracy from armed and structural conflict, NGOs that promote sport-based initiatives for development and peacebuilding could play a key role in supporting the development of critically engaged citizens. Sport can be an effective educational tool for promoting citizenship and peacebuilding skills necessary for a peaceful and actively engaged democratic society (F. Coalter, 2010; Giulianotti, 2011; Kidd, 2008b). Violence prevention education (negative peace) and peacebuilding efforts (positive peace) can be carried by sport, because sport activities cut across barriers that divide societies. When applied effectively, sports programmes can promote social integration and foster tolerance and help to generate dialogue (2003, UN Task force). The sport for development and peace sector uses sport programming to promote cultural reconciliation and social reconstruction to reduce social tensions in post-conflict contexts (Giulianotti, 2011; Sekulić, Massey, & Hodson, 2006). In this socio-cultural
realm, sport programming may facilitate non-formal education for previously disempowered, marginalized young people (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011).

2.5 Anti-colonial and Critical Theory Perspectives on Development

2.5.1 Anti-Colonial Theory

Anti-colonial theory is built on the foundation laid by scholars such as Said (1978, 1993) Fanon (1961), and Spivak (1990), who show how social and political power, embedded in knowledge creation, control and distribution, divides the colonizer and from the colonized. Anti-colonial education scholars Freire (1998), Giroux (1991, 1997), Dei (2011), Kincheloe (1999, 2006), Macedo (2009), and Wane (2009) argue for the importance of linking individual lived experience with critical analysis, to facilitate reflection, growth and a disruption to existing hegemonic structures in order to facilitate social transformation. The stories of knowledge of people’s lives shape possibilities for their self-determination (Webster, 2013 pg. 44)

Colonialism is not merely a part of history but a trans-historical phenomenon that pervades almost all facets of contemporary life (Kempf, 2006). Anti-colonial theory in education argues that current oppression and domination stems from colonial structures and hierarchies that are reinforced by systemic discrimination and capitalist industrial relations (George Jerry Sefa Dei & Kempf, 2006). Colonialism is not merely a part of history but a trans-historical phenomenon that pervades almost all facets of contemporary life (Kempf, 2006). This oppression permeates all forms of society including government, wellness, education and people’s relationships with the environment. To counteract neo-colonial oppression, anti-colonial theorists argue for “holistic reading to domination and resistance, raising important questions about the intersection of class, gender, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, racial, linguistic and religious based oppression” (Kempf, 2009, p14). Anti-colonial theory critically examines instances of imposition, while challenging dominant voices that normalize or devalue certain ways of knowing and living (Kempf, 2009; Dei, Hall & Rosenberg, 2000).

In many instances, the sport for development and peace sector has begun to recognize and value the articulation of new post colonial narratives envisioning a better future. Individuals from rural communities who participate in sporting activities may be empowered by gaining skills, experiences and opportunities.

Dependency (World Systems) theory (K. E. Mundy, 2008), rooted in neo-Marxist scholarship, helps to identify barriers to autonomous, culturally authentic educational development embedded in the world capitalist system. Certain master narratives surrounding cultural, economic and social events have framed
people’s ideas of what is good, ideal and normal. As a result, other forms of seeing, knowing and being in the world do not fit or are not recognized through the frames of reference (Andreotti, 2014). For instance, the World Order Models Project brought ideas from the civilizations of India and Africa were brought into the mainstream of Western social sciences (K. E. Mundy, 2008). Similarly, African culture and spirituality are potential sources for educational innovation (ibid). With this perspective in mind, I analyze two sports-based development projects in this thesis research study, bringing to the forefront African ideals such as Ubuntu to re-shape frames of reference about the needs of the oppressed and how these might be met.

### 2.5.2 Critical Theory Applied to Education

Paulo Freire’s theory of liberatory pedagogy is anti-authoritarian and interactive, aiming to redress inequalities of relational power with students and workers (McLaren, 2000). The center of Freire’s educational theory is the facilitation of dialogue, studying everyday social and political life, creating a better learning environment to facilitate the co-creation of a better world (Freire, 1998). I follow this approach to critical analysis in this thesis. Other major tenets of critical theory that ground this research project include: engaging students in the learning process in both the global and local contexts (Apple, 2008; Giroux, 2009) problematizing difficult knowledge including multiple perspectives in robust inquiry, dialogue, discussion and debate (Apple, 2008; Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Freire, 1998; Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013; Kincheloe, 2008; Parker, 2010). Applied to sport for development curriculum and programming, my thesis research examines interests are served by particular actions/choices whose voices are being included or excluded; and how such programs do or do not contribute to development and social transformation.

Applying critical theory to research on sport-based social programs, Hartmann and Kwauk set forth a working framework for an anti-colonial and critically pedagogic approach to sport and development. They distinguish different approaches to sport and development: a dominant vision in which sport essentially reproduces established social relations, and an interventionist approach in which sport is intended to contribute to fundamental change and transformation (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). I have adopted the latter as a primary framework for analyzing the sport for development projects in this study. Hartmann and Kwauk call for sport-based interventions to embrace a radical conception of development based on cointentional reflection. Programming staff and participants would consider the political, social and economic arrangements of society where their lives intersect, both as products of the past and as agents of a collectively transformed future (Kincheloe, 2008). This embodies an active attempt at decolonization: people are intended to become critically conscious of the past and current
colonial context, to reflect on what has been lost (physically, emotionally, intellectually, spiritually, etc.), in order that it may be reclaimed (Smith, 2006). In the world, a “global village”, old forms of ways of knowing can be adapted into new forms as contextually grounded knowledge.

This framework sees indigenous forms of knowledge as valid and valuable (Vandra L. Masemann, 1990). Anti-colonial theory does acknowledge the interconnectivity as well as the dissimilarities within knowledge systems. However, it argues that unconscious validation of Euro-centered ways of knowing must be ruptured so that alternative ways of knowing may be reclaimed and legitimated (Dei, Hall & Rosenberg, 2000, p. 5). To facilitate social transformation, SDP participants need opportunities to act upon critical reflection—“a critical sport praxis grounded in retheorizing sport and development and in repracticing sport for development in ways directed toward struggling against and transforming extant realities of inequality” (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, pg. 297). As such, post and anti-colonial theories inform my thesis analysis of particular sport for development and peace programming contexts.

During the period of Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, legal racism by the regime drove members of the leftist Teachers’ League of South Africa to utilize a critical approach to education, with a focus on antiracism in Cape Town schools and prisons. Educators collaborated in critical examining of military, political and social conditions through humanist and critically democratic ideologies, in order to subvert the racist curriculum perpetrated by the regime. Such efforts by teachers encouraged student resistance and political activism (Wieder, 2003). This example shows how the platform of education may facilitate critical thinking and generating learner agency opposition to dominant ideologies where individuals are being oppressed.

Thus, SDP programming can be a form of intervention/resistance and liberatory (as per Freire) education that can acknowledge multiple ways of knowing and serve the underrepresented. Using sport as a means to replace colonial education with new structures and pedagogical methods at a grassroots level is a form of resistance at its finest. Rural community schools may continue to perpetuate patriarchal systems and rigid educational patterns. However, non-formal education such as SDP is more flexible thus it can challenge dominant discourses and facilitate discussion of how mechanisms of power have been – and continue to be – invested, colonized, utilized (Foucault, 1979). Many SDP projects have overcome their hegemonic patterns to provide opportunities for underprivileged rural to gain access to education, skills, health information, job opportunities and a sense of community (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). That being said, in order to not subjugate the knowledge of global Southern sport for development and peace facilitators amidst dominant development narratives and
policies, this thesis examines and shares the opportunities these individuals have found to enact their own forms of social transformation.

2.6 Citizenship and Social Development

2.6.1 Citizenship Education Within Sport for Development and Peace Programmes

Swiss former Special Advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace once stated: “Sport represents the best school of life by teaching young people the skills and values they need to be good citizens” (Eley & Kirk, 2002 (Aug 13, 2004). This highlights his optimism about non-formal education for individuals who previously denied such meaningful opportunities. What remains unclear in this statement, and unexplored in the literature, is the meaning of the term ‘good citizen’ and its implication for (democratic) citizenship through sport for development projects. In some circumstances, sport activities can facilitate the reproduction of normative education recalibrating underprivileged ‘deviant’ individuals into ‘upstanding’ citizens (Darnell, 2007). In other instances, sport’s team rules and structure can have a ‘civilizing’ influence. Community-based sport initiatives and opportunities to engage may facilitate social development. Sport can unify people within a divided nation, as in 1995, when Nelson Mandela urged his fellow South Africans to support the ‘white man’s Rugby team only one year following the end of Apartheid’, followed by insisting on desegregation. Despite the difficulty of social and racial allegiances, South Africans of all backgrounds created a unified front and inclusive atmosphere by supporting their National team (Johannesburg, n.d.).

One reason sport-based programing may be effective at transmitting messages is that it is considered a ‘universal language,’ able to promote social inclusion and character building (elements of citizenship education). Some even perceive sport idealistically as a ‘pure’ non-political vehicle for development (Roger Levermore, 2008). However, contemporary instances of sport activity cannot be seen as apolitical, due to the multiple and sometimes polarizing interests involved. As scholar Bruce Kidd explained: “Sport, in and of itself, is of no intrinsic value: it is neither naturally good nor irrevocably bad. It is, like all collective human endeavours, a social construction which is malleable according to the social forces that surround it (Kidd, 2008b; Sugden, 2010). I agree with Kidd that it is “preferable to think of ‘sport’ as a plurality of form that would have different results in different contexts” (Kidd, 2008b pg 279). Thus, this thesis carefully considers context specifics with respect to sport and development programming.

Similarly, active citizenship and citizen responsibility are constructed and interpreted in very
distinct ways, within and across various world contexts (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006). Fostering active citizenship has been a frequent prescription for the social ills of many communities, especially in contexts where people are disillusioned with their own governments. There is less research on citizenship education in South Asia and Africa, in comparison to Europe and North America. However, it can be said that the driving force of globalization influences is producing a shift from conservative communitarian citizenship values to increased valuation of individualist enlightened self-interest.

Active citizenship goals and initiatives generally encompass three core elements: political and community citizenship, building social capital, and community development. Social capital is a complex phenomenon that can support and negate social and community development (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006). Several SDP organizations make claims that sport for development and peace initiatives generate social capital for (disaffected or disengaged) groups by facilitating bonding and bridging of people within and across communities (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Spaaij, 2009). This, in turn, they claim created greater access to information, enhanced social networks, economic opportunities and insights into worlds usually located outside of their reach.

Kahne and his colleagues in the USA identified two basic types of youth citizenship engagement (1) “little p” political engagement can be enhanced, they show, through community-based and expressive action, including service learning activities; (2) “big P” political engagement is enhanced through opportunities for open discussion of sociopolitical issues including those arising in election campaigns (Kahne et al., 2013). They found that both opportunities promoted young people’s commitment to participatory citizenship. Further, “big P” political learning opportunities can encourage development of justice-oriented (critical activist, beyond merely participatory) citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This thesis research investigates the kinds of ‘citizenship’ that, according to facilitators, were assumed or taught in the selected SDP programmes.

Some critical theory literature in the sport for development field has argued that notions of development and of sport itself may strengthen hegemonic relations, where they reinforce dominant social and economic hierarchies and the neoliberal rationale of competitive social and economic relations (Coakley, 2003; S. Darnell, 2010). A neoliberal approach within sport for development and peace emphasizes individualism (Burnett, 2013) which is incompatible with solidarity-focused, collective forms of social justice transformation—the very essence of what SDP (cl)aims to represent (Hayhurst, Giles, & Wright, 2016). Many SDP projects have similar, North-driven, assimilative objectives (Hayhurst, 2009). For instance, individualism denies that racism is structured into the
collective social fabric of society and distances or denies the history and actions of oppressed groups (DiAngelo, 2012).

Applying post colonial theory, such mainstream assimilative sport for development narratives have the potential to reinforce the ‘Othering’ of community members in developing countries (Tiessen, 2011). This may also reinforce a sort of glass ceiling for global South facilitators, in that they may have limited career mobility due to obstacles such as racism, gender discrimination, and socioeconomic inequity. Mainstream sport for development projects may be ‘tailor made’ for reinforcing dominant modernisation and neoliberalism paradigms because they emphasize ideals such as improving the economic sphere, employability through life skills training and increasingly closer ties with the private sector including transnational corporations (Giulianotti, 2011; Roger Levermore, 2008). For instance, in southern Africa, corporations such as Nike and Adidas have a heavy hand in distributing sporting goods and other resources, attaching their names to sport for development and peace projects in tournaments and other highly visible campaigns.

2.6.2 Ubuntu

The ideal of Ubuntu, is a form of indigenous citizenship philosophy, derived from the idiom “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” which means a person is a person through other people (Marx, 2002). Ubuntu is founded upon the crucial importance of community spirit, connectedness and interdependence in affirming each other’s worth. If one behaves in a way, which is less than honorable, then you have betrayed both yourself and me, since I rely on you to reciprocate the idea of being an honorable human. In a traditional setting, Ubuntu reflects a cultural system of ensuring the community sharing responsibility for ensuring everybody survived and thrived. Such traditional wisdom, stemming from the community itself, reflects valuable indigenous, locally grounded insights. Ubuntu can conjure the idea of community, space for relationships among individuals and reverberating into to an interconnected success within the entire community. Nelson Mandela utilized this philosophy and discourse as a way to unify the nation as it transitioned from Apartheid under his leadership. The word appeared in South Africa’s Interim Constitution (1993), “There is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for Ubuntu but not for victimization.” (“https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/provision/truth-or-reconciliation-mechanism-interim-constitution-accord,” 2015) Mandela chose to highlight and operationalize this term that stands for peace, reconciliation and inter-communal harmony to mobilize a nation under his leadership to take up his vision of humanistic citizenship, democratic peacebuilding citizenship.
The notion of Ubuntu can be considered the antithesis of a neoliberal ideology that often comes along with development programming and funding from the global North. In the NGO sites selected for this thesis study, some of the funding comes from Canada and Norway. The dominant predilection for agencies in sport for development to be target-driven, and to push for a so-called “modernizing” agenda, reflect a neoliberal framework (Morgan, 2013). To emphasize instead gentleness, humility, non-aggression – principles of Ubuntu – can be difficult alongside the neoliberal ideologies of the global North. For instance, the success of the entire community is paramount, then, one’s individual efforts and successes (typically valued in a neoliberal ideology) would be less significant. The neoliberal paradigm of individual effort has a hollow ring for most oppressed and marginalized people who do not succeed, and this could inhibit community transformation to mitigate broader social problems. Some Northern-based organizations and institutions, although they have a positive impact on communities in the global South tend, to support a neoliberal worldview and a discourse of humanitarian inclusion into the logic of capitalism (S. C. Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012). In her study of teachers’ understandings of democracy in South Africa and Kenya (2007), Kubow found that some of these educators saw; westernization as disrupting the African values of Ubuntu, and an emphasis on individuality arising at the expense of communality. Kubow argued that there is an – “individual-societal balance” – considered appropriate in South Africa that is a combination of one’s social responsibility alongside individual desire. In other words, citizens are expected to use what they have learned to help their community (Kubow, 2007). Equally problematic is some evidence from the UK that has found where voluntary action is undertaken, often it is short-term in nature with the express intention of benefitting immediate others (such as family) rather than wider sections of the community (Morgan, 2013). My thesis examines how some programming in the global South might consider, incorporate and validate ideologies with indigenous African sociocultural roots, to work in support of sustainable, anti colonial peacebuilding framework.

In the post-Apartheid context, South Africa has seen a resurgence of cultural nationalism invoking the spirit of Ubuntu. However, some scholars argue that this predominant discourse of Ubuntu has been transformed into a way to promote conformity to certain community values and to deemphasize democratic pluralism (Marx, 2002). With the exception of some very powerful voices of political parties such as the ANC, those not conforming to these ideals are left out. This type of exclusion impedes democratic social development and citizenship. Ubuntu notions of ‘community spirit’ could replace more sustainable and justice oriented democratization, diverting attention towards the assumed autonomous behaviour of persons and away from structural violence (Marx, 2002).
Community-based sport for development programming has the potential to democratize public spaces that were once gravely undemocratic such as forced homelands and ancestral, tribal communities. It is in these spaces that people have historically been discriminated, separated and isolated, and continue to receive unequal equal access to education. Schools, health centers, infrastructure and access to any form of improving one’s situation are virtually nonexistent there. To this day, South Africa’s Constitution and Bill of Rights are some of the most progressive documents in the world and enjoy high international acclaim. Not only does this constitution guarantee traditional civil rights such free expression, voting, association and assembly, but also important social rights such as equality and intolerance of any discrimination on the basis of race, gender, sex, social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, language or birth. The Constitution and Peace Accords, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are strong indicators of democratic intention. However, the fulfillment of such intentions is incomplete for many who reside in particular rural communities. Largely driven by global North agencies, SDP work in the global South has endeavored to counteract racism, intolerance and prejudice; to promote health education and gender equality; and to tackle crime and social exclusion (Giulianotti, 2011; Langer, 2015).

2.7 Concluding Summary of Conceptual Framework for Thesis

Based on the above review of literature on sport for development and peace and related concepts, I conclude that there are gaps in available critical research on this topic. SDP initiatives are often promoted as an optimal solution with few downfalls. Several experts in the field have written about the need for constructively critical analysis of Sport when used in international development and peacekeeping initiatives (Donnelly, 2011). Another gap in current research indicates that often analytic research contributions are aligned with instrumental, hegemonic mainstream development literature and have therefore insufficiently contextualized development initiatives within localities in the global South (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). Attention to (non-formal education/learning dimensions also may facilitate understanding of how SDP initiatives may work. There is a need to step back and reflect critically on what we might know (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) in the field of sport for development and peace and I would argue that future research could be directed to a critical examination of the pedagogy and curriculum being used in sport for development projects.
3. Research Methodology

3.1 Overview

In this section, I situate myself as the researcher, explain and justify my qualitative inquiry framework and how it will be conducted. I propose to focus on two current sport for development and peace programmes (SDP) in rural South Africa and Namibia. My main source of data will be semi-structured interviews that explore the personal experiences and motivations of selected facilitators’ (originating from the global South) who help deliver this community-based sport for development and peace programming. I explain the methodological approaches and tools that will enable me to explore and analyze the relationships of these local sport for development and peace trainers have with the curriculum and activities they facilitate, and the critical reflection which they engage. Finally, I discuss some practical limitations and ethical concerns in this cross-cultural research.

3.2 Research Questions

The main research questions serving as the basis for this research are: What do the selected sport for development and peace facilitators from the global South bring to, experience and learn through participation in this community project? How do selected SDP community facilitators from the global South view their participation in SDP, in relation to their belonging to their South African and Namibian communities? And, how do the facilitators view sport-based activities, as an alternative approach to social development, as contributing to or interfacing with democratic citizenship, peacebuilding and/or anti-colonial approaches toward development? This thesis also aims to display similarities and differences between two SDP organizations which could indicate that particular SDP activities and learnings do not follow one format and success is achieved through programming that is tailored to its participants and its context.

In order to address these questions, I have selected nine global South-origin facilitators who have worked in various communities in Southern African all having worked with the two sport for development and peace NGOs. I inquire about their perceptions, motivations and learning embedded in their experiences with sport for development in rural South African communities. My motivation is to learn about program facilitators’ motivations and perceptions to contribute to scholarly and practical understandings of whether and how sport and sport-based activities may be seen as a viable approach to social development.
3.3 Approach: Critical Qualitative Research

Utilizing a reflexive qualitative study approach can help me as a researcher to make sense of authentic local knowledge and to address two crucial issues in the field of sport for development and peace: the scarcity of robust evidence that explains and justifies the use of sport for these goals, and the limitations of positivist forms of knowledge for engagement with issues surrounding decolonization (Kay, 2009). I argue that the forms of data obtained as well as the process of inquiry in this research project can enhance scholarly understanding and assist in the process of decolonization of sport in development work, by attending to voices of facilitators from the global South to speak from their own experiences. Furthermore, this thesis will contribute to filling the knowledge gap on how these facilitators integrate their roles as peer-educators and/or coaches in their daily lives, their life-worlds (Burnett, 2014). Qualitative interview-based methods are ideal for shedding light on the human level how and why questions of this inquiry, uncovering similarities and differences among selected facilitators’ perspectives.

3.4 Research Sites

I interviewed a total of nine facilitators who have worked or volunteered for two particular sport for development and peace NGOs based in South Africa and Namibia. For ethical reasons, the NGOs remain anonymous and I have given them pseudonyms.

SPIKE, has operated since 1991: This South African NGO has provided sport-based programming throughout sub-Saharan Africa, including Zambia, South Africa, Swaziland and Malawi. Spike has also provided opportunities for facilitators originating from the global South to be placed in sport for development Internships that involve lodging with a host family in a rural community from which they do not originate. The reasoning behind these internships is to provide opportunities for cultural exchange and for fostering the facilitators’ independence by placing them in communities similar to (but not) their homes. I visited several communities within South Africa and Namibia, during a period of three months to speak directly with facilitators.

