MORE THAN A GAME? EXPLORING SPORT'S ROLE IN REFUGEE AND ASYLUM-SEEKER SETTLEMENT IN GLASGOW, SCOTLAND

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Abstract:

Up until recently, refugees and asylum-seekers, and even more so, the relationship between sport and settlement, has generally been written out of discussions surrounding sport for development (SFD). This study seeks to fill some of this lacuna through a critical analysis of a grassroots, community football club for male refugees and asylum-seekers - United Glasgow FC (UGFC). Drawing on fieldwork carried out in Glasgow, Scotland from May –August 2017, this thesis aims to explore the notion that sport can facilitate refugee and asylum-seeker well-being throughout the settlement process. Through a qualitative analysis of the experiences of both volunteers and players involved with the club, this research suggest that sport can hold great potential for the facilitation of refugees and asylum-seeker well-being; however, the extent to which well-being is facilitated relies heavily on the conditions of the sport program itself and the local context.

Keywords: refugees, asylum-seekers, sport, development, settlement, well-being, Glasgow

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I recognize that many Indigenous nations have longstanding relationships with the territories upon which York University campuses are located that precede the establishment of York University. York University acknowledges its presence on the traditional territory of many Indigenous Nations. The area known as Tkaronto has been cared taken by the Anishinabek Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the Huron-Wendat, and the Métis. It is now home to many Indigenous Peoples. I acknowledge the current treaty holders, the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation. This territory is subject of the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement to peaceably share and care for the Great Lakes region.

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Abbreviations

BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CA	The Capability Approach
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
GCCL	Glasgow Community Co-operative League
IOC	International Olympic Committee
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer/Questioning and others
NASS	National Asylum Support Service
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
SDP IWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
SFD	Sport for Development
UGFC	United Glasgow FC
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UK	United Kingdom

INTRODUCTION (CHAPTER ONE)

Prologue

'This is what you get when it's Ramadan.'

These happen to be the first words uttered to me as I meet the head coach of United Glasgow FC. Today, we find ourselves on the sidelines of a football pitch on an unusually hot Sunday afternoon in Glasgow, Scotland. As we stand there and chat, he points to his small-numbered squad and explains that this is just one of the minor complications he has to navigate running a football club primarily for refugees and asylum-seekers. On the flipside, he argues this lack of players is much easier to manage than the usual 30-40 he has to juggle playing time for outside of the holiday. With the game beginning, I leave him to his coaching duties and enjoy watching the play unfold.

One of the first things I notice is the 'Refugees Welcome' slogan splayed across the jerseys of United Glasgow FC. I begin to ponder this slogan and the significance of such labeling when I am suddenly startled by the celebration of a goal - unfortunately for the other team. As the game continues, I also take note of the vast diversity of United Glasgow FC. With players hailing from countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo to Syria and Scotland itself, they do stand out in stark contrast to their opponents who are an all white, Scottish male squad. Throughout the rest of the half, I find myself drawn to watching one player in particular as he dribbles and passes with ease across the field. I am told he settled in Glasgow just over a year ago from Sudan. He is living here alone and is somewhere between the ages of 19-21. In the final minutes of the half, he is on a

breakaway. He shoots and narrowly misses the net.

At half time the players come together and chat amongst themselves. Several of them seem to be catching up on their weekend activities or discussing the various international football matches they watched earlier in the day. As the second half begins, a teammate who is fasting for Ramadan turns up in a show of support for his teammates. While the support is appreciated, it does little to help the luck of United Glasgow FC as, after a hard-fought battle, the game ends in a 5-0 defeat. Regardless, after the game everyone appears to be in a cheerful mood as they make their way to the locker room sweaty and smiling. Piling back out, they take off in groups by bikes or by car with no one being left to find their own way home. As I too make my way back from the match I reflect on the game with a number of thoughts and questions milling about in my head. To begin with, I am curious as to what brought about the creation of the United Glasgow FC? Was there a demand or a perceived need? Further, I wonder what draws players in - a love for the game, or do they see a greater utility in their participation? Finally, I question what role(s), if any, has participation with United Glasgow FC played throughout their settlement process?

Project Details

Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is to explore the notion of 'settlement through sport' by looking at how participation in a grassroots, community football club can affect the well-being of refugee and asylum-seeking men in Glasgow, Scotland. Specifically, it seeks to uncover the facets of well-being (e.g. mental,

physical, spiritual, social, economic) participation in sport can procure for male refugees and asylum-seekers and assess how they may help to enable settlement[1]. A secondary focus is to address the relationship between sport, settlement and development, grounding a link between literatures surrounding sport for development and sport, refugees and settlement. In doing so, this study attempts to unpack some of the positive and romanticized assumptions that have come to surround sports' role in settlement. In particular, it attempts to raise issues pertaining to the role sport is said to play in enhancing refugees and asylum-seekers' capabilities, agency and increased inclusion and/or integration (Bourgeois, 2009, 2). Larger questions of identity, belonging and citizenship are also addressed throughout the study, with specific emphasis on the potential role sport interventions play in (re)producing inclusionary and/or exclusionary experiences for refugees and asylum-seekers. Finally, viewing United Glasgow FC as a sport for development intervention, this study begs to question if sport really should be expected to provide a means to an end that is beyond the pleasure derived from the mere playing of sport itself with regards to refugee and asylum-seeker settlement.

Significance

Up until recently, refugees and asylum-seekers, and even more so, the relationship between sport and settlement, has generally been written out of

[1] 'Throughout this thesis, 'settlement' is understood as a process through which refugees and asylum-seekers begin to establish themselves into a host society and attempt to transform it into a place in which they can live/belong (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995, 1 cited in Lombard, 2009, 72). In other words, it is understood as a process of 'place-making' and/or 'home-making' in a new society.

discussions surrounding sport for development (SFD) (Ha & Lyras, 2013). This is surprising given that in 2008 the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) highlighted refugees as one of the key target groups for development intervention by the SFD movement (22). Moreover, given that we are now witnessing the highest levels of displacement on record (UNHCR, 2018)- and as a result, a growing number of sport interventions targeted at refugees and asylum-seekers across the globe - it is surprising that there exists a dearth of empirical evaluative evidence on such interventions within SFD research. This is not to say that the interplay of sport, refugees and settlement has gone unnoticed. Indeed, the ways in which sport can contribute to the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers throughout settlement has begun to be explored in-depth within various academic fields, including Integration, Leisure Studies, Kinesiology, Sport and Refugee Studies. Nevertheless, to date, it appears that within SFD research there continues to be a lack of critical engagement with and/or investigation into the relationship between sport, settlement and development.

This study seeks to explore and fill some of these lacunae through a critical analysis of United Glasgow FC (UGFC). Here, the choice of this case study is two-fold. Firstly, UGFC appears to be part of an emerging trend across Europe, which involves mobilizing football as a tool to welcome and support refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their respective settlement processes in new communities (FARE, 2018). To date, the FARE Network[2] has tracked this

[2] An umbrella organization that seeks to bring varying stakeholders together who are interested in combating inequality in football and/or who seek to use football as a vehicle for social change (FARE, 2016).

trend, highlighting over 240 grassroots organisations, teams and football clubs now actively involved (ibid). Thus, given its size and relevance, I believe there is a pressing need to begin to explore this trend and critically examine the role(s) grassroots community football may hold for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement.

Secondly, UGFC makes for an interesting case study due to its placement in a country (Scotland) that is considered to be part the 'global North'. This is because among SFD academia there are currently debates surrounding what constitutes an SFD intervention and where and for whom SFD should take place and be for. Specifically, there have been calls to challenge the traditional assumption that the global South is 'the quintessential site' of SFD intervention and study (Darnell, 2012, 2; Hayhurst & Giles, 2013, 506). Resultantly, with refugee (re)settlement being a process that spans countries in both the 'global North' and 'global South', I believe the opportunity is ripe to examine the relationship between sport, settlement and development within a 'Northern' context and begin to expand on the current conversations occurring within the field of SFD.

Situating the Researcher

My desire to explore this research topic in particular stems from the fact that I have been an avid athlete my whole life, specifically a football player. Moreover, it stems from an increasing interest in refugee and settlement issues. Specifically, an interest in understanding new and innovative ways through which to support the settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers within 'Northern'

(re)settlement contexts such as Europe, Australia and Canada. Today, as I witness the rate at which people are being forcibly displaced across the globe, and as a result a growing response of anti-immigration/migration rhetoric, I believe it is imperative to begin exploring ways in which to challenge the discourses that work to separate 'us' versus 'them' and to understand how those who have been forcibly displaced seek to cope, resist and find spaces within the current political climate. Together then, it is these interests that guided me to pursue the notion of 'settlement through sport' throughout my graduate work in Development Studies and have informed the inquiry of this thesis.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this thesis was to understand, through participant perceptions, the extent to which sport may facilitate and/or undermine facets of well-being among male refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement in Glasgow, Scotland. The objectives to achieve this aim were fourfold:

1. To critically examine the relationship between sport, development and settlement.
2. To explore how 'settlement through sport' is actualized within a grassroots, community football setting for male refugees and asylum-seekers.
3. To identify the aspects of participation that refugee and asylum-seekers find valuable and believe contribute to their ability to foster a sense of well-being.
4. To consider some theoretical and practical implications for sport and settlement, and an outcome of which would be to identify areas for future research.

Game Plan

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Following this introduction, the remainder of Chapter One contextualizes the research setting. Specifically, I explore the complexities surrounding the asylum-process in Glasgow, as well as the city's own ethnically sourced relationship to football, and resultantly the sport's role as a key contextual site for refugees' and asylum-seekers' negotiation and understanding of inclusiveness.

Chapter Two is a literature review that explores the relevant literature on sport for development, as well as the growing body of work on refugees, sport, and settlement. Here, I attempt to bridge the theoretical and conceptual conversations occurring between these two bodies of literature and in turn, demonstrate how sport-based initiatives for refugees and asylum-seekers can undergo the same theoretical and conceptual analysis as their 'traditional' sport for development counterparts. Furthermore, I map out the Capability Approach, the theoretical approach framing this thesis.

Chapter Three gives an overview of methodological considerations as well as the data collection and analysis process. In this chapter, I pay particular attention to questions of power, reflexivity and decolonization within sport for development research. I also outline some of the key challenges and opportunities I encountered as a white, Western, female athlete researching sport and settlement among displaced, non-Western, male participants.

Chapter Four focuses mostly on the perspectives of volunteer staff and summarizes the main features of UGFC. Building on the literature presented in Chapter Two, I explore some of the unique ways UGFC attempts to actualize the

potential of sport for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement and create opportunities for the facilitation of their well-being. Notably, I examine three findings in relation to facilitating settlement through sport, which include removing barriers to access, the contestable and divergent discourses on integration, and travel/trips.

Chapter Five highlights the voices of refugee and asylum-seeker participants and recounts the aspects of participation that these players found valuable and felt contributed to their ability to facilitate well-being throughout their settlement. I then pay particular attention to the ways in which notions of identity and belonging are accessed, negotiated, and expressed by refugee and asylum-seekers throughout their participation with UGFC. Specifically, I consider how both moments of inclusion and exclusion can be facilitated through participation with the club.

In Chapter Six, I outline what I consider to be some of the key tensions and considerations uncovered throughout this research in terms of facilitating well-being through sport. Here, context specific factors are identified and explored, including challenges arising from the asylum-process, tensions arising on game days, and concerns surrounding the sustainability of the club.

Finally, Chapter Seven, the conclusion, summarizes key findings, identifies implications for theory and practice, and offers suggestions for future research.

Research Setting: A Glaswegian Context

To understand the creation of United Glasgow FC and the goals of its programming, there is a need to grasp what has been happening on the ground in Glasgow in terms of both the situation of refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as, the fanaticism that surround football. Glasgow presents itself as an interesting case for exploring the extent to which sports (specifically football) facilitates or undermines refugee/asylum-seeker well-being because of the complexities surrounding both the asylum-process and the city's relationship to football. Thus, to better contextualize the space in which United Glasgow FC is operating and the effects this has had over its programming, I break down the following into two subsections: *A Brief History of Asylum Policy in Glasgow* and *History, Identity and Football in Glasgow.* In doing so, I highlight some of the unique factors that have come to influence the way United Glasgow FC has attempted to support the settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers through football.

A Brief History of Asylum Policy in Glasgow

Whilst Scotland has always been a nation of immigration and emigration, the beginning of the 21st century has seen a dramatic increase in the numbers of people seeking asylum and coming to live in Scotland as refugees (Strang & Quinn, 2014, 10). The trigger for this change occurred in 1999 with the introduction of a 'dispersal policy' by the United Kingdom (UK) government

(ibid.). With this policy, asylum-seekers were now to be forcibly dispersed (on a no-choice basis) beyond the southeast of England and around the UK (Piacentini, 2012, 12; Strang & Quinn, 2014, 10). Glasgow, being the only city to volunteer for the dispersal program (Kelly, 2002, 2), remains the only sizeable dispersal cluster area in Scotland (Wren, 2007, 394; Piacentini, 2012, 13). It has also become one of the largest UK dispersal sites for asylum-seekers outside London, with an estimate of more than 22,000 asylum-seekers being housed in Glasgow from 2000 to 2010 (Strang, Baillot & Mignard, 2017, 4; Piacentini, 2012, 130). While there are broad similarities with other parts of the UK in the way reception and service provision have been managed throughout the city, there are factors that differentiate the Glaswegian context from other cluster areas across the UK (Wren, 2007, 394). Notably, two key factors unique to Glasgow have greatly shaped the context within which United Glasgow FC operates.

First, the political context for immigration in Scotland has been different from elsewhere in the UK (Wren, 2007, 394; Piacentini, 2012, 126). In particular, it is complex because of the situation of devolved government (Bowes, Ferguson & Sim, 2009, 28). Under the Scotland Act (1998), immigration is a reserved matter and for that reason decisions on immigration control are the preserve of the British Government (Piacentini, 2012, 129). Resultantly, legislation on asylum and immigration, as well as equality and human rights are matters for Westminster and the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) (Bowes, Ferguson & Sim, 2009, 28). In contrast, the Scottish Parliament and Executive control the agencies that deliver services to asylum-seekers in Scotland, including housing,

education, health and social services (ibid.). In addition, settlement and integration are also devolved matters left for the Scottish Parliament and Executive, allowing for the development of its own strategies for the integration of asylum-seekers and refugees (Wren, 2007, 394). This is of particular importance as the Scottish government has taken a symbolically different approach to refugee integration to that of its neighbours down south in England and Wales (Bowes, Ferguson & Sim, 2009, 28; Mulvey, 2015, 9).

The UK government has been explicit that integration should only begin after an individual is recognized as a refugee and has taken an assimilationist stance, focusing on 'Britishness' and the adoption of 'British values' throughout the process (Mulvey, 2015, 8). Being a signatory of the United Nations Geneva Convention of 1951, the UK defines a refugee as someone who is:

> Outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him— or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2007, 16).

It is worth noting that the term 'asylum-seeker' is not used within the Convention, but within UK legislation, as well as more widely, it is defined as someone who has submitted an application for refugee status, the outcome of which has yet to be determined (Kirkwood, 2012, 6). This differentiation is of importance, as the majority of refugees in the UK receive their refugee status as a result of claiming asylum in country rather than through resettlement programmes (Strang, Bailot & Mignard, 2017, 3). As a result, based on one's status as an asylum-seeker and/or

refugee, the UK government's responsibility for and the terms of settlement differ.

For example, if you are currently an asylum-seeker across the UK (outside of Scotland), then you are entitled to accommodation on a 'no choice' basis; provided with monetary support (currently just above 50% of income support for single adults); your electricity and gas bills are covered; and children can and must attend school, with certain access to English language classes and other forms of education (Kirkwood, 2012, 10). However, as an asylum-seeker, you are generally not permitted access to paid employment[3]; you are only entitled to free English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes six months after having lodged an asylum-claim[4]; when accessing higher education you must pay overseas fees and are not eligible for student support, access funds or hardship loans; and you do not have any right to family reunification (Da Lomba, 2010, 422/423). While these restrictions that characterize the status of asylum-seekers are lifted upon recognition of international protection status (refugee status), it is clear the UK Government's current approach to asylum and integration works on an exclusionary basis (Da Lomba, 2010, 425).

By comparison, the Scottish Government has taken a starkly different approach when it comes to asylum and integration (Mulvey, 2015, 9). Beyond the reserved powers that set rules for the asylum process, the Scottish Government believes it is necessary to encourage and facilitate integration as soon as an

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[3] In exceptional circumstances, asylum seekers may seek permission to work from the Home Office if they have been waiting for a decision on their claim for twelve months or more (Immigration Rules 360).

[4] If you are between the ages of 16-18 you are entitled to ESOL classes upon arrival (Da Lomba, 2010, 422).

asylum-seeker arrives in Scotland (Mulvey, 2015, 9; Kirkwood, 2012, 10; Piacentini, 2012, 129). In addition, the political discourse the Scottish government promotes surrounding the process of integration diverges from an assimilationist stance. Rather than focus on the preservation of 'Britishness' and 'British values', the Scottish Government views integration as a 'two-way' process in which settling persons become part of the social, institutional and cultural fabric of the society (Valtonen 2004, 74). This is seen through the adaptation of both the incoming persons and the host society (Castles et al. 2002), with an emphasis on the role the 'host' society plays in creating conditions that enable integration (Ager and Strang, 2010, 601). Some of the ways the Scottish government has attempted to better enable integration for asylum-seekers includes: providing funds to those who want to attend ESOL classes upon arrival to Glasgow; facilitating access to higher education by recognizing asylum-seekers as 'home' students and/or offering opportunities to receive education free of charge[5]; and by providing healthcare to those whose cases have been refused but who remain in the country[6] (Da Lomba, 2010, 422/423; Mulvey, 2015, 9).

The Scottish Government's emphasis on two-way integration and the need to accommodate asylum-seekers and refugees is important as it frames the public discourse surrounding asylum and integration in a far less exclusionary light (Wren, 2007, 394). Significantly, that the Scottish Government can push such a discourse lies in its ability to shape and inform how integration should be

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[5] Certain courses apply (Da Lomba, 2010, 422).

[6] If your asylum claim has been refused you have the option to appeal your case and remain in Scotland until your claim has been reprocessed. This appeal must be made within 14 days after the date of your decision. If you appeal after this deadline it is at the discretion of the tribunal to accept your appeal (U.K. Gov. Asylum, 2018).

conceptualized on the ground. As Wren (2007) notes, when public debates on asylum are confined to narrow discourses of deterrence and exclusion, such debates will have direct negative impacts on the policies for reception of asylum-seekers (391). Thus, as the Scottish Government reflects a political commitment to the support and settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers, it can be anticipated that this in turn informs the discourses of sectors working within the sphere of asylum and integration. This does not go without saying that racist discourse does prevail in Scotland, alongside anti-immigration rhetoric (Piacentini, 2012,128). Nevertheless, the fundamental characteristics of the context of Scottish asylum suggest that there is a more positive political discourse circulating in Glasgow surrounding the topic of asylum, integration, and settlement.

The second factor necessary to explore when it comes to the asylum context in Glasgow relates back to the topic of dispersal. As aforementioned, Glasgow remains the only sizeable dispersal cluster area in Scotland and has also become one of the largest UK dispersal sites for asylum-seekers outside London (Wren, 2007, 394; Piacentini, 2012, 13; Strang, Baillot & Mignard, 2017). Prior to the compulsory dispersal set out in the 1999 Act, the majority of newly arrived refugees settled in areas where they had family, friends or where there were pre-existing communities, most commonly London or the southeast of England (Piacentini, 2012, 124). A primary aim of dispersal was to 'spread the burden' of accommodating and supporting asylum seekers away from the local authorities in these areas (Piacentini, 2012, 124; Kirkwood, 2012, 8).

From its outset, the requirements specified by the Audit Commission (2000) for dispersal areas were that they should have pre-existing Black and minority ethnic (BME) populations, appropriate support services locally and that placement should be based around language clusters (Wren, 2004, 19-20). However, housing availability has been the primary criterion upon which dispersal areas have been selected, and asylum seekers have been resettled in areas of housing surplus (ibid.). This trend is evident in Glasgow, with accommodation of asylum-seekers being driven by housing-led resettlement (Piacentini, 2012, 130). Generally, asylum-seekers have been dispersed to vacant high-rise accommodation across the city, most often in areas of multiple deprivations[7] and with no pre-existing BME communities (Piacentini, 2012, 130; Wren, 2004, 20). In addition, language clusters have not been prioritized or created in dispersal areas throughout Glasgow (Wren, 2004, 20). As a result of such a dispersal process, a number of complications have arisen in the process of settlement for asylum-seekers/refugees throughout Glasgow.

At the very core of dispersal is the disruption and fragmentation of social networks (Piacentini, 2012, 134). Dispersal is based off the practice of forcible re-location (on a no-choice basis) of people seeking asylum away from regions where many of their pre-existing networks of co-nationals, families and contacts exist (Piacentini, 2012, 12). In this way, upon being dispersed to Glasgow, it can be assumed many are being torn from key social networks that are considered

[7] These deprivations include but are not excluded to: low income levels, lack of employment, low levels of investment in services, poor housing, poor education, and high crime rates (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2018).

integral for successful settlement (Piacentini, 2012, 134). Furthermore, there has been a significant increase in the BME population in the city. For example, Glasgow has seen an increase in its African population, growing rapidly from 5,000 in 2001 to 30,000 in 2011 (Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity, 2014, 1). This rise of BME asylum-seekers coupled with their spatial concentration in dispersal neighbourhoods has resulted in a significant alteration to the demographic composition of these areas (Piacentini, 2012, 133). This is not to suggest that these areas were all characteristically white neighborhoods prior to dispersal (ibid). Nonetheless, existing residents and new arrivals alike have had to adapt very quickly to new diverse neighborhoods (ibid). This has contributed to the overwhelming sense of newness that comes with forced dispersal and further emphasizes the lack of preexisting communities or networks at a local level (Piacentini, 2012, 155). Lastly, with dispersal accommodation sites throughout Glasgow often being in deprived areas, the social exclusion asylum-seekers suffer is further exacerbated, whilst also putting them at increased risk of being victims of racism and violence (Kirkwood, 2012, 8).

Despite the Scottish Government's emphasis on a more inclusive political discourse surrounding asylum and integration, the process of dispersal, tied with the combination of place-specific factors associated with Glasgow, has ironically contributed to exacerbating feelings of exclusion and isolation. It is not surprising then that significant numbers of refugees are often seen leaving Glasgow upon receiving recognized status, as such feelings can be seen working directly against the settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers (Wren, 2007, 4; Piacentini, 2012,

134). Resultantly, to combat the negative effects caused by dispersal and the secondary migration it encourages, it is argued that creating networks quickly in dispersal locations is essential (see Home Office 2004, 2009; Wren, 2007; Piacentini, 2012). In particular, networks provide the social, cultural, emotional and practical support necessary for the process of settlement (Piacentini, 2012, 134). It is undeniable, therefore, that taken together, dispersal, its consequences, and proposed solutions, are critical components of the context within which United Glasgow FC operates, and pose both challenges and opportunities for the facilitation of refugee/asylum-seeker well-being through sport.

History, Identity and Football in Glasgow

> The native Highlanders, the Englishmen, and the Lowlanders played football on Saturday afternoons and talked about it on Saturday evenings, but the Glaswegian, men apart in this as most things, played, slept, ate, drank and lived it seven days a week (Fraser, 1970 cited in Murray, 2000, 2).

