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Forging Social Capital Via Sport-for-Development
- A Comparative Analysis -

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Graduate School of International Studies
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International Cooperation

Darron Seller-Peritz

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Examiner: Prof. Kim, Taekyoon

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Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
International Cooperation Major

Darron Seller-Peritz

Confirming the master's thesis written by
Darron Seller-Peritz
August 2020

Chair: Prof. Oh, Yoon Ah ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯(Seal)

Vice Chair: Prof. Byun, Oung ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯(Seal)

Examiner: Prof. Kim, Taekyoon ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯(Seal)

Abstract

Following a need to add variety in the world's development initiatives, many organizations have looked toward sport-for-development (S4D) to fill this gap as part of a wider effort. Drawing on the works on social capital of Putnam, Coleman, Woolcock and others, this thesis discusses the ways in which S4D programs act as a platform onto which social networks can be built and maintained. A comparative analysis was performed between one program in South Africa, one in Thailand and one in Israel. The programs were chosen for their divergent focus on social capital acquisition along the lines of social bonds, bridges and links, respectively. Some primary data was collected, as well as secondary literature used for the analysis of the case studies. The findings of this analysis can be generalized as varying in intensity along a spectrum going from social bonds toward social links. Suggestions for future research and practice are then suggested.

Keywords: International development, Social capital, Sport-for-development, Social connections, Social network, Social bonds, bridges and links

논문 초록

전세계적으로 다양한 국제 개발 프로그램의 필요성이 대두되면서, 많은 국제기구들이 이 필요성을 충족시키기위한 폭 넓은 노력의 일환으로 '개발을 위한 스포츠(S4D)'를 모색하고 있습니다. Putnam, Coleman, Woolcock 등의 사회적 자본에 관한 연구들을 바탕으로, 이 논문은 S4D 프로그램이 소셜 네트워크를 구축하고 유지할 수 있는 플랫폼으로 작용하는 방법에 대해 논의합니다. 본 논문에서는 남아프리카 공화국과 태국, 이스라엘에서 진행되고 있는 각 프로그램에 대한 비교 분석 연구가 시행되었습니다. 이 프로그램들은 각각 사회적 유대관계, 융화 및 연결과 같은 사회 자본을 획득하는 것에 서로 다른 초점을 두기 위해 선택되었습니다. 연구를 위해 사례 연구의 분석에 사용된 2 차 문헌 뿐만 아니라 일부 1 차 데이터가 수집되었습니다. 이 분석의 결과는 사회적 유대관계에서 사회적 연결까지의 범위 내에서 시행 강도에 따라 일반화될 수 있습니다.

키워드: 국제 개발, 사회 자본, 개발을 위한 스포츠, 사회적 연결, 소셜 네트워크, 사회적 유대관계, 융화 및 연결

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Chapter I

- Introduction -

1.1 Background

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, sport has taken an increasingly larger role in development objectives. It was in 1959 that the United Nations (UN) formally recognized sport as a fundamental right in the Declaration on the Rights of a Child. Following this, in 1978, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) deemed sport a fundamental right for everyone. In 2001, the UN under Kofi Annan first recognized that sport could have an important positive impact on development, jointly with other efforts, and in 2002 the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace was formed, and part of its goal was to see how sport could be used to help achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Beutler, 2008). The UN has doubled down on sport-for-development (S4D) and how it can help achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2015). Furthermore, Rogge (2011) stated that "sport cannot solve all of the world's ills, but it can contribute to meaningful solutions. Sport provides a common language. It breaks down barriers and brings people together. It is a magnet for young people that can be used to teach positive values and valuable life lessons" (in Gilbert & Bennett, 2012, p. 7).

1.2 Motivation

Taking this background into account, the goal here is to understand in what ways sport contributes to providing these solutions. More specifically, it is to comprehend the ways in which sport, combined with other developmental initiatives,

can become a meaningful foundation in order to solve, at least partially, some of the world's woes. Speaking of a common language, the social connections that are offered by S4D, which turn into networks, build into opportunities for its participants, organizers, coaches, and the broader community.

The main reason for writing this thesis is to dig deeper into the attention that S4D programs have been getting in terms of their ability to contribute to building social capital. Indeed, as international development successes have seemingly been stagnating, a more complete way to achieve development has been a priority for many donors, NGOs, and multilateral organizations. As such, one area that has risen in popularity in the last few years is S4D.

1.3 Purpose

S4D can be defined "as the use of sport to exert a positive influence on public health, the socialisation of children, youths and adults, the social inclusion of the disadvantaged, the economic development of regions and states, and on fostering intercultural exchange and conflict resolution" (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011, p.311). Social capital, similar to other forms of capital such as physical, financial, or human capital, is something that can aid to the development of a community in the way it leverages social networks created through different means. These two concepts are linked in that sport creates a platform on which individuals can bond (with similar people), bridge (with somewhat similar, somewhat dissimilar people), and link (with dissimilar people) their way to accumulating social capital. Although social capital can be achieved in different ways, and the results take different forms, the underlying assumption is that with more social capital individuals will be able to

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more easily take advantage of different kinds of opportunities as they present themselves.