The second organization, based in Namibia, will be referred to by the pseudonym PIE. Designed and implemented in Namibia, PIE is an after school project geared toward students who have failed their Grade 10 National Exam. This is a significant problem as more than half of the students in the Namibian educational system (approximately 16,000 16 year-olds) fail a national exam preventing them from continuing on in school. PIE is an after-school programme that combines a sport programme (including aerobics, dance, outdoor education and competitive sports) with informal tutoring to support
high-school dropouts and other students considered to be at risk of failing the national exam and thereby ending their educational career at Grade 10. Through their participation in the project, at-risk students receive daily tutoring and sports programming from educated and trained volunteers. The program also involves HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention sessions, and helps students with learning and understanding more about reproductive health issues that are commonly faced by students. Research indicates that the program has had a direct impact on the educational achievement and sustainability of students who participate (CABOS Report, 2006). For instance, in the pilot program, 92 per cent of participants passed the Grade 10 exam, and researchers concluded that the appeal of sport among youth had motivational effects on youth, in terms of passing the exam and continuing their education (CABOS Report, 2006) (Parnes, DSPA, & Hashemi, 2007).

SPIKE and PIE are different manifestations of SDP programmes. PIE, driven by Namibian leadership, recruits volunteers from the University of Namibia and focuses on the development of vulnerable youth who live in a particular disadvantaged neighbourhood in Windhoek. PIE is not driven directly by expectations or policies from the global North with the exception of some funding and it does not intend on expanding their model to other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. PIE promotes leadership from the Global South and focuses on academic development and interpersonal communication. This programme also acts as an alternative to the formal education system as it works with students who have failed the National Exam.

SPIKE adheres strongly to mainstream global policies and agendas, works with international volunteers and donors and has a more widespread approach to community development that includes facilitator exchanges within communities and country-wide tournaments, festivals and workshops to bring together people from disadvantaged communities to learn from one another and work together. SPIKE works with other organizations and government initiatives and extends projects in several communities in Zambia, Namibia, and South Africa. SPIKE looks to develop its facilitators through gaining skills in sport and health education and works often in tandem with rural schools to enhance what is being taught or fill in the gaps of where traditional schooling fails such as Physical Education and Sexual and Health Education.

I conducted one-on-one, informal interviews with nine facilitators who possess various levels of experience in different SDP projects. In addition, as background information, I visited rural villages that had been substantially impacted by these NGOs to attend organized (public) sport for development functions and engage in informal discussions with participants in each community-based sport for development program. SPIKE and PIE are organizations that I can learn about sport for development
initiatives because they are NGOs driven by South African and Namibian leaders of diverse cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

I have chosen to focus on only two organizations because they have strong similarities in project goals and rural contexts and the facilitators have had somewhat similar training and experience. There is a high concentration of NGOs operating within a sport for development and peace framework in South Africa. The landscape in Namibia is smaller, due to its substantially smaller population and smaller funding base. My intention is to focus on each facilitator’s individual experiences and perspectives, rather than studying organizational factors, which may detract from the individual narratives.

3.5 Selection of Participants and Data Sources

I recruited (participation is voluntary) nine trained program facilitators with varying levels of experience with one or both of the above community sport for development and peace programs, via purposive convenience sampling. I made direct oral requests to people I know, asking for their ‘snowball’ recommendations of others who may be interested, then sent out formal information and consent letter (See Appendix C) to ask for their agreement to be part of the study. All respondents were recruited on a voluntary basis and were informed that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time (nobody withdrew). The nine participating facilitators each have (at minimum) six months experience as community sport for development facilitators. All have spent most or all of their youth living in sub-Saharan Africa. Research concerning the perspectives of sport for development volunteers originating in the global North already exists (S. C. Darnell, 2011): one rationale for this research is to provide a counternarrative to such research. In addition to interviewing nine facilitators, I interviewed two key informants (local experts in the field) and reviewed publicly available program documents such as training materials, and websites. This number and mix of data sources allows for considerable variation among voices and yet was feasible for a Master of Art thesis project with up to three months of fieldwork.

This project does not include sensitive or identifying data. The only personal information collected are interviewees’ gender, the number of years they had worked as a facilitator, and their then-current position if they were still affiliated with tone of the organizations. All of this has been anonymized (replacing real names with pseudonyms and deleting or genericizing any information that could make somebody identifiable). Participants are adults, none of whom would experience particular group or individual-level vulnerability in relation to the research topic or process. Interviews were
confidential, carried out in locations in which the respondent was comfortable—most commonly their place of residence or a space within their community: this minimized any risks to their sense of comfort. The organizations themselves have been researched in the past, including some community-based interviews, in which there has been no history of exploitation. As the primary researcher in this study, I did not have any role of influence within either organizations, or power differential in relation to the research participants in that context.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

This study has the following data collection methods:

Semi Structured Individual Interviews explored each facilitator’s personal understandings and motivations for being part of a sport for development organization. Facilitators were asked about how they understood, interpret and implement (or not) critical reflection or actions within their roles. Interviewees were selected primarily on the basis of willingness and ability to participate. I selected facilitators who vary by gender, paid versus unpaid (volunteer) designation, level of experience or recent arrival to the organization, and location in various communities around rural South Africa and Namibia. Some facilitators will be South African in nationality; some may be from other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Semi-structured interviews gathered data about facilitators’ working contexts, their conceptions of citizenship and peacebuilding in their work, their experiences, histories with and investments in the work, conditions which support, constrain, sustain, and shape their work and critical practice, and possibilities seen for the future of their work.

My critical anti-colonial interpretive approach relies heavily on interviewing, supplemented by some unstructured observation and analysis of existing texts. Because I am interested in programme facilitators’ perspectives and experiences, I believe semi-structured interviews are more effective than a survey or quantitative analysis, because they shed clearer light of the facilitators’ roles, duties, motivations and perceptions in their own words.

Two Key Informant Interviews with experts (leaders) in the field of sport for development in South Africa. The University of Johannesburg’s Department of Sport and Movement Studies has an Olympic Studies Centre in which sport for development is a research priority. I approached this department and was granted one key informant interview. (See Appendix D). In Namibia, I received an invitation to speak with an individual at the Ministry of Sport as an Key Informant.
I transcribed and analyzed the interview data. In the analysis, I identified words, phrases, metaphors, and understandings that were repeated in texts, or unique in the narratives of one or more interviewees. I grouped similar and contrasting words, phrases and metaphors, and examined these in relation in reference to existing studies on sport for development and citizenship, to develop an understanding of existing perceptions. After iterative coding, I grouped findings under two key ideas that were addressed by all participants: conflict and citizenship. The facilitator interviews (see Appendix A) enabled me to understand how selected facilitators in these two NGOs understood and enacted community-based sport, citizenship practice and social development (potentially for social transformation) at the local level.

Triangulation, in social research, means to compare and juxtapose results from multiple sources, methods, and/or theories (Denzin, 2008). Triangulation in this thesis project means data collection from interviews with facilitators themselves, as well as from key informant interviews and publicly available documents. Data triangulation is important because the use of more than one method and data sources enhances the rigor and reliability of research (Robson, 2002). I used a multiple perspective approach to give the study a broader perspective of the organizations and the communities in which the participating Global south facilitators were working. This background data supports and contextualizes the comparative analysis.

3.7 Participant (Facilitator) Profiles

Each of the SDP facilitators interviewed for this thesis research are briefly summarized below:

SPIKE
South Africa

Dante: A Mopedi male, from Limpopo, spent twenty-two years as a primary schoolteacher and principal with three years volunteering with SPIKE in one community in Limpopo, RSA. He has coached football and assisted in the selection of potential facilitators and youth participants. Dante recently won a national award for his leadership as an educational administrator.

Blake: A Xhosa male, with fifteen years experience (One year as a volunteer in Mpumalanga Province) with SPIKE from Eastern Cape, RSA. He has been paid staff since 2002, and is also a private consultant who has experience working with other SDP organizations. In university, Blake graduated with a degree in Sport Management and was a decorated track and field athlete.
**Ronald**: He is of Shangaan ethnicity originating from Limpopo province. An integral part of his rural community, Ronald served as a pastor and primary school educator in his community as well as a SPIKE community liaison for numerous years. He spent sixteen years (the longest of any facilitator) with SPIKE, seven years as a volunteer and became employed in 2007 by SPIKE as a Master Trainer. Ronald travels all over South Africa for months at a time to deliver training to facilitators. He has struggled to maintain a work-life balance and is often unable to maintain his family and community commitments due to the need for him to train other facilitators throughout RSA. Ronald did not attend university but acquired his teaching certification.

**Lester**: A Xhosa from the Eastern Cape, RSA, spent one year as a volunteer in Mpumalanga. He was with SPIKE for seven years, and then GRS (Grassroots Soccer) and GIZ (German Cooperation for International Cooperation) for seven years in Zambia, Namibia and RSA. As of the writing of this thesis, Lester currently holds a position with GIZ as a multisectoral AIDS/HIV prevention officer and is completing his Masters degree. Lester wishes to become a private consultant in community development.

**Zola**: A Xhosa from the Eastern Cape, RSA, spent one year as a volunteer in Mpumalanga and worked for eight years with SPIKE in RSA, as well as SPIKE programme country director in Zambia and Namibia. Zola received a scholarship to play rugby at a model C school (private college) and has received a university degree in Business administration, a certificate in public policy, M&E, and is currently working toward a Law degree. He started his own development consultancy business in 2012.

**Namibia**

**Bernard**: A Namibian from Windhoek has worked with SPIKE for eleven years with (ten months as a volunteer in Mpumalanga, RSA). He remains part of SPIKE Namibia, which has three full time employees, and several volunteers who assist in rolling out programmes in three provinces. In its height, SPIKE’s work spread across twelve provinces and nine regions. He also has ambitions to start his own community and youth development consultancy in the next five years. Bernard is married to a former SPIKE volunteer from Norway and they live in Namibia with their two young children.

**Ada**: Born in Namibia of the Damara Nama ethnic group. She spent eleven months as a volunteer in Opuwo (Kunene region of Namibia) in 2008. She has been with SPIKE for seven years and has been in
a paid position for one year. She does not have a post-secondary education, but was given the opportunity to travel to RSA and receive additional facilitator training.

PIE Namibia

**Zara:** female with thirteen years experience with PIE, with a mix of being paid and as a volunteer. She is originally from Rwanda but has lived and worked in Namibia since 1994. As of the completion of this thesis, Zara consults with PIE on a part-time basis assisting mostly with fundraising and daily operations as she has since started her own consultancy business.

**Sabra:** Her situation is unique as she is originally Canadian, however she spent six years living and working in Namibia and has recently returned to live there permanently with her Namibian husband and two children. Her insights into PIE programming are invaluable as she spent one year as a volunteer and six years as a PIE employee. She also worked with Commonwealth Games Canada and Kicking Aids Out from 2004-2010. She has a Master’s degree in Public Health and substantial experience working in several sub-Saharan countries as the Regional Director of SDP interns in the Commonwealth Games Canada.

### 3.8 Analytical Method

My analytical lens in this thesis is informed by anti-colonial theory; to explore selected facilitators’ understandings of their use of sport in community based projects within rural areas of Namibia and South Africa. My interpretive analytical approach also draws from comparative international education theory and methods. This study is situated within the interpretivist paradigm, in so far as I do not attempt to find one true meaning or absolute answer from my research (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2004) and because my topic has to do with participants’ perceptions and actions. I examine the reality as it is interpreted through the perspectives of participating facilitators. The investigator and the subjects of investigation are linked: who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand others, the world and ourselves. The interpretivist paradigm posits that researchers' values are inherent in all phases of the research process (Denscombe, 2014). I aim to be the conveyor of the messages and perceptions that stem from facilitators lived experiences, but I certainly do not pretend to be a mere reporter or neutral observer (see researcher’s standpoint above). In the interviews, I encouraged each participant to engage in reflective discussions. Their
'sense-making' is reported as the first level of interpretation, interpretations as researcher are a second layer of analysis (Wagstaff & Williams, 2014). Because my study compares of two organizations in two countries, I conducted an individual, in-country, and between country comparisons of the interview data to distinguish similarities and contrasts or ‘points of convergence and divergence’ (Charmaz, 2011 pg. 517) from (Kubow, 2007, pg. 316).

There were few precedents to follow this research topic and method and much to be discovered. The interpretivist paradigm allowed for an organic method in constructing knowledge. I believe I fostered dialogues between research participants and myself. As a result, I felt I was critically engaged in an informed process and gained understanding of their social world. Studying in a community context as I did, allows the researcher to reach beyond formal definitions of systems and to describe the actual operation of such systems in diverse cultural settings (V. Masemann, 1976).

### 3.9 Reflections on Method- Strengths and Limitations

My hope and expectation from this study of sport for development and peace programming is that it will have indirect benefits to the participating global South-origin facilitators, and eventually to the projects, and others like them, by affirming and studying the perspectives of some particularly important intermediaries in the social development process. There is a scarcity of prior research that centers the voices of subaltern people. By drawing comparisons among facilitators’ experiences, this research aims to offer a comprehensive understanding of how community based sport may work as a tool for development at the individual and community level within the context of the rural Southern Africa.

Throughout this exploration I am aware that my presence as a researcher would have an effect on the way participants’ function; meaning, they may have acted differently in my presence. Previously, in my own internship work, I had built strong relationships with many of the global South SDP facilitators. I view my experiences as a former volunteer actively participating and serving these communities as a positive addition to the research because it has allowed me to understand context factors so to obtain a clearer understanding of the facilitators’ roles and duties. This helped me to break down the separation between researcher and researched, allowing more candid conversations. I was transparent in my role as a researcher, yet made all efforts to conceal the identities of the primary participants from the others working on the projects in these communities. I believe the facilitators truly enjoyed sharing their stories and perspectives during this research endeavor because it served to validate the hard work and effort they had put forth as facilitators. Many interviews went over the allocated time.
and many smiles, laughs and supplementary anecdotes were shared. Although I have had previous relationships with the members of both organizations, I think that my former work as a volunteer helped interviewees to feel comfortable and at ease during our informal discussions. Despite my identify as a former SDP volunteer, visible as an outsider working within rural communities, I made it clear from the outset that potential participants would not be penalized if they chose not to participate.

There are some considerations concerning the type of research in this study. Case studies, particularly single case studies, are not generalizable to different contexts or times. However, the experiences chronicled in this study through the eyes of direct stakeholders offer potential insights for those who find themselves similarly situated in potentially comparable circumstances.

Though all of the participants spoke English fluently, there were times language and or cultural barriers made misunderstanding possible or evident. In order to address this, I repeated my questions, and provided as much time as needed for interviews so that the facilitators and I understood one another. There is an inherent limitation in designing interview questions in English and having participants interviewed (despite their ability to speak directly in English) in a language that is not their first language.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

There were minimal risks associated with participation in this research. Some research participants may have felt a bit uncomfortable being the focus of an in depth interview that addressed issues in their work they might have not considered before. Since the NGOs and the local communities they functioned in are quite small, participants could have felt singled out, or their colleagues may not have understood the reason for interviews. Participants may perceive risks pertaining to potential career repercussions of research findings. To address these risks, participants’ identities and individual contributions (interview data) remained anonymous within all transcripts, research writing, thesis and will remain so in any eventual publication. All interviews were recorded and were assigned identity codes (pseudonyms). Participants were informed about the nature of the study, including the assurance that could withdraw at any time or not answer any questions they were not comfortable with. Participants were at no time judged or evaluated. No value judgments were placed on participants: I let them know that the purpose of the research was to learn from their on-the-ground experience. The particulars of what participants said have been kept completely confidential, and are not traceable to a particular speaker.
I ensured that participants did not feel pressured to participate. Participants chose the location and times of their interviews in order to reduce any potential anxiety, and to assist in maintaining confidentiality. In order to maintain their sense of privacy and comfort, all data associated with interviews has been marked with pseudonyms kept anonymous. The particular NGOs (and their staff) in which interviewees have worked were also not identified in the study except by generic descriptors and pseudonyms.

3.11 Conclusion

In sum, I interviewed nine selected SDP facilitators (who reside and work in sub-Saharan Africa) from selected local communities in various provinces in South Africa and Namibia and I asked about their working contexts, their conceptions of citizenship (democracy) and peace related education and other practices in their programme, their experiences, histories with and investments in the work, and their perspectives on the conditions which support, constrain, sustain, and shape their work, and the possibilities within their programming.

I also interviewed two key informants, reviewed documents and informally observed relevant activities to learn how sport for development curriculum was being taken up in two particular organizations, how facilitators viewed this work, and the relationship of the work with their own learning processes. While understandings of power were captured in a prior projects’ interviews with some global North volunteers (S. Darnell, 2010), observations and reports from the perspectives of persons growing up and working in the global South had been previously undocumented. Thus, this project will contribute to balancing the ‘global relations of power against local agency’ (F. Coalter, 2010). The main research activity, in the form of semi structured interviews with facilitators, were themselves learning activities in critical reflection that participants found intrinsically valuable and engaging.

4.1 Cultural and Structural Forms of Violence

Members of South African and Namibia Society have been exposed to several forms of violence historically and presently. The lingering effect of colonization, patriarchy and disenfranchisement of certain groups of people in South Africa and Namibia can be an example of what Nixon refers to as Slow Violence; “a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all. A violence that is neither spectacular nor instantaneous, but rather incremental and accretive, its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales” (Nixon, 2011, pg. 2). In the cases of South Africa and Namibia, which may not appear to be rife in tangible direct violent conflicts like in other parts of the African continent, show that structural violence and slow violence require robust and require robust and well-considered solutions to underlying conflicts. This chapter will reveal how the two sport for development projects, SPIKE and PIE, sometimes seemed to perpetuate, but most importantly to mitigate, forms of destructive conflict and violence in their communities. This may lead to peacebuilding effects that resonate with greater populations, stretching out to many other realms of development and education.

Johan Galtung (1990), like Nixon (above), was concerned with widening the understanding of what comprises violence. He identified three types of violence that influence one another. Symbolic (cultural, belief-based) violence is one of these three ‘super-types’; the others are direct (tangible) and structural (social-systemic) violence. According to Galtung’s theory, these three ‘super-types’ feed into and support the other, although, any one or two may become the dominant forms of harm in particular times and contexts. Structural violence is indirect, including unequal rights and the equity gap between rich and poor. Symbolic violence (subsequently called cultural violence) has an insidious nature. Any aspect of culture that can be used to legitimize violence and/or hatred, fear, or social exclusion is an example of cultural violence. Like Nixon, Galtung believes that indirect types of violence work by making reality “opaque”, such that people may not see the violent act or fact, or at least not see it as violent (ibid, see also Johan Galtung, 1974). This pivotal theory in peace studies has inspired scholars and practitioners to recognize the interrelationship between visible and less visible violence, as well as the necessity to address less visible violence in order to facilitate conflict transformation and achieve sustainable, just peace.
4.2 Comparative National Histories of Namibia and RSA

At first consideration, one may note that South Africa and Namibia have much in common. The languages, histories, and current political debates are quite similar in these two countries. However, the colonial and post colonial realities of each nation manifest in distinct forms of physical, political, cultural and structural violence. Upon my visitation of these two countries, I was reminded of how different each of the nations’ histories were as a result of the residual historical conflicts that continue to haunt many of its people. Throughout my visits of different regions, and speaking with various individuals, I tried to employ a comparative approach to investigate ‘the underlying context of these commonalities and differences, and [their] causal relevance to the educational phenomenon being examined’ (Manzon 2007, p. 88). South Africa has a large population and covers a diverse mass of territory of both urban and rural compositions and with that come serious issues pertaining to poverty, inequality and corruption. South Africa has struggled to shape a national identity beyond the historical memory of conflict, Apartheid and racial injustice. There is a hierarchy of suffering and those that reside in remote rural communities are at the top of the chain of suffering. Historical conflicts such as South Africa’s 1913 Land Act where people were relegated to reserves and homelands, the division of society in the 1948 Apartheid, and the 1960 Sharpeville massacre as key conflictual moments defining South Africa’s history with conflict.