Football, whether playing or spectating, has been the most popular sport in Scotland for some 100 plus years (Murray, 2000). Presently, it attracts much participation and media attention and, as Bradely (2006) highlights, has held many European and World records in relation to sports spectator attendance since the dawn of the twentieth century (1189)[8]. Glasgow, in particular, has come to epitomize the spirit of Scottish football, boasting Scotland's two most successful and venerable football clubs: Celtic and Rangers (Giulianotti & Robinson, 2007, 138). Together these clubs, coined 'the Old Firm', have come to represent one of the longest and deep seeded football rivalries across the globe, dating back over

[8] Hampden Park, long regarded as the home of Scottish football, was the largest football stadium in the world between 1908 and 1950 and still holds most of the European football's primary attendance records, including the overall record of 149,415 for Scotland's match with England in 1937 (Sports Heritage Scotland, 2017).

129 years (Murray, 2000, 19). This rivalry is no ordinary football rivalry however, as it has been informed by the political, cultural and religious history that came to define the city of Glasgow (Murray, 2000, xiii). In-depth exploration into the interconnectedness of the Old firm and Glaswegian society is beyond the scope of this research, but a brief analysis into the history of these two clubs provide a greater understanding of why United Glasgow FC came to be and the significance of its work within the context of Glasgow.

The history of the Old Firm cannot be told without also examining the sectarianism long associated with the derby (Hatfield, 2011, 4). Since their respective formations in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Celtic and Rangers have come to represent two distinct, polarized identities within Scotland: Catholics and Protestants (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 95). Dating back to the Reformation[9], a strong anti-Catholic culture existed in Scotland and infused many aspects of social and political life (Bradely, 1996, 36). However, this traditional antagonism would be pushed to the brink in the nineteenth century with the arrival of Catholic immigrants to Scotland (ibid.). With this influx of Irish, Catholic immigrants came a rampant rise in anti-Catholic sentiment across Scotland, most notably manifesting through the rise of Orangeism[10] throughout the country (Hatfield, 2011, 7; Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 96). In addition, a new racial aspect was added to the anti-Catholic antagonisms as 'Catholic' and 'Irish'

[9] Protestant reformation in Scotland dates back to the 16th century (Hatfiled, 2011, 4)
[10] Originating in the north of Ireland in the 1790s as a response to the rise of Catholic popular politics, the Orange Order was a pan-Protestant institution designed to protect Protestant privilege in Ireland and Britain. In Scotland, Orange ideology revolves around a matrix of strident "No Surrender" Scottish Protestantism, Northern Ireland Unionism, and a particularly Scottish manifestation of Britishness (Bradley, 2004, 238-240).

were now seen as interchangeable markers of difference/exclusion (Bradely, 1996, 36). As Finn (1991, 373) notes,

> Catholic-Irish Scots were judged to be different in both religion and racialized ethnicity, characteristics which were often (con)fused into one negative attribute: Catholic or Irish became interchangeable terms to describe the supposedly alien quality of the Irish-Scots, who were thus denied any valid status as Scots (cited in Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 97).

Consequently, many migrants were pressured into underplaying or privatizing their Irish-Catholic identity (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 97). Thus, for many Irish migrants, the process of settling in Scotland was particularly difficult (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 96). As Burdsey and Chappell (2001) note, until the formation of Celtic FC, there existed few structured means of expressing one's 'Irishness' (97).

In response to the growing sectarianism felt throughout Scotland in the nineteenth century, the Celtic FC were formed in 1888 (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 97; Murray, 2000, 47). Founded by Brother Walfrid, a member of the Catholic Marist Order, the club began as a charitable organization for Catholic immigrants (Murray, 2000, 47). Together with other Irish-Catholic migrants, he identified the potential of football in raising money for the poor of Glasgow's East End, with the aim of keeping Catholics within the faith and improving the confidence and morale of the community (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 97). As Bradley (1994, 35) puts it, 'the club came into existence as the focus for much Catholic and Irish community activity, a setting for that community's broad social and political aspirations' (cited in Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 97). Here, it should be noted that Celtic FC was not the only Irish football club that existed in

Scotland[11] during this period; however, several factors would lead to Celtic FC becoming a central social arena for the expression of Irish-Catholic identity (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 98).

First, Bradley (1994, 3) argues that while Irish nationalist politics were apparent in Scotland a long time before the establishment of Celtic FC, 'Celtic's formative years paralleled an era when much of the work achieved by Irish nationalists in Ireland and Britain began to bear fruit' (cited in Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 98). Second, tied to the club's original aim of improving the confidence and morale of the Catholic community, Celtic's considerable on-field success during the early 1890s meant that support for Celtic could be seen as an outlet that compensated for 'the daily troubles in a harsh life amid uncongenial surroundings' (Campbell & Woods, 1987, 65 as cited in Bradely, 1994). As Finn (1991, 375) notes, 'sporting recognition is important because sport, relying on open competition, is usually one of the first social arenas in which minority communities can break through to demonstrate their equal competence' (cited in Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 98). Lastly, the club's location in Glasgow meant that Celtic was based amongst a numerically significant and highly supportive Irish community, allowing for a fervent support base, a crucial factor in the club's survival and growth (Bradely, 1996, 36). Together these factors contributed to Celtic, in those early days and for a long time thereafter, becoming a proud symbol of the Irish Catholic community (Bradely, 1996, 48). Nevertheless, Celtic's presence and subsequent success would also lead to a series of tensions and problems spanning the century (Murray, 2010, 59; Bradely, 1996, 36).

[11] Clubs existed in in Dundee, Edinburgh and Lanarkshire for example (Bradely, 1996, 36).

The success of an Irish, Catholic football club would not go unchallenged in a Protestant Scotland (Bradely, 1996, 37; Murray, 2010, 59). Celtic entered the sporting scene at the same time as many Catholics were making their presence felt throughout Scottish society, in business, politics and local professions and their success was resented by society at large, as each victory came to represent a challenge to the Scottish Establishment and its Protestant rule (Murray, 2010, 59). For example, in 1896, Celtic and Hibernian (an Edinburgh side which had also emerged from the Irish community there) were top of the Scottish league, prompting a newspaper, *Scottish Sport*, to note the dominance in Scotland of two Irish teams and calling for a Scottish team that could challenge them (Murray, 1984, 31 as cited in Bradely, 1996, 37). Such a comment is an example of the antagonism faced by Irish/Catholic football clubs in Scotland and a reflection of how sectarian tensions were beginning to infiltrate into the footballing world (Bradely, 1996, 37). In the end, the most noteworthy counter to the success of Celtic and the answer to the question posed by *Scottish Sport* was the Glasgow Rangers (Bradely, 1996, 37; Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 99).

Founded in 1872, fifteen years before Celtic, Rangers Football Club began without any political or religious leanings (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 99; Bradely, 37, 82; Hatfield, 2011, 8). However, with their steady advance in both trophies and finances in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Rangers came to represent a halting force that could trump the early footballing dominance of the Celtics (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 98; Bradely, 1996, 37). As a result, for many Scots, Rangers FC became an integral force in the defense of the 'native

prestige' of Scotland (Burdsey & Chappell, 2001, 98; Bradely, 1996, 37). This led to a strong Protestant-Unionist identity being forged within the club, with Rangers FC eventually becoming one of the most overt anti-Catholic institutions in Scottish society (Bradley, 1994).

Together, these clubs clearly did not create sectarian division in Scotland but instead were amongst its consequences (Murray, 2000, 82). In providing key outlets for the process of individual socialisation and community construction of both Protestant/Catholic identities, the two clubs captured the tensions of society and thus became sources of civic life and passionate antagonism (Bradely, 1996, 48; Davies, 2013, 51). These sectarian tensions were not confined to the nineteenth century however and have been a key source to the Old Firm's dominance within Scottish football until present day (Hatfield, 2011, 14). Up until the late 1980s, fans from both sides of the Celtic/Rangers divide embraced sectarianism as part and parcel of the Old Firm; and acts of sectarian violence were an endemic issue plaguing game days over the better part of the twentieth century (see: Murray 2000; Hatfield, 2011; Davies, 2013). Since the twenty-first century the rivalry between the two clubs continues to exist, though the sectarian passions have been tempered through the efforts of both clubs (Hatfield, 2011, 25). Most notably, since 2012, sectarianism is now an offence under the 'Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act'[12], designed to prevent religious and political hatred in football (May, 2015,

[12] This Act of Parliament came about as a response to the heightened incidents of violence and threatening behavior that occurred throughout the 2010-2011 Scottish Football Association season (May, 2015, 1). Fans of the two clubs, Celtic and Rangers, were involved in a majority of these incidents and the Scottish government felt that many of these incidents were motivated by religious, ethnic and national hatred (ibid.).

1-2). Nevertheless, the sheer intensity of Old Firm' loyalties still prevails across Glasgow and old antagonisms continue to run fervent on match days. As a professional player for Partick Thistle, the third professional club in Glasgow, noted in our interview:

> AB: And how have you found footballing culture in Glasgow? Cause there is quite a Celtics, Rangers…?
>
> PP: [Laughter] Ya I think that's what it is up here really. I think it's Celtic and Rangers and then just everyone else. [Laughter] You know what I mean, honestly. But no, it's been fun, honestly, we're from Glasgow or we're based in Glasgow, well Partick, but it's like there's three teams in Glasgow but it's really only two, you know what I mean?

In this light, while the sectarian nature of such Old Firm allegiances have tended to shift over the decades, from this passage it becomes clear that the passions that underlie the Old Firm rivalry are still ever present today, reflecting an indissoluble link between Scottish history, society, and football (Murray, 2000, xiii).

It is this link between Scottish history, society, and football that may best explain the contextual significance of the Old Firm in relation to the work that UGFC attempts to perform. While the work of UGFC is further explored in Chapter Four; on the whole it can best be understood using football as a site for social inclusion, reaching out to people of diverse background, in particular refugees and asylum-seekers. Here, a parallel between the respective efforts of UGFC and Celtics FC cannot be ignored, as both clubs were founded on understandings of sport as a site for support and inclusion of migrant

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Resultantly, they passed the Act as a way to tackle violent/threatening behavior related to such expressions of religious hared towards football fans, players and officials (ibid).

communities. Interestingly, the founder of United Glasgow was once a Celtic fan who is likely aware of the club's history. As Stewart (Glaswegian player) noted:

> 'A lot of Celtics fans are conscious of that and see the struggles of Irish immigrants back then are the same as ya'know refugees, Syrian refugees, and asylum-seekers now. Ehm, so the club has been given free tickets, supporters group have raised money, just local CSCs [Celtic Supporters Clubs] have donated. And there's been quite a good response to the migrant crisis by Celtic fans and the football club and because of its past, people being aware of its past, Celtic wouldn't be here if it wasn't for migrants, ehm, but ya.'

However, while the founder's link to Celtic FC may have ultimately shaped some of the inclusionary efforts of the club; on the whole, UGFC has attempted to distance itself from the Old Firm, as its historical context equally demonstrates the divisive role football can play in Scottish society. Specifically, the old identity politics and rivalries that have come to envelop the Old Firm are the types of dichotomous discourses ('insider/outsider', 'us vs. them') from which UGFC attempts to break free. As Calum (volunteer) noted,

> Ya I mean, Glasgow doesn't have a great reputation in that respect, politics and football, we're told they should not combine 'cause of the issues that they've had, the Celtics and Rangers. But I think that it is important for us, because I think it also helps make people aware of why we're doing what we're doing. So, but I think when we first started, because I was a Celtic fan and a lot of people around the club at the time were Celtic fans, we were a little bit worried about there being that sort of connection. It's a nonsense sentiment, but like we were always worried about having those connections because, ya'know, you don't just want to be for one side of Glasgow. So, it's been really good for us to create these kinds of connections by ourselves and kinda just leave that Celtic thing behind, particularly given that most of us no longer consider ourselves Celtic Fans [Laughter].

One can see from such passages that the footballing context in Glasgow has played a key role in motivating the work of United Glasgow FC. In particular, the divisive role football has played throughout Scottish history can be seen

influencing the club's attempts to reappropriate the use of football to bridge communities and support refugee and asylum-seekers inclusion across the city. How the club has been able to do so in practice and what this means for the facilitation of refugee/asylum-seeker well-being is explored in the following chapters.

LITERATURE REVIEW (CHAPTER TWO)

In connection with my research objectives, this literature review examines conceptual and theoretical debates related to sport and development. I then relate such debates more specifically to the topic of refugees and asylum-seekers, drawing on a key body of literature that explores refugees, sport and settlement within 'developed' contexts. I highlight where my research aligns with and contributes to the literature. Furthermore, the theoretical framework guiding the analysis of this thesis is discussed.

Sport for Development: Background and Context

For more than a decade, sport has been formally institutionalized and recognized on the development agenda by the international community, most notably by the United Nations (UN) with the adoption of Resolution 58/5 in the year 2003[13] (Kidd & MacDonnell, 2007). The fundamental premise of the Sport for Development (SFD) movement is "to remobilize sport as a vehicle for broad, sustainable social development, especially in the most disadvantaged communities in the world" (Kidd, 2008, 370). Today, a wide range of stakeholders have sought to mobilise sport for a diverse number of development interventions including health outcomes, gender equity, the alleviation of poverty, education, community engagement, and other aspects of social welfare (Chawansky et al. 2017, 2). While it may be argued that the passing of Resolution 58/5 institutionalized the

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[13] This resolution, adopted by the UN General Assembly entitled "Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace", took note of the report of the United Nations Inter-agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace and proclaimed 2005 as the International Year for Sport and Physical Education, as a means to promote education, health, development and peace, and invited Governments to organize events to underline their commitment and to seek the assistance of sports personalities in this regard (UN, 2003).

SFD movement and led to its growth, it is important to note that SFD practices are not recent phenomena and are rooted in a lengthy history of servicing sport as a tool to meet 'social development' objectives (Hayhurst, 2011, 24; Chawansky et al. 2017; Lindsey et al., 2017).

SFD scholars (e.g., Kidd, 2008; Coalter, 2013; Lindsey et al., 2017) have been quick to point out that at the level of practice and implementation, the SFD movement is one that is following a well-known tradition that includes the use of sport for the purposes of promoting inclusion, regulating undesirable behavior or contributing to public health (Coalter, 2013, 18; Lindsey et al., 2017). Darnell (2012) argues that such invocations of sport as a socially productive and transformative cultural form have strong historical antecedents in Europe and Northern cultures (12). For example, Kidd (2008) traces sport's historical links to social development back to the 'rational recreation' interventions of the improving middle and working class in late nineteenth century Europe, the 'playground movement' of the early twentieth century, and the confessional and workers' sports movements of the interwar period (371). Furthermore, from a critical perspective, scholars have highlighted sports' historical role in international social development, demonstrating the inextricable link between colonialism, sport and the erasure/assimilation of Indigenous cultural identities (e.g. Paraschak, 1995; Kidd, 2008; Giulianotti, 2004; Coalter, 2013). In addition, Chawansky et al. (2017) note that international organisations like the (UN) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) first began using sport to reach development-related objectives in the early 1920s (2). In all these cases,

participation in sport and physical activity was presumed to offer tangible and sustainable benefits that extended beyond just playing that game – a logic that has come to underpin the SFD movement (Darnell, 2012, 12). Nevertheless, while the current SFD movement has strong associations with both this distant historical legacy and more recent past, its increasing association with global frameworks of international development has amounted in the movement taking on new expectations in terms of what sport can deliver (Lindsey et al., 17, 2017).

Both Lindsey et al. (2017) and Chawansky et al. (2017) highlight the UN's central role in the institutionalization of sport and the SFD movement within the wider global development system (20, 2). In particular, Lindsey et al. (2017) note how sport's adoption into the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals of 2000 – and later the Sustainable Development Goals of 2015 – gave sport an unprecedented standing as a potential vehicle for social change amongst aid agencies, governments, international organizations and development practitioners alike (21). Darnell (2012) argues that this alignment was able to take place, because the 'universalist' discourse that surrounds sport served to depoliticize it, making it a more amenable tool to be appropriated by international development agencies (22). Thus, while humanitarian groups and non-governmental organizations had previously used sport and physical activity within their programs, the institutionalization of sport within the UN lent international legitimacy to SFD, leading to an array of new actors supporting SFD programmes around the 'poorest' regions of the globe (Darnell, 2012, 12). In particular, an increasing involvement of the private/corporate sector in funding, leading and

supporting the SFD movement has been highlighted amongst scholars (e.g., Levermore, 2010; Donnelly et al., 2001; Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst 2014), leading to a growing professionalism within the field (Zipp, 2017, 15). Thus, because of the growing diversity of actors within the field of SFD, we now see a variety of assumptions and expectations being placed upon the movement, leading to discourses that are in need of being critically unpacked.

Assumptions and Expectations

As aforementioned, with the increasing recognition and expectations of SFD, there has been a rapid increase in the scale and characteristics of SFD organizations (Lindsey et al., 2017, 26; Darnell, 2012, 12). Today, “a wide variety of entities such as UN agencies, faith-based groups, universities, academics, international organisations, governments, sport federations, and NGOs” (non-governmental organizations) are all recognized as part of the burgeoning SFD movement (Hayhurst, 2009, 206). In turn, this has led to a set of assumptions and expectations surrounding what types of organizations should be at the fore of implementing and supporting SFD interventions across the globe. In particular, traditional debates surrounding ‘development’ as a ‘large-scale/ top-down’ or ‘small-scale/bottom up’ process have become a key point of discussion and contention.

Scholars have demonstrated that while sport has increasingly become implicated in both ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ forms of development (Black, 2010, 123), many accounts of SFD focus only on international SFD activity that has been initiated by organizations from the ‘global North’ in the ‘global South’

(Lindsey et al., 2017, 28; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, 113). Admittedly, this makes sense given the significant numbers of international organizations, in particular multinational corporations, now involved in overseeing, funding and facilitating SFD initiatives (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, 113). However, as Lindsey and Grattan (2012) point out, this focus on international initiatives has obscured understandings of the SFD movement overall, as research has largely accepted the idea that the governance of SFD schemes is dominated by 'top-down' decision making by organizations in the 'global North' (93). Specifically, this has limited our understandings of the types of organizations currently carrying out SFD programmes across the globe and has led to a general failure to acknowledge the contributions that small-scale, locally led SFD initiatives contribute to the movement (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, 114; Lindsey et al., 2017, 29) [14]. As a result, it does not come as a surprise that there have been increasing calls to expand academic inquiry into the involvement of such SFD stakeholders across different global contexts (Lindsey et al., 2017, 30).

A second set of assumptions and expectations about the SFD movement relate to debates surrounding how to define the geographical and national/international character of SFD (Lindsey et al., 2017, 28). Darnell (2012) argues that since sport's adoption by the UN, the SFD movement has come to target the 'global South' as 'the quintessential site of development' and thus for intervention and study (2). Lindsey et al. (2017) further this point by highlighting how the SFD movement has been closely associated with prominent milestones in

[14] There are authors who have explored the nature of bottom-up, locally led SFD organizations, see: Armstrong 2004; Fokwang 2009; Kay 2009.

international development policy, invariably leading SFD activities to focus on 'the poorest citizens of the poorest countries' (28). While this reflects a traditional aid/development paradigm ('global North' to 'global South'), Hayhurst and Giles (2013) have suggested that the SFD development nexus is beginning to shift in new and complex ways (506). Specifically, they highlight how SFD initiatives are becoming increasingly focused on disadvantaged communities, many of whom are racialized, located in countries, typically viewed as middle-high income and/or part of the global North, such as Canada (Hayhurst & Giles, 2013, 506; Gardam, Giles & Hayhurst, 2017, 31). In this light, Hayhurst and Giles (2013) have presented a call for SFD research to think beyond the homogenous development categories (e.g., "Third World/First World") that seem to be encapsulated by aid agencies, governments, and international organizations (506).

Finally, one of the largest sets of assumptions and expectations that come from sport being amalgamated into the international development agenda relates to conceptualizations and understanding of SFD practice (Lindsey et al., 2017, 32). As aforementioned, the SFD movement today is characterized by a diversity of actors in the field. Understandably, this has led to an array of opinions surrounding the role of sport in the development process (Lindsey et al. 2017, 34). Here, the first and perhaps the most prominent conceptualization of SFD in practice stems from various SFD organizations and proponents alike (Coalter, 2013, 22). Drawing on longstanding functionalist and utilitarian understandings of sport, such organizations and proponents have come to privilege a particular discourse of sport, one where it is considered an antidote to a variety of social

problems and as an inherently positive force and neutral social space (Spaaij, 2011, 54). In particular, such organizations tend to position sport as a 'non-threatening' a-political and/or universal 'tool' through which to achieve development goals (Darnell, 2012, 2). While I agree with other scholars (e.g., Lindsey et al., 2017) that such invocations of sport are far from novel, what may be considered new is the way in which sport has become increasingly entrenched within the development nexus as an essential and universal 'tool' through which to achieve the UN's development goals. Put differently, sport now appears to have an unprecedented and unquestioned standing as an effective tool through which to improve 'the lot of marginalized people' across the globe and thus overcome 'the dogged development challenges of our time' (Darnell, 2012, 3).

Building off these sets of assumptions, a second conceptualization of SFD in practice has come to light. A number of scholars (see: Hayhurst, 2009; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Darnell, 2012; Coalter, 2013) have been quick to demonstrate how such romanticized notions of sport and its social, political and pedagogical values (while not wrong) cannot be seen as inherent or essential to the sporting experience (Darnell, 2012, 13). Specifically, they have come to critique the assumption that sport is an inherently positive force and neutral social space, arguing that relations of power can be mobilized in and through sport and thus the SFD movement (Darnell, 2012, 23). Of note, they have exposed the role SFD initiatives have played, primarily in the 'global South', in reinforcing gendered and racialized hierarchies (Chawansky, 2011; Hayhurst, 2011, Darnell 2007), the securing of heteronormativity (Carney & Chawansky, 2014; Forde &

Frisby, 2015), as well as advancing the neoliberal logic of competitive social and economic relations (Hayhurst, 2011, 2014; Darnell 2010; Coalter, 2013; Forde, 2014). All of this is not to say that SFD initiatives on the whole reproduce relations of inequality; however, from this perspective, sport is understood to be a cultural site that can maintain power, hierarchy, and lastly, the institutionalization of poverty and privilege (Darnell, 2012, 22; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, 291). Key for these scholars then, is an understanding that sport is not a benign social institution, but rather it is site from which the politics of development can be critically investigated and in some cases deconstructed (Darnell, 2012, 23).

Together, it is these conceptual and theoretical debates surrounding SFD that I believe provide an important bridge between SFD literature and literature exploring refugees, sport and settlement. While refugees and asylum-seekers have often been cited as targets of SFD interventions (SDP IWG, 2008, 22), there is still little existing literature within the field of SFD into sport-based initiatives for refugees and asylum-seekers, in particular within developed contexts. Thus, it is within these key debates surrounding SFD that I wish to situate my work and attempt to contribute to the increasing expansion of the parameters of SFD research by exploring the confluence of sport, settlement and development.

Sport, Settlement and Development

While SFD literature has often focused on SFD initiatives and partnership within low and middle-income communities in the 'global South', institutions like the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have been mobilizing sport as a tool for (re)settlement throughout refugee camps in Africa,

Asia and the Middle East for a number of decades (Beutler, 2008, 366; UNHCR, 2017). In addition, in 2008, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) highlighted refugees as one of the key target groups for development intervention by the SFD movement (22). Furthermore, over the last several years, the IOC and UNHCR have continued to partner and pledge to provide sport projects and activities within refugee camps in the global South (IOC, 2016). As the former IOC president, Jacque Rogge, noted when visiting the Mahama refugee camp in Rwanda in 2016,

> Sport has an incredible power and it can be so much more than a leisure activity. In such instances, sport can act as a social tool. Empowering young people and strengthening communities, it can contribute to protecting refugee adolescents and young adults from abuse, exploitation, neglect and violence (IOC, 2016).