As S4D is somewhat of a new topic of research that has gained momentum only in the last two decades or so, there are many gaps that need to be addressed in the field. On the one hand, supporters of the benefits that S4D bring suggest that part of the argument in favor of programs' success lies in the higher presence of social capital due to the actual existence of the sports program. On the other hand, detractors have refuted claims that S4D programs, by means of their ability for individuals to accumulate social capital, are beneficial to communities seeking development. In this way, this thesis will compare S4D programs operating in different contexts, and analyze to what extend these programs provide a solid foundation for the development of social capital. All in all, because of the continuous poverty and fighting still going on in many countries that does not seem to improve, can sport create an adequate framework on which to strengthen the community through the advancement of social capital? If S4D programs do indeed accomplish this goal, in what ways does it do so.

Chapter II

- Related Literature -

The S4D literature has been growing in the past 20 or so years, but gaps still exist in many different areas. Chapter 2 will outline some important background information about S4D, as well as provide an overview of the current literature that has been produced and identify the gaps in order to obtain quality research questions that will drive the remainder of this paper toward the creation of an analysis and conclusions.

2.1 Sport-for-Development Overview

2.1.1 Types of programs

There are different types of organizations involved in using sport to achieve developmental goals, and although the lines differentiating these different types of organizations are blurry, these organizations can be fit into numerous categories. Building upon the World Bank's categorization of non-governmental organizations (NGO) in terms of "operational" and "advocacy," S4D NGOs can be found in both these sections and can be further divided into three types of programs, depending on the program's objectives and dissemination of its goals: "plus sport," "sport plus" and "sport first." These subdivisions relate to how much each organization uses sport to achieve their goals. NGOs that use the "plus sport" approach usually have general development as their objective, and use sport sparingly in their pursuit of said objectives. "Sport plus" programs do put sport as the centerpiece, but have their goals set in social or economic development. As for "sport first" NGOs, they are solely

concentrated on the sporting aspect, and any outside developmental impacts are unexpected positive side-effects.

Although the categories detailed above seem well-defined, the presence of both vertical and horizontal collaborations within each program may have a strong impact on the role of sport. Program design, implementation, funding and direction may come from different sources, making it not always solely a "plus sport" or "sport plus" NGO, but in fact a coming together of organizations with different expertise and capabilities (Levermore, 2011).

The industry is structured in such a way that there are different categories of actors either dealing with the implementation or the carrying out of the S4D programs. These actors vary in their goals, methods, and funding. Firstly, the most present type of organization are the NGOs. At the top is Right to Play (RTP), the world's largest and one of the oldest S4D NGOs. Based in Toronto, Canada, RTP typically delivers "sport plus" programs (Levermore, 2008). However, there are a plethora of sizes when it comes to NGOs, from big international ones operating programs all over the world, to more localized ones carrying out a single operation or a few in the same region. Secondly, there are many governmental and intergovernmental organizations involved in S4D. As for governmental organizations, these are typically international aid departments (e.g. AUSaid) or sports and culture departments (e.g. Israeli Sports Authority, British Council) whereas intergovernmental organizations functioning in S4D are the UN, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), to name but a few. These organizations are sometimes involved in all three forms of projects, meaning that at times they are looking to simply develop sport and competitive players, while some

of the time they are looking to achieve broader community development. Third, large multinational corporations also hold S4D projects as part of their customer social responsibility initiatives and these usually are found to be plus sport or sport plus initiatives (Giulianotti, 2012).

2.1.2 Connection between sport and development

The power of S4D programs with regards to development can be viewed broadly as being able to make up for deficiency in government, civil society and weak family structures (Coalter, 2010a). When looking at sport plus and plus sport, S4D program goals can be grouped into three large categories: health, personal, and community development. Above and beyond the straightforward benefits that participation in sport provides (i.e. exercise), many of the health initiatives are related to HIV/AIDS prevention and education in areas where there is a large prevalence of the disease, such as Sub-Saharan Africa. Community development often relates to social cohesion and inclusion, and this is probably the most common objective for S4D programs. These can be found all over the world, in both developing and developed nations, and often target marginalized communities that are generally underserved. Personal development initiatives are often related to life-skills teachings (Schulenkorf, Sherry & Rowe, 2016).

According to Coakley (2011), young people's individual development can be broken down into three broad categories of benefits. The first is that sport will make a young person's character grow in a positive direction. The second is that it pushes at-risk youth toward a better path by removing shortcomings, which are often brought about by the surroundings in which they live. Lastly, it provides a young

individual with strong, healthy relationships that can lead to personal success. Although not a strong proponent of S4D as an end-all to achieve development, the author does recognize that "the socializing experiences that come with sport participation will produce the attributes needed to increase life chances for program participants" (p.314). So, the connection is that the actual involvement in the sports program will open the door to achieve personal development.