Understanding what these countries and its people have been through historically, make the claim for using sport as a vehicle for addressing conflict issues and promoting peace becomes even more crucial to the healing process. Inequalities from the past continue to shape everyday experiences with the opportunities to access civic space few and far between. For instance, the large majority of South Africa’s black African population lives in poverty, and these youth are less likely to access post-primary education than their white South African or urban South African peers. Namibia on the other hand, is smaller in population and size, mostly rural with a smaller governing body. It suffered colonization by Germany (1884-1915) followed by intense occupation by South Africa from 1915-1990. When Namibia gained its political independence in 1990, it inherited a society characterized by segregation, vast urban and rural poverty, a highly skewed distribution of wealth, unequal access to land and natural resources, and dramatic inequalities in the quality of education and health services rendered to its various ethnic groups (Frydman, 2011). Today, Namibia in some respects appears more peaceful, less dangerous and less ethnically diverse than South Africa. Perhaps of the reasons for greater perceived peace in Namibia is because some amends with previous atrocities have been made.
There are two peace mobilizers that may have (in my opinion) contributed to Namibia having a more settled national history. Firstly, Namibia has made efforts in interracial reconciliation where the government and its people have encouraged white farmers to remain in the agricultural industry as well as in other industries in order to share their expertise and help with the mobilization of the economy. A second potential factor in decreased conflictual history occurred in 2004 when the German government offered a formal apology for colonial era killings of 65,000 Herero people. The killings, which took place in 1904, came after the Herero people revolted against oppressive German colonial rule. Hifikepunye Pohamba, Namibia's minister of land also welcomed Germany's gesture: "That is what we have been waiting for, for a very long time" (Meldrum, 2004) – he said, noting that the apology came on the spot where the conflict ended. The simple act of an apology may have been small and very late, however, it has helped Namibians process and deal with some of the colonial oppression that has resulted in much suffering. Despite tension remaining in this issue related to financial compensation, lawsuits and continued suffering of the Herero people, the German government made a small step in facilitating peacebuilding efforts by issuing the formal apology and acknowledging past atrocities. This has not been the case in South Africa amongst Afrikaaners and black South Africans, and that may be one reason that lessens hostility within Namibia compared to South Africa. According the 2016 Global Peace Index, Namibia is ranked 55th and South Africa is ranked 126th in most peaceful out of 163 countries measured (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2016). This recent statistical research also substantiates the idea that Namibia may be in a relatively greater state of peace than South Africa.

4.3 Overt Sources of Destructive Conflict and Violence in Sport

Sport in society has had a long history of dividing groups and/or cultures and often perpetuating masculinity, aggression, brutality and interpersonal and group conflict. Whether that be evidenced through sports such as boxing, wrestling, rugby, fencing, or simply having two teams in opposition to win at all costs; the use of sport to construct conflictual environments has been part of the fabric of many societies. Within this study, there was some evidence of sport serving to divide rather than unite but this was more covert than overt. As sport divided the community through slow violence such as division of individuals into groups, categories, (masculinity vs. femininity, able bodied vs. not, valuing athletic bodies vs. not) such intangible divisions lead to a furtive manifestation of violence. Examples within the communities visited included the lack of equal opportunity for females to participate in sport, and the disconnect between generations of understanding the power and benefit of sport. For instance, three facilitators mentioned the difficulty in convincing tribal elders to agree to provide such sport
opportunities for girls, as they believe they should be at home taking care of domestic duties. In some cases, facilitators mentioned fights resulting from local football matches and bullying or picking on people (during sporting events) because they were either from another community or not from the majority ethnic group within their own community. These are examples of cultural violence through the division of society into damaging dichotomies. Despite examples of SDP projects contributing to peacebuilding and conflict transformation, what must be acknowledged are the inherent divisions that sport may bring and the implications that arise from the use of sport as a method of promoting community development.

4.4 Systemic Dysfunction as a Source of Conflict

Historical conflict and structural inequality are prominent concerns raised in the interviews. For instance, four of the facilitators claimed from both Namibian and South African contexts that to some extent the ‘system was broken’ meaning that facilitators felt without large scale support from communities as a whole, the government, and other stakeholders, community development initiatives would not make the impact they were capable of. Zara, PIE programme facilitator in Namibia said of her key learnings from SDP involvement: “My biggest take-home is that change must be systemic. It’s not random NGOs on the spot, on the field, that are going to make a difference. If you are going to move a critical mass of people out of poverty, you need to have systemic things in place and it has to be irrespective of who is there, the system needs to work. My analogy is compared to Apartheid: Verwoerd [South African mastermind who socially engineered and implemented Apartheid] is dead and long gone, but he created a system that was supposed to serve a certain group of people, and with no effort of his own, the system still works and perpetuates their cause; and you could do this but in a positive light. You can do the same thing and systemically people are taken care of.” Unfortunately, this sentiment was confirmed by one of the key informants, Dora, when she mentioned the unequal distribution of funds and resources amongst schools in South Africa leading to greater structural and cultural conflict, as students are not being treated similarly: “Mandatory physical education in South African schools doesn’t exist because they don’t have the infrastructure... you will find it in private schools, as well as more affluent public schools, but Quintile 1 schools, the no-fee schools, they have feeding schemes, but they are really desperately poor and they will have NGOs coming in to deliver whatever they want to deliver.” Technically, the South African school curriculum is supposed to include physical education, however, because the no-fee schools do not have the capacity and resources to do so, NGOs step in to cover the gap. This is the space where SDP programmes reach communities.
acting to provide non-formal educational opportunities where community members can learn within that “broken system”. In Namibia’s PIE programme, former facilitator Sabra worked closely with vulnerable youth from different areas including townships in Windhoek who needed “help and support navigating a broken system.” She went on to say that: “Many of them were orphans, many were from single parent homes, where the single parent often was the mother who was working full time away from home. Without huge amounts of support, even if was just financially at home, or parents working long hours, if they were failing and they didn’t make it through, it would leave them quite vulnerable without a lot of options. There are institutions in place to help people upgrade marks, but that costs quite a bit of money, and how do you access it? You need to navigate those systems and often people didn’t understand what they needed to do to support them, so they were left as youth highly vulnerable without any institutional support to make sure they had options.” It is the systemic dysfunction that perpetuates complex conflicts affecting the entire community. It is not enough to provide youth with engaging activities, but for facilitators and programme architects to acknowledge and peel away the many layers of residual conflict to truly understand how their participation in such projects can promote engagement in conflict resolution and building peace.

4.5 Corrupt Political Leadership and Gang Violence

For many individuals who have not been given equal access to opportunities, they can only look to the options in front of them, even if those options are less than ethical, legal, or sustainable. This sense of attaining power regardless if it is good or bad can be tied in with the political climate of South Africa where leadership often arises from undemocratic means, sometimes including resorting to political unrest and even direct violence. South Africa has a strong history with many forms of conflict and direct violence including; activism, strikes, violent protest and opposition. (In some ways this has led to positive outcomes such as Nelson Mandela fighting Apartheid, initiating democratic political action and the creation of the African National Congress). However, in some cases, political leaders such as former president ANC Youth League and current leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, Julius Malema, has a history of being a bully, a thug and a tyrant with a potential to destabilize South Africa and to spark racial conflict. Malema has been convicted of money laundering and hate speech in 2010 and 2011 and looks for any means to obtain absolute power. Nonetheless, he has risen to prominence with the support of Jacob Zuma and the Premier of Limpopo Province as the “future leader” of South Africa (Houser, 2016). Those seeking power may emulate the corruption of those in positions of political leadership. The link between negative power and corrupt political leaders cannot
go ignored and often serves as an example to vulnerable youth that it is acceptable to gain power and control by generating conflict and division amongst class and race in South Africa.

Gang activity was a concern raised by five facilitators while discussing community issues in violence. In one South African interview, Blake claimed that joining a gang could be seen as a legitimate and possibly favourable method of attaining power within their community: “Gangsterism is also quite big in these communities so sport becomes a vehicle to escape gangsterism because there is power in gangs, a power because then you have the element of social/coming together of people. So, you have gangs showing love, you have a sense of belonging because now you belong to a group and that’s what youth want. Gangs have structured programs, they have structured roles and responsibilities and a strong hierarchy. So you know you can grow within a gang you can move from being a foot soldier to managerial positions. If they are structured and run well, even amongst such negative elements, people will find a sense of belonging there and they know “if I do this and I can do it well, I can rise and have a respect within my community, within my gang, I can be feared,” then the more people fear you, the more you feel powerful, and power is contagious. You get rewarded for power irrespective if it’s negative or positive.” Sport can help resolve conflict because it creates a space for a sense of belonging for those who would otherwise be involved in gang activities, which can lead a community and its members to social transformation. Blake also stated if the programming from Spike was not evident: “The communities would continue with their high crime rate, high rate of teenage pregnancy, high rate of drug and alcohol abuse. Because in the absence of activities, structured activities, then kids are left to their own demise. There are also negative elements within the communities so those would drive in the absence of positive activities that are happening, so it’s very important that we have these workshops. Sport provides an alternative for youth who might not want to be in negative elements but have nothing else to do, and peer pressure like it or not, it’s very powerful and very strong so if constant negative reaffirming of negative elements that keep knocking at these youths doors, then they would answer and respond to those negative elements.” Negative influences unfortunately surround many of the youth and community projects with both PIE and SPIKE. It is an ongoing challenge to steer facilitators and youth into the direction by making the right choices and considering options to upward mobility that do not risk engaging in conflict, violence and corruption. These two examples of SDP projects provide hope and opportunity for many who may have once assumed the only way to assure progress and power is through nefarious means.
4.6   Sport, Gender and Conflict

Sugden (2006) reminds us: “sport is neither essentially good nor bad. It is a social construct and its role and function depends largely on what we make of it and how it is consumed” (Sugden, 2006, pg. 251) (see also Parnes et al., 2007). While people in sport often assume that the activities they love constitute a universal language, Sugden warns against the over essentializing of sport, and reminds us to recognize it as a social construct. What then becomes most important is how to construct sport to meet peacebuilding needs. While sport has often contributed to breaking down different social barriers and in this thesis, builds a case for building communities and steps toward peace, one must remain cognizant of the conflict that sport may nurture. In some ways, there are inherent biases in certain forms of sport, and certain groups may be privileged over others. Conflicts could be considered gendered when they are dealt with differently between males and females. For instance, sport often celebrates masculine hegemonic patterns and glorifies male power sometimes at the expense of women and girls. In sub-Saharan Africa, it is not uncommon to see a community soccer field filled with enthusiastic male players, while females are subsequently relegated to the sidelines due to their familial and/or domestic responsibilities. Sports remain inherently masculinist, in that they privilege males and masculine ways of thinking. The data revealed from this thesis indicate a larger number of facilitators were male (six males and three females were interviewed) and many more males were available for selection when I was purposively sampling facilitators to interview. Furthermore, the male facilitators were offered greater opportunities for mobility e.g., moving and working in positions of leadership in other sub-Saharan countries, as they were less obliged to remain in the rural communities they came from and felt safe travelling to and working within foreign communities. Also pertaining to gendered perceptions/behaviours of SDP projects, in this thesis, two of the facilitators mentioned that male participants in SDP programming were less inclined to engage in self-expression and had a hard time building trust with authority figures in the SDP programmes. Female youth participants on the other hand, had easier times with opening up, discussing difficult issues, but their presence in the realm of sport was less evident as well as their desire to obtain leadership roles.

The Commonwealth Advisory Board on Sport report (2006) suggests that adolescence is the optimal time to introduce SDP programs given that the transition from childhood to adulthood is usually the time when boys establish more autonomy, mobility, privilege and opportunity than girls (CABOS, 2006). In order to counterbalance this hegemonic pattern, sport provides young women a way to access education and life skills that is not available to them in mainstream society that privileges male access.
and opportunity (Nicholls & Giles, 2007). A concrete instance of this is when the PIE programme facilitators decided to change the rules of football in order to give girls a greater opportunity to be competitive amongst the boys during games. Bernard, stated: “It’s the longer term benefits that can be huge, and it can be things like conflict resolution, because wars break out, not to be dramatic, but conflict breaks out all the time. If you build a culture of community, then when these things come up, it becomes easier to deal with because people will feel more. One problem in Namibia is tribalism, maybe it’s hidden a little bit, but it is there, just like racism is there. So, on that backdrop is where we try to promote community. Gender issues, gender violence against women for example, are big problems in Namibia at the moment; our activities right now are about awareness of gender sensitive issues. We have tried to alter and change the rules of football, where if a boy scores, then the next goal must be by a girl, sort of providing equality. We have seen amongst boys, young boys, is their realization that girls can do just as much as they can.” The athletes bought into this rule, as it would ensure they could continue playing the game they so passionately enjoyed. Through this rule change, not only were more people being included into the physical activity, but also lessons around inclusivity, equality, democracy and conflict resolution were being given with very little intended curriculum or formal learning. This was in one way an acknowledgement of inherent cultural bias and another way a direct response to the conflict, violence, discrimination and exclusion that women face. Sabra, of PIE Namibia, insightfully articulated that there was a gendered difference in the way at-risk youth approached resolving of conflict: “At the micro level, there was conflict that happened between students within the programme. We do a lot of life skills workshops around communication, gender, and gender-based violence. So when things would arise, you could see over time, those kids in the programme were developing new ways of communicating, relating, thinking clearly. Then I think what they themselves were sharing culturally. There were so many issues for example, young women expressing very clearly boundaries that they had around their body or boundaries they had around being spoken to in a particular way that didn’t sit right, and so over a period of time you saw their confidence developing.” Sabra also discussed the difference between the young men and women in their willingness to reveal their true selves when participating in the PIE programme: “Some of the young women opened up a lot more initially, it was much harder to get through to the young men in the programme. But when you used sport and you took them on camping trips and you built that trust, increasingly you got to understand what was going on at home and then you had a better picture of how you could probably support each one of those kids. It was a small group, so we knew each and every kid, we knew, we tried to know their families to the best of our ability. We spent a great amount of time with them, yeah, every
day.” For Sabra, it was obvious that the boys were less willing to open up and discuss the conflicts that they face in their lives and communities. However, once that trust was established, she could see how to better support these individuals in growth, learning and personal development while considering the contexts and conflicts they have been surrounded by. It was also through these informal and non-formal active learning opportunities through camping, small sport-based group activities and co-educational activities that the youth could develop more than sporting skills. In this space, they worked on interpersonal, communication, and conflict resolution skills because they felt nurtured, supported and able to tackle challenges that came their way. Facilitators and PIE participants were exposed to new, and uncommon learning contexts in which they thrived.

4.7  Resistance to SDP: Challenging Communitarian Citizenship

When the SDP curriculum and training is derived solely from external sources, it can be problematic toward a communitarian or indigenously respectful perspective. SDP programmes could be considered an asset but also a threat because it may potentially bring conflict (in the form of mistrust of outsiders) between the closed communities trusted learning pathways as it may bring a more risky world of community outsiders and their potentially undesirable influences. This is especially challenging in the context of South Africa and Namibnia, which has a history of xenophobic flare-ups, a general distrust of outsiders, and colonial histories. In many communities, there remains male only tribal council leadership, untrained medical practitioners and inadequate hospital and health services. In this context, it is difficult to deliver content related to sexual health (abstinence, use of condoms), female participation in sport, and health campaigns because people may be resistant to such new and controversial or value compromising information. Thus, the use of non-formal learning strategies could improve community access to information that could benefit, empower and uplift people.

Evidence from the facilitator interviews of community resistance to outside initiatives include when Blake, who often ran provincial workshops for selected future facilitators from various rural communities said: “If I can give so much, then these participants can see that, and then they will go back to their communities, hopefully they will give that much because it’s tough working in communities. You get more negative feedback than positive for what you are doing. You get people doubting whether you are sincere in trying to help youth or it’s a way to get quick bucks, [or they think] you are trying to lure these young girls into having sex with them, while you are actually trying to provide sport and learning for them. There’s so much negative and so much doubt people have because you are in a low-income area and people think you should have a paying job. “Why are you wasting
yourself working with these young people? There's no hope, no future for them, they don't have education, skills.”... so that’s what these young people get.”

Perhaps such disillusionment reflects a sense of hopelessness difficult to overcome in impoverished and isolated communities. Another issue may be that many elders, traditional leaders and community members felt the SDP project was too foreign and did not originate from within the community, and often brought in consultants and programme content from the global North that failed to consider or validate indigenous perspectives.

During the interviews, facilitators mentioned facing various obstacles in communities they worked in; at first there was resistance. For instance, some South African and Namibian rural community members struggling with poverty, sport participation was often viewed as an unaffordable “luxury” (Burnett, 2015; F. Coalter, 2010). The Key Informant interviewed in Namibia explained that in the first eight to ten (Webster, 2013) years of building schools, the decision was to solely concentrate on schools, and sports facilities were not built alongside classroom blocks. He said: “that in itself killed sport.” The common misconception of sport being a luxury, or a waste of time, was also raised in four of the facilitator interviews. Zara, Namibian PIE facilitator said: “It’s a catch-22 because sport is thought of as a luxury. You know it’s part of that systemic change, if parents think kids are wasting their time playing soccer, and think they should be doing more productive thing and they take that away from them, that challenges your programme.” Bernard, of SPIKE claimed: “Academic performance among young people is really bad, and sports is sometimes one of the things that gets blamed for it. So people want less sports, more school.” With such widespread viewpoints, it becomes a difficult to have people understand how SDP can be a useful vehicle for educational advancement to those who live in a system that fails to serve its underprivileged members. But then, sometimes after implementation, the communities began to see how SDP programming could help lead to social transformation.

4.8 Ethnocentrism

Another dimension of conflict brought to the forefront in the interviews is the acknowledgement of ethnocentric division amongst SDP programme participants. In the SPIKE programme, volunteer facilitators are expected to spend from six months up to one year living and working in a host community located in a different province from their own. With this programme format, individuals coming from rather isolated rural villages are given exposure to living alongside and interacting with people from very different cultural, ethnic and tribal affiliations. Lester, a Xhosa volunteering from the Eastern Cape, spent six months living in a Zulu community in Mpumalanga for his SPIKE internship
and in his interview spoke of his experience and the lessons he learnt: “It made me realize that, as much as in South Africa there is a lot of division between blacks and whites, I think it made me more worried to see that it was the same amongst blacks. We could be saying we are all blacks, but there remains that racism, or tribalism, so that was kind of big for me in Mpumalanga. I felt I was being discriminated because there is a thing with Xhosa where the belief that Xhosas are smart, and manipulative.” Lester’s experience as a volunteer facilitator placed within a community that was of a different ethnicity and culture, gave him a point of view that increased his personal understanding of the issue of race within his own country that in a way he had not seen before. His tolerance, understanding and education of differences that once divided people can also provide a point of view of greater understanding that despite physical and cultural differences, it is possible to approach conflictual situations as opportunities for learning. Facilitator Dante of South Africa claimed: “The introduction of SPIKE assisted by uniting the community itself. They started to understand each other; they started to share their ideas that were actually taking the community forward. So it assisted to eradicate the differences and understand conflicts that were result in the community because at the same time you may find that a Tsonga speaking child is chosen to become a leader in the community and the group is made of different ethnicities and they accept the role that particular person is playing then they compensate each other, they appreciate each other.” SDP programming is thereby capable of creating a more democratic space, (in the sense of less ethnocentric) space, mitigating conflicts between often-segregated groups.

4.9 Division Based on Language

As Namibia gained political independence in 1990, it was left with many social imbalances to be resolved. In 2004, the Namibian government launched a national development strategy called Vision 2030 to address and resolve the country’s issues by the year 2030. This development strategy was expected to reduce inequalities and create “a pervasive atmosphere of tolerance in matters relating to culture, religious practices, political preference, ethnic affiliation and differences in social background” (Frydman, 2011 p.178). One of the Vision 2030 policies has been for English to become Namibia’s official national language. This decision was based on the premise that Namibia that was looking for liberation from colonial oppressors and unity amongst its diversified population. It was believed that English could be the way to achieve these ideals as it contrasted oppressive and colonial language of Afrikaans (Frydman, 2011). In Namibia, there are thirteen languages recognized in Namibia as national languages, including ten indigenous African languages spoken by 87.8 per cent of the population (Frydman, 2011). So, there could be some sense of conflict evidenced through language when both
SPIKE and PIE chose English as their functioning language as it could serve to exclude or disadvantage groups of people. English may be the fourth or fifth language spoken by participants, a challenge compounded by typically poor education in rural schools. Zara, a PIE facilitator, considered the use of English to be inclusive and accessible: “The PIE programme is open to everybody and the official language for communication is English, so children will go through that programme not being exposed to a sense of tribalism, I mean they come with it and they share it, but they know how to live without it.” She felt that through the English language, students would not focus on their ethnic affiliations; rather they would communicate using a neutral language.

However, language is often not neutral. It can be loaded with subtext, embedded in the history of colonization in both Namibia and South Africa. Zola compared his experiences as a facilitator in three sub-Saharan countries: “I always say Namibia is the tenth province of South Africa (laughs) so I think being in Namibia and thankfully, I could compare that to my time in Zambia and in Mpumalanga (R.S.A). In Namibia, it would have been easier for me to resist it and stereotype and say people who speak Afrikaans in South Africa because of its background but having been where I had been and learnt. What I learnt, I took people for what they were and not what they had been exposed to. They had chosen to speak Afrikaans even though both were black and I couldn’t understand that, but I think if I had not had that exposure in those two areas I would have been very critical of that. And then you get to learn deeper and you understand and that opens you up to be able to deal with people. Especially now, it makes a huge difference if you remove yourself naked, completely from all stereotypes, from all judgments, and people as individuals, it makes your life and your work much easier.” Despite the conflict and bias behind the choice of language, the facilitators in both SPIKE and PIE saw opportunity for resolution of conflict and building peace through language by considering the impact that certain language choices would make in hindering people’s freedoms and ideas. As well, it was considering how and why certain languages bring conflict and how that can be dealt with in a colonial legacy environment.