Despite such endorsements for mobilizing sport for refugees and asylum-seekers over the past several decades by development agents like the UN, Right to Play and several other NGOs, the research and literature surrounding SFD has tended to largely overlook these interventions. Scholarly work has emerged however, within the fields of Integration, Leisure, Kinesiology, Sport and Refugee Studies, exploring the ways sport can contribute to the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers (see: Amara et al., 2004; Oliff, 2008; Spaaij, 2012, 2013, 2015; Pizzolati and Sterchele, 2016; Stone, 2017; Dukic, McDonald & Spaaij, 2017). It is these conversations I now explore and connect to the field of SFD.

In keeping with traditional SFD practice, work performed or promoted by institutions like UNHCR surrounding refugees, sport and settlement has most often targeted refugee communities or camps in the 'global South' (Beutler, 2008,

366; UNHCR, 2017). Nevertheless, given that we are now facing the highest levels of displacement ever recorded, with refugees and asylum-seekers often migrating to or being re-settled in countries of the 'global North', there is increasing interest in using sport to facilitate settlement and support for refugees and asylum-seekers across Europe, North America and Australia (UNHCR, 2017). In particular, policy-makers across the Western world have begun to turn to sport as a site where the settlement of refugee and asylum-seeking persons can be promoted, with a series of policy documents and reports emerging over the past decade presenting great enthusiasm on the subject (e.g. RCOA, 2010; Amara et al., 2004; European Commission, 2017). This enthusiasm appears to echo those within the SFD movement, with claims ranging from individual benefits of participation (health, fitness, dealing with stress, enhancing life quality), social benefits (tackling isolation and building social networks), community benefits (using sport as a vehicle of communication between refugees, asylum seeker groups and host communities), and societal benefits (reducing problems of crime and delinquency) (Amara et al., 2004, 4). However, like the field of SFD, the positive benefits and romanticized assumptions surrounding sport, refugees and settlement have also come to be questioned.

More Than A Game? Perceived Benefits Of Sport

There is no doubt that participation in sport leads to various benefits for refugee and asylum-seekers settling in new host communities. These benefits have been well documented in a series of scholarly works and include: extending networks and increasing social capital (Walseth, 2008; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009;

Spaaij, 2012, 2013; Dukic et al., 2017), facilitating multicultural dialogue and development of language skills (Doethry & Taylor 2007; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Spaaij, 2013), meeting important psychosocial and emotional needs (Amara, et al., 2005; Doethry & Taylor, 2007; Dukic et al., 2017), promoting integration and acculturation (Doethry & Taylor, 2007; Stack & Iwasaki, 200; Woodhouse & Concricode, 2017) and fostering a sense of identity and belonging (Walseth, 2006; Spaaij, 2015).

The work of Spaaij (2012, 2013, 2015) has been particularly insightful in highlighting the positive role sport can play in the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers. Through his research with Somali refugees within community football clubs in Australia, his work has come to emphasize the significant role sport can play in extending social networks and increasing social capital[15] for refugees and asylum-seekers (Spaaij, 2012, 2013, 2105). Moreover, it has focused on sport as a site where identity and belonging can be negotiated, created and maintained (see: Spaaij, 2015). Importantly, while Spaaij (2015) acknowledges the role sport can play in linking refugees/ asylum-seekers to the host community, fostering new friendships, and allowing for familiarization and acculturation in a new society, he also emphasizes the vital role sport plays in allowing refugees and asylum-seekers to (re)build old cultural networks and negotiate and maintain their multiple forms of identity and belonging (312-316).

Also of interest to this study is the work of Dukic, McDonald and Spaaij (2017) and their discussion of 'football habitus' (104). Building on Bourdieu's

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[15] Drawing on Bourdieu, Spaaij defines social capital as, 'the sum of resources… that accrues to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, 119 cited in Spaaij, 2012, 4).

concept of habitus[16], they argue that the familiarity that refugee and asylum-seekers often have with a sport (in this case football), allows for a sporting arena to provide a space of familiarity, confidence and freedom (in the sense of movement and flow), a feature often noted as absent in their lives (104-105). In this way, they argue that sport is a meaningful space where resilience can be easily built, as refugee/asylum-seeking players can tap into various resources and connect with others through an activity that 'literally comes as second nature' (Dukic et al., 2017, 105). This concept of 'football habitus' appeared to represent itself time and time again throughout my interviews as players discussed their habituations and familiarity with football and is further explored in Chapter Five. However, here what is important to note, is the attention both the studies by Spaaij (2015) and Dukic, McDonald & Spaaij (2017) draw to sport as a site of meaningful and effortless socialization and settlement.

Critiques and Cautions

In line with research conducted in the field of SFD, a series of critiques have been highlighted within the literature surrounding, refugees, sport, and settlement. Specifically, the widespread tendency to represent sport as contributing to essentially positive experiences for refugees and asylum-seekers, or sport's frequent consideration in theory and in practice to be an *a priori* force of goodness has met many criticisms (Bourgeois, 2009, 24). The key critiques and cautions can be separated into three categories, however the basic premise of said critiques stem from the argument that sport and sports clubs are not neutral

[16] Habitus refers to the physical embodiment of cultural capital, i.e. the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that we possess due to our life experiences (Routledge, 2016).

interaction contexts isolated from the wider society (Andersson, 2002, 84). In particular, Spaaij (2013) highlights how sport, as a field, cannot be understood in isolation from other social spheres such as the economy, politics and education (2). Moreover, Jeanes, O'Connor and Alfrey (2015) argue that while sport policy is now beginning to speak to the integrative power of sport to build bridges and break down cultural barriers, in connecting with resettlement agendas, sport must also be recognized as entering a highly contested space (483). This is because within wider resettlement policy, there are contested discourses surrounding notions of 'good' settlement and integration (ibid). Specifically, across resettlement nations in the developed, English speaking world -such as Australia, Canada, United States, and the United Kingdom -perceptions of 'good' settlement appear to still be heavily intertwined with notions of integration that align closer to assimilation rather than embracing diversity (ibid). Resultantly, while there is a strong rhetoric on the power of sport as a vehicle to assist in the settlement and support of refugee and asylum-seekers, empirical research has come to highlight how the reality surrounding such 'power' is much more complex and ambivalent once put into practice (Spaaij, 2015, 312).

As aforementioned, the main critiques stemming from the literature surrounding, refugees, sport, and settlement can be broken down into three key categories. The first category is backed by empirical research from scholars including, Doherty and Taylor (2007), Oliff, (2008) and Spaaij (2013), and addresses the challenges of refugees and asylum-seekers face when trying to access meaningful sporting arenas. Research into the sport barriers facing newly

arrived populations suggest that they, obviously, experience barriers that are different from, and/or are more pronounced than, those experienced by the general population, such as social isolation and language constraints (Spaaij, 2013, 6). In particular, the work of Oliff (2008) and Spaaij (2013) highlights a series of personal, mediating and structural barriers that constrain the participation of refugee/asylum-seekers in sport, as well as influence the choices and preferences of those who are already participating (Spaaij, 2013, 12).

In their respective work on refugees, sport and settlement in Australia, mediating and structural barriers were recognized as the dominant constraints facing refugees and asylum-seekers when trying to access sport (Oliff, 2008,57-58; Spaaij, 2013, 12). Nevertheless, a list of all barriers to access are highlighted below:

- *Personal barriers include*: resettlement experience, non-sport obligations; financial constraints; lacking knowledge of the rules of a specific sport (Oliff, 2008, 58-59; Spaaij, 2013, 13).

- *Mediating barriers include*: lack of inclusive and culturally sensitive practices in existing sport and recreation providers; lack of parental/guardian support in the case of young refugees; a different sport culture between the country of origin and the host country; racism and discrimination (Oliff, 2008, 57-58; Spaaij, 2013, 15; 22-24).

- *Structural barriers include*: the lack of funding for sustainable programmes; the tendency towards 'one size fits all' activities instead of a bespoke (tailored) provision; inconsistent referral of refugees to sport and recreation programmes by settlement services; barriers between targeted and mainstream sport and recreation options; access to transport; access to public space and facilities (Oliff, 2008, 57-58; Spaaij, 2013, 25).

While Stodolska (1998) has noted that these kinds of barriers appear to be most severely constraining immediately after one's arrival to host societies, such limitations do have significant impact on the forms and levels of belonging

produced through sport, greatly affecting the facilitation of positive settlement outcomes (cited in Spaaij, 2015, 315). Resultantly, Oliff (2008) and Spaaij (2103) have come to argue that sport/sport programs can only begin to become meaningful sites of support and settlement for refugees and asylum-seekers once such barriers are addressed, allowing for full participation in sport but also helping to facilitate fuller participation in society at large (Oliff, 2008, 56; Spaaij, 2013, 29).

The second set of critiques stemming from settlement and sport literature relate to the discourses present within sporting arenas. Andersson (2002), Spaaij (2012, 2013, 2015), Oliff (2008), Agergard (2011) and Jeanes, et al. (2015), have all contended that sport clubs and teams must be seen as situated within wider societal discourses on integration, multiculturalism and immigration politics. This contextualization of sport is important as their research demonstrates how the broader policy context has significance for understanding the use of sport in resettlement (Jeanes et al., 2015, 483). For example, in research by Spaaij (2015), Jeanes et al. (2015) and Ageragard (2011), while existing sport policies (in these cases Australia and Denmark) spoke to the integrative power of sport to 'build bridges' and 'break down cultural barriers' between those who have settled and the host community, when implemented such integration did not take place. Instead, they all identified the process of integration as being a one-way adaptation performed solely by refugee/ethnic minority groups, which in turn reflected the assimilation discourses present within the host countries resettlement agendas.

This act of assimilation becomes extremely problematic when thinking back to the emphasis Spaaij (2015) puts on the important role that sport plays in allowing refugees and asylum-seekers to negotiate and maintain their multiple forms of identity and belonging (316). Furthermore, connecting this to larger debates within the SFD movement, critiques surrounding the (re)colonizing power of sport, and sport's historical use in the erasure/assimilation of cultural identities come to light (Paraschak, 1995,7-8; Giulianotti, 2004, 357). Here, we can see how in practice, sport can once again fall prey to being implicated within regimes of discipline. Specifically, in the case of refugees and asylum-seekers, we see how sport can be used to hegemonically assimilate people into an idea about what it is to be and belong to a place (Darnell, 2012, 14; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, 288).

Building off this discussion, the final critiques raised foreground the role of sport providers and coaches in either normalizing or challenging particular approaches to working with people from refugee/asylum-seeking backgrounds (Jeanes et al., 2015, 481). Work by Taylor and Toohey (1998) suggests that sport providers, although often acknowledging that they struggle to engage diverse groups, rarely question the role of existing structures in this process (cited in Jeanes et al., 2015, 485). Agergard (2011) also argues along these lines, noting that coaches tend to adhere to their traditional role as leaders of sports activity rather than involving themselves in questions surrounding the wider societal discourses on integration, multiculturalism, and immigration politics (349). Furthermore, the work of Spaaij (2013) and Jeanes et al. (2015) have highlighted how existing tensions between policy makers and those charged with enacting

policies have resulted in top-down sports models that speak more to the notion of assimilation through sport, rather than developing opportunities based on the needs and requirements of young people from refugee backgrounds (Jeanes et al., 2015, 481).

In response to these findings, the aforementioned authors have called for sport providers to problematize their understandings of existing sporting structures and how they consider people from refugee backgrounds should 'experience' sport (Spaaij, 2013, 29; Jeanes et al., 2015, 497). In particular, Spaaij (2013) argues that:

> Fostering inclusive sports spaces for people from refugee backgrounds requires an understanding at all levels of the community sport sector that refugee settlement is a two-way process of mutual accommodation requiring adaptation on the part of both the migrant and the host society, without having to discard one's cultural identity (29).

Moreover, he points to the need for "ongoing cross-cultural awareness and diversity education training in order to break down barriers and open up channels of communication between sport organizations and newly arrived communities" (Spaaij, 2013, 29). Most importantly, he believes that to realize the potential of sport for refugee/asylum-seeker settlement, a proactive approach to reduce and prevent discrimination in sport needs to be developed and maintained (ibid.). This, he argues, allows for perceived barriers to participation to be addressed and fosters sporting arenas that are seen as genuinely valuing and encouraging cultural pluralism (ibid.). It is here, within these calls for change, that I situate a gap in the literature my research attempts to address.

A New Way Forward? Grassroots Refugee Football

While Spaaij (2013) argues that fostering inclusive sport spaces for people from refugee backgrounds requires steps like an understanding that refugee settlement is a 'two-way process of mutual accommodation', 'ongoing cross-cultural awareness and diversity education training', and taking 'a proactive approach to reduce and prevent discrimination in sport' (29), little research has sought to explore if such programs exist and/or examine the experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers participating within such sporting arenas (with exception of the work by Dukic et al., 2017). As a result, with this thesis I attempt to address this gap with an exploration into the experiences of volunteer staff and players at United Glasgow FC.

As aforementioned, UGFC is part of an emerging movement across Europe, one that tries to actualize the potential of sport for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement through the creation of grassroots football programs (FARE, 2018). This trend has been highlighted by a database created by The Fare Network, which has identified over 240 football organizations, teams and clubs that are currently active in welcoming and supporting refugees and asylum-seekers across Europe – UGFC being one of them (FARE, 2018). Interestingly, these programs appear to adopt several of the suggestions put forth by Spaaij (2013) in their attempts to use sport to support refugees and asylum-seekers. While an in-depth analysis of the inner-workings of UGFC is provided in Chapter Four, how the program meets the recommendations of Spaaij (2013) is briefly discussed.

In the case of UGFC, first, they present a model of SFD that seeks to overcome many of the personal, mediating and structural barriers that refugees and asylum-seekers face. UGFC provides participants with all the necessary training and playing equipment, operates within inclusive facilities and spaces, have player translators present, works off a 'pay-what-you-can-basis', and is linked to several refugee centers across Glasgow. Moreover, the club takes a multifaceted anti-discrimination stance (anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-islamophobia, anti-sectarianism, pro-LGTBQ+), as they seek to tackle several forms of social exclusion through sport and create 'a welcoming and inclusive environment for all' (UGFC, 2017). Furthermore, in line with Spaaij's (2013) recommendations, there appears to be an understanding of refugee settlement as a two-way process of mutual accommodation throughout the club. As Gavin (volunteer) noted:

> 'My view on it, and it always has been, is integration is a two-way thing. The idea that people should come to the country and change who they are to fit in is not integration, like you said that's assimilation. So, a) it's good for us to have both asylum-seeker and refugee players learning stuff as part - well whether it be the language, or our values -and it's the same that it's good for young Scottish people who maybe haven't met asylum-seekers and refugees before [to] come and learn something. You see the benefit for, ya'know, Scottish people who now have the confidence to ask someone: 'Why do you fast at Ramadan?' .

Finally, the club can be seen as an institution that attempts to promote ongoing cross-cultural awareness and diversity education training among its volunteers and participants, as it holds a series of voluntary education days discussing topics such as, the asylum-process in Scotland, as well as issue pertaining to sexism, homophobia, and racism in sport.

Thus, in light of the steps that UGFC adopts in its attempt to actualize the potential of sport for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement, I believe it presents an interesting case to be explored. In particular, given that there is little research or literature on such a sporting context for refugees and asylum-seekers, my work adds new voices into the debates surrounding the capacity of sport to promote and facilitate the settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers. Moreover, given the central debate within SFD surrounding the positive, functionalist perspective on sport versus sport as a socially constructed site imbued in questions of power, politics and exclusion, critical research on such 'ideal' sport programming for refugees and asylum-seekers is necessary. Thus, while sport policy and programs that target refugees and asylum-seekers (in both the 'global North' and 'global South') have often been overlooked when it comes to research under the SFD banner, it is clear such interventions can undergo the same theoretical and conceptual analysis as their 'traditional' SFD counterparts. As a result, for the purpose of this study a theoretical framework that has been suggested to develop a more realistic and meaningful understanding of SFD will guide my analysis and interpretations: the Capability Approach (Darnell and Dao, 2017, 2; Svensson and Levine, 2017, 906). In what follows, this framework and how it will be utilized throughout this thesis is explored.

Theoretical Framework: Why the Capability Approach?

While recent years have seen an increase in SFD research activity, and despite some notable exceptions (see Hayhurst, 2011, 2014, 2016; and Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011, 2012, 2014), it has been highlighted that theory building and

conceptualizations of theoretical frameworks for SFD remain a considerable knowledge gap in the literature (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 906; Darnell and Dao, 2017, 2). As a result, a number of critical scholars have argued that within the field of SFD there is a need for a theoretical framework through which to better understand the political practice by which sport might best contribute to development (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 906; Darnell and Dao, 2017, 2). In response to such calls, several scholars have advocated for connecting the Capability Approach (CA) as a theoretical model to guide both the research and practice of the SFD field (see: Svensson and Levine, 2017; Darnell and Dao, 2017). Darnell and Dao (2017), in particular, argue that the CA can 'contribute to an ethical conceptualization of sport's place within efforts to improve the lives of underserved people and communities' (2). Moreover, they highlight a myriad of potential benefits for the field of SFD in deploying such a theoretical framework including: 'contributing to a better theoretical understanding of the relationship between sport and development; providing a moral philosophy of development in response to the neo-colonial imposition of values and practices; providing a practical philosophy to curtail the 'displacement of scope' whereby micro-level SFD initiatives are presumed to have macro-level effects; and responding to calls for a better integration of development studies and development theory in the study and practice of SDP' (2). With these insights in mind, I explore the key tenents of the Capability Approach and expand on how I utilize this framework within this thesis.

The Capability Approach

The Capability Approach (CA), first delineated by Amaratya Sen, is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society (Robeyns, 2005, 94). At its core are two key claims: first the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and second, freedom to achieve well-being is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities, that is, their real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value (Robeyns, 2016, 1). Under this framework, the overriding objective of development is one that focuses on the expansion of human capabilities rather than mere economic growth (Bourgeois, 2009, 11). Here, capabilities are narrowly defined as a person’s ability to achieve and choose from varying functionings (what a person is able to be or do) or as a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being (Bourgeois, 2009, 12). In other words, the different combinations of functionings that one has the freedom to choose from are considered a person’s capabilities (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 909). The key distinction here between functionings and capabilities is between the realized and the effectively possible (Robeyns, 2005, 95); as Sen (1987) notes, ‘a functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve’ (36). In short then, the CA is concerned with understanding the extent to which an individual has the opportunity to possess and utilize a combination of functionings he or she values, in order to promote an overall state of well-being (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 909-910).

A key theoretical driving force behind the CA that needs to be acknowledged is that of human diversity. Here, the CA can be seen taking account of human diversity in at least two ways (Robeyns, 2016). Firstly, as Sen does not subscribe to a fixed or definitive list of functionings or capabilities, when using the CA approach, the selection and weighting of functionings and capabilities depend on personal value judgements (Clark, 2005, 5). Secondly, human diversity is stressed in the CA through its explicit focus on various personal, social and environmental factors that make possible the conversion of resources and/or commodities into functionings, as well as, on the social, institutional, and environmental context that affects such factors directly (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 909; Robeyns, 2005, 108). This emphasis on human diversity is important as it highlights how the mere presence of a resource (like a SFD program) does not mean an individual is able to achieve the functionings and capabilities they value, nor does it necessarily facilitate the same functionings or capabilities for all (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 910). In addition, it highlights the importance of understanding both the individual and local context when attempting to facilitate and assess human well-being (ibid.).

In applying a CA lens to SFD, the root of analysis becomes less about the use of sport to achieve particular development goals, and is more focused on how sport can help facilitate the expansion of basic freedoms or human capabilities (Darnell & Dao, 2017, 10). In using such a lens, SFD research is now concerned with exploring the capacity of sport participation to facilitate well-being; the quality of life that individuals are able to actually achieve through sport; and the

valued freedoms that individuals believe increase through sport participation. Moreover, in the specific context of refugees, sport, and settlement, a CA lens engages scholars into considering how (if at all) SFD programmes are contributing towards the expansion of meaningful choices and activities that refugees and asylum-seekers can accomplish in their respective lives to build more meaningful lives (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 917).

In the case of my own research, a CA lens is applied to examine how a potential 'ideal' SFD intervention (UGFC) impacts the formation of valued functionings and capabilities of refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement in Glasgow, Scotland. The purpose of this analysis is to isolate the experiences of refugee/asylum-seekers within such a sporting arena in order to better understand what aspects of participation they value and see contributing to their ability to procure various facets of well-being throughout their settlement. It should be noted, that by facets of well-being, I am referring to the various aspects that may go into supporting one's overall sense of well-being throughout the settlement process. For example, I am seeking to understand if participation in UGFC can facilitate functionings and capabilities that support the physical, emotional, social, spiritual, or even the economic well-being of its players. Here, this understating of well-being is central throughout this thesis, as achieving one or more of these facets is recognized as a means through which one can begin to achieve settlement. Finally, of mention, a CA lens is used throughout this thesis in order to isolate the tensions (personal, social, environmental) that exist both inside and outside UGFC, in order to explore the limitations sport may face in

attempting to facilitate well-being and support the settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers in in Glasgow, Scotland.

In summary, the CA as a framework offers a broad and comprehensive lens through which to interpret the findings of this thesis and centralize the experiences of refugee and asylum-seeker participants. However, in using such a framework it becomes essential to locate methods that similarly attempt to centralize the experiences of participants and allow for in-depth analysis into their lived circumstances. In addition, it has been highlighted in SFD literature that there is a need for research methodology to move beyond 'evaluative inquiries guided by positivistic frameworks' (Svensson and Levine, 2017, 917) and instead take steps 'towards profoundly more imaginative explorations of what sport offers to development and how it should be organized and deployed to meeting such goals' (Darnell, 2012, 154). Resultantly, in the following chapter, the research design and methodology used to complement the theoretical tenents outlined above are discussed.

RESEARCH PROCESS AND METHODS (CHAPTER THREE)

Considerations

Research in and around sport-for-development (SFD) has increased steadily since the first scholarly work in the field was conducted in the 1990s (Sherry et al., 2017, 69). However, as SFD has grown into an established and respected area of study, practical questions and concerns surrounding methodology, evaluation and evidence within the field have emerged. Specifically, scholars (e.g.: Kay, 2009, 2012; Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014; Hayhurst, 2016; Chawansky, 2015; Spaaij et alt, 2017; Sherry et alt., 2017) have come to question the largely uncritical acceptance and use of simplistic quantitative measures as a way to provide 'evidence' for the alleged 'success' of SFD (Sherry et alt., 2017, 71). Even more so, they have attempted to highlight how the use of such methodology and 'evidence' have worked to maintain relationships of inequality, power, and colonialism present within the field of SFD (Kay, 2012, Hayhurst, 2016; Chawansky, 2015; Spaaij et al., 2017; Sherry et alt., 2017). Resultantly, it is not surprising that there have been calls placed for the disruption of 'conventional' research processes in SFD (e.g. Hayhurst, 2016; Spaaij et alt, 2017; Sherry et alt., 2017) and calls for more critical engagement with meaningful methodological approaches that raise questions of power, reflexivity and decolonization (Kay, 2009, 2012; Chawansky, 2015).