Even though a distinction has been made between personal development, health, and community development, the three are interdependent. This means that the separation is unclear both with this distinction, as well as with the use of sport plus or plus sport programs. Indeed, because it is difficult to make these distinctions; it is also impossible to say for certain that one type of program is more useful than another.

In terms of development capabilities, the advantages of sport over other activities can be thought of as three-fold (Grundlingh, 2011). Firstly, sport has an inherent social quality to it, whether that is winning a game or simply making a contribution to the group. The fact of working together toward a goal is something that is undeniably important, especially for the achievement of community development goals. Second of all, compared to other activities (e.g. a book club) sport appeals to a greater number of people and it can attract people who participate for the sports, but derive other associated benefits as well, such as life skills acquisition or health education. Lastly, because of its high entertainment value, sport can attract non-participants that come and watch. Indeed, simply by spectating, they can either benefit by creating social networks with the participants, or other spectator stakeholders, or by becoming participants in the future.

Although there is a generalized understanding of the benefits that S4D programs can bring to development, there is criticism toward scholars and practitioners who claim that benefits solely lie in these S4D programs, or that running a S4D program will automatically lead to development goals being achieved (Kidd, 2011). In fact, there is a strong push for anyone involved with S4D to recognize that S4D is only valuable if it is understood within the broader context of development. Indeed, according to those critical of S4D, it is only when harmonized with other development initiatives that real progress can be made. It is also important to appreciate that not only will development be achieved within a wider context, but that the accumulation of social capital will also be achieved through a much more complex process than simply S4D programs (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009).

It is important to acknowledge the limits of S4D programs, but also the ways in which they can be successful within these limits. In fact, it is vital that all stakeholders understand that S4D programs cannot be a cure-all, and can only be effective with the proper structures and planning in place. On the one hand, for a project's sustainability, a balance between donor and community ownership is vital. Especially at the early stages of a S4D program, outside forces have been identified as having an important role in achieving the desired outcomes. Even so, a bottom-up approach is necessary in order to attain successful outcomes in the long-run, albeit with the proper local ownership structure, as well as continued dialog between representatives of the different levels of stakeholders (Schulenkorf, Sugden & Burdsey, 2014). On the other hand, there are dangers to S4D, specifically for those who do not enjoy sports, and/or competitive surroundings. Although some dispute the latter's downsides, competition can lead to catastrophic consequences, especially

in disparate communities. Examples of this are further exclusion and distance, leading to reduced social capital. Additionally, some authors also mention inadequate surrounding structures, such as an unstable political environment, can lead to further repercussions (Gasser & Levinsen, 2004; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008).

2.2 Current State and Limitations of the Literature

Despite the fact that there have numerous S4D programs happening all over the world, S4D is fairly new as a field of research, and has only grown substantially over the past two decades. Given that there has not been enough extensive case work, field research, and studies carried out to date, generalizations are often difficult to achieve. Indeed, not many theories and frameworks have been created specifically for S4D. Still, some attempts at solid framework has been done, namely Lyras & Welty Peachey's (2011) *Sport-for-Development* theory (SFDT). This theory seeks to work from a foundation of other social science theories and broaden the scope in order to encompass elements that seem to appear in most S4D studies. As further case studies are developed and different areas explored, one should be developed or an existing one trimmed down and adjusted to the specificities of S4D. As this thesis' goal is not to suggest a new theory, this is not a major issue. Nonetheless, having a S4D theory can allow researchers to have a common basis on which to analyze and compare case studies. This, as it turns out, is an issue that this thesis will encounter. Having a common theory on which case studies base themselves results in a more straightforward comparison because equivalent data would be collected and qualitative indicators evaluated. That being said, it is a worthwhile exercise to compare the different cases chosen for this thesis. For the above explained reasons,

scholars have resorted to use some created in other social science fields, such as sociology, anthropology and psychology. The two most commonly used theories originate from other parts of social science: *social capital* theory, and *positive youth development* theory (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011).

One of the criticisms often heard specifically about S4D is that many of the studies are focused on limited regions. Despite the fact that a vast majority of the S4D programs are actually going on in developing countries, the scholars studying them mainly originate from a handful of English-speaking countries. Furthermore, even when looking at case studies done in developing nations, we find an aggregation in one region, i.e. Sub-Saharan Africa. Many of these case studies are based in South Africa (e.g. Burnett, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2010; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008), Zambia (e.g. Meier & Saavedra, 2009; Lindsey & Banda, 2010; Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Jeanes, 2013) and Uganda (e.g. Hayhurst, 2014; Hayhurst *et al.*, 2014; Richards *et al.,* 2014). This leaves other regions, such as Latin America and Asia (including the Middle East), far underreported, even though they contain many of the world's developing nations. In fact, according to Schulenkorf *et al.* (2016), only 12% of S4D research has been done in these areas (see figure 1). Another contentious aspect is that case studies that profile projects in developing nations have largely excluded grassroots programs, or programs undertaken by national or regional governments, instead focusing on the role of external actors. However, case studies about programs in developed nations have indeed extensively looked at the roles of sports clubs and government-led initiatives, especially among marginalized communities, such as refugees (e.g. Jeanes, O'Connor & Alfrey, 2015; Whitley, Coble & Jewell, 2016; Block & Gibbs, 2017; Stone, 2018) and native peoples (e.g. Tonts, 2005; MacIntosh,