South Africa – which shares with Namibia not only a border but also a history of Apartheid rule– has a relatively liberal and progressive language policy. This policy, adopted by South Africa at its independence in 1994 and incorporated into its 1996 Constitution, is official multilingualism: eleven of its approximately 25 languages, including English and Afrikaans, have official status. There is a mismatch between South Africa’s multilingual language policy, on the one hand, and observed language practices on the other. While the language policy promotes additive multilingualism, language practices in most of the public domains reflect a promotion of monolingualism in English (Frydman,
This is problematic in a country that has a level of linguistic diversity that should be applauded and revered. This issue connects to the frequent failure of acknowledging and incorporating indigenous knowledge in sport for development and peace programming.

4.10 Physical Education: Can It Be Taken Seriously?

As in Canada, there seems to be an ongoing conflict over the inclusion of physical education and health as part of the school curriculum. In Ontario, only one high school credit in Physical Education is required to graduate from secondary school. That means the Ontario Ministry of Education considers only 110 hours of physical education over a four-year period to be sufficient. In South Africa and Namibia, the sentiments of community members and school systems are similar: that sport is a luxury, a waste of time and that students should be focusing on more rigorous courses such as Mathematics and Science. Facilitator Bernard of Namibia mentioned: “Academic performance among young people is really bad, and sports is sometimes one of the things that gets blamed for [that]. So people want less sports, more school.” This idea is found at the rural community level where, serious obligations such as farming, household duties, fetching water are necessary forms of physical activity, its not to say that being active isn’t valued, but that elders or adults in that community may consider sport as a luxury, or it detracts from the duties and collective responsibilities the younger community members may have. This can cause communities and schools to not support SDP initiatives that would provide females with more time on the soccer pitch or that teach about sexual health through sport-based community workshops. Consequences could include obesity, poor health, sedentary populations, idleness, and violent or harmful activities replacing salubrious activities in rural communities.

As mentioned earlier, physical education is commonly eliminated from the school day in lower income schools due to a lack of resources, educators, and equipment to deliver physical education classes. Also, NGOs such as SPIKE and PIE require the support of not only community members, but also of the government and sports federations in order to effectively roll out programmes. Bernard said: “I find it’s harder to convince the central government to give you a portion that could go to education, because they have to justify why would I give money for sports?” Zola who worked in Zambia, Namibia and South Africa stated: “There is a conflict between federations and sport for development organizations where federations because they don’t understand what we are doing and what it has to do with anything. We are trying to say these things [sport and education] are complimentary. Federations want to find the super athletes from the grassroots level. At a local level, you want there to be a link to programming and sustainability, for people who don’t understand the value of sports for development
and what it can do, they find it very difficult.” Zola argued that some organizations only used sport as the pull factor, but that the true value of sport failed to be inculcated into the programmes and policies: “There hasn’t been a strong lobbying or advocacy sort of front that is pushing the agenda.” There seems to be a disconnect amongst policy makers, and programme developers which puts SDP programmes at risk of losing their value at the community level. Participants’ perceptions on the potential for SDP programming to enhance community belonging and cohesion would be jeopardized if the use of sport is simply to draw in participants.

Another challenge raised was that some SDP organizations or government initiatives were shifting their focus to be more in line with elite sport and; neoliberal mindsets, less about community development. These elements fail to address systemic inequalities. SPIKE facilitators realized the need to stick with their mission. As Bernard put it: “There are a lot of organizations that have started to move from sport for development into elite sports development, but we have stuck with our principle job which is mass participation, as much people as possible.” In order for SDP initiatives to truly make an impact, government and policy architects must collaborate in an integrated manner with those that are working directly with community-based projects. SPIKE and PIE have the potential to mitigate harmful direct, cultural, historical and structural conflict, as well as violence, if they had the support of the entire system.

The sport for development and peace sector addresses legacies of conflict and how these legacies have been reproduced and challenged through an unequal education and political system. Concepts such as communication of one’s feelings, dialogue on gender based violence or HIV/AIDS issues, following rules, learning skills for emotional regulation, diffusing tense or potentially violent situations, counteracting xenophobia by playing sports against those of other ethnicity, learning about consent, delaying sexual activity, practicing assertiveness, and creating leadership opportunities (for females), learning to say no to sex or drugs, are all gains that facilitators claimed took place as a result of the two SDP programmes studied in this thesis. Ronald of South Africa, spoke about his extensive 16 year experience as a facilitator in numerous rural communities: “I was coordinating a project in a community in the Northern Cape where crime involving drugs and murder was very high, but after we worked there, everything was better. And they say sport was the only tool that came that stopped crime.” His perception was that violence was being directly mitigated as a result of SDP programming. Ada in Namibia, spoke more of the role of democracy, fair play and self regulation in mitigating conflict: “We have games that talk about judgment... maybe looking at people and judging them if they have HIV or deciding who to play with... or other stereotypes. Then, people remember ordinary
behaviours that they learn through football, like following rules, engaging in fair play and no fighting. Since 2012, we have a no fighting rule that is a red rule at the field in SPIKE activities... if you fight you are benched. Not only in that activity, but if you fight, you sit out of [sport-based] activities for an entire week. So you will not participate and that can be very upsetting. When you swear, you will get immediately taken off the field, even if you are a key player, so the kids are singing the same song now, even if I am not there, the referees are being told somebody swore and it because a sort of governance or understanding.”

Zara narrated a moment when her cycling group had been able to speak to a convener about an unfair judgment call made during their mountain bike race. She believed that children and youth - both boys and girls - learned how to mitigate conflict through the lessons they had learned through SPIKE and PIE’s sporting activities.

Individual self-governance can impact an entire community. Facilitators told me they conveyed to communities that ideals related to discipline, responsibility, and consequences of negative behaviour were codes that pertained to all. These key learnings perhaps would not be learnt in a formal school, where the teachers were more autocratic and students were not encouraged to self-regulate. Yes, SDP facilitators did impose some of these rules and regulations upon the students at first; however, as time went on, they said that the young athletes came to value these rules and to understand how such behaviour norms could enhance their opportunities for fair and meaningful interactions. They also developed a way to resolve conflicts that, at one point, had consistently repeated without resolution. Through the deployment of sport as a socio-cultural tool to reduce social tensions and promote reconciliation and reconstruction in post-conflict contexts (Giulianotti, 2011; Sekulić et al., 2006). SDP projects such as SPIKE and PIE were attempting to combat conflict in non-formal ways. This apparently alleviated the expectations from schools and community members and allowed SDP to have a substantial role in building better communities.

4.11 How Did SDP Facilitators View Conflict?

A common thread through the facilitator interviews was the perception that conflict implied a potentially positive struggle, leading facilitators and programme participants toward learning and facilitating a better understanding of different points of view. Personal conflicts within the organizations themselves (such as insufficient financial/material resources for programming) were frequently raised as concerns. However, facilitators communicated the sense that programming could go on in spite of these shortcomings.
When it came to discussing larger scale, power imbalanced (human rights) conflicts such as systemic racism, gender bias, or ethnocentric division/discrimination, facilitators conveyed optimism and hope. Ada spoke of the conflicts she saw amongst the athletes when they played football (soccer):

“Sometimes when we are looking at certain sport codes, we see it as a little bit rude because people repeat behaviours. Like, when they lose a match, they fight, and you know they get more aggressive, because football, sometimes can teach kids how to behave (imitates fighting and bickering) and how and what they can learn. These things are changing in the younger generation. Even if the older ones are going with that, the younger generation accepts to lose, they understand the referee, and outside the field also, you know, they are trying to differentiate things, not just jump into [fights] (snaps finger).” It seemed that, from this facilitators’ perspective, the youth participants were not using sport as a means to perpetuate violence such as rioting, fighting, arguing, as perhaps older community athletes had modeled in the past. Perhaps it is because these soccer matches were not just about the development of sport itself, but utilized in conjunction with educational programming and curriculum to teach kids socially transformative capacities. Ada said she had witnessed an evolution of better understanding of sport for development and peace ideals in the community where she worked: “I currently work in an informal settlement. In 2012, when I went to that same field, I was already a facilitator and coordinator. But then I thought to work more on the outside, so I met mostly bigger guys, very independent teams, and with bad behaviour. These days, they approach me very nicely and talk to me. They understand us and they advise us, because these are their children, it’s the next generation.” She saw that people were considering creating change and building peace through sport, because they had to come to believe that it would benefit the younger members of the community. Thus, more community members began to work alongside SPIKE’s efforts in Namibia in order to better manage confrontation and conflict.

Zola, originally from Eastern Cape, South Africa, had been placed as a volunteer facilitator in Mpumalanga province, where his experience provided him a space to learn from cross-cultural and ethnocentric conflict: “Having interacted with different cultures and people who had a totally different belief system to mine, let alone living in a host family that had a different belief system as well, they ate differently, spoke differently and did things differently— and worse, I came from a rural background and am deeply rooted in my belief system and here I am stuck with a totally different belief system and there were two things that could have happened: I could have rebelled and resisted all that, but thankfully I was open to the experience and humble enough to allow myself to be educated by that experience. And it was an eye opener where I learned how to engage with it and try to marry belief systems so that we can all move forward but also from a conflict point of view, you realize that
sometimes you are in conflict with people not because they say things differently but people are just different. It helps in development to understand that, because you continuously face difference so it was educational.” This narrative of experience substantiates the idea that SDP programmes, when properly supported, create opportunities for inter-group social contact that had long been suppressed. Lederach (2005) stressed the importance of creating safe and accessible “relational spaces” – such as soccer fields and school playgrounds, where people could interact in natural ways, platforms for potential peacebuilding affecting the whole.

Although the majority of facilitators framed conflict positively, Blake, who had been facilitating workshops within the region for fifteen years, perceived conflict as isolated destructive incidents to be quickly eradicated: “We have not had conflict within the group itself, we don’t necessarily just focus on conflict, because for me, conflict management is a topic on its own, it’s a session on its own. However, if teams come up or communities bring up the issue of conflict management then we would talk about it. We would brainstorm about it, we would share ideas about the different types of conflicts, when do people experience conflicts in their communities. Then we would see how we could deal with it. But these sessions don’t specifically have conflict management as a topic that we would want to tackle, but if it does out or come up from the communities, then we would deal with it because when you are in communities there would ordinarily be conflicts, because you would have differences of opinion, people have a different way of doing things, and they have different way of seeing things, so that’s when conflict might... you know come up.” Conflict is not often a one-dimensional issue that can be dealt with as a single module in a workshop. Here, instead of seeing conflict as potentially constructive, Blake saw conflicts as isolated incidents of escalation, and felt that if he steadfastly approached the issue, he could resolve it and move on to facilitating the next topic. Blake was the only facilitator of the interviewed group who articulated such a perception of conflict, contrasting with those of the other facilitators in both SDP organizations.

4.12 Global Vs. Local: Acknowledging and Respecting Indigenous Knowledge

In a situation where an outside agency is leading the implementation of a program, they must actively consult the people on the ground. The PIE programme was conceptualized and delivered by a Namibian and continues to this day to be driven by Namibian visionaries passionate about facilitating youth and community development. To this day, PIE collaborates with several key players in SDP as well as individuals at the community level thus respecting indigenous knowledge and utilizing the resources within the country. PIE architects, understanding the need and benefit of encouraging local
partnerships, invited University of Namibia (UNAM) students to collaborate on a weekly basis as volunteer tutors. Having university student volunteers as an integral part of PIE represented the civic duty of volunteering as noble endeavour that serves to give back to the community and to the next generation. Sabra also mentioned that these students served as role models for the vulnerable youth, who hadn’t previously interacted with people who had had the opportunity to attend University. Other research on the PIE project reiterated that, “by using Namibian nationals who studied the UNAM as one of the main mechanisms for program delivery (Clark et al., 2006) demonstrates a post colonial sensitivity that values the importance of learning being facilitated by local people” (Nicholls & Giles, 2007, pg. 260).

Sugden (2006) highlights the importance of cultural sensitivity and awareness, and how important it is for volunteers and leaders to have a shared commitment to the programme. He stressed the need for local partners to be involved in critical evaluations, decision-making, planning and implementing processes (Sugden, 2006). PIE certainly appeared to me effective in approaching SDP in a collaborative and respectful manner. SPIKE also utilized local community members as volunteers for coaching; and training in sports based activities within their own communities, also extending to neighbouring communities. An annual tournament, in which young sport leaders and community members competed in netball, football and volleyball - as well as off the field activities, remained a key event for SPIKE that enhanced community interaction (within the communities and across several sub-Saharan countries) facilitated by local community leaders, coaches, facilitators and athletes. Such competition, connecting young sportswomen and men from communities across Southern Africa gave facilitators and young leaders the opportunity to travel and find out how like-minded youth were promoting change in their own communities. Not only did the youth participate in sports, but also, each team was required to complete a community service project encouraging youth to take an active role in their community. This tournament model can facilitate the sharing of people’s stories, hardships and victories, thereby fostering links between knowledge and experiences across communities; which make people feel more connected and widen their opportunities for sharing and co creating knowledge based in personal experiences.

4.13 Conflict Between Urban and Rural Communities

In South Africa and Namibia, the lack of infrastructure and equal distribution of resources does not create an environment conducive to equal opportunities for social advancement. According to facilitators, the issues faced by community members included a lack of opportunities to engage in meaningful social and
physical activities. For many, being successful in the sport means for many a way out of poverty, but, this is often the stereotypical idea of becoming a famous professional football player and not someone who engages in community based sport for development initiatives. By attending training workshops that include exposure to and learning of life skills as sport skills, as well as becoming a facilitator, such engagement could improve one’s employability status and create possible career building pathways. However, it seems that this mobility is reshaping communities and giving rise to new patterns of inequality. Mobilizing individuals and groups through SDP have the best intentions for creating positive outcomes and mutual benefits for all. However, speaking to facilitators illustrates that even the best intentions of programming and pedagogy will have different, even unintended outcomes for differently situated others on the ground, which is particularly true of subaltern individuals and groups (Webster, 2013).

During interviews, several facilitators gave examples of a frequent division between those living in urban versus rural communities. Many of the facilitators worked in both types of communities and had seen for themselves a difference in accessibility to resources and opportunities for mobility in employment and education and the potential for SDP projects to fill the gap. Blake of South Africa claimed: “The opportunities are not there because services are usually concentrated around your urban areas, your big cities, so in rural areas it’s very limited. But sport can be a leveling playing field. They can actually rise above their circumstance and consequence and achieve more and achieve great things and become inspirational role models to other rural dwellers or rural inhabitants. It can become motivation for people to have an aspiration of achieving and becoming more. Sport for me became an avenue for expressing myself and of helping others become better than who they currently are.” Biyombo, a key informant from Namibia explained: “You will find people want to play sports, but they don’t have a system. You will find they will organize themselves if there is no one to organize them. So they are playing a game of netball between the two towns, or they make their own soccer balls as usual, they are playing as an informal league.”

Zara considered what Namibian communities would look like if PIE hadn’t existed: “The absence of the programme, would feed about 100 kids back to a system that is not necessarily progressive for them and their futures. If the PIE programme was removed, there is no hope for the generation to come because theses kids will be parents that will at least start their children at a 1 or a 2, giving them almost equal footing to others, but if you don’t, you keep the next generation as poor. The kids would be hanging around and we have kids that have that sort of background, they would be back on the streets. They would be near the ‘active community’ it’s quite dangerous so you get involved in that. They would be sitting around and drinking all day. The education doesn’t set you up well since school ends at
1:10pm, there are no more arts and sports in the school curriculum, so you are never being active or moving around; you never will learn the values you can learn from doing that.” Without the presence of SDP programming, many rural communities would have to suffice by having informal sports, insufficient health education programming, and they would lose the much needed opportunities for training, leadership, growth and social transformation. Unfortunately, the remoteness of many rural communities creates both physical and figurative barriers to accessing elements for having a stable quality of life.

Another critical factor in resolving conflict is for community members and leaders to be given the opportunity to commence dialogue on conflict and to compare and contrast the issues that people in different communities may experience. Because many people from rural communities remain systemically divided from others – in part due to distance, access to resources, and restricted mobility – it is harder to see and understand that others share similar struggles. Ronald brought this forward in his interview: “The kids that receive training and opportunities within these programs (facilitators and community members) go to Johannesburg because there are no job opportunities in the village or neighboring town. You would have to work in the municipality but only if you have political connections or a high school diploma.” Even with programming, the additional training and exposure coming to a community, it remains difficult to break out of such an oppressive system. If people knew that the issues and conflicts they have been faced with exist in other communities and that knowledge is shared it can serve as a coping mechanism to alleviate conflict. So when the SPIKE programme used the facilitator exchange model, it opened up the doors to comparing and discussing social issues from around the region and can provide a sense of hope. This also allowed for greater mobility for chosen facilitators and possibilities for opportunities that wouldn’t exist had it not been for their involvement in such a programme. As a result, facilitators can begin to see their level of engagement as democratic and peacebuilding citizens rise in both global and local contexts.

4.14 A Unique Approach to Resolving Systemic Conflict: Making Spaces More Democratic (Peacebuilding)

The use of these social spaces can be innovative in broadening and deepening peacebuilding efforts. Sport for development and peace programming creates or builds upon sport as a safe and supportive social space. Sport spaces seem to have the advantage of being cross sectional, meaning tied to multiple levels of society. Both SPIKE and PIE utilized communal spaces such as meeting centers and formerly built multipurpose complexes for their programming. In the case of SPIKE, their
programmes embraced both men and women to become leaders and facilitators. SPIKE and PIE also reached out to marginalized, rural communities often with traditional forms of leadership and managed to get those communities to embrace sport in a way that was more than just a game. The interest of soccer crosses most societal divisions in the country and soccer pitches are found in the remotest villages as well as the urban areas. As they often do not require much to set up, soccer is a simple way for SPIKE to engage community members in becoming agents of change. Sabra (Namibia) gracefully articulated this in her interview: “That’s the foundation, the basis upon which you are building and I’m a big believer in the power of community and public space. What was so exciting about that multipurpose youth resource center was it had previously been a site for protest and organizing and then often those spaces were sitting empty. And now, you had the reclaiming of those spaces, and animating of those spaces in positive and constructive ways and that alone. Like those kids in our programme, they weren’t just Oshivombo speaking or Damara speaking, that was a diverse group of kids who all came together and everything that they were doing was in this safe and positive and they became the best of friends. The conflicts are not erased, but they are at least challenged successfully and questioned, the kids started to really look at it differently.” Sabra spoke with such conviction that PIE was transforming people, spaces and peoples’ relationships to each other, and to the spaces they inhabited.

Lester echoed Sabra’s positive assessment, when he stated: “I think SPIKE brought hope to rural communities where there was nothing.” Such opening of hope may begin the democratizing of space, allowing people to have the opportunity to reclaim their own public spaces to transform into productive, salubrious environments. Having options for activities can help to reduce aggressive conflicts as well as provide the freedom to choose to do positive things. Sabra elaborated: “PIE really animated that (formerly abandoned) youth center. What they did was animating public land and public space and they brought the kids, they provided the programming, and they provided meaningful ways to connect and engage each other with positive role models, really constructive activities, and positive ways to spend time.” It is, therefore, important to pay attention to the quality and quantity of sports spaces. What’s clear from Keim’s (2003) work in South Africa is that children wanted to participate in joint or multi-cultural sporting activities, but political, economic, and social conditions often made it difficult to act in accordance with that wish. Evidently, the existence of safe, accessible facilities, –open play spaces, specialized fields and equipment, as well as affordable transport – is of crucial importance to the success of these programs.
4.15 Sustainability and Local, Non-Formal Learning

Bush & Saltarelli (2000, p. 27) argue that appropriate peacebuilding education should be based on the capacities and experiences of conflict-affected persons, should be a bottom-up (rather than externally driven) process, should include teaching of conflict management methods and the promotion of tolerance and non-violence values, should not be restricted to the classroom, and should involve community projects with young people (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Both SPIKE and PIE relied heavily on community based leadership and engagement from many groups of people: educators, athletes, coaches, local business owners, youth and often partnerships from other NGOs or community initiatives. Through the mixture of these ingredients came an SDP project driven from within, which considered the needs of a community. Bernard, of SPIKE Namibia, talked about the organization’s push for getting communities to engage in programme ownership: “We try to promote community ownership, that’s fundamental. So, if SPIKE stops to exist today, then those community leaders will continue to implement and provide sports opportunities and at times use sports to enhance life skills. We provide support, management around logistics from a central place, but at the community level, the management of the programs is there. If they decide to form a committee to manage a program, then they do that. We don’t interfere with any of that. They do, how they want to do it, so I think that is a difference from other type of similar programs within Namibia and within the region.” Such community engagement seems to be a key component to resolving conflicts such as those embedded in top-down or rigid SDP programming that is top down (Burnett, 2013). Several facilitators discussed the sustainability of programming. Some claimed that, even though there was a lack of funding, programs were still going. That is because the programmes initiated were kept simple, with local support from individual, community and at times societal (government ministerial) levels, so the projects could extend beyond a few years.