In light of these conversations within the field of SFD, I decided to pursue a qualitative research process for my study. As Kay (2009) argues, qualitative research employs tools that facilitate reflexivity and can offer a first step towards

democratizing the research relationship (1180). In taking a qualitative, reflexive approach and through challenging the notion of 'expert knowledge' in the researcher-researched interaction, my research aimed to confront research practices embedded in power and some which derive from historically oppressive practices. While my voice is undoubtedly privileged throughout this thesis, in foregrounding reflexive forms of research, I strive to provide a platform for the expression of participants' understandings and knowledge when it comes to facilitating well-being through sport (Kay, 2009, 1190). In doing so, I hoped to go beyond the practice of simply rehearsing power differences and recognizing my social location as a white, middle-class female from Canada. Rather, I wish to ensure that the research outlined in this thesis disseminates a multiplicity of truths, particularly those truths that hold meaning for the individuals who so generously agreed to take part in this research (Hayhurst, 2011, 135/136).

Location and Demographics

Location

All interviews took place in Glasgow, Scotland. In total, 21 interviews[17] were conducted with players and volunteers of United Glasgow FC, as well as a professional footballer in Glasgow who self-identified as a refugee. In comparison, observations spanned two geographical locations: Glasgow, Scotland and Bologna, Italy. Bologna was included as an observation site upon being invited by UGFC to attend the Mondiali Antirazzisti (Antiracist World Cup) in Bologna, Italy from July 5th to 9th. The Mondiali Antirazzisti is an intercultural,

[17] For interview guide see: *Appendix A*

non-competitive, multisport festival organized to bring together football fans, migrant groups, anti-racist and human rights activists, as well as other informal groups of participants (Sterchele & Saint-Blancat, 2015, 2). Eleven volunteers and players attended the festival and were all citizens of the UK. The exclusion of refugee and asylum-seeking players from participating in this event was based on the visa requirements for both exiting the UK and entering Italy. Due to the asylum process in the UK, many players were not eligible for the necessary visas needed to travel.

It should be noted, that I had originally planned to include another grassroots football club*, Liberi Nantes* from Rome, Italy into my research. I was to spend a month in Rome with the club after attending the Mondiali Antirazzisti. However, while I managed to contact the team a few days before my arrival to Rome, ensuring their participation in my study, once in the city it took over two weeks to hear back from their program director. While managing to eventually conduct an interview with said director, I was unable to contact a single player from the club, as he was uncooperative in facilitating access to players[18]. As a result, I decided to exclude the interview from my analysis since it added little value to the case study of UGFC.

Demographics

UGFC is a multi-ethnic, grassroots football program that has welcomed players from over 50 countries over the past six years of its existence. The club

[18] After our initial meeting the program director said he would forward me players emails and telephone numbers so I could get into contact with them and set up interviews. However, after our initial meeting I never heard back from the director despite emailing him for several weeks.

currently hosts over 200 players, including people of all genders, sexual orientations, religions, ethnicities, socio-economic positions, and immigration statuses. As a result, the participants in this study were anything but homogenous, and similar to other collectives, not entirely cohesive (Bourgeois, 2009, 42). The players interviewed included male refugees, asylum-seekers, immigrants, migrants and UK citizens, ranging from 18-30 years of age. Players also came from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, with refugee and asylum-seeking players mainly migrating from countries in Africa and the Middle East (see *Table 3*). Most refugee and asylum-seeking players had family and kin support in Glasgow and had been in the city from 2 months to 2 ½ years. While I did not ask questions regarding religious affiliations, some participants mentioned that they were practicing Muslims. In addition, education and employment levels varied amongst this demographic, with most participants attending college classes for English[19]. It should be noted that in comparison to player participants, the four volunteer members interviewed were all heterosexual, white, male citizens from across the UK.

Presently, UGFC hosts three 11-a-side teams (two for men, one for women) playing in diverse leagues across Glasgow. They also run three community drop-in training sessions per week (one for men, one for women, one mixed gender), where anyone is welcome to join regardless of footballing ability. For my thesis, the participant pool for my interviews was drawn from one of the men's teams at UGFC. The reason for this was two-fold. First, the male focus of

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[19] Proficiency in English varied amongst players from non-conversational to conversational. However, all refugee and asylum-seeking players were fluent in at least one other language than English, such as, Arabic, Kurdish, Lingala, French, or Swahili.

my research stems from the fact that the women's program did not have any refugee or asylum-seeking participants. The club has tried at recruiting this demographic of women but has had little success at getting refugee and asylum-seeking women involved[20]. Second, upon my arrival to Glasgow, only one of the men's team had begun pre-season training. Resultantly, this ended up being the team with whom I initially began the research process and built rapport with over my initial month in the field. The other male team did began training throughout the final month of my field research, however, I felt the level of rapport and trust I had gained with my original participants could not be replicated with this 'new' team in such a brief time span and would not add anything significant to my findings.

Focusing in on the one male team also allowed for interesting observation opportunities. The team with whom I conducted my research trained at the same time/facility as the male community drop-in program. Many refugee and asylum-seeking players begin in the drop-in program, with those who are interested in playing more competitively, eventually getting shifted into one of the UGFC teams. In being able to simultaneously observe these programs in action, I was able to grasp a fuller picture of how UGFC functions on varying levels as a club for refugee and asylum-seekers and how they attempt to cater to the various needs of its diverse participants.

During my time in the field, I also had the opportunity to interview a professional footballer in Glasgow who self-identified as a refugee. He currently

[20] For some current discussions surrounding minority women's involvement in sport see: Walseth & Fasting (2004); Walseth (2006); Maxwell & Taylor (2010) and Spaaij (2015).

plays for a club that competes in the Scottish Premiership, one of the three Scottish professional clubs in Glasgow. A volunteer at UGFC who happened to also work for the professional club helped to facilitate the interview. While this participant's experiences do not speak directly to the research context, his interview did touch on many of the themes discussed throughout this thesis. As a result, I have included his interview as a way to illuminate some of the key conversations going on throughout the thesis from an outsider perspective.

Table 1: Research Participants

Who	Origin	Gender	Age
4 UGFC Volunteers	Scotland (2); England (2)	Male	Aged 25-30
10 UGFC Refugee and Asylum-seeking Players	Kenya/Burundi (1); Syria (2); Kurdistan (1); Sudan (5); Democratic Republic of Congo (1)	Male	Aged 18-25
2 UGFC Immigrant Players	Ivory Coast/Italy (1); China (1)	Male	Aged 26-30
4 UGFC UK Players	Scotland (2); England (1)	Male	Aged 20-28
1 Professional Player	Sierra Leone (1)	Male	N/A

Table 2: Participant ID

Participant ID	Volunteer or Player
Gavin	Volunteer
Calum	Volunteer
Omar	Player
Thomas	Volunteer
Charlie	Player
Yousef	Player
Blaine	Player
Davide	Player
Salim	Player
Oliver	Volunteer
Professional Player	N/A
Michael	Player
Jamal	Player
Aran	Player
Fahim	Player
Idris	Player
Rashid	Player
Christian	Player
Nathan	Player
Stewart	Player

Data Collection

Ethics

This research project was reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Subcommittee, York University's Ethics Review Board and also conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethic guidelines. All participants gave their oral consent to be involved. The strictly voluntary nature of their participation was stressed, and it was made clear that should participants wish to stop their involvement at any stage of the research, there would be no penalty upon withdrawal. The reasoning behind choosing oral consent was based on working with refugee/asylum-seeking participants for whom there are extensive issues around cultural respect, linguistic comprehension, translation and levels of literacy. As a result, I sought verbal consent and recorded it at the beginning of each interview, so not to make assumptions surrounding literacy levels or run the risk of making participants feel uncomfortable/embarrassed.

Collection Process

Primary data were collected mainly via traditional elements of qualitative inquiry, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, between May and August of 2017. Prior to data collection, I spent my first weeks in Glasgow establishing relationships and building rapport through regularly attending UGFC's training sessions, games and the club's various events (e.g., UGFC awards night, political marches, 'birthday weekend' activities). Training sessions and games on average lasted 2 hours, and each occurred once weekly. This meant, on average, I engaged with UGFC volunteers and players for 4 hours per week.

While this time was limited I attempted to make the most of my encounters with participants chatting with them on the sidelines of practice and games and even getting involved with training sessions[21]. This slowly allowed for a sense of familiarity to build amongst participants and myself, and for instance, upon returning from my fieldwork in Rome, I discovered that several players had been curious about my absence and were questioning about my return (Fieldnotes, August 9th, 2017).

In the initial weeks of research, I also discussed with the club director the intentions of my research project and the type of participants I wished to interview. He, alongside other volunteer coaches, acted as gatekeepers for the research process. For the volunteers at UGFC, it was of utmost importance that no player felt like they had to take part in the research process. This stemmed from the club working off of a 'pay what you can' basis and volunteers not wanting players feeling pressured into interviewing as a way of 'paying back' the club. In addition, as I did not offer any form of reciprocity (e.g. a financial payment) for participants' time, I wanted to ensure that all players felt completely comfortable and willing to take part in the research process. As a result, coaches would first explain my research to a group of players, and out of those who felt comfortable/willing to participate, I was then able to request interviews.

Originally, I intended to only interview two main participant groups at UGFC: the refugee/asylum-seeking players and the volunteers. However, after spending an extended amount of time with the club and better understanding its

[21] My role at training sessions and the potential challenges this presented is further expanded on in section: *Challenges, Positionality and Potential Bias.*

makeup, I quickly realized key voices from the program were missing from my analysis. Thus, I expanded my interviewing categories to include not only volunteers and refugee and asylum-seeking players at UGFC, but also the other players involved in the program (migrant, immigrant and local players). As such, I took up a purposive sampling approach in the selection of interviewees, in order to include the varying voices present at the club (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, 77).

Semi-Structured Interviews

I chose to draw on interview methodologies as they typically aim for depth and detailed understanding over breadth and coverage (McDowell, 2010, 3). Specifically, semi-structured interviews were used in order to examine the experiences of volunteers and players involved in a multi-ethnic grassroots football program for refugees and asylum-seekers, and to discover respondents' own meanings and interpretations of settlement through sport (Longhurst, 2003, 145). Interviews were semi-structured in that I had pre-set questions, but they were open-ended, allowing participants to direct their responses (Stinson, 2017, 34) (see *Appendix A*). This varied the order/number of questions asked and allowed for more interactive and reflexive exchange to occur (McDowell, 2010, 8). In addition, interview questions were often amended or added throughout the research process, as participant responses brought new issues or considerations to my attention. This was a major benefit in using a semi-structured interview protocol: its flexibility allowed for participants to hold a level of influence over the interview process (McDowell, 2010, 10).

All interviews were transcribed, and participants were anonymised using pseudonyms (see *Table 2*). Here, It should be noted that when assigning pseudonyms, I made an effort to choose names that reflected the cultural and ethnonational background of participants. Interview content varied according to the interviewees; however, general themes included, club structure, perceptions and attitudes toward settlement/integration, and the perceived benefits or detriments that came with participation in UGFC for refugee and asylum-seeking players. All interviews were performed in English, with three participants requesting to have a translator present (see section: *Translators*). Interviews ranged from 10[22] to 120 minutes in length and all, except three[23], were audio recorded. In addition, notes were recorded throughout and/or post interviews in order to recall the general tone of the interview and key themes that emerged (Longhurst, 2003, 150). These notes proved particularly useful in helping reflect on potential issues arising from my positionality throughout the interview process, which varied greatly depending on the different social relations present between the participant and myself (Finaly, 2002, 220). The potential ethical dilemmas and issues that arose throughout the research due to positionality are further explored under *Challenges, Positionality and Potential Bias.*

Most interviews were conducted in a private one-one setting, with the exception of the three interviews involving translators and one group interview

[22] Some of my initial interviews were short in length (10- 20 minutes) due to myself not having yet adjusted to performing interviews. For example, in some of my initial interviews, players answered my set of interview questions rather quickly and at that time I did not feel comfortable pressing for more answers. This was an obstacle I quickly had to overcome in the field, as I learned this was just one set of power dynamics I had to negotiate within an interview setting. Thoughts on such negotiations are further explored in the section: *Challenges, Positionality and Potential Bias.*

[23] Three of the interviews were not recorded at the request of the participants who preferred I took notes by hand.

that involved three player participants. Here it should be noted that the group interview came about by chance and was unexpected. On this particular occasion, I was invited to a coffee shop by a volunteer coach who happened to be hanging out with three players post a UGFC event. Before the interview process started, I asked the players if they would rather interview alone or together and they decided as a group to each interview separately but wanted to still all hang around at the table[24]. Resultantly, throughout the group interview players were interviewed one at a time and followed the same interview guide used in the one-one setting. However, what was unique about this setting was that the three participants often cut in on each other's interviews to crack jokes or add embellishment to their peers' responses. Here, I do recognize that the presence of peers may have worked to skew some of the players' responses or led to answers that may not have been given in a one-one setting. Nevertheless, given that two out of the three players appeared particularly shy before the interviews took place, I believe the use of a group setting helped to provide a sense of support to these individuals who may have been intimidated by the research process or by myself (Bourgeois, 2009, 44).

In terms of interview location, almost all interviews were conducted at the UGFC training facility, with the exception of the one group interview that took place at a local coffee shop post a UGFC event. Here, such locations appeared to be chosen by participants due to their proximity to UGFC practices, games or events. The potential limitations/ethical implications of conducting interviews at

[24] The coach left to run errands while I interviewed the participants.

the UGFC training site were considered and steps were taken to create a safe/secure environment for the interview process (Elwood & Martin, 2000, 656). These steps included holding the interviews in a private, quiet and secure room, and reiterating to players that their anonymity and confidentiality throughout the research process is of utmost importance. Despite these steps, I am aware of the potential dilemmas that came with interviewing players at the UGFC training facility. Some of these include but are not limited to: the presence of coach/player power dynamics, the potential fear of anonymity, and a fear of disclosing any negative information surrounding the club, peers, or volunteers. Nevertheless, given that players chose to be interviewed at this site must be taken into consideration. As Elwood & Martin (2000) note:

> Participants who are given a choice about where they will be interviewed may feel more empowered in their interaction with the researcher, and the researcher has an opportunity to examine participant's choices for clues about the social geographies of the places where research is being carried out (655).

Translators

Although not originally anticipated, translators were used for three interviews. While most players at UGFC were comfortable conducting interviews in English, three players requested to have a friend or family member present to aid with translation. Thus, two translators ended up assisting me across these three interviews. One translator was the wife of a player, and the other was a player on UGFC whom I had previously interviewed. Before the interviews took place, both translators were informed of the ethics protocol and their necessary compliance with maintaining the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. They also

gave their verbal consent to take part in the interview process.

Both benefits and drawbacks came with using translators. For the most part throughout the interviews, participants understood and responded on their own to the questions I posed. However, there were several instances where clarification was needed both on behalf of the participants and myself. This is where the role of the translators became crucial and added validity to my research, as they were able to clarify any misconceptions and/or misunderstandings taking place. In addition, in the case of the two interviews where the translator present was a friend and also a player on UGFC, the interviews became a space in which player dynamics and friendships could be analyzed (Elwood & Martin, 2000, 653). Nevertheless, despite these benefits, there were some potential ethical concerns tied to the use of translators, in particular the use of English as my main mode of communication (Hayhurst, 2016).

Ethical Concerns of Translation

As Temple and Young (2002) note, for people who do not speak the dominant language in a country, the idea that language is power is easy to understand - if you cannot give voice to your needs, you become dependent on those who can speak the relevant language to speak for you (164). This act of translation becomes an inherently political act, as speaking on behalf of others involves the loss of one's agency over dialect, priorities, knowledge and understanding (Temple & Young, 2002, 165; West, 2005, 102). Furthermore, when English is centered as the dominant language that one needs to speak to be heard, questions surrounding the establishment and maintenance of hierarchical,

colonial relationships come to light (Temple & Young, 2002, 167; Kim, 2013, 354). Together these ethical concerns surfaced throughout the interview process with both refugee/asylum-seeking players and immigrant/migrant players. In particular, I was conscious of the relationship between 'belonging' and language that is so often preached in the Western world; more specifically, the long history of forced and coerced assimilation of immigrants and Indigenous people with regard to language and cultural difference (Warriner, 2007, 345).

As a result, given that English was used as my main form of communication throughout the interview process, I took several steps to try and disrupt the potential hierarchical relationships this may have created between many participants and myself. Some of these steps included: offering the option to have a translator present, transcribing interviews verbatim, using literal spelling in order to best capture linguistic variety (Bailey, 2008, 129), and ensuring to make little to no grammatical changes to errors/inconsistencies when transcribing the interview content (Mero-Jaffe, 201, 237). Ultimately, I am aware that my transcripts are far from a neutral record of the events and conversations that occurred, as my written representations do reflect my own interpretations (Bailey, 2008, 129). Moreover, in using English as my main mode of communication, I am certain questions/answers got lost in translation and that I prevented several participants from fully expressing themselves. Nevertheless, in taking the steps mentioned above, I hope to have created transcriptions that best amplify the voice of the research participants and that clearly convey their thoughts and opinions.

Participant Observation

As discussed above, language is far from a neutral conveyer of meaning or 'truths', leading to my decision to include participant observation[25] into my research methodology (Watson & Till, 2010, 7). In this way, participant observation of volunteers and players at UGFC in multiple sites (games, training, team events, etc.) was used to contextualize data from interviews, resulting in an overlapping dialogue between the data sets (Hayhurst, 2011, 117). Specifically, data collected during participant observation was often used to confirm, challenge, and explore information collected throughout participant interviews. For example, throughout several interviews participants would mention that they enjoyed participating with UGFC because they got to create social ties with people of different cultural, religious and geographical backgrounds from their own. However, upon reflecting on my fieldnotes, I was able to challenge/build on this finding as I noted that at practice and games players appeared to most often cluster and hang out with those of similar cultural and religious backgrounds. Moreover, throughout participant observation, I also chatted informally with participants (on the sidelines at practice and games or at team events) in an attempt to find out more about the everyday experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, which in turn helped to illuminate and even confirm some of the key themes that emerged throughout interviews.

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[25] Throughout this thesis, participant observation is understood to be a research method through which one observes, and even partakes in, the daily activities, rituals, interactions and events of a group of people as a means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture (Musante & DeWalt, 2010, 1).

As aforementioned under *Locations and Demographics*, observation took place across two field sites. In Glasgow, I was able to observe team dynamics between volunteers/players, volunteers/volunteers, players/players and UGFC/other teams. In addition, as new players arrived weekly, for a brief period I was able to witness how players transitioned into the environment. Lastly, observation of the local setting in Glasgow, allowed for a greater understanding of the social world in which UGFC operates and into which refugee/asylum-seeking players were expected to settle. In comparison, my time in Bologna allowed for the opportunity to witness how volunteers from UGFC attempted to network with other similar clubs and engage in the practice of political activism. In particular, with over 174 football teams, clubs and organizations present at the Mondiali Antirazzisti, it was a highlight to observe such a large number of people come together to discuss how to tackle issues surrounding social exclusion, racism, fascism, and corporatization present in football. While many of the observations made at the Mondiali do not speak directly to this research project *per se*, in my mind it did confirm the importance of this research, as I was able to witness the sheer number of teams/clubs/programs working to support refugee and asylum-seeker settlement through sport.

In an attempt to make observation more of a relational activity and break down the researcher/researched dichotomy, I participated in some training sessions and games, as well as, participated in a number of volunteer acts throughout the club. As Watson and Till (2010) note: "Only by participating with others can

ethnographers better understand lived, sensed, experienced, and emotional worlds" (11). Fieldnotes could not be recorded during these occasions, however, forcing my observations to be recorded once the sessions were complete. In all other cases, fieldnotes were recorded throughout the observations process.

Photos/Videos

Another important extension to the research approach was the collection of photos and short video clips of UGFC training sites and activities. Consent to record was collected at the beginning of each UGFC training sessions, game or event, where a volunteer coach would ask those present if they felt comfortable being recorded and would explain my research and what the photos/videos could be used for.[26] All photos/videos were shot on an iPhone 6s and allowed for a deeper insight into the variety of program locations, participants, and activities being undertaken (Sherry et alt., 2017, 76). In addition, this method of data collection has been used as *de facto* photographic/videographic journal, adding another source to draw on when reflecting on my time in the field (ibid.). In particular, it has been interesting to reflect on what photos I chose to take, how they were framed and why I felt they were important moments to capture (Watson & Till, 2010, 7/8). Finally, often at the request of volunteers and players I filmed or photographed practices, games and team celebrations. Players often requested photos for their personal use, whereas volunteers wanted photos and videos for promotional purposes. In the end, filming and photographing was seen as an opportunity to give something back to those at UGFC who had been benevolent

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[26] On every occasion, everyone present consented to being photographed/recorded.

enough to let me into their club and talk to me about their public and private lives (Spaaij, 2013, 11).

Data Analysis

Raw data can be very interesting to look at, yet they do not help the researcher to understand the social world under scrutiny, and the way the participants view it, until they have been systematically analysed, coded and categorized to illuminate an existent situation (Basit, 2003, 144). For my coding process, I used NVivo 8 to code and organize my interviews. NVivo 8 is a qualitative data analysis software program that allows the researcher to select and categorize blocks of text into themes that have emerged (Hayhurst, 2011, 123). Interview transcripts were first transferred to Nvivo 8 software and then coded using nodes. "Nodes" are simply ways of labeling text that is being analyzed, or a system used by researchers to place meaning on various parts of the text (ibid.). I began the coding process with the players' interviews, as I wanted to draw on their perspectives to guide the themes that emerged from the UGFC volunteers. Drawing on the work of Hayhurst (2011), this was an attempt to begin my analysis in a way that disrupted power relations present within the program and amplify the voices of those who are said to be experiencing 'settlement through sport'.

Fieldnotes were also incorporated into the coding process, however, they were not coded under Nvivo 8. These notes were first transferred to a MS Word file and then cross-referenced with the 'nodes' established from my interview transcripts. From here, I was then able to reflect on my initial analysis of

interview transcripts and tease out data from the fieldnotes that either challenged or supported the themes established from my interviews.

For my coding process, I conducted a constant comparison analysis. To perform a constant comparison analysis, the researcher first reads through the complete set of data, then chunks the data into smaller meaningful parts giving each chunk a descriptive title or a 'code' (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007, 565). Throughout this analysis strategy, I undertook both deductive (i.e. codes are identified prior to analysis and then looked for in the data) and inductive (i.e. codes emerge from the data) coding (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007, 565). My coding was deductive as I used several interview questions (e.g. 'How do you mitigate barriers to accessing your program for refugees and asylum-seekers?') to guide the development of certain themes (e.g., 'Removing barriers to access'). However, my coding was also inductive as some codes emerged from the data (e.g. Travel and Trips'). It is important to note that throughout the coding process, each new set of data was compared to codes that were previously made so similar chunks could be labeled with the same code. In addition, with volunteer and player interviews being analyzed separately, I made sure to cross-reference codes in order to find commonalities and contradictions across their responses.

After all the data had been coded, the codes were grouped by similarity, and a theme was identified and documented based on each grouping (ibid). These themes were then grouped into four various categories (Facilitating Well-being, Perceived and Achieved Functionings, Identity and Belonging, Tensions and Considerations) that connected back to the research question (i.e. to what extent

does sport facilitate or undermine facets of well-being among refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, Scotland?). In the end, I believe I was able to draw a clear connection between my research question and my findings, which is outlined in the following chapters.