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Arellano & Forneris, 2016). Yet, there is a lack of literature of this kind among vulnerable people (e.g. focus on gender and disability) who live in developing nations (Schulenkorf *et al.*, 2016; Svensson & Woods, 2017).
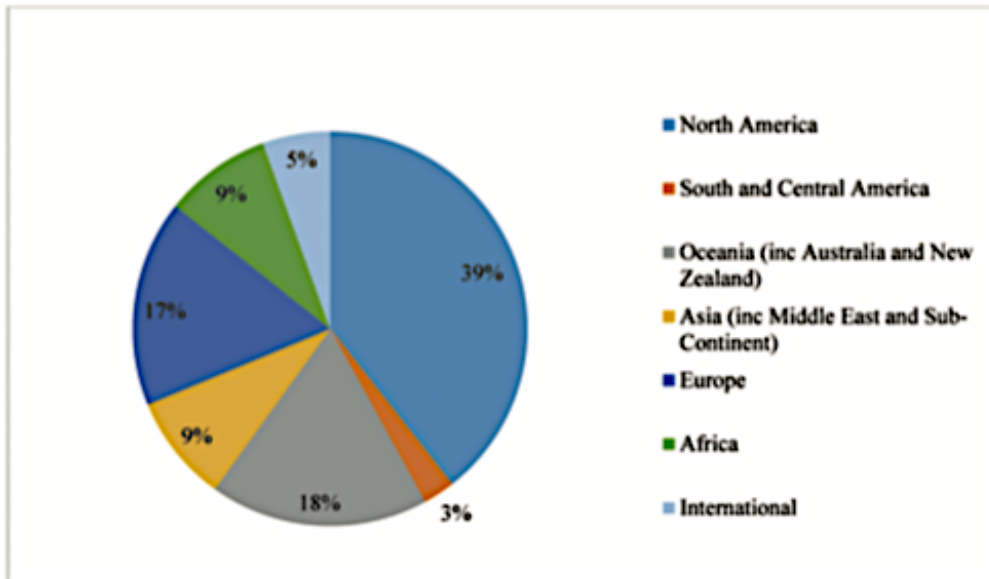
Figure 1 *S4D case studies by location (Schulenkorf et al., 2016)*

The impact of having a narrow field of view is that it has the potential to create a one-sided view of the field. Despite the fact that many specialists try to push a bottom-up approach to development practice, having a limited point-of-view can greatly affect program design. Indeed, the ways in which case studies can be affected by this are in terms of which elements would be chosen for analysis along with the angle from which these aspects are looked at.

Despite the differences in context, program comparison brings many advantages, especially in the world of international development. Also, when attempting to find some (much needed) generalities in S4D, comparing and

contrasting different projects from all over the world has the potential to shed some light. The reason for this might lie in the fact that, as opposed to focusing solely on a single case study, comparing multiple ones forces the researcher to take a figurative step back and look at the bigger, broader picture. Nevertheless, program comparison in S4D, especially different programs across different contexts, has not been performed extensively. In one case, two sports clubs, tennis and cricket, were compared using social capital as a framework (Tacon, 2016), including comparing the acquisition of social capital through different types. However, its scope being quite limited, being only in the UK, its highlighted differences between these clubs is based on the participant makeup and structure of the clubs. In another case, the authors compared the overall differences between two large European countries, Italy and France, and how they differ using specific case studies. Despite an international comparison, it is nonetheless limited to two neighboring countries. Furthermore, the emphasis of this comparative study was specifically on social inclusion and cohesion among immigrant communities (Bortoletto & Porrovecchio, 2018), simply mentioning social capital as a afterthought. In a last case, a research project funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council called *Sport for a Better World?* examined the role of S4D in advancing human rights, empowering people and contributing to reconciliation by comparing five projects in different countries. Despite having a broad scope of topics and locations covered, this comparative literature's (Collison *et al.,* 2016, 2017) emphasis was on the individuals affected by the implementation of these programs. Despite the fact that some comparison has been accomplished, comparing S4D programs in different countries on the basis of their social connection bonds, bridges and links has largely been ignored.

2.3 Research Questions

Based on the available literature on the topic, as well as this author's research interests and direction, the following research questions will guide the remainder of the thesis.

1) Are sport-for-development programs facilitating the creation of social capital for the all the concerned stakeholders involved in the case studies? If so, in what ways?

2) How do sport-for-development programs contribute to social connection bonds, bridges, and links?

3) How do sport-for-development programs differ in how they enable the acquisition of social capital?

The research questions will be grounded on the idea that sport is a platform on which high quality social connections can happen, and extensive social networks can be built. Through this, the goal is learning about the manner in which social capital is accumulated. With all of this in mind, the analysis will discuss the way in which the different aspects of sport and S4D programs interact in order to promote the construction of new social networks and the strengthening of existing ones between program participants, coaches, parents, and other community leaders.