4.16 Conclusion

SDP advocates have cautiously concluded that sport, if considered alongside socially progressive values and organized and managed in the ways discussed above, can play a role in promoting peace and reconciliation in even the most fractured and deeply divided societies (Sugden, 2010). The narratives of facilitators interviewed in this thesis research also suggest the potential of (some) sport for development and peace programming to change such broken systems, helping pick up the pieces and re-integrate those who have been systemically ignored and oppressed by providing ways for divisions to be bridged, and even reconciled. The cultural and societal conflicts described in these interviews were related to
gender, language, ethnicity, level of education, remote rural communities vs. urban townships, globalized vs. local (indigenous) knowledge. In some instances, these barriers apparently became less cumbersome through SPIKE and PIE programming initiatives. In other instances, facilitators acknowledged how such structures of conflict could serve at least as stepping-stones to opening up a dialogue and platform for resolution or transformation of cultural and/or structural violent conflicts. These two particular sport for development and peace programmes, in the opinion of some of their facilitators, had made an impact on social transformation, including reducing conflicts/biases, in several disadvantaged rural communities of South Africa and Namibia.
5. Further Findings: Citizenship, Inclusion and Engagement

5.1 Introduction

Citizenship responsibility, and countervailing pressures toward individualism amongst youth, have become global concerns (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006; Van Benschoten, 2000). In South Africa, such concern has heightened for a number of reasons. For one, the country has experienced rapid economic growth and immense political and societal change over the last twenty-five years. Now an upper middle-income country (World Bank Group, 2012), the impact of globalization (through imported goods, cultures, major sporting events, tourism, and economic trade unions) on traditional lifestyles has become increasingly strained. The gap between rich and poor within South Africa has also led to a significant discrepancy in lifestyle, values and attitudes between those who inhabit rural areas and those who dwell in constantly expanding, heavily populated urban centers. 46.95 per cent of South Africa’s population is under the age of twenty-four (WORLD BANK 2014). Bearing in mind this young population, and the accessibility via globalization of other ways of life could erode traditional values and responsibilities that were once practiced in South African and Namibian life. The rapid economic changes and expanding access to information have an impact on citizenship engagement and SDP programmes that attempt to engage facilitators as catalysts of youth and community development and citizenship engagement. How do sport for development facilitators from South Africa and Namibia view youth development (through SDP initiatives) in relation to their citizenship engagement within a local and a global context. And in what manner do they view SDP programming as promoting active inclusive citizenship engagements?

The notions of ‘good citizenship’ have implications for sport for development projects in sometimes obvious, and at other times more nuanced, ways. SDP can be utilized as a method of transmitting norms and ideologies related to Eurocentrism, citizenship, neoliberalism, employability, self-reliance and healthy living bodies (Hayhurst et al., 2016). To frame the presentation and discussion on interview findings, this chapter will utilize concepts connected to democracy, active citizenship, social development, communitarianism, agency and mobility in order to frame the discussion of interview results related to facilitators view of their participation in SDP projects as promoting engagement as democratic citizens in local and global contexts.
5.2 Democracy, Ubuntu vs. Neoliberal Democratic Tradition of Self-Driven Citizenship

Democracy is based on participatory governance, political and civil rights, and social practices characterized by citizen respect for and responsibility toward others in homes, schools and communities (Kubow, 2007). Democracy encourages a redistribution of balance power amongst several players within any community. Below, I will show that the conceptions of democracy evident from the voices of participating facilitators are in line with a liberal democratic tradition, whereby governmental ‘interference’ is minimized and individuals attempt to achieve personal freedom and fulfillment through privatization, property ownership and volunteerism (Cohen et al., 2004; Kubow, 2007). Such a focus on self-interest can be problematic in a Southern African context, where historically cultural formations of citizenship are rooted in communitarian or community-driven perspectives. In addition, some scholars claim that neoliberal forms of citizenship (developed in the global North) inflames tensions between diversity and commonality, opportunity and equity and individual rights and cultural groups rights, cultural preservation and national interests, and personhood and collective memberships (Kubow, 2007).

Ubuntu, an African indigenous value that is widely valued by South Africans, refers to the interests of the collective and one’s relation to the other. It is a social ethic to guide interaction and underlies indigenous practices of conflict management, social welfare, restorative justice, tribal councils, etc. (Kubow, 2007). But, this idea does not exist in a vacuum. Since SDP projects also usually are driven and funded by Northern development actors and discourses, they can have the potential to perpetuate such Northern citizenship assumptions. The notion of communal values embedded in Ubuntu has been disrupted by such global interactions which tend to value individuality at the expense of communality (Kubow, 2007). Despite strong notions of neoliberalism and individualism evident in the constructions of citizenship and democracy within these organizations, community needs were still acknowledged and facilitators understood the balancing act of managing self-interest alongside communitarian objectives.

The two organizations studied in this thesis had their similarities and differences with respect to their manner in approaching democratic citizenship engagement and participation. SPIKE was intent on being a far-reaching organization extending to as many rural communities across sub-Saharan Africa. SPIKE attempted to effect greater change by working toward community development through lobbying for policy change, critiquing government ideologies, and working with other organizations to roll out projects in their own interpretation. SPIKE, a much bigger organization than PIE, had a larger
staff, worked in four sub-Saharan African countries, and afforded greater physical and employment mobility for staff members, facilitators and volunteers. Many who were part of the SPIKE organization have moved around in other positions, received promotions and even utilized their experiences working with other NGOs. Facilitators may be placed as a community volunteer for a few months, and then become employed with SPIKE projects in Zambia or Namibia, for one year or more. Among the facilitators interviewed for this thesis, five of the seven SPIKE facilitators had at one point held positions in Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia. SPIKE tried to understand community needs in order to better serve underprivileged areas by enacting change through collaboration and active participation by community based change makers. PIE, despite its success, did not share a similar ambition to be as far-reaching as possible. SPIKE seemed to be more citizenship oriented by compelling its facilitators and volunteers to actively engage in citizenship activities such as volunteering and being a self-driven individual who promotes neoliberal community engagement initiatives. SPIKE created community sport opportunities, but the organization emphasized the need for people to be great individuals, and relied heavily on selecting key, ideal candidates from those sporting contexts and rewarded them with individual leadership opportunities within the organization. Once those individuals were selected, then the notion of giving back, or Ubuntu, was mobilized, but only once the individual was rewarded for their ability to stand out amongst the crowd.

The holistic approach of PIE toward youth development addressed the issues of physical health and fitness, academic success, personal development and community awareness and involvement. PIE embodied a more communal approach to citizenship than SPIKE, based on cultivating human bonds including vertical and horizontal relationships amongst adults and youth – ultimately aiming for peacebuilding through building harmony between one’s own goals (such as the improvement in academics) and how to work alongside others. PIE facilitators who were interviewed articulated the importance of resolving conflicts and acknowledging individual differences. PIE appeared more concerned with keeping the programme alive in order to serve as many struggling students as possible and seeing how these kids can change and grow as youth, and if they can pass their exam. However, the project’s emphasis was not as strongly directed to the personal trajectories of participating students as it was in SPIKE programming.

SPIKE attempted to directly discuss ways of enacting citizenship, for instance during facilitator training workshops and their teaching curriculum modules. Messages from PIE programming were less explicit about citizenship: rather, the children were taught interpersonal conflict resolution such as how to work with each other to solve tasks, share learning resources, discuss boundaries around their bodies
and physical spaces, gender based violence and more. PIE students had more one-on-one work with facilitators than SPIKE youth participants. As a result, they tended to build more trust within this smaller programme (especially evident in the pilot project). It took place at the same community centre, with committed Namibian volunteers (either university student tutors or sport facilitators). It included the same students everyday after school, with reportedly good attendance. PIE was not as interested in changing or challenging the current educational system, rather they accepted the failure of the education system; and an alternative space for students who are not welcome to school once they failed the Grade 10 exam was created. PIE worked around systemic problems whereas SPIKE tried to confront ongoing issues and forge alternative solutions.

SPIKE and PIE had their similarities and differences with respect to their manner in approaching democratic citizenship engagement and participation. Individualism filtered into citizenship formation and challenged citizenship in these two SDP programmes in particular; I believe it has been done in an optimistic manner. Even though many of the facilitators’ intentions may be focused on becoming successful, self-driven leaders wishing to succeed as individuals, they remain cognizant and considerate of the development of other people as well as communities.

5.3 Active Citizenship Through Volunteerism

Development frameworks commonly formulate citizenship as a set of obligations individuals have towards others and often emphasize active citizenship through voluntary, unpaid participation (Webster, 2013). In my experience, personal obligation and volunteerism are often key components of sport for development programmes in Southern African countries and have the potential to reinforce neoliberal, personally responsible and participatory forms of citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). With this interpretation of citizenship comes an emphasis on solidarity, benevolence, and mobilizing local community members to volunteer.

Volunteering, a key manifestation of active citizenship, can contribute to an individual’s accumulation of social capital (Morgan, 2013). SPIKE and PIE shared an emphasis on the need for and extensive use of volunteers to make their organizations run smoothly. SPIKE and PIE required volunteers to run daily operations, however, SPIKE more strongly conveyed to its program participants (facilitators and community members) that the notion of volunteerism should be integral in the communities they worked in. The motivation for SDP programmes isn’t simply for play, but to cultivate an environment where individuals can lift themselves (and eventually) their communities out of their oppressed/disadvantaged circumstances (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). But is this greater access and
enhanced social networks for the benefit of only a few, selected individuals or volunteers? Is the shift from communitarian to civic republican citizenship through SDP problematic in the sense that it excludes a vast number of rural community members? Or is the intention that those chosen facilitators will then return to their communities with renewed hope, resources, information and access to sustainable solutions to poverty?

According to the interviews, the notion of volunteerism was a concept to be strongly ‘delivered’ by volunteer facilitators and ‘considered’ by community members. Ronald discussed his role in SPIKE as a lead facilitator in his own community in Limpopo province: “I do trainings in basic administration, managing facilities and volunteerism, where we invited community leaders, they came and I would train them on how to become volunteers, what are the benefits of volunteering and how they should behave as volunteers.” In the PIE programme, a Volunteer Incentive Program, a system that rewards PIE volunteers with prizes once they attain a pre-determined number of volunteer hours, recognizes the volunteers for their dedication to PIE, but can also add pressure to youth who have several other domestic obligations to tend to. Discourses from the field of international development in particular, the United Nations, call upon the power of individuals and volunteerism to affect change and transform communities (Webster, 2013). A focus on a citizen’s own responsibilities to improving their communities can detract from the need for other structures such as municipal or provincial government to also play a part in improving and developing isolated communities.

Volunteering is integral to the success of these two organizations and the reasons for their involvement correspond to neoliberal conceptualizations of the SDP development framework. Blake of South Africa said: “I’m a firm believer of giving back, and I’ve been giving back, but it’s difficult to give back with limited resources. I want to show other organizations that you can do good and make a difference. It can all contribute toward social cohesion, and it can contribute towards people becoming better than who they currently are. That’s what I would actually love to do.” This form of service learning opportunity promotes participatory citizenship but contrasts other beneficial forms of citizenship engagements such as open discussion of societal issues such as politics, elections, or social problems such as alcoholism and gang activity. Facilitators frequently discussed that issues of drinking and crime were prevalent in the communities, but facilitators and programme managers understood that the intention of SDP programmes in these communities was about replacing those negative activities with sport and community development rather than addressing why those issues were evident in the first place. Facilitators appeared to spend more time altering the current negative or unproductive climate of the community (by providing sporting activities or tournaments/festivals) rather than understanding and
critically engaging with the ongoing, underlying issues of systemic inequality and conflict. However, it is possible to argue that since SPIKE and PIE had projects embedded with information on gender equity, education, personal development and social responsibility, they were seeking to confront and replace potentially negative bonding social capital with more positive forms (Coalter, 2010, pg.1383).

Furthermore, SPIKE formed partnerships with NGOs, schools boards and corporations, and this could result in a ‘corporate curricula’ where youth are taught to be more personally responsible for their health, and other more complex determinants of health (e.g. poverty and colonialism) are ignored (Powell, 2014). So, the implicit agenda becomes one of self-sufficiency and the personal management of one’s potential mobility and development. Furthermore, the South African government has supported initiatives that seek out promising athletes in rural communities to fill spots on national teams, again pursuing only a few selected individuals, and overlooking the broader needs of the community. It is for the above reasons that initial skepticism from community members about SDP projects had been an issue. Some facilitators conveyed that they faced challenges from community members as they worried SDP programming would fail to benefit more than a handful of selected community members. Another widespread concern was that the programme could fail to effectively convey key problematic issues to the community members.

5.4 When Active Citizenship Detracts From Community Goals and Systemic Issues

Citizens should actively engage in regular assessments of their social arrangements and choose what they consider to be more or less democratic courses of action. That being said, democracy in practice may fail to uphold of the ideals of social justice, which are necessary to improve life conditions for oppressed individuals (Kubow, 2007). When core values of active citizenship such as self-reliance and building one’s own social capital are prioritized, it may undermine indigenous forms of community understanding, such as the notion of Ubuntu, and does not aim at mobilizing people to question, and analyze why a critical form of thinking and engagement in active citizenship is as necessary as involvement itself (Gaynor, 2009). Promoting a self-reliant form of active citizenship, such as volunteerism, can also embody a neoliberal framework which could be a detriment to the social fabric of communities as this method does not always address community needs or systemic issues (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006). Traditional African communities are often classified as communitarian in that a depoliticized community where family, tradition, religion and a culture of consensus are emphasized (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006 pg.11). In this context, little responsibility is placed on the state for society and community is the source of moral guidance and the values of voluntarism and a
commitment to each other are most important. In the context of this research, and speaking with facilitators from both organizations, facets of individualism combined with communitarianism were evident. Zola, who has experience working in Zambia, Namibia and South Africa, claimed that the organization SPIKE tried their best to: "look at social cohesion as not only about the individual but also about the broader community." He mentioned that many of the parents in rural communities did not necessarily take an active role in education of their kids and he knew that this organization was trying to aid in creating a positive environment that filled in the gaps left by schooling or government. However, with the implementation of SPIKE programming, a gap was created in addressing the systemic conflicts at hand left by non-functioning systems of society, education and government. Blake said: “For me, sport became a vehicle to enable people especially in rural areas where opportunities are not there because services are usually concentrated around your urban areas, your big cities.” Often, the cultures of urban spaces are more immediately and directly influenced by globalization and as a result there is greater individualism in urban areas (Clammer, 2003). Lester from South Africa reiterated this when he said: “You find that you come to a township like Soweto, there’s a pool of NGOs that are fighting to go to a certain school because they all want to be there, if you go to a rural village in Limpopo, those funders are not there, not even one, there is nothing.” These areas are not considered high profile or desirable for organizations that want visibility for their efforts. But it is through the sharing of knowledge, experiences and issues across diverse rural communities that can mobilize, democratize and liberate individuals.

Facilitator Dante articulated his view of volunteerism as a most noble cause that elevated him above many of his peers: “where there are activities/duties that are calling for volunteerism, I am the first person to be there, because I don’t expect any compensation but what I know is the information, knowledge, experiences and talents that I have are very important to the community. They are not meant for sale. That is the most important thing I have learned through SPIKE, because we still have people that do not want to render their services free of charge to their communities and then by not doing that, they become very much selfish.” What became clear was that SPIKE conveyed the message that one’s duty is to work for free and as trained facilitators, they must pass on their skill sets onto their peer groups free of charge- making you a good, active citizen. Another insight raised by two facilitators was that by starting out as a volunteer with SPIKE or PIE enhanced one’s understanding and appreciation of the SDP process because they started as benevolent volunteers who slowly gained employment opportunities, and potential for social mobility as their role in the organizations became more significant. The act of volunteering can be something that grounds you, or humbles and therefore
makes you a better person. During the interviews with SPIKE facilitators, they frequently mentioned the importance of volunteerism as a central tenet of the organization. This raises the question of the centrality of volunteering in sport and its place in a Southern African context. From a global North perspective, the United Nations argues that volunteering in sport contributes to social welfare, community participation, generation of trust and reciprocity, and the broadening of social interaction through new networks, creating social capital and building and consolidating social cohesion and stability (Beutler, 2008). But it would be dangerous to presume the same positive effects would occur within a global South rendering. I believe that the concept of volunteering also manifests itself in other ways in these communities, such as people helping in a communal manner to take care of the children residing in the communities, and helping with making food for special events or holding informal community meetings where people can discuss pertinent issues and concerns. Also, it is difficult to find the time to volunteer when the pressure of contributing financially to one’s household can be overwhelming for poor families.

5.5 Self Interest Mobilizing Community Development

Despite the neoliberal connotations, and the devaluing of a common good, the idea of enlightened self-interest could be seen in a positive light with respect to promoting development through sport. Villages in South Africa can sometimes represent intricate and extended family networks, where most people are related in some way and family dynamics are steeped in hierarchical and patriarchal traditions. In order to build social capital, it is important to support and maintain family networks and gain valuable learning lessons and support through communitarian social capital (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006).

A shift towards a more civic republican form of social capital amongst the SDP facilitators (in this study) of both organizations in South Africa and Namibia appeared to prevail. Building networks extending beyond family were made through their associations with sport councils, NGOs, government federations and municipal contacts. Blake speaking of South Africa elaborated: “We are in partnership with the federations, so basketball, volleyball and tennis. This is aimed at linking our communities with federations so even when they start with these basic programs, they will have those links. Then kids can be linked to that federation because that is the only way you can actually make it on your national team, if you played in the formal structure.” This may also be an indicator of greater potential mobility through SDP programming as many youth are shut out of the sports conversation when they reside in isolated, rural communities. Comments across the interviews indicated that facilitators utilized their
own organizational connections as sources of community learning. Bernard mentioned SPIKE Namibia’s collaboration with UNICEF and the Namibian Football Association. He said that SPIKE was responsible for the delivery of the life skills component of the Gals and Goals football programme developed by UNICEF called the Sports to Life approach. It was through that partnership, facilitators aided in the dissemination of health information on HIV/AIDS as peer educators in sport coaching workshops. Another example of personally responsible citizenship was evidenced as three facilitators procured roles as SDP consultants for other NGOs and governing bodies and one facilitator had an advisory role for several years with three different SDP organizations. By enacting their roles as facilitators to the best of their ability, considering the ideals of personally responsible citizenship such as an accountable, ‘go-getter’, they were able to expand their positions and explore greater mobilizing (financial and hierarchical) opportunities.

Active citizenship for SPIKE participants could be seen as an individual endeavour in volunteering their time, taking on a leadership role as a workshop leader or sport coach, but through that opportunity, they go beyond individual satisfaction and begin to collaboratively share knowledge that is beneficial to the community. Dante, after his role in delivering SPIKE HIV/AIDS and sport coaching in his community said: “People have learned a lot about HIV/AIDS and how it can be spread through the community. It has also assisted a majority of people to change their lifestyle, and start looking at themselves and then looking at other people around them.” The starting point may have been the opportunity for a himself to receive education and training on health topics, however, it evolved into an opportunity for the community to gain a greater understanding and exposure to an issue affecting more than just SDP trained volunteers. Facilitators became motivated to engage with issues intrinsically and then move to outward engagement with the greater community.

Each of the nine facilitators interviewed in this thesis study started out as volunteers within PIE and SPIKE and moved onwards to paid positions after one to seven years of volunteering. (Six facilitators were in paid positions with each organization after one year of volunteering, one facilitator after three years, one facilitator after six years, and the last facilitator after seven years of volunteering before placement in paid position). Many of the communities they grew up in remain some of the poorest communities in the most disadvantaged provinces of South Africa and Namibia. As a result of their “personally responsible” roles as trained community based volunteer facilitators and leaders, they were rewarded with greater social capital and social mobility by being given access to employment, travel opportunities, and skillsets. However, as people are given greater mobility, the communities remain burdened by inequality and often neglected by municipal and governmental systems.
Three other facilitators articulated their desires and intentions to become independent consultants using the expertise they gained as SDP leaders in the field. They expressed slight disillusionment with certain SDP projects so they would prefer to ‘go it alone’ as consultants, working on their own terms and not be held accountable to anyone else but themselves. This may be an indicator of neoliberal, (or self-driven) and personally responsible citizenship. Four facilitators said they ultimately intend to ‘give back’ to the communities they originated from and worked in, however, during the time of the interviews, their sentiments remain a distant, future ambition. At times, self-preservation and self-interest, rather than altruistic, community focused action, appears prevalent with some of these facilitators.