Challenges, Positionality and Potential Bias

Throughout my time in the field, the nature of the research process imposed multiple identities and role relationships upon myself. My attempts to negotiate various positionalities proved ongoing and complex with multiple binaries becoming present including, researcher/researched, female/male, Western (White)/non-Western, non-religious/religious, and finally in terms of citizen/non-citizen (Bourgeois, 2009, 39). However, my background as a life-long athlete and avid footballer proved useful in helping to break down barriers and build rapport with participants. Knowledge of football terminology, footballing norms and the international game/players proved critical in creating a more comfortable environment for interactions and interviews to take place. My in-depth familiarity with football also provided a crucial background for participant observation as it allowed me to ask appropriate questions surrounding the structural makeup of both practice sessions and games, as well as, to better understand the interpersonal dynamics that took place in both settings. My footballing ability also helped to build rapport with many participants, as they saw me participating in games and practices, proving my legitimacy as a footballer/football researcher[27].

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[27] After a team loss, one participant called out to me saying: 'Next time we need you to play with us!'

Immersion into the research site allowed for personal interactions with participants, yet this led to the boundaries between researcher and respondent to often become blurred (Dickson-Swift et alt., 2006; Spaaij, 2013). The positionality issues arising from such immersion are best captured through Spaaij's (2013) immersion research with a Somali football club in Australia. For Spaaij (2013), like myself, his initial ambiguous statuses in the field caused players to question the particular role(s) performed (11). Like Spaaij (2013), players often queried whether I was a coach, a scout, a reporter, a researcher or someone's friend or colleague (ibid.)[28]. The blurring of boundaries continued as club volunteers requested me to perform certain tasks in light of a perceived shortage of volunteers (ibid). These tasks included distributing kit and boots at practice, demonstrating and participating in drills, administrative assistance and photography for the club. As Spaaij (2013) notes, 'From the researcher's perspective, this request [is] a fair research bargain and an opportunity to give something back to those who were generous enough to talk to [you] about their public and private lives' (ibid.). In addition, performing these tasks allowed the opportunity to further build trust and rapport among participants. Nevertheless, the various roles, which I established within the research setting, can also be perceived as contributing to potential conflicts of interests or ethical dilemmas (Shuttleworth, 2001, 104).

First and foremost, the potential conflicts I saw arising from holding multiple roles in the field were feelings of misunderstanding, deception or

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[28] These questions were posed in my initial month of research. Some player participants later mentioned they thought I was a scout or journalist because I was 'always taking notes'.

exploitation amongst my participants (Spaaij, 2013, 11). In order to mitigate such feelings, all participants were informed of my role as a participant observer at games, training sessions and team events. In cases where participants disclosed relevant information that was not shared under the premise of research, or I doubted they understood the context under which they were sharing information, permission was explicitly requested to use the information as de-identified data (Spaaij, 2013, 12).

Another conflict throughout the research process arose due to the closeness I had established with volunteers at UGFC. As Funder (2005) notes, through intimacy, we automatically become enrolled in local power relations (6). Thus, due to the increasing closeness I achieved with the club over the summer, I am conscious of the power dynamics such intimacy may have caused. While I do acknowledge that participants may have withheld thoughts or reframed their perspectives regardless of my perceived closeness with volunteers or not, I have had to ask myself - how often did participants withhold information based on perceived closeness with those 'in charge'? In order to confront such potential bias in responses, I attempted to make clear the purpose of my research and emphasize participant confidentiality and protection at the beginning of each interview session.

Finally, my own assumptions and biases were certainly present throughout the research. This thesis was based off my own interest and experience (generally positive) with sport, more specifically football. As a result, throughout the research process, I have drawn on my own experiences with sport to guide the

course of questioning and the route of analysis of the research. These biases aren't inherently detrimental to the research, as Bourdieu (1992) suggests that, when seeking to understand the social practices of others, we may often gain important insights by referring more to our *own* non-academic experiences than the academic ones (cited in Funder, 2005, 4). Nevertheless, this draws attention to another source of bias evident throughout the research, namely my role as an academic. While I attempted to enter the field with 'open ears and mind', my experiences as an academic and athlete did hold influence over my construction of the empirical field and my understanding of what took place within it (Funder, 2004, 4). In the end, I hope to have challenged some of these constructions by adopting a reflexive practice throughout the research.

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The proceeding chapters provide a platform for the voice of the research participants from United Glasgow FC. Drawing on fieldwork data, the following chapters discuss and reframe the research findings pertaining to four key categories: facilitating well-being, perceived and achieved functionings, identity and belonging, and tensions and considerations. These categories have been derived from the relevant literature discussed, together with participant responses to question emerging from the literature. My experiences and observations from the field also comprise the ensuing conversations and analysis. Collectively, the findings discussed in these chapters are used to address my research question, which aims to critically understand to what extent sport may facilitate or

undermine facets of well-being among male refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement in Glasgow, Scotland

Facilitating Well-being (CHAPTER FOUR)

In this chapter, I summarize the key features of UGFC, as recounted by participants and consider how as a SFD program, it takes important steps to actualize the potential of sport for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement. Using the suggestions put forth by Spaaij (2015)[29] as a guideline, I examine three findings in relation to fostering a sporting arena that supports settlement, which include removing barriers to access, integration discourses, and travel/trips. Through these examples, I submit that UGFC adopts important ways of operating an SFD program for male refugee and asylum-seekers that in turn opens up opportunities for facilitating various facets of well-being throughout the settlement process.

Theme 1: Removing Barriers to Access

One of the first steps UGFC takes in an attempt to actualize the potential of sport for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement is to mitigate barriers that may prevent access to the club. This is significant given that according to the literature on 'settlement through sport', refugees and asylum-seekers face barriers that are different from, or more pronounced than, the general population (Oliff, 2008; Spaaij, 2013). In the case of UGFC, both volunteers and players highlighted personal, mediating and structural barriers to accessing football within the context of Glasgow, Scotland. These barriers included financial constraints, non-sport obligations, racism and discrimination, and language. Amongst volunteers

[29] A summary of Spaaij's (2013) central suggestions is as follows: i) Personal, mediating and structural barriers to sport must be acknowledged and addressed; ii) Refugee settlement needs to be understood as a two-way process of mutual accommodation at all levels of the community sport sector; iii) Ongoing cross-cultural awareness and diversity education training is necessary throughout the program; iv) A proactive approach to reducing and preventing discrimination in sport needs to be developed and maintained (29).

however, the most emphasized barriers to football identified, and which they attempted to mitigate, were financial, discriminatory, and language based.

Financial Barriers

In regards to financial barriers, several participants noted the unique financial constraints both refugee and asylum-seeking players face. In particular, a lack of stable employment and a resulting financial insecurity were discussed. As Oliver (volunteer) noted,

> Many of our refugees and asylum-seekers are in no work or sporadic work and therefore find financial commitments daunting if not a full barrier. They are very much conscious of the expense of football.

Here, the lack of stable employment mentioned stems from the fact that asylum-seekers in the UK are generally not allowed access to paid employment (see Chapter One). Moreover, for refugees, who can access employment opportunities once status is achieved, finding work can be difficult when facing challenges such as, language and cultural barriers, lack of recognition for accreditation, and discrimination (Duke, 1996, 469). In fact, in the case of this research study, only 4 out of 10 refugee and asylum-seeking players interviewed were currently employed. In this light then, it makes sense that the financial commitment involved with participating in a football club like UGFC (e.g. weekly cost of training and playing games, transport to and from games and the buying of equipment) can become a factor influencing refugee and asylum-seeker participation.

Resultantly, in response to such a barrier to participation, UGFC has sought to provide an affordable, low-threshold football club. Currently, the club

works off a 'pay-what-you-can' basis and provides those participants who need equipment with the necessary training and playing gear[30]. From my understanding, the club has been able to function off this model due to a variety of sponsorship, funding, and donations from various supporter and charity groups. In addition, on several occasions the key role volunteers have played in covering a host of costs for the club was mentioned. As Calum (volunteer) notes,

> The model in which we've done things has changed a lot over the years. I mean, when we first started out it was a case of being able to provide things like football boots where we could and covering the cost of games where we could. So, ya'know, for example, we did have other football supporters groups here and in Germany and other kinds of charities and trade unions putting money towards, to keeping us going. Or otherwise you're talking volunteers or coaches putting in money to cover the deficit in games every week, which unfortunately happened for far too long with some of our volunteers. So ya, it was basically trying to take away that, take away that cost from the people and point it back to us. Ehm, I think that, ya'know, we take away the cost at the point of access but the cost has to be met somewhere. So, we've managed to do that over the last couple years through sponsorship and fundraising and what not. Ehm, and also like we've done some pretty public appeals for boots and kits and all that sort of stuff.

While it is clear from this passage that an array of actors have helped to keep the club financially afloat over the years (e.g. football supporters groups, charities, trade unions, volunteers, and the general public), what is missing from the conversation is mention of the financial contributions players have also made to the club.

Again, given that the club works off a 'pay-what-you-can' basis, no player has to contribute financially to UGFC. However, there is an expectation that if

[30] The challenges this model presents for the club are further explored in Chapter Six.

you are working or in a financially comfortable position you would contribute in some form. As Thomas notes,

> Ehm people come and they can pay whatever they can, so people that are kind of working like myself are kind of expected to chip in a bit more, or what you'd normally pay for a football per team, than those that can't.

From my observations such financial contributions were not enforced. Instead players were asked to chip in, if possible, what they could at the end of training sessions. At the training sessions I attended, I observed that a small number of players who were from Scotland or those from an immigrant/migrant background tended to contribute some form of a financial donation each week[31]. Here, it should be mentioned that as far as I am aware all these players were employed[32]. Further, I would like to note that these observations do not signify that refugee and asylum-seeking players are never understood contributing to the club. In fact, in an interview with Gavin (volunteer), he mentions how several players often end up making financial contributions once employed or once status is received,

> We've certainly seen as well that players who come along who, while they are trying to get status, who can't afford to contribute, which is ya'know what the team is there for, once people start working ehm, they're so keen to put money back in because - one of the guys said that 'you were there for me when I needed it because other people paid, so I wanna pay now so someone else can ya'know get involved.

It is worth noting that equipment was also a noticeable and valuable resource that the club was able to provide, with eight out of the ten[33] refugee/asylum-seeking players interviewed noting that they borrowed playing

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[31] These donations appeared to range from 1-5 pounds per person.

[32] The players I witnessed contributing I had interviewed and/or had informal conversations with in which they disclosed that they were currently employed.

[33] One player did not state if he borrowed gear and another had come to Glasgow with his own playing equipment.

equipment (boots, shin pads, shorts, tops) at some point during their participation with the club. Throughout my time at training, I also observed that equipment was loaned out at every session, with new incoming players often excited at the chance to be able to participate with the proper footballing gear. In most cases, new incoming refugee and asylum-seeking players would show up to training simply in their 'every day' wear (e.g. jeans, sneakers and a t-shirt) ready and willing to play. While one could train with UGFC and not necessarily need the appropriate footballing gear (such as shin pads or cleats), if one wanted to participate in league play such equipment was necessary. In this light, by providing an opportunity to borrow equipment, they reduce another cost that refugee and asylum-seeking players may face when trying to access football.

Discrimination

Concerning the barrier of discrimination, UGFC takes a multifaceted anti-discrimination stance (anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-islamophobia, anti-sectarianism, pro-LGTBQ+), as it perceives several forms of social exclusion existing within Scottish football. This is significant given that refugees and asylum-seekers are not a homogenous group of peoples and thus may face multiple forms of discrimination when trying to access a club. As Oliver (volunteer) notes,

> I think that there is an element of diversity amongst the refugee and asylum-seeker community that gets overlooked. So, when we say 'oh this program is designed for refugees and asylum-seekers' as though that is homogenous and therefore one approach would work for all. I don't think that works well and I think Glasgow does poorly in that regard, um doesn't necessarily appreciate the variety of needs.

In light of such critique, UGFC takes a number of steps in an attempt to actualize its anti-discrimination stance and accommodate for a diversity of needs within the club.

First, the club attempts to make its stance visible by having phrases such as '*Refugees Welcome'* and the LGBTQ+ rainbow flag displayed on all the club's jerseys, banners, websites and pamphlets (see *Appendix B and C*). Next, they attempt to engage in community activism that is linked to their causes, often partaking in a variety of political marches, tournaments, and anti-discrimination events. In the summer of 2017, I was able to attend and witness such community activism on three separate occasions at the Glasgow Pride March (Glasgow, Scotland), the Mondiali Antirazzisti (Bologna, Italy), and the Govan Hill Anti-Racism March (Glasgow, Scotland). Finally, the club has also introduced 'education days' as a way to disseminate the club's politics, values and views amongst its varying participants and to prevent instances of discrimination within the club.

Here, it should be noted, that I found the concept of 'education days' the most interesting aspect of the club's anti-discrimination work and believe it is in need of being critically unpacked. As discussed in Chapter Two, the notion of 'education through sport' has been a point of contention within the SFD movement. Specifically, it has often been seen as a tool of 'reeducation/assimilation' through which ideals of Western liberal values and behaviors are enforced (Paraschak, 1995,7-8; Giulianotti, 2004, 357). This is why Spaaij (2015) has suggested that there is a need for 'ongoing cross-cultural

awareness and diversity education training' in order to foster and promote more inclusive sport spaces for refugees and asylum-seekers (Spaaij, 29). In this light, when an SFD program for refugees and asylum-seekers situated in a Western, 'developed' context introduces an educational element to their program, there is a need for critical analysis.

In the case of UGFC, the education days are open to all members of the club and are actively encouraged. The curriculum of the 'education days' includes conversations surrounding the various political stances of the club, such as pro-refugee/asylum-seekers, anti-sexism and pro-LGBTQ and why the club thinks these stances are important. There are also additional discussions surrounding the settlement context in Glasgow, LGBTQ+ issues, and sexism in sport. Typically volunteers or players in the club lead these 'education days', but they have also had workshops run by guest speakers.

All players are encouraged to attend the event, however one volunteer noted that they observed mainly refugee and asylum-seeking players taking part in the activity (Oliver). In the case of the sixteen player participants I interviewed, only five had attended the education days (three refugee/asylum-seekers, two Glaswegians), yet almost all of these participants were aware of the politics of the club. Out of the five players that had attended the education days, most were receptive to the club's politics, agreeing that they were an important factor to creating a 'welcoming environment' for refugee and asylum-seeking players. In particular, one participant noted the ways in which the 'education days' have

improved understandings of the realities refugees and asylum-seekers face throughout the club:

> I was always interested in, anti-racism and things like that going on in Glasgow and I don't think you fully get to understand those narrative or ya'know what people have been through and how important it is for like the right to work to be changed, housing, and ehm I definitely think other Glaswegian lads or Glaswegian people on the team have kind of come to understand quite quickly the realities and you' know what they saw on the news or what they see in the papers or what they get told by their parents or other people when they were growing up, their teachers or what not, their narratives[34] weren't always true. Ehm but I definitely think that a lot of the Glaswegian folk on the team have changed their perception and um understand just the challenges and what the charities that work with the club and stuff have always tried to tackle (Stewart, player).

Only one participant did not appear receptive to the club's politics[35], noting a sense of discomfort with some of the club's anti-discrimination stances,

> Doesn't matter for me but the sexism [anti-sexism] I don't like it. Not my responsibility. I am free in myself. I, in myself, don't like it. I don't have this in my culture or religion. You cannot say do this, yes, I just come for football that is it (Jamal, player)

> I don't like that we wear the rainbow on our jerseys, this stuff is not in my religion or culture and I don't like this stuff (Jamal, player).

This in turn led me to question the anti-discrimination work of the club. More specifically I wondered at what point does the 'social inclusion' work of UGFC potentially lead to a sense of 'social exclusion' amongst some of its players? This also appeared to be a question that one volunteer contemplated, as he noted the 'Western-centric' focus of the club's politics,

> Our agenda is, is very Western-centric. It's also very middle class. It's also at times, more about establishing intricate and absolutist positions of perfect rightness, which I can see the appeal for and have often been guilty

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[34] This participant later clarified what he meant by 'their narratives' noting he meant the negative rhetoric that circulated on refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants (i.e. they are lazy, illegal, stealing jobs, dangerous, thugs).

[35] Jamal was also one of the participants who had not attended any education days.

> of doing so myself. Um and I don't say there is no value in that, I do think there is value in that. But sometimes these aims are achieved at a cost of a collective sense of purpose (Oliver).

Here, if we consider this quote alongside the comments made by Jamal, one could draw conclusions that UGFC is (un)intentionally repeating the practice of using sport as a tool for the 're-education' or 'assimilation' of their participants. In particular, it looks as if at some level they are hoping participants will pursue the same political stances they uphold. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether UGFC advances a 'Western-centric' agenda. For example, adopting stances such as anti-sexism or pro-LGBTQ+ are not necessarily Western based; to believe such only reinforces an East/West binary and strengthens the notion of Western cultural hegemony in issues like sexual politics (Binnie & Klesse, 2016). Further, given that all volunteers interviewed (and Jamal) iterated the voluntary nature of taking part in both the club's 'education days' and other anti-discrimination events, I believe it is tenuous to uphold claims of 're-education' or 'assimilation' through sport.

Resultantly, I posit that the 'education days' should be considered an important tool UGFC uses to help facilitate inclusion and create a welcoming and supportive sporting environment for refugees and asylum-seekers, especially for those who may identify with several of the anti-discrimination stances of the club.

Language

A final barrier UGFC attempts to accommodate for is that of language barriers. Throughout training sessions, games and team events I often observed that refugee and asylum-seeking players faced diverse levels of language

capabilities in terms of speaking and understanding English, in particular the Glaswegian vernacular. For example, my fieldnotes describe multiple English language exchanges that occurred between player/ player and player/coach and player/myself:

> A player (originally from Kurdistan) was trying to ask the coaches a question and wanted his pal to come and translate for him. He appeared embarrassed and unsure about his ability to speak English. His friend did not come over with him and he was stuck having to explain himself to Calum on his own. He attempted to speak English but quickly gave up even though Calum encouraged him. I am not sure if his question ever got answered (Fieldnotes, June 14th, 2017).
>
> The two Kurdish men arrive and Calum immediately introduces them to the new father/son duo who are also Kurdish. They all begin to chat (in Kurdish?) and one of the men pairs up with the son and works as a translator for both him and the dad (who speak broken English) for the duration of practice. I have never seen this man speak English, however he appears to understand a great deal and works to relay what the coaches are saying to the son and father (Fieldnotes, June 21st, 2017).
>
> Today I chat with Yousef who has just finished his English course. I ask him how he has found the Scottish accent so far. He notes it was hard to understand at first and that he didn't understand anything. However, he believes his English is much better now and I even joke that he seems to understand 'Glaswegian' better than me. He laughs and says, 'You are a natural speaker and can't understand. Imagine me!' (Fieldnotes, June 25th, 2017).

In light of these varying language capabilities, UGFC has taken several steps in an attempt to remove some of the language barriers that refugee/asylum-seeking players may face and to eliminate possible feelings of discrimination based off of language. Specifically, they attempt to make their club 'language accessible' for refugees and asylum-seekers on two fronts: first, at the point of access and second, within the sporting environment itself.

In making their program accessible at the point of access, UGFC produces pamphlets describing the club and its training location in multiple languages. As Calum (volunteer) noted:

> I mean one thing that has, that has been done in the past, I know it's been done very recently, is sort of like we do produce kinds of literature about what we're doing. Ya'know, the fact that everyone's welcome and where the training is. I know that one of the big things done recently is like, I think the student society[36] have now translated that information into about 7 languages.

These pamphlets are often distributed across asylum-centers in Glasgow, like the Red Cross or the Unity Center[37]. Here, it should be noted that no participants in this study mentioned accessing UGFC through one of these pamphlets, instead most noted discovering the club through 'word of mouth'. However, that is not to say that this practice will not prove fruitful in opening up channels of access to the club in the future. As I have noted and as Spaaij's (2013) research on Somali refugees in Australia has indicated, for several participants having limited knowledge of English equals a lack of awareness of and thus a barrier to sport participation opportunities (14).

Regardless of their English language capabilities, once accessed, UGFC also takes steps to ensure that people feel welcome and supported by the club. While they do not have translators present at training or games, they do allow players to translate within and across training sessions[38]. Throughout my

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[36] The student society is a club at Glasgow University that is a supports group of UGFC which seeks to promote the values of the football club at the university through raising awareness of it's cause and hosting student events.

[37] The Unity Centre is based in Glasgow and is the central reception/support centre for refugees and asylum-seekers who are (re)settled to Scotland.

[38] UGFC breaks their training sessions down into smaller groups based on teams or numbers present. At the training sessions I attended one UGFC squad trained at the same time as the open drop in session. Both the team and the drop-in session are largely geared toward refugee and asylum-seeking players.

observations with UGFC, I often noted that players were using varying languages as they helped to relay messages from coaches to one another throughout both training sessions and games. In particular, one training session stands out in my field notes, where I witnessed a player (a Kurdish refugee) constantly yelling and translating over to his friends in the opposite drop-in session, whilst training as a goalie himself (Fieldnotes, August 16th, 2017). What surprised me most about this encounter was that while this player was yelling across the length of half a pitch, no one appeared to be bothered and practice carried on 'business-as-usual' (ibid.). Later in an interview with Calum (volunteer), he noted that:

> We encourage people to translate, but it is annoying if they are just chatting. Generally, if people are translating we stop the drill to let them chat to the group. But really people don't talk over us much. But it is really helpful when people offer to translate.

Further, two players (Yousef and Rashid) mentioned in their interviews how they often help to translate for new players, with another player (Aran) noting how he found such ad-hoc translation useful. Finally, when asked about the prevalence of speaking English within the club, Yousef noted that, 'I don't have to speak English if I want to play for this club. So that's good I think because not everyone is able to speak English'.

Theme 2: Integration Discourses

Another important step UGFC takes in their attempt to actualize sport's potential for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement relates to the integration discourses present within the club. As discussed in Chapter Two, Spaaij's (2015) research has demonstrated that 'successful' settlement through sport can only occur when integration is understood as a two-way process of mutual

accommodation, allowing for players to maintain/negotiate important aspects of their cultural identity (29). In the case of UGFC, integration was an aspect of the club that came up throughout multiple interviews. In particular, given the club's multi-participant make up (local Glaswegians, immigrants, and refugees and asylum-seekers) the ability for UGFC to facilitate social inclusion was discussed at length.

In accordance with Spaaij's (2013) suggestions, when asked about concepts of integration, specifically the idea of integration through sport, volunteers displayed an understating of integration as a 'two-way process of mutual accommodation' (29). This belief is partially captured by Gavin when discussing the concept of 'integration through sport':

> I think it's interesting because the last thing you would want to do is enforce this idea that ya'know, 'cause you're in Scotland now you must do such and such and you should become, dance away in a kilt or ya'know eat haggis and all this shit. I mean like, and again it's coming from where I stand politically, like I despise nationalism, I can't go it. So, I would never argue that people should do things, which are, ya'know, Scottish nationalist or whatever. But I think, I dunno, you integrating people based on what they're interested in and I think that there's a load of stuff like these kinda 'twee' integration groups that do things like 'oh we're going to have a big Ceilidh and everyone's going to learn Scottish dancing'. Like do they want, have they expressed an interest in wanting to learn Scottish dancing? Or are you just doing that 'cause that's what you like to do? It would be like us forcing people to come get involved in football, like we don't, we work with the people who come to us. So, I think it's like a two-way street.

From this quote, while we get a sense that this volunteer recognizes that UGFC should not be forcing people to change or assimilate, what lacks is recognition of the steps UGFC takes to adjust and accommodate for refugees and asylum-seekers once they have accessed the club. Specifically, questions remain as to

how they seek to accommodate and support the unique cultural (and religious and sexual) identities of their refugee and asylum-seeking participants.