Chapter III

- Analytical Framework -

3.1 Frameworks Scrutinized

Central to this thesis is sport's role as a platform onto which social capital can be built for individuals and communities, so this aspect was heavily emphasized when choosing and constructing the appropriate analytical framework. Considering the current conditions, social capital can be viewed as a resource to be accumulated by creating and maintaining social connections with other people who are similar (bonding), somewhat similar (bridging), and dissimilar (linking). Another aspect to consider is the process by which social connections are built, as well as the quality and type of connection created. In chapter 3, four possible frameworks are evaluated, as well as social capital explained and tailored to S4D and this thesis specifically.

3.1.1 Schulenkorf's S4D framework

Schulenkorf (2010, 2012) demonstrates the way in which a S4D project is properly transferred to the local community, thus empowering it in the process. The author also ventures into admitting S4D as a central, yet catalytic, figure in community development stemming from this change agent. In the first framework, Schulenkorf (2010) heavily emphasizes the 'handing off' of S4D projects to the local communities as being of utmost importance to long term community development, including integrative prosperity. More precisely, the importance of gradual transfer of process control from the change agent (e.g. NGO, exterior government agency, etc.) to the local community is stressed (see figure 2), as well as the different roles and responsibilities of each partner. The author also illustrates the importance of

planning ahead in a strategic manner (see figure 3). Admittedly, the role of an outside force – or change agent – is deemed necessary and a great influence for the achievement of the program's outcomes, but it is not something that will be hereinafter explored in this paper. Also, Schulenkorf (2012) places S4D programs as a central, yet catalytic, part of inter-group bonding (see figure 4) for long-term results. Although these frameworks and ideas do have merit, and have been empirically verified using numerous case studies, it seems to disregard social connections in order to attain long term outcomes, as well as the divisions between the different social connections (i.e. bonds, bridges, and links). Furthermore, the simplicity of this framework, in that it only presents S4D as a catalyst when qualifying project ownership level, forces us to acknowledge its inadequacy in terms of the present context. This paper takes on as a background the fact that S4D programs do not simply act as catalysts, but as a potential foundation for community development.
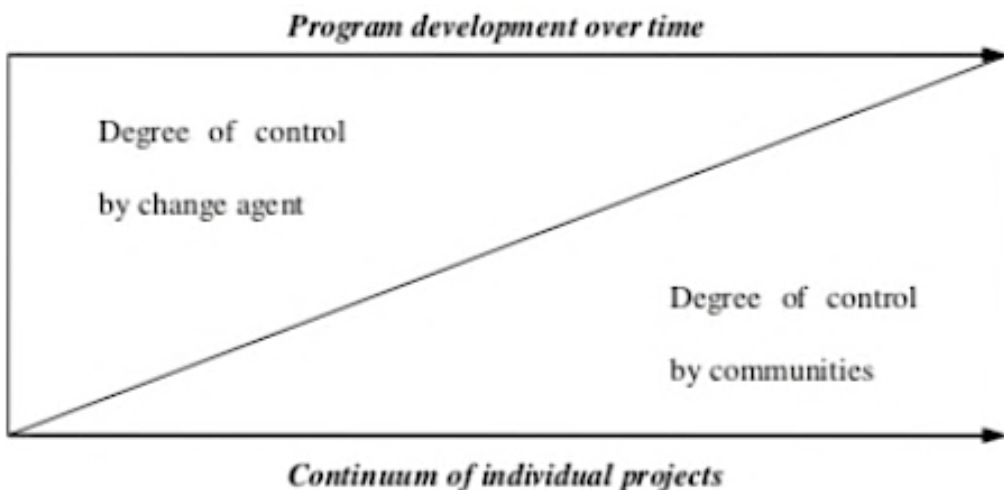
Figure 2 Model of community empowerment

Figure 3 *Strategic management process for long-term event outcomes*
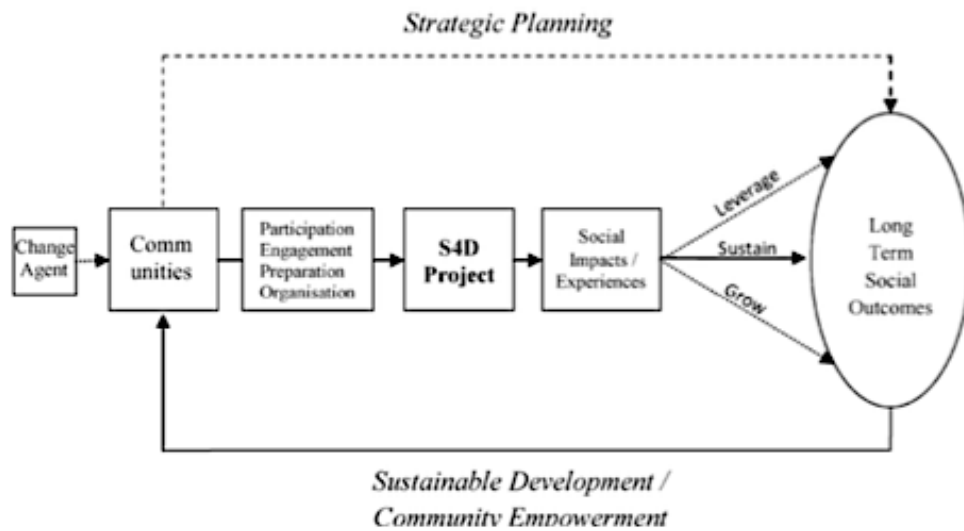
Figure 4 *S4D framework*