A sense of enlightened self-interest could be considered a constructive form of citizenship. Take for instance when trained volunteer facilitators utilizing the knowledge gained from training workshops (only offered to a select few) and then mobilizing that knowledge in terms of counseling and disseminating information about AIDS, and other matters that concerned individual facilitators such as resisting gender norms (for ex. girls being less valued than boys in sporting and societal contexts) to the wider community. In this way, active citizenship for facilitators is about taking part in a way that benefits others; following a communitarian approach. Perhaps this is also a way in which principles of Ubuntu can be considered in tandem with narratives of personally responsible citizenship. When asked what he was most enthusiastic as a result of the Namibian SDP programming, Bernard said: “It is about personal development, and seeing success stories of volunteers, so that for me is a big part of why I do what I do. Because I believe I was a beneficiary of the SPIKE education system and I don’t know where I would be without it. So that continuously encourages me, and if we can continue to do it well, as best we can, then there will be more young Namibians to benefit.” Zola echoed this by saying: “I think my passion now is more in empowering young people more than running programmes. Even though I still like to get my hands dirty, I think I’m at a level now where I’m saying lets empower the young people to drive these things. It’s time for me to handover the reigns and support that process in a meaningful way.” Bernard and Zola viewed their roles as something they had singular control over, but followed through with considering the community impact, transforming from personalized action to communitarian sentiment.

5.6 Tensions Between Individual and Communitarian Perspectives

In the interviews conducted for this thesis, there appeared to be a sentiment, that (similar to a citizenship study in Botswana) found individualism, rather than communitarianism was creating a
different kind of youth from their ancestors (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006). The key difference being a greater desire for facilitators to build individual capacity and skills. However, once facilitators gained greater capacities, they conveyed a need to give back to the very communities they started in, perhaps wanting to maintain that connection to communitarian values. Communitarian citizenship may be oppositional to the values in sport for development that tend to promote self-interest and neoliberalism. Biyombo of Namibia stated: “We have to work hard and inform the government about the benefits of sport and the benefits of using non-governmental organizations to assist in developing sport at constituencies, and at the grassroots level.” Being a Key Informant, he had insight on the political landscape of SDP and the Namibian government. Facilitator Sabra, from Namibia, argued that PIE and other SDP projects should make more robust connections with local partners, forming five year memorandums of understanding, partnership agreements and push harder for government involvement. Facilitators and key informants expressed an understanding that in order to move beyond or sustain community development, there is a need to step away from the individual and consider a collective responsibility for (individual and community) development. It is not enough to simply encourage and motivate community members to take everything on themselves. Lester claimed that when he initially started out with SPIKE in South Africa, he wasn’t aware of the idea of community development and he enjoys knowing that whatever he does through SPIKE and SDP, he understands that it is part of a greater cause, and he is part of a team. He said, “SPIKE’s focus is on team sport, and I think team sport also generates a whole community and compromise as opposed to individual sport, not to say that it is bad, but it can be seen as more about the individual.” There becomes an understanding that a sense of collectivity prevailing in SDP projects and aiming for the common good. With these insights, it becomes apparent that the discourse of local action must be challenged by an examination of the bigger picture of community development by identifying the ways toward a balance between meeting individualistic and communitarian needs. Darnell and Hayhurst state the romanticized notions of agency amidst the unequal politics of development and SDP can do a disservice to the citizens of the global South by problematically reducing the politics of development to simply a matter of local action or the discourse of ‘action’ or ‘choice’ ” (S. C. Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012). It was through the opinions of the key informants as well as facilitators that indicated this need to consider the ‘bigger picture’ of development and extend beyond what individuals could do to change their personal behaviours and communities.
5.7 SDP as Non-Formal, Anti-Colonial Education: Filling in the Gaps

As an educator, it is very inspiring to hear from facilitators that a programme like PIE successfully combines sport with tutoring in order to make a case for the merits of non-formal education. SPIKE on the other hand, had a less direct interest in the academic improvement of their facilitators and youth participants, but it did, in its own ways, facilitate its own version of non-formal education through delivering workshops on sport training and health education. As many of the rural schools lacked regular educators, having a specialist in Physical Education or a soccer coach was far from obtainable, PIE and SPIKE filled those educational gaps. In many cases, teachers were the ones who became recruited as facilitators and sport coaches for SPIKE. One of the facilitators, Ronald, resigned from his long time teaching post in order to accept a position as a countrywide SPIKE facilitator. Although he did not gain greater pay or job security, he accepted the position because he felt he was effecting greater change and was gaining more respect, and more mobility, which he loved despite the challenges. SDP is about learning, and even in settings with very traditional views on where education should come from (the schooling system), community members have been very open to the idea that SDP can informally educate youth.

Civic and political development, the shaping of facilitators ideas of citizenship, and the community at large, can be heavily influenced through SDP projects especially because the school system is often so inadequate in these underprivileged communities. For instance, many of the schools in Limpopo province (RSA), where four of the facilitators had experience leading SDP projects, had issues with understaffed schools, oversized classrooms with sometimes one teacher for sixty students. In both the Namibian and South African education systems, there is a lack of integrated and mandated Physical Education programmes. Biyombo, claimed that his main ambition is to have Physical Education become a mandatory subject in schools up to the university level: “From our first meeting at the center, we brought the whole sporting fraternity to speak on issues, the strongest to come out of that meeting was for physical education to become compulsory and I’m still pushing and it’s going to happen in the next two years.” Other facilitators of both SPIKE and PIE mentioned a dearth of facilities, equipment, and technology to perform educational activities. In Namibia, Sabra, claimed students attended the PIE programme to find what they were missing from government school: “You know there were no supports, often there was no food, neighbours were drinking, and they came here in order to find a positive, safe space to come, to talk to people, confide in them, and make sense of what they learnt in the morning at school, if they learnt anything. We would re-teach the lesson from scratch.
because the teacher hadn’t shown up to school that day, so there was a lot happening in that 3-4 hour programme that was nurturing different aspects of that child, their soul, their spirit, physical bodies and minds.” This can indicate that regular school has failed to properly educate and retain students within the school system until graduation; so, much of the responsibility for providing valuable experiential (and democratic) learning opportunities rests in the hands of the non-formal education sector. PIE focused on returning justice for the youth neglected by the existing, flawed (exclusionist) educational system. Personal and community development transpired through PIE’s holistic approach to educating Namibian youth and as a result, students experienced interpersonal and intrapersonal skills thus building (individual) social capital and ultimately leading to social transformative communities.

The two organizations from this research partnered with schools but did not operate within the formal school system. SPIKE and PIE created their own curriculum with the help of foreign and local NGOs and partnering organizations (such as UNICEF, University of Namibia, Namibian Football Association, and the South African Football Association). The link with the global and local, and an attempt to bring both forms of knowledge within the programme delivery can also be seen as the enactment of transformative learning and co-created knowledge into practice. Vandra Masemann, “Ways of Knowing” (1990) argues that as forms of thinking take shape in particular social conditions, (such as society changing from industrialized to postindustrial), we proceed into new forms of ways of knowing. In turn, a disintegration of seemingly fixed paradigms leads to greater change between the relationship of learners and teachers in all contexts and societies. In this thesis research, the learners and facilitators were seen as equal, and their relationship was reciprocal as many facilitators came from the same communities, started out as volunteers, and shared knowledge and provided equal access to their new knowledge within the community. Thus, an argument is formed to support the adoption of a holistic paradigm with regard to knowledge forms, and the redistribution of power and authority among researchers and practitioners as well as dominant and marginalized groups. For example, in many of the SPIKE and PIE projects, girls and boys were seen, sometimes for the first time, as equals. Bernard of Namibia said: “We would alter the football rules so if a boy scored, then the next goal must be by a girl, sort of providing equality. One of the things that we have seen, that amongst young boys, their realization that girls can do just as much as they can if given the chance. Of course there are cultural constraints for example, that makes even young boys believe a girl’s place is in the kitchen, taking care of children. But sports is viewed as power, sports is viewed as strength, so if they see... “Wow! That girl, she can run faster than me!” these are the kinds of things being addressed through this type of programming.” This is a redistribution of power amongst those who are consistently and deliberately
left out. Public spaces, football fields, entire communities and social networks are being reshaped to include marginalized groups, their perspectives and their voices and actions. Also, as facilitators are often peers of learners, and stem from a very similar rural, disadvantaged background, due to this perceived similarity to the learner, facilitators felt this led to longer-term trusting relationships. They are more likely to be regarded as people who know the experiences and concerns of young people (Fred Coalter, 2010). This was evident as facilitators discussed their awareness as educators educating peers, rather than being distant observers or outsiders. From an educational perspective, post colonial theory may be enacted through SDP projects and can be a primary vehicle to promote social transformation within sport for development and peace educational programming. When carried out as taking ownership over the programme by dictating its direction and activities, which includes sports, recreation and health education workshops, participants’ knowledges and particularly indigenous knowledges can serve as foundation of which the program can challenge and resist colonial sentiment and oppression.

Many of the facilitators selected for training as volunteer facilitators were out of school, or involved in part of an educational system that failed to create leadership or extracurricular opportunities. Therefore, their main outlet for learning was through SDP workshops, training clinics and health advocacy information sessions and the responsibility for building social capital became the burden of the informal education market, not to mention a way for governments to save money and place “blame” elsewhere. Findings regarding citizenship education in Botswana (Preece & Mosweunyane, 2006) can be applied to my analysis of SDP programming in Namibia and South Africa in that it suggests a potential foundation for informed, active, democratic, discursive and participatory citizenship. This perspective creates a number of insights that may challenge for the role of education, formal, non-formal and informal. In essence, “the economic condition of austerity has removed the platform for investment into social capital through traditional methods, such as formal education, and replaced it with more informal opportunities, such as volunteering, for citizens to contribute to their communities and enhance their social capital” (Morgan, 2013, pg. 381).

One issue related to using SDP-based educational initiatives, as a method of non-formal education is the successful recruitment of high quality volunteers that can assure the programme’s sustainability. Zola mentioned that facilitators in SDP were often driven by passion for their love of sport. However, he claimed that volunteers selected as SDP facilitators should understand the: “nuance of being a sport specialist or adequately trained facilitator, and that if you don’t have the right level of facilitators or programme delivery support staff, you miss the small, teachable moments, and the opportunity to create systems of psychosocial support for community youth.” Bernard of Namibia
claimed that one of the most expensive components of SPIKE was facilitator training. He said that the community activities continued however: “our volunteers are not as skilled as our volunteers were from six years back, it is not always ideal, but it is because of a lack of resources and funding.” The effort to continue programmes for community youth in the face of underfunded and undertrained facilitators is valiant, however problematic. Often, a strategy of SDP initiatives that receive limited government funding is to form a hybrid of private sector investment and civic engagement, and it is in these alliances with commercial enterprises that ultimately finance their activities but also leads the project into a more neoliberal direction (Scott, 2011). Many facilitators explained that the programmes they were delivering were considered successful if they could mobilize individuals to continue with post secondary education, find employment or engage in healthy active living, which are all elements of success in a neoliberal capitalist framework. It is important not only that facilitators understand this, but that they also find spaces within this framework to also permit the programme to be shaped by indigenous concerns and standpoints.

As a result of gaining information and skills through SDP programmes such as SPIKE and PIE, greater mobility transpired; not only the mobility of people, but also of ideas. For instance, facilitators, as well as those who receive programming, began to create goals, dreams and ambitions to do greater things with the skills acquired, and they aspired for greater leadership positions. In Namibia, Bernard said: “Funding of course is a problem and SDP, despite what people think or say, it’s still a very young concept and it’s very difficult to sell. It’s especially very difficult to sell above education. In a developing country like Namibia, it’s harder to convince the central government to give you a portion of money that could go to education, because they have to justify, why would I give money for sports?” However, using sport as non-formal education is an example of mobilizing a new way toward Southern African rural community development. It is development executed in a manner that can be more easily mobilized for people in rural communities because of its simplicity, likeability, and familiarity. Sometimes it’s physical activity such as a football game that can bring people together and establish a forum to facilitate the delivery of important health information, democratic citizenship or peace education. Some of the poorest families who cannot afford to have their children attend school participate in SDP programs, which lead facilitators to have greater access to kids and families who are otherwise very isolated. This helps to understand what is happening with those families, and as a result, they receive greater access to safe spaces and opportunities as health messages would be disseminated in communities where public health is chronically nonexistent.
5.8 Citizenship and Democratization: Spaces for Agency

Much of the motivation of the two programmes SCORE and PIE was for people in remote communities to have access to building social capital through participatory citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Examples of “personally responsible” citizenship came through the facilitator interviews (when describing their roles within the organizations and attitudes toward the community work they are engaging in). However, less prevalent was evidence of the “justice oriented citizen” coming from within the SDP programmes. One of the facilitators, Blake, who worked in several provinces in South Africa, Zambia and Namibia mentioned that one of his roles was to lead capacity building and leadership at the community level: “I run workshops and help community volunteers establish proper functioning clubs that have proper constitutions, that have proper committees that are holding these clubs together and management structures.” Helping to implement community-based and driven sports clubs facilitates a promising system as it can provide an opportunity for informal education on engagement with democratic citizenship structures. This is a space where local and national values can merge with global influences to shape citizens’ (democratic) understandings. Democratic structures within a sporting context at the community level would make for concrete, useful spaces to enact and animate democratic citizenship. Youth can be shown how democratic decisions may be made through participating in local sports clubs that have codes of conduct, elected leadership structures, opportunities for upward mobility and ensuring that rights of voting and constitutions are upheld. This is more tangible than having political and community leaders repeatedly tell you that change is in your own capacity, rather, it becomes more evident that change is not only the result of individuals but also as a result of utilizing democratic structures and systems.

As a result of participation in SDP programming such as PIE and SPIKE, facilitators and youth participants (those guided by facilitators) have found ways to reclaim spaces typically unavailable to them. The intention with these projects was to encourage several points of view and multiple voices when constructing programs and allow them to be accessible to marginalized groups. When SPIKE enters a community, its first objective is to perform a community stakeholder’s assessment where they speak with key persons to gain input and approval prior to programme implementation. Project coordinators speak to chiefs and tribal councils, traditional healers, elders, teachers, shop owners etc. In this manner, space is created for multiple viewpoints which can be transformative to those who are
usually shut out of conversations such as; females, minorities, poor people, uneducated people, and youth.

SPIKE used sport as an integral part of programming, whereas the PIE programme differed slightly as it used sport as a draw card to get youth through the door leading to additional education and tutoring. Sabra, PIE facilitator, said that in order to pass the Grade 10 exam, students needed to acquire 23 points out of 30 on the national exam. After her first year as a facilitator and tutor, 87 per cent of the PIE students scored 23 points or higher. By receiving tutoring from PIE, programme participants gained greater access to directly improving their academic results in the traditional school system. Through PIE, participants were able to build confidence in a non-formal school setting, then return to school, and get their diploma. Zara stated that once the youth spend some time in PIE: “they get a higher sense of esteem and confidence, then they get this agency where they feel they can do things that many they couldn’t do before which allows more people to have access to power or mobility.” Despite the difference in how PIE utilized sport-based activities, the programme created an avenue for disenfranchised individuals to reclaim spaces previously unavailable to them.

5.9 Sport as a Mediating Institution

Kassimir and Flannigan speak of youth engagement in the third world through mediating institutions. This idea questions the ways that individuals connect with community. In classic liberalism, the government is the mediating institution, but the whole civil society is emerged in the context of neoliberalism, is made up of all those institutions that are the spaces in between (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010). SDP organizations such as SPIKE and PIE operate as mediating institutions as they are creating spaces through which citizenship can operate. Sabra of PIE in Namibia considered the relationship between peace, conflict, community and public spaces and she said: “Where the kids that we worked with in PAY and who they often work with in SPIKE, lived in communities that were forcibly created for them and people were sent to against their will. The whole construction of that community was built on conflict during a time of great conflict. Many of the kids that we worked with, their parents, those were the people that were moved forcibly. These kids were often born just after the end of Apartheid. That history is so recent, and in those communities, they split everybody up based on tribe and language and... single men here and mine workers there... and Damara people here and Ovumbo people there. They split people from one another to increase conflict and division. When you go into communities like PAY or SPIKE has, to do these programmes all these years later, where this history is so recent, the trauma must be acknowledged.” This relates to the issue of the democratization of space
and its link to citizenship in a very tangible way. It is not merely the physical space; but peacebuilding transpires as notions of Ubuntu such as mutual respect and greater opportunities for agency reveal themselves through SDP projects. The democratization of space created by PIE in giving vulnerable students an opportunity to succeed academically leads to peacebuilding, enhancement of democratic values and addressing systemic conflicts within the formal education system. Sabra mentioned that PIE has reclaimed spaces that were often left vacant in and around Windhoek, Namibia. As these spaces are not just about the individual, utilizing centres that went dormant becomes more about creating community based harmony and a space where people can do things in a positive way that was not there before the programme reignited that possibility. As relationships were built, youth participants and facilitators gained agency in making decisions that would impact them in positive ways. This resolves conflict and provides opportunities for interpersonal dialogue and support networks for at risk populations.

5.10 Language

Another way that PIE (and similarly SPIKE) envisioned making spaces more democratic was through language. Facilitators and programme leads consciously decided to run programming and conduct all learning in English. Zara said: “the PIE programme changes the system, it changes development and the political development of kids. If you speak from a democracy perspective, the PIE programme is open to everybody and the official language of communication is English, so children will go through that programme not being exposed to a sense of tribalism, I mean they come with it and they share it, but they know how to live without it.” PIE leaders felt this made their programme more accessible and inclusive to all. However, a strong criticism can be made about the use of a language that it not the mother tongue of any of the students. In South Africa, there remains immense hostility when it comes to language with the use of Afrikaans in national universities. During my time in South Africa, violent clashes over the use of Afrikaans as an official teaching language took place at the University of Pretoria (Jan/Feb 2016). These demonstrations echoed the Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976 and reminds us of the long history student demonstrations and protest have played a part in South African politics and the push for democratization of space. Now more than twenty years after the end of minority white rule, students of all races are protesting against the lack of transformation at the country’s universities and this is something that directly affects citizenship, belonging, and inclusivity of African youth. [http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-02-19/students-protest-at-south-african-universities]. By imposing languages such as Afrikaans and English as the medium of
instruction in formal and non-formal education sectors, black learners view this as the ‘language of the oppressor’ and those who lack fluency, (which could include teachers and facilitators), would experience first-hand the negative impact of such a policy. Perhaps English, despite devaluing indigenous knowledge, is considered an equitable solution in a country with so many divergent dialects and cultures yet is also trying to compete economically (and other ways) within a global sphere.

5.11 Gaining Skills in Assertion, Mediation and Voice Through SPD

Cycling is very popular in Namibia, however there is a divide between the cycling community and the more disadvantaged rural communities of Katatura (disadvantaged informal community within Windhoek). PIE facilitators conveyed that cycling is an empowering form of physical activity and transportation, and should be brought to the citizens of an impoverished community such as Katatura because they would otherwise have never been introduced to the activity. Evidence of the reclaiming of space as participants in a justice-oriented society came from some of the facilitator interviews. Zara retold a story with some of the male youth involved in the PIE programme: “This week there was a racial incident, one of our male PIE youth in the 15km category they wanted to strip him of his number one spot, saying that he overtook at a particular spot. It’s interesting because they called me, but I didn’t get it [the call], and then they managed the issue themselves. They approached the race organizers, claimed their case and he got his number one spot. That wouldn’t have happened a year ago. Because it’s cycling, a very white dominated sport, and the five boys were not white. It is not something meant to be achieved...[that is] if a non-white youth wins a cycling race. Before, they would have been pushed off the trail, things have happened before and they stayed down. But now it’s more of an assertiveness, a confidence, and having clear thought to get through that process.” In this instance, Zara was not defending the youth, but through their time in the programme, and their involvement in sport, they learnt valuable skills and were able to overcome a conflictual situation using mediation, dialogue, and assertiveness. These boys were allowed to be in a space that had previously been closed off to them as young, black males. It was in the discussion of the issue that these boys developed an understanding of commitment to democratic values, such as tolerance, equality, and diversity, become comfortable with issues outside of school, and enhance their sense of forging bonds between groups of people in a society who are very different from one another (Hahn, Davies, & Arthur, 2013).
5.12 Equity and Gender

Although democratic constitutions in South Africa and Namibia protect the rights of women (and children), complex cultural politics and transnational influences shape gender relations in these countries. Despite playing major roles in the liberation struggle, women are underrepresented in politics. Even with one of the most progressive constitutions, as well as the legality of same sex unions, one would imagine South African communities to be built on tolerance, and open consideration of sexuality, diversity and gender roles. Yet, in South Africa women comprise 54 per cent of the population but hold only 29.8 per cent of the political positions at the provincial and local level combined (Kubow, 2007). Women are similarly underrepresented in sport and that was reflected in the difficulty I had finding females with active roles in the sport for development sector.