In terms of the steps UGFC takes to accommodate for its refugee and asylum-seeker participants, volunteers and players most often referenced how the club works to embrace and accommodate for the different cultural and religious norms of its players. The accommodations made were most often discussed in terms of the steps UGFC took to support the religious practices and values of Muslims. In particular, players highlighted how the club accommodates the need to observe prayers at practices, games and team events; makes accommodations for important religious holidays like Ramadan; and accommodate for religious beliefs surrounding food and alcohol. The full extent to which these accommodations are performed and their significance to refugee and asylum-seeking players will be returned to in Chapter Five. Nevertheless, here, I believe one gets an initial sense of the steps UGFC takes to modify their club into a space that values and encourages cultural pluralism (Spaaij, 2015, 30).

On a final note, I should point out, that this understanding of integration as a 'two-way process' within UGFC is not surprising when looking back at the broader political context for asylum and in integration in Scotland. As previously discussed by scholars such as Spaaij (2015), Jeanes et al. (2015) and Ageragard (2011), wider societal discourses on integration, multiculturalism and immigration politics tend to have influence over how SFD programs for refugees and asylum-seekers operationalize 'settlement through sport'. Thus, given that the Scottish Government promotes an understanding of integration as a 'two-way process',

with an emphasis on the role the 'host' society plays in creating conditions that enable integration (Ager and Strang, 2010, 601), it is understandable that those running UGFC would adopt such understandings of integration within their club.

Theme 3: Travel and Trips

A final key feature of UGFC that can be understood actualizing the potential of sport for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement, are the travel opportunities the club helps to facilitate. UGFC is tightly linked with a series of similar football clubs, football supporter networks and anti-discrimination organizations across Europe. This in turn has resulted in the club being invited down to a series of football friendly matches and tournaments across the UK and Europe. Refugee and asylum-seeking players have yet to attend any trips outside of the UK due to travel and Visa restrictions, but the club's most recent trip to Manchester in 2017 was a recurring topic of discussion in a number of the interviews conducted. Thus, while travel and trips are not one of the suggestions posed by Spaaij (2015), I suggest it is a practice that has proven valuable within the context of UGFC.

The Manchester trip occurred for the first time in 2017 and was based around a friendly match against a charity called 'Freedom From Torture', whose vast majority of clients are asylum-seekers or refugees who have secured status in the UK (Freedom From Torture, 2018). Calum recounted that the whole idea behind the friendly was to 'celebrate the work of both the club and the charity' and 'celebrate both diversity and integration'. However, the weekend did not just involve the friendly match, as the club took players to see a Manchester United

game and an ensuing stadium tour. The costs of the trip were covered by UGFC, with lodging provided by the family of Thomas alongside their neighbours. A limited squad was able to partake in the trip for financial reasons and resultantly refugee and asylum-seeking players were prioritized (12 out of the 15 players were either a refugee or an asylum-seeker). The reasoning for this was primarily based off the reality that refugees and asylum-seekers 'do not necessarily have many opportunities to go on trips like this' due to their financial situations[39] (Calum).

Among volunteers, the trip to Manchester was seen as positive experience in the sense that it gave players a chance to get out of Glasgow, promoted team bonding and facilitated new experiences. As Calum stated:

> I mean one of the things that's really funny and made Manchester so perfect is like, there seems to be interesting thing that happens, and I dunno how they done it, somebody's done some clever marketing, where like Manchester United is just the biggest football team in the world. And like we got folk from Eritrea and Syria and Sudan and all who like just support Manchester United. So, I guess it was just, I mean, I think for a lot of people it was actually just having the opportunity to go away, it was a holiday, and we all got to mix as a team and that's maybe not something we do an awful lot.

In addition, Thomas discussed the mental health benefits he believed players gained from partaking in the Manchester trip, emphasizing the need to bring people together in order to fight against the isolationism refugees and asylum-seekers can face in new, unknown settlement contexts.

While this may seem a contradiction as the club's training and games can be seen as providing a platform to fight isolationism, several volunteers stressed

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[39] Refer to *Financial* for a discussion on the financial realties of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow.

the importance of travel as it ‘gives people space and time together that they wouldn’t usually get outside of football’ (Thomas) and ‘helps bring people out of their shells’ (Gavin). Moreover, Calum stressed how several players had friends and family settled in Manchester and that the trip provided the opportunity to ‘take time’ and ‘link up’ with them. This is significant to note, given the UK’s dispersal policy and how asylum-seekers are often relocated on a no-choice basis away from regions where pre-existing support networks exist (Piacentini, 2012, 12). Specifically, it holds potential for battling the isolationism refugees and asylum-seekers may face, as the ability to reconnect with friends and family, no matter how short the time period, is a meaningful experience.

Amongst the players, the trip to Manchester was most often discussed as a favourite memory made with the club. Of interest to note, although the team went to play a friendly match, players most often did not associate their memories of the trip with playing football. As Jamal stated, “Oh, the Manchester trip. On that trip, Thomas’ family was too kind. Thomas’ family is my best memory. I really want to thank them.’ In addition, Rashid referred to the trip as a ‘holiday’, mentioning all the ‘good food’ he ate. Here, I see these statements working to confirm the importance of travel and trips stressed by volunteers, as they demonstrate how travel can contribute to the facilitation of valued experiences outside of playing football for refugee and asylum-seeking participants. As a result, if we take all the benefits of travel discussed here (i.e. team bonding, fighting isolationism, reunification with family and friends, and the facilitation of valued experiences) by both volunteers and players, I certainly deem travel an

integral part of the action UGFC takes to actualize the potential of sport refugee and asylum-seeker settlement.

In sum, together the three findings discussed – reducing barriers to access, integration discourses, and travel and trips – demonstrate a myriad of ways UGFC attempts to actualize the potential of sport for refugee and asylum-seeker settlement. In particular, the club appears to have met the central suggestions put forth by Spaaij (2013, 29), including:

i. Acknowledging and addressing personal, mediating and structural barriers to sport.
ii. Taking a proactive approach to reducing and preventing discrimination in sport.
iii. Providing on-going cross-cultural awareness and diversity education training
iv. Adopting understandings of refugee settlement as a 'two-way process' of mutual accommodation.

It is this application of Spaaij's (2013) central suggestions, alongside the practice of travel/trips, that I posit allows UGFC to become a sporting environment that can open up opportunities for the facilitation of male refugee and asylum-seeker well-being throughout the settlement process.

Here, if we reflect on the theoretical framework guiding this thesis, the CA, refugee and asylum-seeker well-being is understood being facilitated through sport when sport contributes to the formation of valued functionings and capabilities that one can accomplish in their respective lives to build more meaningful lives. On this note, if we consider the sporting environment UGFC has created for male refugees and asylum-seekers, particularly how it seeks to challenge instances of discrimination and social exclusion, support cultural, religious and sexual diversity, while enabling valued experiences, I believe it can

be understood contributing to the expansion of what male refugees and asylum-seekers are 'able to do or to be' as they settle into life in Glasgow. Nevertheless, there remain questions as to what exactly these male refugee and asylum-seekers have been 'able to do or to be' during their participation with UGFC? And to what extent they understand such actions contributing to the establishment of more meaningful lives throughout their settlement? It is these questions the following chapter seeks to address as it centres the voices and experiences of UGFC's refugee/asylum-seeking players.

PERCEIVED & ACHIEVED FUNCTIONINGS (CHAPTER FIVE)

This chapter summarizes the main functionings that participation in UGFC has facilitated, as recounted by refugee and asylum-seeking players. The discussion centres on the functionings that players felt contributed to their ability to foster various facets of well-being throughout their settlement in Glasgow, namely: i) opportunities to acquire knowledge and information to navigate the host society, including cross-cultural learning, language acquisition, and understanding the city layout; ii) the ability to create and maintain social connections and networks; iii) improvements in physical and mental health; and finally, iv) the ability to negotiate and maintain multiple forms of identity and belonging.

Acquiring Knowledge and Information

Several refugee and asylum-seeking players identified a key functioning that was facilitated by participation in UGFC to be acquiring many forms of knowledge and information that aided in their navigation of life in Glasgow. Three central themes were discussed in relation to learning, including cross-cultural knowledge, language acquisition and understanding the city layout.

Cross-cultural Knowledge

In terms of cross-cultural knowledge, players discussed how their participation in the club was a way to seek access to the wider Glaswegian community and begin to learn about 'Glaswegian' life, people, and culture. As one player stated when asked why he participated with UGFC,

> Like I said before it's important for me to make my, like my friends, to make my relationship with people and also you know when you like explore

> a new community then you need to dig hard in this community to find what the people are and what kind of community it is, you know? So, after that you select what you want from this community. (Fahim).

When pressed on what he had learned from his teammates and coaches about the community, the people, and the culture, he noted he had 'only been apart of the club for a few weeks' and had yet to have the opportunity to 'get much contact with people from here'. However, one volunteer (Thomas) noted how at the Pride Parade[40] Fahim had chatted with him for most of the march, asking several questions about life in Glasgow, including questions surrounding university life[41], lodging and the Old Firm (Fieldnotes, August 17th, 2017).

Other players also touched on the role they saw participation in UGFC playing in facilitating access to knowledge of Scottish culture, specifically noting how the mixed-participant nature of club helped to facilitate 'learning':

> The mix is good for the team. I learn culture for this country and other guys can learn other cultures. We are learning from each other. (Jamal).

> Because like as I said people from different backgrounds can like come to this country and don't know anything about it, inn 'it. And for them to have the chance to react with some people who know the system of the country, who know the culture, like it's kind of beneficial inn 'it? (Idris).

Again, these players did not elaborate on what specific aspects of the culture, the community, or the people, they felt they themselves or other refugees and asylum-seekers learned through their participation with UGFC. However, it is clear that they believe that participation in the club can connect refugees and asylum-seekers with members of the host community, which in turn can facilitate some form of cross-cultural knowledge exchange. Together such findings echo the

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[40] I attended this Pride Parade (2017) along with several other members of UGFC. All players and volunteers were encouraged to attend.

[41] Fahim is hoping to study in Glasgow and finish his Bachelors in civil engineering.

work of Spaaij (2015), who suggests that sport plays an important role in linking refugees and asylum-seekers to host communities, allowing for familiarization in a new society (312). Nevertheless, of interest to note is that several players also saw UGFC providing a platform for cross-cultural learning that went beyond interaction with members of the host society.

For example, several players mentioned the opportunity UGFC provided in terms of 'learning about other cultures' outside of Scotland. As one player noted, 'I like it the most because, uh, the most thing is like I can play with people from many different countries and I can learn about other cultures and things like that' (Yousef). In addition, other players mentioned this type of cross-cultural learning when asked if they enjoyed participating on a multiethnic team, stating: 'Ya I like it because sometimes you know the different culture you can speak with somebody tells you about France or like Italian or Spain' (Rashid), and, 'Ya! As I said before man I like to know about people, to know about cultures, because I personally like travels, I like travel to everywhere man, learn new cultures, see new people, I like learning language' (Idris). Here, these passages indicate that players value UGFC as a forum for learning and intercultural interaction beyond that with the host community, making the opportunity to play and socialize with culturally diverse people an important aspect of their experience with UGFC. This is significant to note, given that most of the literature surrounding refugees, sport and settlement has centered on either mono-ethnic or refugee/asylum-seeker only sporting environments (with the exception of Dukic et al., 2017). As such, these findings bring to light a hidden benefit of refugee and asylum-seeker participation

in mixed-participant/multi-ethnic sport programs.

Language Acquisition

Being able to learn, practice and improve English was another aspect of knowledge acquisition that motivated players' UGFC participation. While I have established that speaking English was not a necessary skill required for their participation with the club[42], players frequently referenced the importance of improving their English and the role UGFC played in facilitating their language acquisition. For example, after his involvement with UGFC, one player noted how he was moved up a whole class level at his ESOL college:

> Jamal: Mm first benefit, I go to college to learn English, when I first came here I cannot speak any English, after United Glasgow I jumped a whole level!
>
> AB: Jumped a whole level?
>
> Jamal: At college.
>
> AB: Ah okay.

This improvement may be credited to the ability for players to practice what they had learned within the classroom environment with others at UGFC, as the same player noted:

> Jamal: Also words I learned in classes I get to come and use them here.
>
> AB: So, you get to practice your English?
>
> Jamal: Yes, yes.

In addition, players also mentioned the role UGFC played in helping to navigate and understand the Glaswegian accent and Scottish colloquialisms. For several

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[42] Refer to section *Language* (Chapter Four)

players, the English learned in their ESOL classes was described as not always preparing them for understanding the everyday speak they encountered in Glasgow. As a result, UGFC was seen as a site where they could learn the subtleties of the Glaswegian vernacular. An anecdote from my fieldnotes demonstrates this process, as I noted down an exchange with a refugee player from the Democratic Republic of Congo:

> Tonight, at dinner, Christian orders a 'Wah-tah' (water), emphasizing his Scottish accent. He also jokes about Scottish sayings such as 'nae bother' and 'aie'. I ask him if they teach him these sayings in college (English School) but he says no, that they are sayings he has picked up at United Glasgow (Fieldnotes, August 16, 2017).

Admittedly, this passage could be interpreted as a process of assimilation taking place at UGFC via language acquisition. However, the fact that these players do not feel the need to speak English (or Glaswegian) whilst participating with UGFC and identify this process of language acquisition as a benefit of their participation cannot be overlooked. Perhaps here, the exchange with Christian could be more appropriately labeled an act of 'performing Scottishness', as he was ordering from a Scottish waiter and we were out to dinner with another volunteer who was of Glaswegian descent. Regardless, in choosing when to 'perform' and utilizing the club to facilitate this aspect of learning, I argue that players do enact their agency as they attempt to improve their English. Moreover, one cannot ignore the fact that being able to understand and speak English (Glaswegian) is a skill that has the potential to help refugees and asylum-seekers more easily navigate life/settlement in Glasgow.

City Layout

A final piece of valuable knowledge that was identified as something players acquired through participation at UGFC was knowledge of the city layout. Only one player mentioned this aspect of learning through UGFC; however, as we discussed this point on various occasions, I deemed it an important factor that he saw contributing to his ability to navigate life in Glasgow. When asked why he liked participating with UGFC, he noted, 'you get to know they city, know the places well, the city and stuff, how you go to move different places and meet knew people' (Omar). On another occasion when discussing why he joined UGFC he stated, 'I like, when I came into the club, it was just like, like knowing some places stuff like that, going to play in different areas so it was good, ah' (Omar). In our final discussion surrounding the benefits of sport participation for refugees and asylum-seekers, he again mentioned 'getting to know the city' alongside the advantages that knowing the city layout can provide:

> 'To show you, just to move around and stuff so even if you get a job you'll know how, last time you were there, you saw, there was a company around there. You see stuff like that, so you just know the place well, when you going to and coming back' (Omar).

Thus, while no other player mentioned acquiring this type of knowledge through participation at UGFC, I believe the value Omar places on 'getting to know the city' highlights the potential participation holds for facilitating this experience for others.

Creating and Maintaining Social Connections and Networks

As previously discussed, due to the UK's dispersal policy, it can be assumed that a majority of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow have been

forcibly relocated away from regions where pre-existing networks of co-nationals, families and contacts exist (Piacentini, 2012, 12). Here, this change must be understood holding a number of implications for the well-being of refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement process, including fostering feelings of isolation, exclusion and 'otherness'. In the case of the ten refugee and asylum-seeking players in this study, six had some form of family with them in Glasgow, with four players settling in Glasgow alone[43]. It is perhaps no surprise then, that several players discussed the ability to create and maintain social connections and networks[44] as a central functioning facilitated throughout their participation in UGFC.

When asked why they were involved with UGFC, players most often mentioned the benefit of 'meeting new people' and 'making new friends'. In particular, as previously mentioned, several players emphasized their ability to meet and create social ties with people of different cultural, religious and geographical backgrounds from their own, as a chief reason behind their involvement. As one player shared when discussing the multiethnic nature of UGFC and its importance for refugee and asylum-seeking players:

> Imma say it matters 'cause and it's for more important 'cause most people are like, you see when you play for, if you're not from that country, you cannot meet up with them and talk about them, so they will show you the way if you need something or stuff like that, so they will help you out mostly. So, we say, it's fun playing with them most of the times ya, 'cause you get to know them, they show you the way, what's safe and not safe, it's

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[43] See *Table 3*

[44] In the scholarly work surrounding refugees, sport and settlement, the ability to create and maintain social connections and networks has most often been discussed in terms of the concept of 'social capital' (refer to Chapter Two).

> fun, then to stick alone with the people you just know, it's never fun (Omar).

Similarly, another player admitted:

> Uh, I'd prefer to play in a mixed team. In Glasgow there is a Syrian team, but actually I don't play for their club very much. I prefer to play for United Glasgow, as I said, because I meet many people from other countries and I feel welcome so (Yousef).

Here, such statements from players were far from unexpected in light of research within the field of sport, refugees, and settlement that has often pushed the significant role sport can play in extending social networks and increasing social capital for refugees and asylum-seekers (see: Walseth, 2008; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Spaaij, 2012, 2013; Dukic et al., 2017). However, they do present an interesting insight as they appear to contrast with the work of Spaaij (2012) which has highlighted the important role refugees and asylum-seekers place on sport as a site for the '(re)building of social networks that have been eroded or disrupted by war and displacement' mainly amongst 'members with similar ethno-cultural backgrounds' (12).

Nevertheless, while players did not reference a desire to 'rebuild' and 'reconnect' with members of similar ethno-cultural backgrounds, observations at practice, games, and team events confirmed that these connections did still occur. In particular, I often observed players clustering, chatting and hanging out with those from similar cultural and religious backgrounds as their own. One instance stands out in my fieldnotes that I believe best captures such ethno-cultural bonds. Occurring at the club's awards night, I remarked how the Eritrean players on the team appeared like an extremely close-knit group:

> The Eritrean boys have arrived late to the UGFC awards night and appear to have brought some friends. They come in together and claim a table to themselves. They do wave to Yousef who comes over to chat for a bit, but other than that they remain pretty insular. One of the boys wins an award and they all cheer and take pictures. I am told he speaks the best English and tends to translate for the other Eritrean players. Later when dinner is served Thomas goes over to their table to eat and chat. They [the Eritrean boys] all take off together at the end of the night (Field notes, June 25th, 2017).

From this passage it is clear instances of strong ethno-cultural bonds can and do occur at UGFC. Specifically, in the case of these Eritrean players, we get a sense that their bonds with those of a similar ethno-cultural background may actually be of more significance than bonds with those of different cultural, religious and geographical backgrounds.

Together the data above suggests that refugees and asylum-seekers value participation at UGFC for its ability to facilitate both new social networks and connections across different ethno-cultural backgrounds, as well as rebuild and maintain relationships with those from similar cultural and religious communities. That being said, while several players discussed the number of 'friends' made throughout their time with the club, it should be noted that these 'friendships' often did not translate into relationships outside of the sphere of UGFC. Instead, several players remarked how the relationships they built with teammates were often confined to practice, game days, and team events. Here, the inability for these relationships to translate into other social spheres does not undermine their value for the players, nor does it undermine the role they play in facilitating their well-being throughout settlement. However, it does appear to confirm Spaaij's

(2012) claim that 'sport participation as a means of social capital and social integration should be neither overstated nor over-generalized' (24).

Improvements in Physical and Mental Health

Various players spoke to the health benefits they gained through their participation at UGFC. This functioning of 'being healthy' seemed to be of significance in supporting both improvements in the physical and mental health of players, and thus contributing to their overall sense of well-being. In terms of the physical aspects of health, several players noted the ability to 'exercise', 'get fit' and 'stay healthy' as the key driving factors behind their participation with UGFC. In comparison, others were driven less by a need to improve health and fitness and more by a need to improve their overall footballing skills and ability:

> United Glasgow is a place you know to practice football first and then to be part of the community second and thirdly is to improve my ability and go on my success to become footballer (Salah).

These intentions of physical self-improvement were not a priority for all players however, with a number of them highlighting instead the mental health benefits accrued through their participation.

For example, participation at UGFC was seen to be a way to 'relax and forget' and 'enjoy and have fun'. These were identified as important states of being for refugees and asylum-seekers to experience, as the stresses involved with the asylum-process were understood to be a constant negative present in these players daily lives,

> Most people they're not openly to talk about their status and stuff, so most people they're not that confident about talking, so you just listen to them and they just want to talk about their daily life, no about the immigration and stuff, 'cause most people's cases have been tough so they just want to

forget about them (Omar).

This sentiment of 'forgetting' was brought up several times in discussions about UGFC, with training and games being identified as an outlet to forget everyday worries. Here, a player expressed the ability to 'relax and forget' through his participation, noting:

> Ya that is my team like, when I was training everyone is there and it's like my brother, sister, you know like my family when I come here one-hour half, I didn't think about you know back, I miss my family or like that. When I was been here I'm with my 'brother' and then we chatting, we chillin', we playing, we really enjoy it you know (Rashid).

Another player also stressed the role participation at UGFC played in facilitating this ability to 'relax and forget', explaining that he liked playing football because, 'football is, just take you away from whatever you're thinking, so' (Omar).

Alongside the ability to 'relax and forget', participation in UGFC was also discussed as an outlet where one could 'enjoy and have fun'. As one player shared when asked what motivated his participation at UGFC, 'the only reason you play football is to enjoy the game, it's not about everything, winning, winning, no. It's all about how you enjoy the game' (Omar). Moreover, when asked the same question another player noted, 'um actually mostly for fun. It's nice to have that kind of environment where you feel like you just let some steam out' (Idris). For players, enjoyment and fun were manifested mainly through the ability to 'hangout out and chat with friends', as well as, taking part in a game they 'love'. That being said, the ability to participate and play football did expose players to a series of conflict and tensions on game days, a factor that in turn could prove detrimental to their mental state and overall well-being. These conflicts and

tensions alongside their effect on players' capability to foster a sense of well-being are explored in more detail in Chapter Six.

Identity and Belonging

The final functioning that refugee and asylum-seeking players saw participation in UGFC facilitating and was of most interest to me was the ability to negotiate and maintain multiple forms of identity and belonging (Spaaij, 2015, 316). Here, almost every player discussed how UGFC provided a space where players could 'be who they wanted to be' and where they 'felt accepted' or 'welcome' regardless of their race, religion, ethnicity, or sexual orientation. In particular, three key findings in relation to identity and belonging were discussed among participants including: the expression and maintenance of cultural and religious identities, the significance of being a 'footballer', and support for LGBTQ+ players.

Cultural and Religious Identities

As previously discussed, sport has become widely acknowledged as a site that can provide opportunities to shape, negotiate and maintain multiple forms of identity and belonging for refugees and asylum-seekers in new host communities (see: Chapter Two). Nonetheless, tensions have also been acknowledged surrounding any generalized claim that sport is a mechanism for inclusion and positive identity formation, as sport can also expose participants to social exclusion, racism and cultural resistance (Spaaij, 2015, 304-305). In the case of UGFC, both moments of inclusion and exclusion appeared to be present; however, players most often spoke to the positive identity formation and sense of

belonging they acquired through their participation in the club. Unsurprisingly, these moments of inclusion were largely considered in tangent with UGFC's anti-discrimination work and the cultural and religious accommodations the club performed. For example, as mentioned in Chapter Four, when refugee and asylum-seeking players described UGFC as a space where they could 'be who they wanted to be' they most often referenced the steps UGFC takes to accommodate Muslims. Specifically they highlighted how UGFC works to accommodate for the need to observe prayers at practices, games and team events; for important religious holidays like Ramadan; and for religious beliefs surrounding food and alcohol. Together, throughout this research, it is these accommodations that were namely understood supporting player's ability to 'feel accepted' and claim belonging, as they were able to negotiate and express valued aspects of their cultural and religious identities within the context of UGFC.