3.1.2 Asset-based community development model applied to S4D

A second framework is the asset-based community development (ABCD) model, created in the context of sociology (see figure 5) and applied to S4D by Misener and Schulenkorf (2016) "by recognizing and utilizing leverageable resources related to sport events as a means of fostering lasting social and economic change" (p.329). It affirms discovery, development, and control of a community's talents, skills, and assets as being central to development. In contrast to the previously presented framework, this one minimizes the role of the change agent, leaving almost

all the responsibility and control in the hands of the local community. Although this framework has been applied with the aim of detecting if additional social capital can be created (which is similar to the objective of this thesis), this framework lacks applicability in the current context because it leaves out the inter-group connections, instead choosing to focus only on intra-group dynamics and specifically the leveraging of resources.
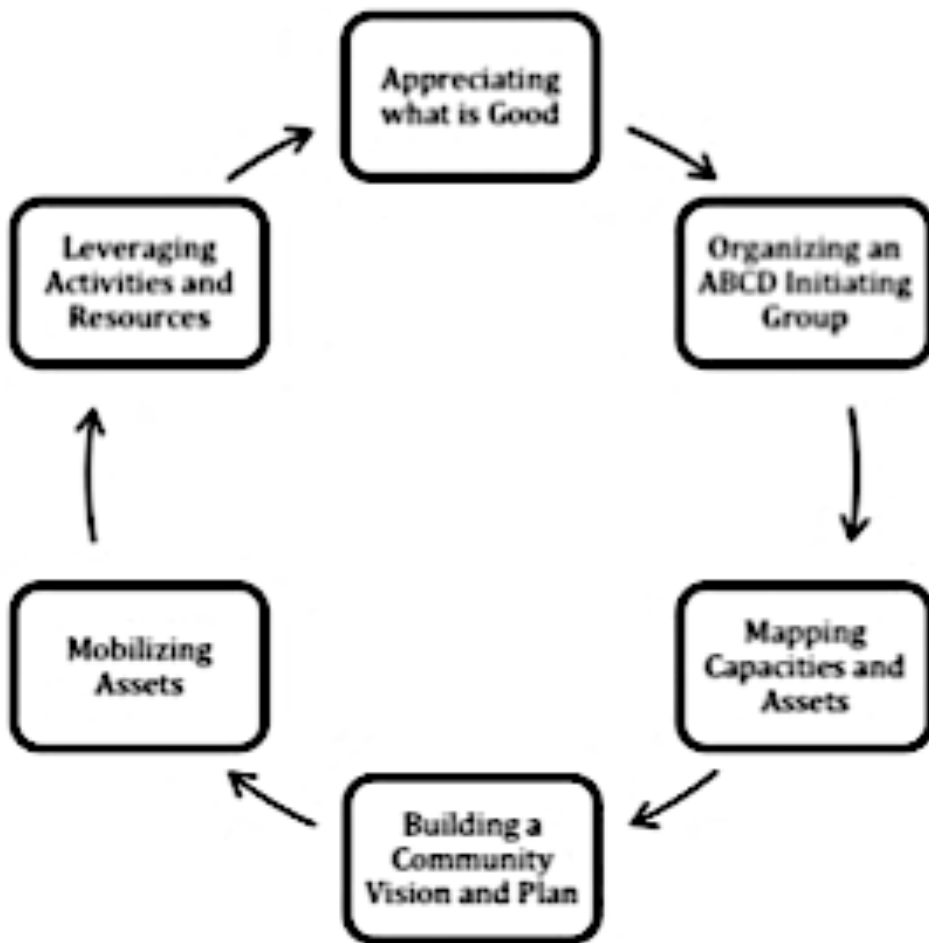
Figure 5 *ABCD model*