In my thesis research, facilitators claimed it was far easier to engage males in sport, while females stood to the side, fearful of engaging in a soccer match or workshop. In Namibia, with the PIE program, Zara said: “I think the draw card for the boys is cycling so then they suck up the school component and do everything else grudgingly and the girls, its opposite, they want to come to school and life skills and they don’t want to do sports.” Zara also mentioned the dropout rate for girls in the PIE programme was higher if they were forced to play sports at a level they deemed too competitive: “The boys will put up with the part of the programme they don’t like because they love sports so much, but if it gets a bit too much for the girls, they drop out, and I don’t want that.” Ada also from PIE, mentioned: “If we have 150 kids at the field, 120 are boys, this football thing is a magic also, even if it’s not a prize game, friendly or just to come and watch, the boys are there.” Similarly, South African SDP scholar Cora Burnett found in her research that the: “boundaries between the life worlds of women are relatively porous, compared to the more compartmentalized life worlds of men, who have relatively more time for their participation in sport” (Burnett, 2015, pg. 91). She also found that most women help facilitate their male counterparts ability to engage in sport by upholding their cultural and family norms and expectations, so when the men are out to ‘play’, the women stay home to ‘work’ on their duties (Burnett, 2015). Despite the smaller numbers, once girls became involved in the PIE programme, Sabra said, with female role models involved, she could see changes amongst the female participants: “The boys were just magnets, you put out a ball, and it was magnetizing for them and they would be drawn to the ball. Girls not so much initially, but then that changed really quickly. They saw some great volunteers from UNAM. One in particular, a great woman, a basketball player, she was incredibly dynamic and I think of lot of girls drew inspiration seeing her active in front of them. They looked up to
those volunteers, once they saw them active, men and women together. We saw the nature of how the young women and men were engaging with one another was changing. Women coming off the fence and onto the pitch... you could see it evolving, how their bodies move differently on the field, you see confidence in their eyes and the way they are moving in the direction of the ball as opposed to avoiding the ball or moving away from it. They would take a shot at the basketball net instead of always passing the ball to a boy. That has a major impact in a country (Namibia) where gender based violence in a huge issue. You think about how women learn the strength of their bodies and the power of their bodies and the ability to assert boundaries and respect for and over their body.” Transformation of gender roles, ideals and dynamics took place before Sabra’s eyes in the face of a culture that has traditionally marginalized women through traditional roles and ideals. Seeing female UNAM scholars wearing athletic clothing sent the message that a young female could be smart and athletic simultaneously. The possibilities of her identity were malleable and one could interrupt the status quo.

In Southern Africa, families and peers discourage women to participate in sport; females are also provided fewer opportunities to engage and actively participate in sport than men from an early age. Often, women are tasked with domestic duties and childrearing, they may also fear participation in sport may label them as “masculine” or undesirable partners compared to other females in their communities. It is also worth considering that it is of greater importance of females living in patriarchal societies to have many children so they must start at a younger age as well as care for their siblings when they are still with their own mothers and families. Men are permitted to participate in a wider range of sport codes, whereas females are often relegated to certain “girls only” sport codes such as netball.

In South Africa and Namibia, SPIKE and PIE spearheaded several initiatives to engage more women in a sporting context, from the Gals and Goals programme in Namibia (also co-organized and funded by UNICEF) and the Leading the Game project with SPIKE in South Africa. PIE also created a Safe Spaces project that enabled adolescent girls to develop a variety of skills in a safe, protected environment. Programme objectives included: (i) Creating a dedicated safe space for girls and young women in Windhoek; (ii) Providing a platform for girls to voice and discuss their issues; (iii) Empowering girls to create a legacy of female driven development, community leaders, and role models for girls; (iv) Teaching and nurturing leadership skills, self-esteem, assertiveness, and gender consciousness in young girls (Univeristy of Toronto, 2010). The issue of creating democratic spaces for females to engage, and with that comes addressing issues of gender based violence, the power of one’s body, female leadership and authority, to the forefront of community development. The SDP
programmes of SPIKE and PIE became the mediating institutions that created spaces for women to be engaged and to be included in sport-based activities that perpetuate democratic citizenship, inclusion, engagement and social transformation.

5.13 Conclusion

An empowering sport for development and peace program should open up spaces for voices that have been typically disadvantaged and marginalized by existing power structures. Alternate worldviews need to be heard and valued. Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) see this enacted where both programming staff and youth participants co-intentionally reflect on (a) how sport reproduces equity, injustice, and marginality; (b) the location of sport in relation to the political, social, and economic arrangements of society; and (c) where their lives intersect both as products of the past and as agents of a transformed collective future (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Kincheloe, 2008). In conceiving of community development through the sport as more than just capacity building, it can be seen through the perspectives of the facilitators that it is about empowering individuals with greater opportunities for democratic action, which is intrinsically tied to transformational change within individuals and the community as a collective. According to Edward Said, in order to contribute to the mediation of current social reality, one must take an oppositional role to the status quo, and sift, judge, criticize, and choose, so that choice and agency return to the individual. In much of the interview data, facilitators described instances of enacting personally responsible citizenship, based on the promotion of self-interest and individual action. However, there was also evidence that several facilitators considered ‘giving back’ and changing the community climate with respect to seeking social justice by addressing issues of gender equality, indigenous perspectives, and the co-creation of knowledge.

Often, development projects that promote citizenship are not critiqued due to embedded ideas of nobility and virtue (F. Coalter, 2010). This is because it can be difficult to critique something grounded in such good intentions (Webster, 2013). The same uncritical dialogue affects the field of SDP claims that sport is noble and neutral and can only be used for good (Fred Coalter, 2015). However, it is important to acknowledge the strength of SDP programmes such as SPIKE and PIE in delivering messages pertaining to forms of citizenship and ways of belonging within a community. A form of justice-oriented active citizenship could redress the shortages of sport for development and peace programmes that move beyond current neoliberal, North-driven narratives. Furthermore, commitment to
social justice and genuine democratic practice, requires attention to indigenous knowledge systems and other ways of conceptualizing democracy and democratic citizenship (Kubow, 2007).
6. Leadership Learning Opportunities for Facilitators

Beyond the above consideration of the effects the facilitators in this study may have had on the communities where they worked, this chapter considers the apparent consequences of SPIKE and PIE programming and training on these facilitators’ own opportunities for leadership, learning, and mobility. There were many differences amongst facilitators with respect to their perceptions of their own development and the limitations they may have been faced in trying to reach their fullest potential as leaders in local and global contexts.

6.1 Facilitators’ Flexible Citizenship: Liberating and Limiting

Each of the nine facilitators interviewed started out as volunteers and moved into paid positions for the same organization. Many moved on to work for other NGOs in SDP as well as in advocacy groups or government positions. Perhaps the mobility and sustained engagement of these facilitators is why I was able to find people to be interviewed for this research. It was by no means a random sample. It was encouraging to be able to connect with people who had remained in the field, and achieved paid positions, eight years after my own initial experience with SPIKE. For instance, four former SPIKE volunteers had been absorbed into the mainstream as government sport officers. Furthermore, the facilitators in this study had had tremendous opportunities to travel within their own provinces, countries, in sub-Saharan countries, North America and Europe (including: Norway, Netherlands, Sweden, Canada, Fiji, Zambia, and Namibia). Bernard, who came from a rural village in Namibia, was hired by UNICEF to deliver life skills training at a workshop in Fiji. He had remained with SPIKE Namibia, and managed three full time staff members all of which began as volunteers. These opportunities would not have been accessible to facilitators prior to their involvement with SDP projects. Many rural South Africans and Namibians rarely leave their own communities due to financial constraints and lack of resources/mobility. SPIKE with its unique facilitator exchange programme (that has yet to be duplicated by other SDP NGOs) whereby volunteer facilitators apply to the organization and are placed to work and reside in communities different from their own, often with ethnic, tribal, linguistic, geographic contrasts to their upbringing, provides vast opportunities for the promotion of cross cultural understanding and mobility. Facilitators from SPIKE said their placements were often quite challenging, yet they found their experiences to be memorable, meaningful and made a huge impact on the trajectory of their personal and professional mobility.

Fazal Rizvi speaks of local brain drain that results from opportunities provided by the new knowledge economy and global labour markets, on the one hand, and national and community loyalties
on the other (Rizvi, 2005). Unfortunately, a brain drain could be perpetuated, as these fortunate youth, who have experienced such tremendous mobility, may not stay in rural communities, as there is little money to be made there through employment or overall opportunity. There remains a hope that they may return some day to bring back money and possibility; acting as role models for others in rural communities, and thereby enhance individual and communal hope and optimism.

Ronald reflected that he felt his current role within SPIKE had made him neglect his own community where he had used to be an integral leader, coach, teacher and pastor. Due to his elevated role, he spent far too much time removed from his community, family and congregation, working across the country as a master trainer/facilitator: “It is affecting my community badly, for the past three years, I have had to be on the road, I once told him [Robert head of SPIKE], the young people that I worked with, they need me to be there, to support them, to train them. I can’t train them if today or tomorrow, I’m in Cape Town. It’s not how it works. I said train people and run away, they won’t change, that won’t work. They need you to mentor them and be alongside them.” Thus facilitator Ronald was caught in a form of flexible citizenship that could be a detriment to his sense of community belonging [in the rural community where he originated]. In one instance, he was a revered community member responsible for helping motivate, inspire and educate people (through formal and non-formal education SDP, church, school teacher) in his community. On the other hand, his absence created hostility amongst his peers and community because he neglected his own communitarian citizenship responsibilities. In this case, whose interests are being served? Ronald had climbed the SPIKE organizational ladder from volunteer to paid employee. His economic conditions had improved. However, Ronald was, at the time of thesis data collection, working for an organization where he was restricted from engagement in the very community development in which he wished to participate. His mobility and increased transnational connections demanded new ways of thinking about citizenship education and could influence a more serious consideration of the connection of SDP programming to citizenship education. Ronald’s experience could also compel greater critical analysis of democratic citizenship education and identity and mobility within an SDP context. It becomes a balancing act of enacting different etiquettes of citizenship, “dominance on the one hand and acquiescence on the other” {pg. 13 (Allen, 2006) as seen in (Parker, 2010)}. Furthermore, Ronald had spent seven years volunteering for SPIKE before becoming a paid employee of the organization, based on his valuable contributions to the organization as well as substantial sacrifices he made by being absent from his own community. Service in one’s village community is a laudable objective, but represents a degree of sacrifice of an individual’s own interests (Kumar, 2012 pg. 370). It seemed as if, despite the skills,
trainings and opportunities developed within his role, Ronald didn’t have as many options as SPIKE claims it could create. Webster (2013), responding to the call for sustainability in intercultural education (or international transformational learning pedagogies and programmes) in Ghana, states: “despite seemingly holding the possibility of emancipation, the NGO, as an institutionalized form of good, may also unwittingly simultaneously create mechanisms of suppression rather than the actualization of the self or personal potential to which the trainees or volunteers aspire (citing Giddens, 1991. Pg. 6; Heron, 2009, pg. 38-39 (Webster, 2013). One of the core expressed values of SPIKE was the promotion of active citizenship in the form of volunteerism: this could, at times, be debilitating for facilitators who were already struggling to sustain households and financial obligations.

6.2 Gender and Mobility

PIE, as an organization overall, appeared to have proportionally more females in positions of leadership and employment than SPIKE. SPIKE, more concerned with moving critical masses of people in situations of rural poverty, required more volunteers to run its programmes and had a higher proportion of males acting as facilitators, youth leaders and project managers. Even the SPIKE projects geared toward increasing female participation in sport were often led by males. Perhaps this disproportionality was due to the fact that there were more males initially involved in sport in sub-Saharan Africa, as SPIKE would seek out community leaders in sport who wished to transition into becoming leaders in sport for development. The male facilitators interviewed for this thesis were from similar rural backgrounds, and were experienced in sports such as rugby, football and track and field. The female PIE facilitators, Sabra and Ada, had less extensive sporting backgrounds, but were committed to community and youth development overall. The female facilitators were strong advocates for female participation in sport and leadership, and promoting girls’ voice, and assertiveness learning. On the other hand, the male facilitators participating in this thesis project spent less time articulating their desires for any particular gender to prevail in their skill or leadership development. Rather, although supportive, these men focused on more generic (gender-blind) notions of programme success, including identifying future community leaders.

Eleven people were interviewed for this study; nine facilitators and two key informants. Of that group, only three of the facilitators and one of the key informants were women. In interviews, many of the male facilitators mentioned their desire to become their own bosses, opening consultancies and running their own businesses in sport, youth development or policy creation. The female facilitators articulated more balanced responses, sharing the view that their desires to run their own businesses had
to run in tandem with their priorities in building the communities in which they currently resided in, raising their children, leading their households and pursuing other passions such as art, other hobbies, travelling, and nurturing relationships. This small insight suggests that gender imbalanced programming (more men than women involved in playing sports and in SDP programmes) may be related to women’s relative lack of mobility in sport, rooted in different worldviews as well as institutional barriers.

The female (as well as male) facilitators interviewed for this thesis were highly intelligent, ambitious and aware of their complex (political, geographical, geopolitical, cultural) environments. Zara advocated systemic change and government support for SDP work; she was an integral volunteer in fundraising and recruitment, to this day, with PIE. She wanted her voice to be heard and validated and expressed a passion for the continued promotion of sport for development in Namibia. Similar to teachers, facilitators of SDP programmes seek a balance between structure and agency. Some educators and facilitators feel a sense of agency, despite the structures that constrain or curtail their confidence in being able to be agents of change. Others look for other avenues to promote development. Each version of democratic leadership shows that SDP programming like SPIKE and PIE can be the gateway to reconstructing gender roles and ultimately to democratic peacebuilding.
7. **Conclusions**

7.1 **Response To Major Research Questions**

My thesis investigated what selected facilitators had experienced, learned, and promoted in their communities through participation in these particular community based SDP projects. I investigated and discussed the implications of their perspectives on how such programming might facilitate global and/or local belonging, democratic citizenship engagement, and/or peacebuilding. I wanted to know how facilitators perceived conflict and how SDP activities might help to mitigate systemic oppression.

The interviews showed similarities and differences between two SDP organizations, which shows that SDP activities and learning opportunities do not follow one singular format and that participating facilitators viewed success as achieved through programming that is tailored to its participants and its context. Speaking with facilitators from two organizations generated many comparative analyses. Each programme context provided insight on the value of education and the acquisition of new skills, through both formal and non-formal learning.

My initial research motivation was to learn about program facilitators’ experiences and perceptions. I learned that participating facilitators personally gained new skills and opportunities for leadership from their experiences, beyond the original intent for programming to facilitate development of the targeted rural communities. Although this was not an impact study, the findings conveyed the personal narratives and experiences of nine SDP facilitators who viewed sport-based activities as a viable alternative approach to social development, contributing to and interfacing with democratic citizenship, conflict resolution, peacebuilding and/or anti-colonial approaches toward development. Below, I detail my key learnings according to the major themes of education, democratic citizenship and peacebuilding.

7.2 **Two Distinct Forms of Sport for Development and Peace**

SPIKE and PIE were two different organizations, varying in their priorities and ideologies within the broad field of sport for development and peace. It was important to acknowledge the distinctions in organizational purposes and their apparent impact on the facilitators’ experiences and perceptions.

SPIKE’s programme structure relied heavily on generating their own non-formal educational programming (outside traditional schooling), particularly in regard to health education, coaching and
leadership workshops. At times, facilitators expressed a lack of understanding by community members
of the value of such activities. Many of the facilitators expressed the perspective that the positive effects
of SDP programming outweighed any initial local community resistance to programming. However,
SPIKE retained a strong connection to the formal school structure because school grounds, and
classrooms were used, teachers were often selected as facilitators or volunteers, and students were
selected as SDP programme participants.

PIE’s programme structure in contrast, used sport-based activities to draw in students to receive
academic tutoring and skill building in leadership opportunities. PIE also focused on health education
promoting a sense of citizenship based in respecting differences amongst participants. Its aim was to re-
engage students in the school system and to renew their commitment to formal learning, preparing them
for the grade 10 national exam. Although the successful completion of an exam may not necessarily be
an indicator of learning, it adds to a body of learning, as a goal, it indicated that a body of academic
learning was nurtured, in tandem with outdoor education, sport skills acquisition and other non-formal
learning that were not offered through the formal Namibian school system.

7.3 SDP’s Relationship to Formal and Non-Formal Education

This thesis has found that SPIKE and PIE projects illustrate the potential of SDP programming
to contribute to non-formal education. In both organizations, facilitators expressed that the projects they
helped deliver to communities addressed education about HIV/AIDS, peacebuilding, conflict resolution,
and democratic citizenship education, outside of a traditional classroom setting. It is not that formal
education had rejected the idea that sport could be a tool to convey such knowledge; rather, they
wouldn’t necessarily have understood that sport-based activity could be so influential in the education
of individuals and communities. Both programmes apparently had achieved some success, using rather
different approaches: this suggests that SDP programming perceived by facilitators as meaningful did
not reflect a one size fits all approach. Instead, their programming focused on developing what was
viewed as appropriate for that context, rather than solely relying on mainstream development discourse.

PIE aligned itself with encouraging and supporting students to return to the formal school
system in Namibia and used sport to bring kids back into that system. They suggested that sport-based
activities could successfully enhance such formal learning. Future research could further investigate:
what do sport activities in particular offer to social development, compared to other non-formal
education initiatives?
7.4 SDP and Democratic Citizenship

Critically engaged citizenship education can enable the development of ‘justice-oriented’ citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Sport-based organizations such as SPIKE and PIE could be seen as mediating institutions - sites where young people are given opportunities to participate in critically engaged citizenship, such as enabling facilitators and other participants to develop civic identities and skills (through developing social capital, self-help, collective action capacity, a sense of purpose, and active volunteerism) that could carry over into other parts of life (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010). At times, participating facilitators generalized in extremely optimistic terms about the positive impacts of these programmes. However potentially hyperbolic, it was encouraging to know that they viewed SPIKE and PIE as positively encouraging facilitators’ and communities’ personal development and democratic citizenship learning.

SPIKE tended to promote a version of citizenship that conveyed certain neoliberal values: facilitators were expected learn a tremendous amount of new, valuable skills, and thereby to rise above their underprivileged, rural communities and become individual examples of actively involved, high achieving citizens.

PIE facilitators viewed their programme’s reclaiming of formerly closed public community spaces as a sign of democratization. They expressed the importance of animating public spaces with sports-based activities for the youth who were coming to PIE to receive tutoring. PIE facilitators took the time to address interpersonal conflicts that youth were facing with others, or with their families. These PIE participant students previously had been unsuccessful with formal schooling, but through their one-on-one contact with facilitators, facilitators said that they became able to open up and discuss issues that they were facing in their lives. PIE tended to look at the development of the individual in a holistic way, considering the social environment as well as the facilitators themselves.

PIE lent itself to peacebuilding initiatives, whereas SPIKE concentrated more on relatively mainstream civic forms of citizenship education. However, the reclaiming of spaces was evident in both facilitators’ narratives about SDP programmes. SPIKE had worked to revitalize dormant community sport centres in rural communities by implementing new programmes that would use those spaces again. Further, the SDP programming that SPIKE would insert into these spaces was democratizing as it made efforts to include the participation of females alongside males, and it tried to equalize other ethnic and/or socioeconomic group participation.
The facilitators in PIE utilized sport as a reward for students’ academic efforts. The students couldn’t wait to participate in physical activity, as the sport-based activities were not tied to evaluation or punishment. As a result, sport-based activities with PIE opened up spaces for experiential learning.

SPIKE was always open to trying new physical activities, and facilitators had strong ties to ministerial sports branches in tennis, rugby, football, and basketball. Facilitators mentioned the importance of flexibility and offered many sport code options as a way to increase democratic values. This was an instance of enacted democracy that facilitated a constructive interaction between formal and non-formal education.

7.5 SDP and Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution

The facilitator interviews in this thesis research suggest that sport for development and peace programmes have the potential pick up the pieces of a previously broken community and to assist those who have been systemically oppressed and/or excluded by providing ways for divisions to be reconciled. The cultural and societal divisions raised in these interviews included gender, language, ethnicity, level of education, those living in remote rural communities vs. urban townships, and the value of global vs. local (indigenous) knowledge. In some instances, such barriers apparently became less cumbersome, or were somewhat transcended, through SPIKE and PIE programming initiatives. In other instances, facilitators mentioned that at least acknowledging such social conflict structures served as a stepping-stone to opening up a dialogue and a platform for mitigation of both cultural and structural violence. These two particular sport for development and peace programmes thus, from the perspectives of all nine of their global South-based facilitators interviewed, had facilitated social transformation by helping to resolve bias-based conflicts in several disadvantaged, rural communities of South Africa and Namibia.

7.6 Anti-Colonial Development (Through Respecting Indigenous Contributions)

SPIKE demonstrated an orientation to civic engagement in which they identified facilitators who were stand out citizens, who led by example, and engaged in leadership. This individual advancement approach could be considered to be in opposition to historically rooted cultural beliefs of communitarian citizenship often practiced in South African and Namibian rural communities.

On the other hand, many of the issues facilitators and community members faced with were systemically oppressive (for instance, females not being encouraged to participate in sport), yet PIE and SPIKE projects created spaces for females to participate on the same level as males (for both facilitators
and community participants). Both projects also aimed at promoting development of communities and not just individual facilitators. SPIKE appeared to have a more neoliberal approach, in which they identified exceptional individuals to rise above everyone and encouraged them to further disseminate the ideals of the organization.