Prayer

In terms of prayer, while it has been highlighted that structured sport can prove challenging in supporting the specific time frames for this religious practice (Nakamura, 2017, 5), one player (Jamal)[45] discussed how he felt UGFC was able to facilitate space and time for him to observe prayer[46]. In addition, he also highlighted how he felt supported by volunteers and teammates at UGFC when it came to observing his religious practices:

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[45] Jamal was the only participant to outwardly discuss his need to pray five times a day.

[46] At a game I attended Jamal took a long time to come out of the change room for warm up and I eventually asked Calum what was taking him so long? He mentioned he was hanging back in order to pray and that this occurred regularly at games, which often coincided with the call to prayer.

> There is also religious and cultural respect for your practices. Like when we went down for a match in Manchester, we stayed in Thomas' mum's houses. I pray 5 times a day and [player] gave me his jacket to pray on every time, every time I needed to pray. People respect each other's religion (Jamal).

Here this support is important to note, as Spaaij (2015) argues that the ability to claim belonging is enabled or impeded by those who are seen as having the power to grant it (305). In the case of UGFC, both volunteers and players appeared particularly receptive to learning and supporting different cultural and religious practices and celebrations. Notably, players from the UK echoed the sentiments of refugee and asylum-seeking players, as they too emphasized the value they put on UGFC as a site of intercultural interaction. As one Glaswegian player stated:

> Definitely Glaswegians I think can eh, definitely learn through the club because as I said growing up I didn't eh know much about other cultures or Ramadan or stuff like that. So, as you grow up you learn more of these terms and you read it in the newspapers and you see it on the news but it's not something you feel part of and in the club, you do. And you like to think you make the guys feel like part of your celebrations and y-know we got the bonfire night but something simple even just somebody's birthday and you learn how to celebrate it in different parts of the world as well, different traditions and I'm all for a party, so (Blaine).

Ramadan

With regards to Ramadan, both volunteers and players discussed the need to negotiate over and accommodate for the holiday as over the past two years it has fallen on a month where the club has had games, training and their annual 'awards night'. I was fortunate enough to be with the club during the month of Ramadan and resultantly several of my interviews and observations focused on how UGFC worked to facilitate discourses of inclusion/exclusion throughout this

time. Significantly, the steps volunteers took to ensure that players felt like they could stay engaged with the club throughout the holiday. As Calum noted:

> The last couple years it's fallen at a time that's off the season anyway, but there is still training on for a period and it conflicted with a couple games. So, we just made sure that we took plenty of time to explain to people that, ya'know, although we, because obviously we make a point during the season in valuing peoples' commitment and consistency and stuff, just about explaining, ya'know, if you can't make it because you are taking part in Ramadan then that's perfectly fine. No issues from us and we wouldn't consider it like you're just not coming along, and you don't have to worry about it being considered an issue on our point or something that we would be unhappy with. It was just, do what you have to do, ya'know? We would leave it open that if you wanted to come and still take part in training that's absolutely fine. You can leave training as soon as fast breaks if you want to stop and have some water, have something to eat, but that's your choice. And also I guess in the sense that in terms of like people's safety, no one is going to stop from playing if you want to, but just bear in mind if you have been, like just now it was in the summer so it's really long fasts, that we're not going to say you can't play because you've not had any fluids since morning, but just use your own judgment. If you think it's perfectly safe for you to run around and stuff then that's your call, you're all adults.

In light of such an neutral stance surrounding levels of participation during Ramadan, I witnessed players who identified as Muslim engaging with the club in varying ways. Over the month, I noted the participation of players ranging from competing in both training sessions and games, to opting to watch training sessions and games, to taking time off altogether. In inquiring why players decided to roll back participation throughout Ramadan, the practice of 'fasting', was noted by both volunteers and players as having a key impact on sport participation and performance. However, when discussing 'fasting' several players mentioned the support they felt in choosing not to participate in light of this religious practice:

> Salim: So ya, like they support everyone from all religions, especially in Ramadan we didn't come to training[47].
>
> AB: Were your coaches okay with this?
>
> Salim: They were fine.

This type of support is again significant, as it allows for players to engage with UGFC in ways that suit their own needs during Ramadan. This is important as it challenges potential instances of social exclusion that could be experienced when having to choose between participation in the holiday or club activities.

Beliefs Surrounding Food and Alcohol

In addition to creating spaces of engagement in both training and games, volunteers at UGFC also attempted to make the club's awards celebration an inclusive event. In particular, given that such an event is normally held in a local pub or restaurant, they stressed the steps they took to support players' religious beliefs surrounding food and alcohol. As one participant noted:

> In terms of accommodating cultures and religions we've always tried to be sensitive in having like - the birthday weekend[48] at the Rum Shack, ehm, it usually falls during Ramadan, well it has last two years - but ya having like soft drinks available, so no one is feeling left out 'cause they don't have a drink or making sure the foods halal and waiting till they can break the fast before everyone can eat. Ehm and just trying to make people feel welcome and not feeling conscious of their cultural backgrounds or religions (Stewart).

These accommodations all took place at the awards celebration I attended; however, as this particular event also fell during Eid-al-Fitr,[49] the club took an

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[47] This player (Salim) did disclose that he fasted throughout Ramadan and he did attend a number of practices just to watch.

[48] The awards night also fell on the founding weekend of the club, also making the event termed 'the birthday weekend'.

[49] Eid-al-Fitr means 'festival of breaking the fast' and marks the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. It is celebrated for three days, and on the morning of the first day, Muslims gather for prayer (Aljazeera, 2017).

extra measure of care in handing out awards early in the night so that players who wanted to attend both the team event and break fast with friends and family could. While coaches noted the low attendance of players who identified as Muslim, players such as Yousef and Jamal[50] were present for a significant portion of the evening, leaving right before fast was broken to meet up with family/friends (Fieldnotes, June 25th, 2017). Here, it is interesting to note that this act of attending the awards celebration on the evening of Eid-al-Fitr by Yousef and Jamal could be an indication of a strong emotional attachment to the club. Moreover, the accommodations UGFC made in order to facilitate the ability to attend both events that evening demonstrates an understanding of the support players need to negotiate and maintain the multiple forms of belonging that are significant in their individual lives (Spaaij, 2015, 316).

'Footballers'

> 'So, it's using something that is universally popular so it doesn't matter if we're dealing with folk that grew up in Scotland and other parts of the UK, whether you're from sort of like ya'know the Kurdish region or Sub-Saharan Africa, everyone tends to have one common thing regardless of their cultural backgrounds or language or where they are from and it tends to be an interest in football' (Oliver).

If we reflect back to the concept of 'football habitus' discussed in Chapter Two, the ability to play football is said to provide an effortless yet meaningful way to connect with others and thus can facilitate a process of social inclusion and belonging (Dukic et al., 2017, 104-105). In the case of every refugee and asylum-seeking player I interviewed at UGFC, this 'football habitus' was present and helped to facilitate the negotiation of various forms of belonging. For these

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50 Both Yousef and Jamal are players who self-identified as Muslim in their interviews.

players, football had been a constant throughout their lives pre-displacement and having the opportunity to participate with UGFC presented a space to connect with others through an activity that 'literally comes as second nature' (Dukic et al., 2017, 105). For example, several players spoke of the teams they played for before being displaced, as well as, the memories they had of playing football back at 'home'. This can be seen in the following comments made by Rashid and Salah, as they touch on their experiences with football back in Sudan:

> I was team, I have like, I was child you know like 16, ya I was playing with team. Name is Rashid, is my team in Sudan and then I left it, football, like 4 years. I was been in France, Libya, like four years when I come to Glasgow. I make friends, I enjoyed it that team United Glasgow (Rashid).
>
> I found myself when I became like 9 years old, I realized that I'm a footballer and I have the ability to do many stuff and I was so skilled, more than I am now and I was some kind of player who can hold the ball and try to escape more than 3, 4, 5 and try to score and something like that…So the reason that I start to play football is because I love football, I just love it and it's natural you know? It just comes with the practice. So that's my reason (Salah).

From these previous experiences with the sport, several players found it easy to connect with teammates, both through their ability to play football, along with their ability to talk about and reference the international/professional game[51] (Dukic et al., 2017, 105). This in turn allowed again for players to establish a sense of emotional closeness to teammates and the club, which was most often demonstrated through their descriptions of teammates as their 'family' or their 'brothers'. In addition, players could be seen demonstrating a sense of pride and

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[51] Numerous conversations occurred at practice, games and team events surrounding people's favourite players, teams and the outcome of weekend matches**.** Most conversation surrounded players and teams who participated in the English Premier League, La Liga, Serie A and Bundesliga.

emotional attachment to the club through their social media pages. As one coach noted,

> I mean, honestly, see if you went through the development teams Facebook page, it's amazing how many profile photos on Facebook are all like, just like, whenever they played, and they got a kit on, they got their pal to take a photo kind of thing. Like it just means a lot to people I think to be part of a team (Calum).

This was something I also witnessed as players often asked to have their photos taken by me on game days or at team events, which they would later show me posted on their various social media pages.

On top of facilitating a sense of inclusion based off their football habitus, the ability to reconnect with football also appeared to present an opportunity for players to (re)negotiate/(re)connect to a previous sense of self. According to Dukic et al. (2017), in (re)connecting with a sport that has been consistent throughout their lives, refugees and asylum-seekers are able to maintain connections to a previous 'sense of place' and a 'sense of self' (107). In particular, they are seen being able to reproduce memories that connect them to 'previous identities in their home countries' most often associated with a 'younger, happier sense of being' (ibid.).

In the case of my own research, when players spoke of their memories surrounding football pre-displacement, they too often displayed a positive memory association between 'football' and 'home'. In particular, they tended to elicit a sense of happiness and nostalgia when discussing the role football has played throughout their lives:

> Why did I start playing football? I can't remember, but from my childhood as I told you when I was like 5 or 3 years old, football you know is the first

> game that I just found in my environment. All the people you know just playing football and I have you know really funny story, because I lived in a small village first before coming to the capital of Sudan, Khartoum. So I lived in small village, which there is no more resources and stuff like this and toys. At that time, we were making a football from out of socks, like your normal socks. And then you put some you know bags, plastic bags on there and make it round or something like that. Those are my first football that I remember that I play with, just made it from plastic bag and socks, that's all, that's all and I made something really nice and I can hit it on the ground and it can bounce, so really nice! And we don't need to buy football! Football from market cost a lot of money so from that time I start love football and I found myself you know just I'm doing well every time that I play football, but I can't remember how that I became left footed (Salah).

> I used to play but there is no good fields like this, so you know we were playing on the sand or beside the roads, streets, it was fun! (Omar).

Adding to these passages, an exchange from my fieldnotes also reflects this sense of happiness and nostalgia as I capture a conversation between Aran and myself:

> Aran and I discuss his team back in Kurdistan tonight. He kept telling me what a 'big team' it was and even showed me a picture of his old team saved to his phone. He points himself out and smiles as he stares at the photo (Fieldnotes, August 21st, 2017).

Nevertheless, in the case of Omar, his memories surrounding football did not always associate with such 'positive' memories of home. For example, in our interview he quickly went from happily discussing memories of football to suddenly taking on a demure tone, noting:

> AB: And what are your memories from playing in Kenya? Was it always so fun?

> Omar: It was fun! In school it was fun ya! But after school it was never fun, 'cause I felt I grow up too early…

In this light then, while I believe that participation in football can help players to (re)negotiate and (re)connect to a previous 'sense of self', I also posit that one must not be quick to assume an exclusive relationship between happiness and

football. Instead, football must be understood as a site that refugee and asylum-seeking players may encounter both positive and negative memories from 'pre-displacement' and 'home', making it a space from which players may actually want to disconnect from a previous 'self' or 'state of being'.

Support for LGBTQ+ Players

> United Glasgow represents the human race. Everyone is welcome here. Like I said before gay, straight it doesn't matter, black or white. Of course it is helping people feel settled (Nathan).

In addition to the scales of belonging discussed above, volunteers at UGFC flagged the work they performed to facilitate inclusion and belonging for players who identified as part of the LGBTQ+ community as a key aspect of their club. As Gavin noted:

> And at the end of the day across the club we've got players of most conceivable sexual and gender identities, so making people aware of what these things mean, means that there's much less chance of someone saying or doing something inappropriate and making someone else feel uncomfortable. Because the big thing was, for us to create an environment where everyone feels welcome and you can't do that if you're, or people, are ignorant or don't know how to create that environment, and we try and do that in a way in which we quietly have conversations with people if they do say something.

While I did not ask players to disclose their gender or sexual orientations and thus do not know if any players involved in this study identified as part of the LGBTQ+ community, volunteers acknowledged that over time they have had refugee and asylum-seeking players disclose their varying gender and sexual orientations to them:

> AB: Are you aware that you have any LGBTQ refugee or asylum-seeking players in your club?
>
> Calum: Yes, we do, yes someone actually told me.

> AB: Did he ever talk about how he appreciates the club's stance or the openness?
>
> Calum: Not really actually. He originally asked because of the rainbow on the shirt, which is why it's important to have it visible to show that we care, um and that was it. And then, some point later down the line, they referenced the fact that they're bisexual and that's it. Whether, I don't know if that's linked to their asylum claim or not, they didn't go into any detail.

Here, the significance of creating a sporting space that allows for the inclusion of LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum-seekers comes to light when one considers that a total of 3,535 asylum applications made in the UK between 2015-2017 were by people fleeing persecution at least partly based on their sexual orientation [52](Duffy, 2017). Moreover, given that heteronormativity has been a central construction of Western sport cultures, trivialising the experiences and marginalising the positions of participants who do not fit the norm (Hill, 2009, 2), having a space in which players can feel supported in expressing their gender or sexual orientation is vital. Nevertheless, given the lack of accounts from refugees and asylum-seeking players who identify as part of the LGBTQ+ community, I do not wish to overstate the levels of belonging or inclusion they may have found within the club. That being said, given the absence of research surrounding themes of heterosexism, homophobia and sexualities within the field of SFD (Carney & Chawansky, 2016), I do believe this is a compelling finding that requires further exploration in future research on refugees, sport and settlement.

From the discussions above, it is apparent that UGFC provides opportunities for refugee and asylum-seeking players to negotiate varying forms

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[52] This amounts to around 6 percent of all asylum-claims made over the period of 2015-2017 in the UK (Duffy, 2017).

of identity and belonging throughout their participation with the club. However, while the three findings above point to a variety of ways the club seeks to create a space within which players feel welcome, it can be assumed that the scales of identity and belonging players negotiated were not confined solely to such categories. Moreover, given that belonging is constituted and experienced differently in different societal domains (Spaaij, 2015, 305), the scales of belonging established within the club must also not be assumed to carry over into the players' everyday lives. Nevertheless, the significance of having a space through which a multitude of identities and belonging can be expressed should be emphasized. As Oliff notes (2008), the refugee experience can often be quite traumatic, as it is 'characterized by persecution, displacement, loss, grief, and forced separation from family, home, and belongings' (53). In this way, by providing a space through which refugees and asylum-seekers can regain a sense of self and belonging throughout their settlement, UGFC can be understood further contributing to players' ability to facilitate well-being.

* * *

In reflecting on the various functionings discussed in this chapter, it appears appropriate to claim that participation in UGFC does facilitate a number of 'beings and doings' for refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement process. Specifically, we see how participation has facilitated opportunities to acquire knowledge and information to better navigate the host society; create and maintain valued social connections and networks; support physical and mental health; and the ability to negotiate and maintain multiple

forms of identity and belonging. Together these functionings are understood to be enhancing facets of well-being amongst refugee and asylum-seeking players throughout their settlement, as they enable one to perform valued acts or reach valued states of being while in Glasgow. Notably, these functionings appeared to support facets such as, the social, emotional, physical and spiritual well-being of various players. Nevertheless, despite all the positive functionings UGFC is facilitating for its refugee and asylum-seeking players, tensions do exist within and outside the club that highlight the potential limitations of its role in the settlement process. What exactly these tensions are will now be explored.

KEY TENSIONS & CONSIDERATIONS (CHAPTER SIX)

In previous chapters I have demonstrated the diverse ways through which UGFC has been able to facilitate facets of well-being amongst male refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement in Glasgow. In contrast, this chapter explores what I consider to be key tensions and considerations uncovered throughout this research in regards to facilitating well-being through sport. In particular, the following discussion centres on context specific factors that challenged the extent to which UGFC can be understood as always contributing to the well-being of its refugee and asylum-seeking players. The findings discussed will explore challenges arising from the asylum-process, tensions arising on game days, and concerns surrounding the sustainability of the club.

The Asylum Process

Interestingly, though refugee and asylum-seeking players claimed participation in UGFC provided an opportunity to access a myriad of functionings that contributed to their ability to foster various facets of well-being, this did not necessarily transfer into a desire to settle in Glasgow. Instead, several volunteers noted the transient nature of refugees and asylum-seekers within the club,

> Ya there are long-term players but it is massively transient. There are loads, there is a massive turn around of people. Like so you get, ya, the big, big turnaround of people coming in and coming out, leaving (Thomas).

This transiency was seen to be exacerbated by the nature of the asylum-process, in particular the UK's dispersal policy[53], as Gavin noted:

> Well, the vast majority of players that are referred onto to come and join us are generally the people who arrive in Glasgow because they've been dispersed. They've claimed asylum in England and Glasgow is one of the

[53] The UK dispersal policy is outlined in Chapter One.

> dispersal centers in the UK. So it's not necessarily people that have chosen to come here, which means that often if people have been here for a year or so and they get their decision, they then choose to go somewhere where there's a bigger diaspora community from which ever country they are from. Or they go to wherever they've got family or friends or what not and move to another part of the UK. So there is, I mean we found out this week that three of our players have left because of that, including one who was supposed to win our 'top goal scorer' award in a couple of weeks, but ehm, ya so that does happen every now and again. Ehm, I mean people drift in and out, I think that's one of the things about a team like this and I don't know if other teams in Europe would find the same, but there's definitely more of a kind of transient nature to the team.

While volunteers often acknowledged this as 'just part of the program' and noted that the goal of UGFC was 'not to tie players to Glasgow', I argue that the asylum-process presents a key challenge to the club's ability to facilitate facets of well-being among its refugee and asylum-seeking players.

Here, the extent to which these facets can be facilitated and achieved comes into question as players' participation with the club can be abruptly ended with the determination of status. Accordingly, the less time spent involved in the club may translate to less time they have to acquire the key functionings discussed in Chapter Five. Moreover, the significance of achieving functionings such as learning knowledge and information on the host society, creating and maintaining social networks, and fostering a sense of belonging, also come into question as long-term settlement in Glasgow does not appear to be the intention of all participants. Finally, with the notion that several players appear willing to leave Glasgow once status is achieved, one could argue that the levels of well-being facilitated through participation in UGFC are contested.

Nevertheless, while the asylum-process does appear to complicate the extent to which UGFC can support the facilitation of well-being for refugee and

asylum-seeking players, the significance of the club's work should not be deemphasized. In the case of the 10 refugee and asylum-seeking players I interviewed, 8 planned on staying in Glasgow for the long-term and stated they would play for UGFC into the foreseeable future. In addition, for those players who seek settlement outside of Glasgow, the role UGFC plays in supporting their well-being throughout dispersal must also be considered. Notably, if we reflect on conversations surrounding the social exclusion and isolation that the dispersal process can generate, I believe having the ability to participate with UGFC for the interim of one's stay does hold considerable potential for facilitating various facets of well-being. Moreover, we cannot overlook the role UGFC plays, even in the interim, in providing a foundation from which to learn skills and knowledge that may help provide a platform for players' future mobility to someplace else as well as support their facilitation of well-being somewhere else.

It remains difficult, then, to decipher the degree to which the dispersal policy challenges the capacity for UGFC to facilitate well-being for its refugee and asylum-seeking players. However, it is apparent that the policy does inevitably influence the levels of engagement certain players will have with the club. As a result, I argue that the dispersal policy must be viewed as a structural constraint that operates in the lives of the refugee and asylum-seeking players, which for some will create tension surrounding the levels of well-being they are able to foster through the club.

Game Days: 'Othering' and the 'Will to Win'

Another interesting aspect about UGFC is that in spite of its efforts to create an alternative, grassroots sporting environment for refugees and asylum-seekers, their teams do still compete within a mainstream sport setting[54]. Currently, the club participates in the Glasgow Community Co-operative League (GCCL), which hosts home and away seasonal competition between 16 amateur level teams across Glasgow (GCCL, 2018). Here, it should be noted that the GCCL does operate outside of the Scottish Football Association and upholds many of the same social and political views as UGFC:

> The Glasgow Community Co-operative League aims to create an organized and well administered Sunday football competition where sides from across west central Scotland can take part regardless of age or ability, but more importantly, regardless of race, religion or sexual orientation. Violence, intimidation and unsporting behavior are sadly common aspects of Sunday League football in Scotland. None of which will be welcome, nor tolerated in the GCCL (GCCL, 2018).

Moreover, several of the teams that participate in the league are also actively engaged in social justice causes such as the LGBTQ+ movement or anti-discrimination in sport.[55] Together these factors are what influenced UGFC to participate in this league, as it appeared to mirror a sporting environment similar to its own. However, despite the best intentions of both the GCCL and UGFC, throughout this research several players noted conditions counter to those that

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[54] While UGFC has considered refraining from participating in mainstream competition with the alternative being training/playing amongst themselves, as demonstrated throughout this chapter this has not been possible as players have desired to participate within a mainstream sport setting.

[55] Examples of these teams include: Saltire Thistle FC, a LGBTQ+ friendly club; Glasgow Diverse, a club who seeks to integrate diverse communities through football; and Glasgow on the Ball, a club who helps fundraise for the charity Africa on the Ball.

supported their well-being arising on game days (Dukic et al., 2017, 105). Specifically, two negative by-products of mainstream competition were discussed extensively amongst participants, which included a process of 'othering' experienced on game days and the pressures and frustrations that come with 'the will to win' (Dukic et al., 2017, 105).

'Othering'

In terms of a process of 'othering', one of the first things I noticed about UGFC upon attending several of their league games was that they were one of the most racially diverse teams in their league (Fieldnotes, August 20th, 2017). This was a fact not lost on players at UGFC as several participants commented on the lack of diversity that existed across the teams in the GCCL,

> The average team we come up against is on average 11 white guys called Davey. Whereas where you look at our starting lineup on a Saturday you can kinda be convinced that it's maybe a Champion League squad. If somebody is saying names you go 'this is quite impressive'! (Blaine).

This in turn led me to probe into the nature of relationships between UGFC and opposing teams, as I was curious to find out to what extent players were able to negotiate a sense of belonging and inclusion on game days. Here, players most often spoke of their interactions with opposing teams in a positive light; however, a few players also touched on a process of 'othering' that they saw refugee and asylum-seeking players experiencing on game days (Dukic et al., 2017, 105):

> Sunday match maybe here in Scotland as well you don't see as many time, 'oh ouf, all black people, what's going on?' It's like 'hmmm'. So, it's like something you don't know, you have a little scare but after ten minute you start playing and we have everybody the same, doing the same thing actually so, you start more friendly, more relaxing. It depends, some people are assholes, some people are good (Davide).

> There's been a few, ya. The worst one I remember was the first season of the club and we had our captain, a Cameroonian lad, really good player, quite stocky but built. We were playing this horrible team over at Hillhead and it had been quite a feisty game, tackles flying around all over the place, I was still like 16 at the time, tiny. It was a very bad tempered game and their captain called our captain a monkey and he knocked the guy out, so this started this kind of brawl and me trying to hold him back and just getting no where (Stewart).