3.1.3 Conceptual framework defining core domains of integration

The third framework examined here is Ager & Strang's (2008) Conceptual Framework Defining Core Domains of Integration (see figure 6). Block and Gibbs (2017) then applied this framework to refugee integration through S4D. However, according to the authors who conceptualized this framework, it needs to be further empirically proven using different case studies. This framework is composed of four levels, making it extremely inclusive of many different facets of social integration. Each level (i.e. foundation, facilitators, social connections, and markers and means) is then further broken down on the basis of specific features. With an emphasis on a slow and steady process, the framework includes elements from the foundational domain of 'rights and citizenship', which is the baseline objective that the individual needs to achieve in order to access the benefits of full integration, all the way up to 'markers and means', that is both a manifestation as well as a contributing factor to individuals' integration. These are complemented by 'facilitators' and 'social connections', the latter possessing catalytic properties. A good angle that this framework provides is the link between he micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of integration throughout all the different levels. Although it does not oversimplify the process of inclusion, one downside is that because of its complexity and use of an overabundance of indicators to evaluate, qualify and discuss integration, the focus is sometimes lost. At times, the use of a simpler framework increases its applicability and explaining ability. Also, its complexity forces the scholar using it to use data that they might not have access to, have no interest in, or that is simply irrelevant to the research questions. Of particular interest is the 'social connections' level, because S4D programs have, many times over, been shown to contribute extensively to intra-

and inter-community relationships. Indeed, as it is the focus of this thesis, this level is highly relevant, but cannot be isolated outside of the framework; indeed, the authors warn against this, given that the use of only one level out of the four does not fully represent the integration dilemma. Moreover, as the focus of this framework is integration (which is evidently a highly complex issue) it does not quite fall in line with the direction that this paper is taking. In a similar fashion to Schulenkorf's (2012) framework (see figure 4), the conceptual framework defining core domains of integration places sport as a catalyst for success. However, as this paper argues that sport is a potential platform for social capital to be built upon, it takes a larger role in achieving the goals set out than if it is simply qualified as being a catalyst.

Figure 6 *A conceptual framework defining core domains of integration*

3.1.4 Positive youth development theory

As mentioned previously mentioned in chapter 2, one of the most commonly used frameworks in S4D is Positive Youth Development (PYD). "According to

proponents of PYD, the best way to prevent negative behaviours is to promote positive behaviour, which is achieved by aligning the personal strengths of youth with resources in their social and physical environment" (Gareth *et al.*, 2017, p.162). Examining S4D programs through the lens of this framework does have its benefits, especially in that it looks at a broad range of influences that cause an individual, specifically youth, to develop in the right direction. However, the main drawback is that the emphasis lies in an individual's skills and abilities acquired through sport, while discounting the importance of social and organizational aspects (Coakley, 2011). So, given that the relationship between social connections and sport is mainly what is being analyzed here, this framework does not apply to the context at hand.

All of the above mentioned frameworks make useful contributions to the field of S4D. They have all been either devised expressly for S4D, or have been adapted from another field to a case in S4D. Specifically, they help explain the proper transfer of S4D projects from the outside force to the community, community development through inter-group dynamics, integration using different interconnecting levels or individual psycho-social development. Despite their importance, certain elements are missing in order to completely and accurately answer the research questions posed at the end of the previous chapter. For this reason, a different framework will be established and the rationale explained henceforth.

3.1.5 Why choose social capital?

Social capital theory is one of the most commonly used theoretical frameworks in S4D (Schulenkorf *et al.*, 2016). The reason for its applicability in

diverse domains of academia is both its strength and the main source of its criticism: social capital theory is difficult to define and its meaning varies depending on the circumstances in which it is used. On the one hand, this can be viewed positively, while on the other hand some scholars regard this contextual flexibility as making social capital quasi-meaningless (Bjørnskov & Sønderskov, 2013), or being unfit for generalization that can be empirically justified (Fine, 2001). However, given the variety of contexts in which S4D programs are implemented, some of which will be analyzed in this paper, the flexibility and adaptability provided by this theory as the foundation for the framework is of great use. Another indication of its flexibility is that, according to Coleman (1990), it assembles many facets of social theory, including relationships, structure, and networking, as well as trust and mutuality, into one theory of social action.

Some of the literature explored previously links S4D and social capital, but fails to appropriately provide an explanation as to how sport creates a solid platform for the accumulation of social capital. Given sport's universality, having a framework that is flexible perfectly embodies its capabilities. This is what social capital offers that the others do not. Regardless of the context in which sport is placed, social capital can be accumulated. Also because of its adaptability, it allows for comparing and contrasting different S4D programs. Although some of the other considered frameworks do illustrate, albeit in a convoluted manner, what is required to create social capital, in some instances they are not set up in a way that allows comparison of the to find out if the different types of connections garner similar or dissimilar results. Furthermore, other S4D academics place sport somewhere in the middle as a

development catalyst when it should be considered as a platform for the creation of social connections.

Moreover, the direct link between sport and community development is difficult to define, although many supporters of S4D adamantly defend its utility in this way. One of the main reasons for this justified criticism is that community development cannot be unequivocally attributed solely to S4D programs. In fact, its main critics insist that this link is vague, and that S4D's true contribution must be examined in complement to other development initiatives. In a similar manner, social capital is one of a set of different kinds of capital that allow for a society to develop, along with financial, human, and physical capital. In this mindset, social capital is a framework that recognizes that being part of a broader scheme will permit community development. Seeing as the link between S4D and social capital is strong, S4D can contribute to social capital in many ways, which will, in turn, have an effect on community development.