PIE Namibia was directly aligned with the Namibian school system, focused on indigenous knowledge through using locally based resources such as UNAM university student volunteer tutors and local Namibian programme directors as leasers. PIE was not as concerned (compared to SPIKE) about organizational expansion. Instead, it addressed the systemic conflict that many at-risk students were failing gr.10 exams, and focused on resolving that specific, isolated issue.

Hayhurst et al., (2016) suggest a radical approach to SDP, one that would foster indigenous self-determination and attempt to disrupt dominant relations of power. Although not fully embodying such a transformative approach, this thesis research concludes that both organizations addressed gender, power and intergroup contact amongst facilitators and community members as part of the educational process in a way that had not been happening in these communities. There was an effort to disrupt dominant relations and discourses of power, enabling SDP and non-formal education to play a part in anti-colonial development.

Having studied facilitators’ perspectives in a comparative manner made it clear that one cannot make blanket statements about sport for development and peace programmes. It is evident that there is not only one way to shape and conduct SDP programming, that there are many forms tied to formal or non-formal education and various types of learning that try to respectfully interact with each particular environment and context in which they are working. Webster (2013, p. 44) articulated a similar conclusion in her study of intercultural education in Ghana: “In order to move beyond benevolence and achieve truly meaningful sustainability outcomes and genuine transformation, we must recognize and value spaces for the articulation of new narratives which mesh with the larger postcolonial stories of people’s lives, their knowledge, self-determination, and their dreams for a better future” (Webster, 2013 p. 44).

7.7 Implications of Study

7.7.1 Reflections on Limitations and Strengths of Research Methodology

This thesis research focused on a rather limited number of respondents, which can affect the level of concrete conclusions to be made from the data. However, the facilitator interviews combined with key informant interviews, my personal experience as a former SDP facilitator and a professional
physical education teacher, who has been immersed in the relevant literature, all help to fortify this research. I was embedded within the research process as a participant observer, designer and interpreter of the data and my own experiences shaped what I consider the implications of this endeavour.

This is a study from a particular perspective, which can make it less robust. For instance, despite seeking out volunteer facilitators, most of the facilitators at the time of their interviews were in paid positions. There was also an uneven representation of genders: three of the seven facilitators were women- perhaps indicating a greater issue of the underrepresentation of females working within the sport for development and peace paradigm in the global South. There were very different levels of confidence and experiences among the men and women in this study, and SPIKE often rolled out SDP initiatives to encourage female participation in sport that were ironically facilitated by males.

On the other hand, the value of this research is that it created a platform for subjugated voices to be heard. It was also a study that held its strength in comparative analysis because it considered SDP projects of two distinctly different designs that were implemented across two nations.

7.7.2 Significance and Scholarly Implications of Study

Within my interviews of key informants, scholars and SDP facilitators, there appeared to be a gap in considering the voices and perspectives of facilitators, (who are inherently located in a place where they could provide immense insight). This was an issue that could be worked on moving forward by creating stronger networks between facilitators working on the ground and scholars working in academia or generating policies for government and NGO interventions. In her interview, Dora stated that more economically disadvantaged schools in South Africa received assistance from SDP NGOs to help roll out programmes pertaining to physical education and health promotion. This link between the formal and non-formal education sectors must be fortified. It is not enough for SDP NGOs to enter underprivileged schools working in a vacuum and imposing their own curriculum and/or programming. Non-formal education can and should be considered a welcome addition to current education systems, rather than a poor substitute in a resource deprived context. Rather, SDP programming can overlap with formal education, while remaining a unique and coherent element within an existing structure.

According to Darnell (2010), the interactions between sport for development programmes at the ground level and academic dialogue on SDP have proved elusive (S. Darnell, 2010). In this study, facilitators and key informants, called for a more diversified profiling on SDP backed up by academia, considering an alignment amongst government and community needs. One of the key informants argued: “There is a need to find synergies, and alignments.” This South African leader discussed the
current attempt to develop a national curriculum, or an understanding of all SDP projects to be managed, under one umbrella—the Sport for Social Change network (SSCN). This is because, when the government funnels funding through the SSCN, then a determination is made as to which NGO can deliver those targets. Dora said: “Physical Education programming is mandatory in schools but it doesn’t exist because they don’t have the infrastructure, they don’t... you’ll find it in private schools, they have it, and also they will have it in more affluent public schools, but what we call Quintile 1 schools, the no-fee schools, the kids are desperately poor. So, they have NGOs coming in to deliver whatever they want to deliver... NGOs get a slice of physical education period to deliver it in schools. So SPIKE will come and do something and the Department of Health might have a programme and another NGO will deliver HIV/AIDS, so we’ve got all these NGOs delivering all kinds of stuff, but there is an understanding that we must work towards developing a national curriculum, so when we go to schools we can all deliver the same, whether you are in the South, the East, or the North, wherever, let’s deliver the same.” It seems that many wheels are spinning without sufficient consideration of how greater synergies could be more effective than several organizations fighting for the same audience. Perhaps it will take more time and dialogue between organizations to understand how to work better in the future. However, the two key informant interviews conveyed that South African scholars were making considerable contemporary efforts to acknowledge and incorporate indigenous perspectives on how SDP could be best delivered. The best step forward would be to look within communities for assistance in both human and knowledge capacities aimed toward community development.

7.8 Professional and Theoretical/Scholarly Recommendations

I suggest that three practical steps could begin to strengthen connections between SDP programming and educational commitments. These recommendations are as follows:

a) Commit to a community of practice that privileges the contributions of facilitators’ personal (community-based) experiences and narratives in future programme design discussions, in order to lay a stronger foundation for discerning and broadening who is benefitting from such community development programming.

b) Build on the connections with South African and Namibian rural schools, such that they may learn from and engage with SDP programming, instead of relying solely on mutually exclusive non-formal education. Rural communities experiencing inadequate schooling should consider greater interconnectivity between formal and SDP based non-formal education.
c) I call on government and communities to understand that sport-based SDP activities can be used as part of an educational approach to address social transformation, citizenship and peacebuilding initiatives in learning. The sport community has a contribution to make in reaching out to at-risk, vulnerable youth as well as in facilitator leadership development.

7.9 Emergent Findings and Further Research Considerations

7.9.1 Mobility

My thesis focuses on the wisdom of practice of global South based individual community leaders, to improve understanding about how SDP projects SPIKE and PIE have worked and can work toward democratic (peacebuilding) social development. In the process, I gained insight on the mobilities of facilitators as many had started as volunteers, and gained employment opportunities that had not existed for them prior to their participation in these projects. Such mobility, I believe, also allows for peacebuilding in the sense that leaving one’s community and working within another, while engaging in reciprocal dialogue that considers similarities and differences in the challenges people face, can open up networks of dialogue toward mutual openness and understanding. I felt that some facilitators I interviewed had gained exceptional opportunities, whereas, other participating facilitators were impeded in their mobility.

Some of the facilitators, gained major opportunities to work in other countries, and to lead organizations in other countries such as Zambia. However, this thesis research does not establish causality: this mobility may have been tied to these individuals’ previous advantages such as gender or level of prior education.

So there remains uncertainty about whether in fact the leadership and mobility of some facilitators was a function of their previous experience (and) or a function of earlier, somewhat privileged, social conditions. Thus it is important to consider the equity of opportunities offered, both the broad populations of intended recipients and also to the facilitators who deliver SDP programming. The evidence collected in this thesis study more convincingly shows the positive SPIKE and PIE SDP effect on the facilitators’ individual development and mobility than it shows (even facilitator-perceived) impact on the intended clients (communities). I conclude that it is important to be cautious when distinguishing the relative successes of individual facilitators and communities.

In further investigation, it would be beneficial to pursue questions of how leadership in sport for development projects such as SPIKE and PIE may be extended to other voluntary and/or formal institutions and how such leadership could lead to greater mobility amongst a wider range of
facilitators. Does participation as an SDP facilitator open up greater horizons? What benefits might extend beyond that context and what does it all mean?

### 7.9.2 Insights Related to Sustainability of SDP Programming

The sustainability of community development remains a concern for those who conceptualize SDP programming as well as for those who facilitate and participate in the local community programmes. This thesis offers two insights pertaining to sustainability: one, discussed above, concerning the leadership opportunities that emerged for selected facilitators (and not for others) based on gender, background, ethnicity and location. Another insight concerns the sustainability of SDP programmes that fail to pay attention to local concerns and needs of their intended programme recipients.

Facilitators expressed that they were highly rewarded for their participation in SPIKE and PIE in relation to learning new skills, gaining positions in leadership, and mobility. However, future research could juxtapose the learnings of the facilitators with the learnings of those intended to be on the receiving end of workshops and initiatives delivered by SDP facilitators. At times, there was tension amongst rural community members who felt that SDP programming was only benefitting a very select group of facilitators. Yet, the programme was described to its participants as community development. In one case, SDP facilitator Ronald, though gaining mobility and greater leadership opportunities within the organization, also felt that he lost the opportunity to make a direct impact on his rural community, and to spend time with his family, congregation and community.

While the findings of this thesis are not sufficient to establish the direct acquisition of knowledge, skills and values in regards to citizenship and peacebuilding by general community-based participants, the interviews that I conducted with facilitators demonstrated their perspectives that this experience had been valuable to them as they were imbued with new knowledge, gained new skills and opportunities.

It would be appropriate to question the relationship between the sustainability of these SDP organizations and their place in the global South, and the communities they support. As volunteerism was heavily promoted by both SPIKE and PIE, it is important that many of the facilitators struggled with volunteering when they also faced immense pressure to financially support their families living in poverty. How might the SDP values of benevolence and volunteerism become reconciled with issues in poverty, mobility and employment? To what extent might a culture of volunteering mitigate against the professional and/or sustainable organizational growth?


### 7.10 Significance of Study

This thesis inquiry serves as a counternarrative to generic notions of ‘best practice’ formulated by outsiders who are less connected to these Southern communities, by offering locally grounded insights about how two SDP programmes worked, and how they encouraged participatory community-based involvement by disenfranchised groups (as in Edwards 2004, Kabeer, 2002, Robins et al., 2008). This thesis contributes insights on how sport for development and peace initiatives could respond to the theoretical and practical challenges of decolonizing social development (Darnell, 2011). This thesis counterbalances and broadens the emerging body of scholarly literature on the experiences and perspectives of international volunteers from the global North such as Julia Rao’s ethnographic research on culturally relevant teaching in Ecuador, and Simon Darnell’s research on former Canadian volunteers in SDP in Africa and the Caribbean (S. C. Darnell, 2011; Rao, 2010). Further study of the mobility and community contributions of global South volunteers, juxtaposed to the mobility and contributions of global North volunteers, could further illuminate this question.

My effort was in attempting to take sport for development and peace initiatives out of the ‘box’, in order to demonstrate to other disciplines- in particular- that sport-based community activities can be a useful vehicle for facilitating learning that contributes to sustainable, and even potentially transformative, democratic social development and peacebuilding.
8. APPENDICES and Works Cited

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Appendix A: semi-structured interview protocol for sport facilitators

Guidelines:
Semi Structured Interview for Facilitators

1. Background questions

How many years have you been in this field of work?
Have you worked with any other social development projects or NGO’s?
What is your country of origin?
How long have you been involved with this programme?
Why did you become involved in this sport for development and peace programme?
What is your role in the programme?
Do you receive compensation? If so, what kind?

2. Perspectives on Sport for Development and Peace

Can you give an example of a sport-based community program or activity that you have facilitated?
Can you give an example of how you believe such an activity helped (or did not help) to bring peace to the community or to help people get along?
Please describe the ways people participate in sport activities in this community? (additional prompts” (who, in what,)
How are the activities associated with this particular programme similar or different from other sports activities in this community? How do you feel about that? Other social development activities?
What do you think are some of the effects of having this programme in your community?
(Prompts if needed: ask about personal development, peace and conflict, community development)
What do you think the community would look like if it did not have this programme?

3. Challenging circumstances

What challenges do you face as you go about your work in this programme?
What changes could be made in order for the community to reach its full development and skill building potential?
Do you have access to the resources and training you think you need to successfully facilitate the organization’s programs?
4. Support

Do you feel you receive the support that you need from the organization to perform your role in the community?
Is the organization open to receiving feedback from its facilitators whether it be positive or negative?
Did you ever feel unsupported in your work? Have you seen other facilitators raise questions or critiques about the programme? What happened after the questions were raised?

5. Learning

What have you learned as a result of being involved in this programme?
Have you received opportunities to expand your role or build more skills within the organization?
Looking back, Is there anything you would have done differently?

6. Concluding remarks

Do you have any advice for the organization? What about for other sport for development facilitators?
Is there anything else you would like to add or discuss?
Appendix B: Information-Consent Letter for Organization (Administrator)

Dear __________________________: Date: _______ 

My name is Tanya Urbancic; I am a Masters Student in Curriculum Studies and Teacher Development at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto (Canada). I am currently working on my Masters Degree thesis which is a qualitative research project called “Sport for Development and Peace: Facilitators’ Perceptions, Motivations and Learning Based on Their Experiences In Rural South African Communities.” Your organization has provided exceptional and numerous opportunities for members of the Global South to be trained and placed in the field as facilitators for sport for development and peacebuilding projects all over Southern Africa. As a result, I am asking for the opportunity to interview about 7-10 individuals (who have experience as facilitators (volunteer or paid) with your organization in South Africa) for this research project. Those who agree, would engage in one 90-minute individual interview (could be divided into two 45-minute sessions).

The purpose of this study is to learn about facilitators’ understandings of sport for development and peace, including how they believe sport for development programming can enhance personal development, capacity building in their communities, and the potential value that sport can add to their lives and the community. The purpose of this study is not to evaluate the organization or the facilitators: It is to understand facilitators’ understandings of the principles of sport for development as well as their motivations behind participation. At the end of the process, I would like to offer an executive summary of my report, in case it may be of benefit to strengthening the organization’s programming.

There is no obligation for your organization or for facilitators to participate in this project, and participants can withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. If some participant does decide to withdraw, I will ask him/her whether they authorize me to retain the data that I have already collected from them. I will carefully protect all participants’ confidentiality by replacing all research participants’ names and the organization name with pseudonyms, and delete or mask any details that would make them identifiable.
Thank you very much for considering this invitation. The participation by facilitators from your organization in this study would make a valuable contribution to knowledge and practice in the field sport for development and peace and beyond. Please let me know whether you are interested in finding out more about this project. I can arrange to meet with you, or to speak by phone, about any questions you might have. My email is: Tanya.urbancic@mail.utoronto.ca or phone me: 416-347-5574.

If you have any concerns, you are welcome to contact my University of Toronto thesis supervisor, Dr. Kathy Bickmore, via email (k.bickmore@utoronto.ca). You may also contact the University of Toronto’s Office of Research Ethics at (416) 946-3273 or ethics.review@utoronto.ca for more information about your rights as participants.

Yours sincerely,

Tanya Urbancic, OISE.
M.A. Student, Department of Curriculum, Teaching & Learning
Tanya.urbancic@mail.utoronto.ca
CONSENT FORM: PLEASE DETACH AND RETURN a copy of THIS PORTION TO RESEARCHER

Date: ____________________________

I acknowledge that the topic, the process, and the rights to which all research participants are entitled in the research project, “Sport for Development and Peace: Facilitators’ Perceptions, Motivations and Learning Based on Their Experiences In Rural South African Communities” have been explained to me. I understand that participation is voluntary and that any participant can withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Therefore, I authorize Tanya Urbancic to conduct this research project, interviewing facilitators from this organization.

Signature:

Name (printed): ________________________________
Organization: ________________________________
Date: ______________

Please initial if you would like a summary of the findings of the study upon completion ______

If you have indicated that you wish to receive a copy of the study when completed, please indicate an email address to which it can be sent. __________________________

Tanya Urbancic

OISE/University of Toronto
tanya.urbancic@mail.utoronto.ca
416-347-5574
Appendix C Invitation to participate and Informed Consent Letter (and form) for Facilitators

Dear __________________________:  

My name is Tanya Urbancic; I am a Masters Student in Curriculum Studies and Teacher Development at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto (Canada). I am currently working on my Masters Degree thesis which is a qualitative research project called “Sport for Development and Peace: Facilitators’ Perceptions, Motivations and Learning Based on Their Experiences In Rural South African Communities.” You have been selected as one of about 10 individuals (who have experience as facilitators (volunteer or paid) in the field of sport for development in South Africa) for this research project. The purpose of this study is to learn about facilitators’ understandings of sport for development and peace, including how they believe sport for development programming can enhance personal development, capacity building in their communities, and the potential value that sport can add to their lives and the community.

I am looking for about 7-10 facilitators, from one organization, to participate in one 90-minute individual interview (could be divided into two 45-minute sessions). The purpose is to learn about your personal experience with sport for development and your understandings of the ideas behind the movement and your motivations for participating/volunteering/working for this organization. During the interview, you have the right to decide which questions to answer and which not to answer.

There is no obligation to participate in this project, and participants can withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. If some participant does decide to withdraw, I will ask him/her whether they authorize me to retain the data that I have already collected from them. I will carefully protect all participants’ confidentiality by replacing all research participants’ names and the organization name with pseudonyms, and delete or mask any details that would make them identifiable.

Thank you very much for considering this invitation. Your participation in this study would make a valuable contribution to knowledge and practice in the field sport for development and beyond. Please let me know whether you are interested in finding out more about this project, and possibly participating. I can arrange to meet with you, or to speak by phone, about any questions you might have. My email is: Tanya.urbancic@mail.utoronto.ca or phone me: 416-347-5574.

If you have any concerns, you are welcome to contact my University of Toronto thesis supervisor, Dr. Kathy Bickmore, via email (k.bickmore@utoronto.ca). You may also contact the University of Toronto’s Office of Research Ethics at (416) 946-3273 or ethics.review@utoronto.ca for more information about your rights as a participant.

Yours sincerely,

Tanya Urbancic, OISE.
M.A. Student, Department of Curriculum, Teaching & Learning
Tanya.urbancic@mail.utoronto.ca
CONSENT FORM: PLEASE DETACH AND RETURN a copy of THIS PORTION TO RESEARCHER

By signing below, you are indicating that you are willing to participate in the study, you have received a copy of this letter and the attached interview questions, and you are fully aware of the conditions above.

I acknowledge that the topic of this interview has been explained to me and that any question that I have asked has been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw at any time without penalty.
I have read the letter provided to me by Tanya Urbancic and agree to participate in an interview for the purpose described.

Signature:

Name (printed): ________________________________
Organization: _________________________________
Date: ______________

Please initial if you agree to have your interview audio taped: __________
Please initial if you would like a summary of the findings of the study upon completion ______
If you have indicated that you wish to receive a copy of the study when completed, please indicate an email address to which it can be sent.

____________

Tanya Urbancic

OISE/University of Toronto
tanya.urbancic@mail.utoronto.ca
416-347-5574
Appendix D: Key Informant Interview Guide

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE – SOUTH AFRICA

1. How do you define “Sport for Development”?
2. Please briefly describe your government or organization’s primary policies/programs to promote or utilize Sport for Development and Peace.
3. What does your organization see as the potential benefits of Sport for Development and Peace policies/programs:
   - Healthy human development
   - Community development
   - Health promotion and disease prevention
   - Building individual/social capital
   - Conflict resolution/peacebuilding
   - Economic development
   - Gender equity
   - Advancement of human rights
   - Post-disaster/conflict normalization
   - Other
4. Are your policies/programs aimed at specific target groups or populations? If yes, please identify.
5. Are your government’s policies/programs linked to achievement of the Millennium Development Goals? If yes, please elaborate.
6. Which departments/agencies you think need to be involved in Sport for Development and Peace policies/programs?
7. If more than one department is involved, how do they coordinate their work? Please describe any formal or informal mechanisms or processes.
8. Did your organization work with any external partners in designing its Sport for Development and Peace policies/programs? If yes, please elaborate.
9. Do you think there need to be other external partners to be involved in the development of Sport for Development and Peace programs in the future? (Prompts- UN agencies, Other donors, Other national governments, Community-based organizations and NGOs, Sports associations, Private sector
10. Please elaborate on any challenges that you see in introducing sport as a tool for development.
11. If policies/programs exist: Who are the organizations’s primary implementation/delivery partners? (e.g., sport organizations, NGOs, other national/regional/local governments, target communities?)
12. Does your organization have mechanisms in place to monitor the effectiveness/impact of its Sport for Development and Peace policies/programs? Individual projects?
13. Are there particular Sport for Development and Peace achievements or successes that have resulted from the organization’s policies/programs that you would like to highlight?
14. What do you think needs to happen internationally over the next five years in order for Sport for Development and Peace to evolve to its full potential?
Appendix E: Works Cited


https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/provision/truth-or-reconciliation-mechanism-interim-constitution-accord


http://doi.org/10.1177/1012690210378273