Together these passages are consistent with the scholarly work of Spaaij (2015) and Dukic et al. (2017), who have both discussed the implicit/explicit prejudice and racism refugees and asylum-seekers encounter from opponents within sporting competition. Nevertheless, of interest to note, throughout my own research, opponents were not the only actors participating in such a process of 'othering' on game days.

In addition to opponents, referees were identified partaking in a process of 'othering' of refugee and asylum-seeking players. As Charlie noted,

> Well, there's been a few instances where, one was regarding the ref, and I thought if our player wasn't from or an asylum-seeker, was maybe English or Scottish, there wouldn't of been – something he said wouldn't of been said. So ya, it hasn't been too bad, most of it's just, ya.

This is significant as referees are the official authorities throughout games and thus can legitimize the playing field as a space where stereotyping and racism is or is not tolerated. Moreover, this raises an issue of citizenship and who is deemed 'worthy' of protection by the 'equitable' laws of the game, which are in fact meant to prohibit discrimination. In this light, if referees in the GCCL are perceived to be holding prejudices toward refugees and asylum-seekers, one can only speculate that they will in turn be partial to the use of racist/discriminatory language on game days. In fact, this is something a coach at UGFC noted as a

tension that needs to be addressed within the GCCL, arguing that referees have played a key role in normalizing the use of racist language on game days:

> We're trying to get protocol in place because that's still something, 'cause the referees aren't very good at it and the league isn't very good at it so. There's one boy who kind of made an anti-Semitic comment and so I spoke to the ref and the ref kind of basically argued it away like 'aw, ya that's the kind of Scottish banter', because I'm English and he knows I'm English from my accent, he sort of 'Oh ya, ya'know up here it's not like a thing, it's a throw away comment'. It's just like, I know what he said, and I've been in Scotland for four or five years and it's the same down in England, like. So ya, I think there's a massive amount of education needed across the board (Thomas).

The 'Will to Win'

In light of this process of 'othering', one may question the necessity of participating in such a mainstream, competitive sporting league. However, from UGFC's inception it appears that competitive football is something that refugee and asylum-seeking players desired from the club, as Gavin noted:

> One of the kind of common things that people were interested in was football and we had done a few casual, kick about type things with a handful of people and some of the volunteers from the center, but as people moved on it was clear that I was the one kind of doing that most often. And then speaking to the guys they were kind of keen to do something a little more structured, because while getting out, running about and kicking the ball about is great, they wanted something, they wanted to be part of something. Ya'know? They wanted to play as a team.

Moreover, it appears to remain an important aspect for players currently involved, as 'game days' were often discussed as one of the many pull factors for their participation,

> AB: What do you like the most about being part of United Glasgow FC?
>
> Omar: The most is like playing in tournaments, playing away. Away games they are the most because I get to play them a lot and the league.

Nevertheless, while some players perceived the ability to compete as a positive aspect of their participation with UGFC; for others, the pressures and frustrations that come with competition proved to present another possible challenge to their well-being.

Here, it is important to note that UGFC as a club attempts to create a non-competitive atmosphere within their program. As several coaches noted, they did not emphasize 'winning' as the goal of their weekend matches,

> Ya, I mean there's always been a mantra where the results off the park are as important as the results on the park (Gavin).
>
> There are just more important things than winning for us, it's not that we don't care about winning, it's just not the be all and end all. Ya'know we don't really have, we don't allow things like moaning at other players for making mistakes and all that kind of stuff, like we're really clear that that's not welcome at games, that's not the environment we're creating. We're just 'come along, play some football, have some fun, if we win, we win kind of thing' (Calum).

Instead, competing in the GCCL was understood as simply another means of meeting their overarching goal of expanding access to football for refugees and asylum-seekers. However, while coaches at UGFC attempted to de-emphasize the significance of 'winning' and 'competing' on game days, for individual players there appeared to be a self-appointed pressure to compete resulting in situations of aggression, stress and frustration (Dukic et al., 2017, 105). This became evident through players' complaints (and my observations) of the team's lack of ability/success. For example,

> To be honest, uh, United Glasgow, they're good but there are some point where we need to improve them. So, for example, I play with them mostly four games now and we did lost many goals, so less strong here, and otherwise we do score in any game but at the end we lost, we lose the game. So that means we have the ability to score but we need to improve our

> defending style, something like that. So, I need to speak to Oliver with it because I'm thinking that you know ***I feel jealous for the team that win.*** We wear United Glasgow kit so it's not logic to lose every game while were scoring, something like that, so they are good, but they need to improve some point in the team (Rashid).

In addition, I witnessed instances of frustration and distress exhibited by players on game days:

> Today is Rashid's first game back with UGFC after taking some time off to work. He gets subbed off in the second half, after playing what I thought was a great half. However, when he is subbed off he goes straight to the change room and after several minutes the coaches and I are wondering where he is, as they want to sub him back in. Thomas goes in to check on him and comes back out alone. He says ***Rashid got changed and doesn't want to play anymore because he thinks he is no longer good at football***. Rashid eventually comes out to watch fully changed into his regular clothes. He wanders to the other side of the field to watch the rest of the game and his demeanor is rather downtrodden. I hope one of the coaches will reach out to him after the game (Fieldnotes, August 27th, 2017).

Again, these findings are consistent with the work of Dukic et al. (2017) who also posit that the 'logic of competition' inherent to mainstream sporting environments can create instances of aggression, frustration and disagreement, having the potential to derail the possible positive outcomes of playing football for refugees and asylum-seekers (105).

From the preceding discussions then, it is apparent that by competing in the GCCL a series of challenges arise on game days that have the potential to threaten the levels of well-being refugees and asylum-seekers experience through their participation with UGFC. In particular, if we reflect on the way UGFC has been discussed as a space through which refugees and asylum-seekers can 'relax', 'have fun', and forge a 'sense of identity and belonging', I argue that the discrimination, racism and frustrations players may encounter on game days

present a challenge to the club. That being said, for the majority of participants in this study it appeared that the costs associated with game days did not seem to outweigh their desire to participate in a full competition season. Accordingly, for UGFC going forward a key challenge will be continuing to address and confront the discrimination they encounter in the GCCL, in the hopes of limiting such occurrences and continuing to push conversations surrounding racism/anti-racism in football. Moreover, there is a continued need to manage and support the competitive will that exists amongst individual participants in order to minimize instances of emotional distress.

Sustainability

In addition to the tensions and considerations discussed above, a final topic of concern discussed amongst participants was the sustainability of UGFC. In particular, an ongoing tension between the club's desire for growth and its own organizational capacity surfaced continually throughout interviews. Here, issues surrounding 'funding' and 'volunteer burnout' were discussed as factors that stifled the operations of the club and which I contend have the potential to hinder its ability to facilitate well-being.

As Sharpe (2006) demonstrates in her research on grassroots recreation organizations, individual experiences in community sport are heavily influenced by organizational capacity. In the case of UGFC, unlike many community sport organizations, the club has yet to adopt more professional management systems or structures (Spaaij, 2013, 19). Instead, the club currently functions in an informal, decentralized fashion, remaining heavily reliant on a small number of volunteers

and sporadic funding. While this way of operating has functioned for UGFC in the past, with the club currently hosting over 200 participants and growing, several volunteers have come to question the operations of UGFC going forward. Specifically, the lack of financial and human capital (Sharpe, 2006) the club possesses was deemed a major barrier to the viability of the program. As Calum expressed:

> I mean I got a list as long as me' arm that I've got written down of different groups that, ya'know, I'd like to meet up with and try and do some networking with. But it's just, it's finding the time, and amongst work it's being able to maintain it and it's having the services, ya'know, right now we're hoping to transition to a point where we can look for more people to link in but, ya'know, with the numbers we had last season we had to really find a balance between like, wanting to engage with as many people as possible and also being realistic that we don't have the resources for it. Like we just don't have the funding. Which means we don't have the equipment or the training space. And on top of that we don't have the people needed to run the sessions for larger numbers.

Additionally, other volunteers candidly discussed the tensions they saw arising from such a shortage of financial and human capital, specifically noting the strain this placed on them as volunteers:

> So, um, ya'know, volunteers, for example, we did have other football supporters groups here and in Germany and other kind of charities and trade unions putting money towards, to keeping us going. Or otherwise you're talking about us, volunteers or coaches putting in money to cover the deficit in games every week, which unfortunately happened for far too long (Gavin).

> In order for us to deliver what we're doing a core of half a dozen to ten volunteers are pretty much on 24hr call. So, while I am not contractually obliged to work harder than is appropriate for a volunteer at this level, if I didn't do the additional work that isn't mandated by my position on paper, the club would not function as it does at the moment. And I don't say that as a martyr because I am not the only one, the organization is built on the backs, and in some case the unraveling and undermining the physical and mental health of some of its volunteers, because it hasn't put in place structures to support its organization to deliver on what it set out to do and it

> hasn't been firm enough on compromising to reach a safe level ground. Therefore, I always feel sustainability is an issue (Oliver).

Here such strains are significant to note, as previous research has demonstrated when a club becomes heavily reliant on a small number of individuals the pressures that come with its maintenance can lead to 'volunteer burnout' and the potential loss of key volunteers (Spaaij, 2013; Dukic et al., 2017). This loss of volunteers is especially problematic for the sustainability of clubs like UGFC, as knowledge of how to run/manage such a unique program is most often developed through experience (Dukic et al., 2017, 106). As a result, while none of the key volunteers at UGFC have yet to leave, it is not a surprise that several individuals have voiced concerns on the success and sustainability of the club going forward.

So, what does this all mean for UGFC and the well-being of its refugee and asylum-seeking players? If we consider the findings discussed, there is a clear tension surrounding the club's ability to provide successful, sustainable services in the interim as well as the future. While to date this has not prevented players from accumulating the functionings that contribute to their well-being, the club's lack of financial and human capital must be understood as limiting the number of players UGFC is able to support and ultimately the quality of its services. Subsequently, when deliberating on UGFC's ability to facilitate well-being for its refugee and asylum-seeking players, I believe that its unsustainable nature can work to inhibit the positive effects of the program. In particular, because of the significance UGFC appears to hold in the lives of players throughout their settlement in Glasgow, I suggest that finding a way to ensure the longevity of the club should be of top priority.

CONCLUSIONS (CHAPTER SEVEN)

The primary purpose of this thesis was to understand the extent to which sport might facilitate and/or undermine facets of well-being among male refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement in Glasgow, Scotland. A secondary focus was to address the relationship between sport, settlement and development and demonstrate how sport-based initiatives for refugees and asylum-seekers can undergo the same theoretical and conceptual analysis as their 'traditional' sport for development counterparts. To achieve these aims, I investigated a grassroots, community based football club for male refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, Scotland –United Glasgow FC.

United Glasgow FC proved to be an interesting case from which to investigate sport's role in facilitating well-being for refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as, to draw important links between the fields of SFD and refugees, sport, and settlement. As discussed in Chapter Two, UGFC fills a number of lacunae within current SFD research as it addresses the relationship between sport, settlement, and development within a 'Northern' context. Moreover, as I established in Chapter Four, UGFC addressed a number of critiques present in the literatures surrounding both SFD and 'settlement through sport', which in turn opened up opportunities for facilitating various facets of well-being among its male refugee and asylum-seeking players. Notably, in removing barriers to access, adopting a two-way integration discourse, and providing the opportunity to travel and go on trips, I posited that UGFC created a sporting arena through which male refugees and asylum-seekers of varying religious, cultural and ethnic

backgrounds could expand what they were 'able to do or to be' as they settled into life in Glasgow.

Participants in this study echoed this sentiment, discussing both expected and unexpected benefits of participation that they understood were contributing to male refugee and asylum-seekers' ability to facilitate various facets of well-being. Not surprisingly, the main functionings that participation in UGFC was understood to be facilitating for male refugees and asylum-seekers, as recounted by both volunteers and players, were in accordance with many of the benefits discussed in the mainstream literature surrounding SFD. Their narratives, however, were also deeply shaped by the contextual reality of being a refugee/asylum-seeker in Glasgow, Scotland, as well as formed by the sporting environment created by UGFC. As discussed in Chapter Five, both volunteers and players spoke of how participation in the club provided opportunities to acquire knowledge, skills and connections that helped to facilitate settlement in Glasgow. In contrast, participants also discussed UGFC as a space through which male refugees and asylum-seekers could 'relax' and 'turn off' from the stresses of settlement/integration and reclaim important aspects of their identity. Further, participation in UGFC was understood creating opportunities for male refugees and asylum-seekers to travel, have fun, and foster feelings of belonging. Together, it is this collection of functionings that indicated to me that participation in UGFC could support several of facets of well-being for refugees and asylum-seekers throughout the settlement process, primarily their social, emotional, physical and spiritual well-being, which in turn increased players' capabilities and their agency

while in Glasgow. Nevertheless, the extent to which well-being can be facilitated through sport remains contested.

Recalling Chapter Six, I there highlighted a series of tensions that posed challenges to the levels of well-being UGFC could be understood facilitating. In particular, it became clear that despite the number of steps UGFC took to support male refugee and asylum-seeker settlement, as a sporting arena it could not remain isolated from the tensions surrounding settlement and asylum that existed in wider society (Andersson, 2002, 84). Specifically, tensions pertaining to the asylum-process, as well as, the implicit/explicit prejudice and racism present within sporting competition emphasized the complexities surrounding the 'power' of sport to facilitate settlement and support for male refugees and asylum-seekers. More importantly, they raised issues of citizenship, inclusion/exclusion, and agency, indicating the potential limitations of sport in facilitating the capabilities of players both within and outside the club.

In discussing some of the challenges UGFC faces in its efforts to facilitate male refugee and asylum-seeker well-being, I have no intention to discredit the profoundly positive effects of participation in UGFC, nor the club's efforts to support diversity and inclusion. Rather, my intent is to modestly draw attention to the fact that sport cannot be considered a 'cure-all' for the settlement of male refugees and asylum-seekers and that its transformatory impacts should not be over-emphasized. In this light then this study contends that sport cannot, and should not, provide a means to an end when it comes to refugee and asylum-seeker settlement. Instead, it should be considered but one outlet through which

male refugees and asylum-seekers can increase their well-being as they adjust to life in Glasgow.

Implications for Theory, Practice and Future Research

Throughout this thesis I have engaged with a number of theoretical and conceptual debates currently taking place within the field of 'settlement through sport' and SFD more broadly. In doing so, I have attempted to demonstrate how sport based initiatives for male refugees and asylum-seekers can undergo the same theoretical and conceptual analysis as their 'traditional' SFD counterparts. While to date there has been little engagement between the two scholarly fields, I argue that this thesis has successfully established that an interrelationship exists between such scholarly works. Importantly, I have demonstrated how research surrounding 'settlement through sport' is confronting many of the same debates present within research surrounding SFD, namely that of sport as an *a priori* force of goodness versus sport as a cultural site that can maintain power, hierarchy, and privilege. As a result, I believe there is a strong case for future research interested in exploring the convergences of sport, refugees and settlement to engage with relevant theory within the field of SFD. Moreover, I argue that SFD scholars, policymakers and practitioners alike must begin to better engage with sport programming targeted at refugees/asylum-seekers and their settlement.

On top of this call for more collaboration between the fields of SFD and 'settlement through sport', I believe this study's findings also point to a need for more inquiry into sport programming like that of UGFC. As discussed, UGFC has addressed a number of critiques present in the literature surrounding 'settlement

through sport', making it a unique case study within the context of existing research. Nevertheless, UGFC is also part of an emerging movement taking place across Europe, with over 240 grassroots organisations, teams, and football clubs currently involved. Consequently, the opportunity is ripe for further investigation into the varying measures these associations adopt in their attempts to support the settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers through sport. Moreover, given the contextual influences present throughout this study, it is important for future research to explore how generalizable male refugees and asylum-seekers experiences are across grassroots, community football programs which are perceived to adopt similar structures and programming as UGFC. For example, some programs for future inquiry may include but are not limited to: *RFC Lions* in Caserta, Italy*; Panamboyz* in Paris, France; *Yorkshire St. Pauli* in Yorkshire, England; and *Mondial Stars Ry* in Helsinki, Finland.

Finally, the gendered nature of this thesis brings to light an important area of this research that remains unexplored – the experiences of refugee and asylum-seeking women in sport. In particular, the potential role sport may play in facilitating and supporting their settlement has yet to be systematically researched. This is surprising, given the rise of sport programming for refugee/asylum-seeking women and girls that has begun to crop up over Europe. Programs of note include, *Rampen IK* in Gothenburg, Sweden; *Liberi Nantes* in Rome, Italy; and *Les Démgommeuses* in Paris, France. As a result, I place a call for future scholars interested in 'settlement through sport' to broaden the gendered scope of their research, as I believe it is imperative to give equal voice

to the experiences of refugee/asylum-seeking women and girls who are involved in sport programming throughout their settlement process.

In terms of more practical implications, my humble hope is that this research can begin to inform policy makers and practitioners on the kinds of conditions needed to create a sporting environment that can effectively support various facets of refugee and asylum-seeker well-being and thus their settlement. Like recent research, my findings confirm that the extent to which refugee and asylum-seeker well-being can be facilitated through sport relies heavily on the conditions present within the sporting arena. Expressly, my findings support the recommendations put forth by Spaaij (2013) as they demonstrate a number of positive outcomes for refugees and asylum-seekers that come with: acknowledging and addressing barriers to sport participation; reducing and preventing discrimination in sport; providing on-going cross-cultural awareness and diversity training; and adopting understandings of two-way integration (29). In this light, this research may serve to contribute to the improvement of other sport programs and initiatives interested in supporting refugee and asylum-seeker settlement. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, the extent of a program's success may also further depend on the local context.

Another practical implication of this research is to remind policy makers and practitioners of the diversity that exists within the refugee and asylum-seeker community. Throughout this study I have demonstrated that refugees and asylum-seekers are far from a homogenous group. In particular, findings have demonstrated the importance of sporting arenas for refugees and asylum-seekers

that accommodate for a diversity of needs and create space for the negotiation of various scales of identity and belonging. For example, while previous research has highlighted the need for sport programming for refugees and asylum-seekers to uptake strong anti-racist rhetoric in order to promote inclusion, this research has also pointed to the importance of adopting other anti-discrimination stances such as, pro-LGBTQ+. Resultantly, in taking steps to consider and support the intersecting identities that refugees and asylum-seekers may uphold, programs can create opportunities to increase inclusion through sport whilst also managing potential instances of exclusion.

On a final note, I suggest the findings of this thesis bring to light practical questions surrounding the sustainability and organizational capacity of community sport programs for refugees and asylum-seekers. Such concerns reflect those raised in previous studies on 'settlement through sport', which have also stressed how the success of community sport programming for refugees and asylum-seekers relies heavily on good organization, committed volunteers and steady funding (Amara et al., 2004; Spaaij, 2013; Dukic et al., 2017). Key considerations for policy makers and practitioners going forward then, are finding ways to create and maintain attainable program targets and goals, locate and secure steady funding streams, and form innovative ways to recruit and retain volunteers.

Final Remarks

This thesis offers but one lens through which to understand the experiences of some individuals who are attempting to navigate settlement in a new host society and for whom sport can be viewed as a tool that can facilitate their well-being throughout the process. I therefore make no claims that this study's findings are capable of generalisation to other newly arrived communities whether across Scotland or beyond. Nevertheless, I believe this research has begun to illuminate important insights into the types of conditions that are necessary for sport to best support the settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers. Moreover, it has further revealed the various ways refugees and asylum-seekers draw on sport as a site to facilitate their well being. In the end, I submit that this research has provided much needed empirical insight into debates surrounding conceptualizations of settlement through sport. However, it is my wish that this thesis continues to inspire future research to importantly question, 'what conditions are necessary for sport to have the most beneficial impact on the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers throughout their settlement processes?'.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

Initial interview questions (before revisions):

Program Participants:

1. How long have you been in Glasgow? Do you have family with you? How old are you?
2. Where was home before Glasgow? Why did you leave?
3. How did you discover United Glasgow FC? How long have you been playing for the club? How soon after your arrival did you join?
4. Why did you choose to join the team? Is it important that you get the opportunity to play football here in Glasgow?
5. What do you see yourself gaining from participating in United Glasgow FC?
6. Have you been able to access ESOL classes, housing, education, or work since arriving in Glasgow? Do you see UGFC playing any role in your access to these?
7. Do you like the mixed nature of the club? Would you prefer to play with those solely of a similar ethno-cultural background?
8. Have you made friends through the club? Where are they from? Do you hangout outside of the program? What do you chat about?
9. What do you think of the political stance of the club? Does it matter to you? Is it important?
10. What is the reaction from the teams you play against? Are there ever any tensions?
11. Do you feel like the club is culturally and religiously inclusive?
12. Do you feel like you have a voice in the club? Are you listened to? What do you think of the volunteers/coaches?
13. Do you feel settled in the community? Why/Why not? Do you see United Glasgow FC playing any role in your settlement?
14. When you think of United Glasgow FC what comes to mind? What do you like the most about participating? What do you like the least?
15. What is your favourite memory with the club?

Questions added after first initial player interviews:

1. Did you have any football gear with you on arrival? Do you borrow equipment from the club?
2. Did you play football back in [blank]? Where did you play? On a team?
3. Have you tried to access other football programs in Glasgow? Have you ever considered switching teams? Why?
4. Do you plan on staying in Glasgow? Why? Why not? Where would you move?
5. Have you attended the education days? What did you think of the event? Have you attended any other of the anti-discrimination activities of the club?
6. Do you have a favourite football team? Do you have a favourite player? Do you enjoy any other sports?

Initial interview questions (before revisions):

Volunteer Coaches:

1. What spurred the formation of United Glasgow FC? How did you get involved?
2. What is the model of the club? How does the program seek to use football to facilitate the settlement and/or integration of refugees and asylum-seekers?
3. Your club is rather politically active? What is the reasoning for this? Do players engage with this?
4. How do you attract/recruit refugees and asylum-seekers to your program?
5. What sort of barriers to refugees and asylum-seekers face when trying to access sport in Glasgow? Do you do anything to mitigate these barriers?
6. Given refugees and asylum-seekers varying statuses do they tend to stay with club? Is there a high turnover rate?
7. What benefits do you see players gaining from participation in sport? What benefits do you see participation in grassroots sport programming providing over participation in mainstream sport structures?
8. What is the reasoning behind the mixed participant/multi-ethnic nature of the club? Does this present any opportunities or challenges?
9. What sort of reaction has your program garnered from the community? How do you respond to any negativity?
10. What is the league you participate in like? What is the reaction from your opponents in general?
11. Do you connect with any other teams like your own across Europe or the world?
12. How do you fund the club?
13. How do you manage all the players, playing time and their playing abilities?
14. What are the biggest challenges your program faces? What are the programs biggest triumphs?
15. Where do you see the program in the next five years? Where do you see your players? Do you see your model ever being replicated?

Questions added after first initial volunteer interviews:

1. What are the education days? Have you attended? What purpose do they hold?
2. Do you ever think there is a risk that you are pushing certain political agendas on your players?
3. How do you handle the differing language capabilities of players? Do you have translators present at practice and games?
4. Does it bother you when players are translating throughout practice/games? How do you handle all the differ
5. What was the Manchester Trip? Did you attend? What was its purpose?
6. How does the program seek to accommodate for the cultural and religious diversity of its participants?

Appendix B: Photo of UGFC logo

Appendix C: Photo of LGBTQ+ rainbow on jerseys