3.2 Social Capital

3.2.1 Social capital explained and adapted

Social capital is a concept that has been approached from a few different disciplines within the social sciences, as it can lend itself to a multitude of uses. In the broad sense, social capital is viewed by scholars as something that can be accumulated, invested, and used, similar to economic, human, or physical capital. The underlying assumption is that communities in which there is a great deal of social capital assets will have an advantageous position compared to a community in which there are fewer. This can be in view of taking advantage of opportunities

(Isham, 2001), settling conflicts (Schafft & Brown, 2000), or fighting poverty and marginalization (Moser, 1996; Narayan, 1997). In fact, the strength of social networks is armor against their inherent vulnerabilities, giving them the tools to fight social problems and have access to better opportunities (Moser & Holland, 1997). Drawing on the multitude of studies that have been done on the subject, "the unifying argument being that, controlling for other key variables, the well-connected are more likely to be hired, housed, healthy and happy" (Woolcock, 2001, p.68). Furthermore, as much as the supply of social capital can be a good thing, the absence within a community can also lead to issues. Indeed, program organizers need to proceed with caution, as there is a chance to negatively affect the already thin existing relationship. That being said, the general belief among S4D researchers is that, if planned, organized, and managed correctly, the positive effects can be maximized, leading to social development (Chalip, 2006; O'Brien, 2007; Schulenkorf, 2009; Sugden, 2006). Moreover, in this case social development also includes social capital building (Moscardo, 2007).

The underlying theoretical assumption is that with a strong accumulation of social capital, higher levels of physical, financial, and human capital can also be attained (Misener & Mason, 2006). Not only can this be the case, but it seems that the benefits are being brought into communities that are often marginalized, and even within communities, to individuals who are not at the top of the hierarchy, as opposed to other forms of capital which often merely benefit individuals in already fortunate positions (Hibbitt, Jones, and Meegan, 2001). This can be achieved through the idea that decision-making in a community with strong levels of social capital take into account the voices of all stakeholders, from the bottom-up. More broadly, Coleman

(1988, 1990) asserts that in a community where there are many individuals with a lot of social capital, problems solving efforts are put forward by all members of a community because of the existence of the shared sense of responsibility among the collectivity. And this, very importantly, is produced by participating in community initiatives, namely S4D programs.

In addition to the theoretical basis for the benefits of having strong social capital, there is at least some empirical evidence as well. In fact, Halpern (1999) has suggested that social capital "is causally implicated in higher rates of economic growth, low crime rates, better population health, and more efficient and less corrupt government" (p.3), Miller *et al.* (2005) suggest that "across a variety of physical and mental health measures, social capital is positively associated with good health" (p.1096), and Andini and Andini (2019) "presented evidence of a positive and significant link between social capital endowment and subsequent economic growth" (p.646), among other examples. Moreover, according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2010), not only is there plenty of evidence for a relationship between social capital and health, but also that the causality presents itself toward health as an outcome. They claim that "studies also have shown that social capital often acts as a substitute for human capital, income, or wealth" (p.23). Given the poverty levels in which some of the S4D programs laid out in the next chapter are taking place, this is of great value.

In order to get a better grasp of the aspects of social capital that will be useful for understanding this thesis, it is crucial to take a closer look at how Putnam (2000) describes it. Putnam's central views about social capital is that social networks have value, similar to other forms mentioned above for both the individual and the

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collective group. Indeed, because social capital has both a private and a public side, benefits can be gained for both the person building the network, along with other externalities. According to the famous political scientist, this public and private side of social capital both exist; the significance being that it cannot be created alone and unquestionably interactions with others are necessary in order to generate it.

Expanding to other authors as well, a few pertinent commonalities arise between Putnam and other authors' views on social capital. These similarities are on the side of outcomes, meaning that if social capital is accumulated in a positive way, certain characteristics emerge.

One of these is the element of reciprocity, meaning that when people engage in a social network, they cooperate more easily for mutual benefit, and enticement for opportunistic and negative behavior are reduced. One can understand this reciprocity by an amalgamation of both altruism, on the short-term, and more self-interest driven reasons, in the long run (Taylor, 1982).

Secondly, the mere fact that they are part of this network pushes the individual to reach a higher standard which is expected of them. Indeed, both Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1988) discuss the fact that social norms created by a network is a kind of informal set of regulations. Indeed, adherence to a network often spawns desirable behavior, and limits antisocial behavior, to the point where the authors have found that neighborhoods in which there is a high presence of social capital, formal policing was less needed. Of course, harmful social networks that call for antisocial behavior do exist (e.g. Klu Klux Klan, criminal organizations, etc.) and "therefore it is important to ask how the positive consequences of social capital – mutual support, cooperation, trust, institutional effectiveness – can be maximized and the negative

manifestations – sectarianism, ethnocentrism, corruption – minimized" (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). That being said, sport normally calls for positive norms to be prioritized, although certain characteristics inherent to sport (e.g. competitiveness) can be seen as a negative in certain settings and will be discussed in later chapters.

A third common theme is mutual trust. Onyx and Bullen (2000) also discuss trust in the context of social capital as "a willingness to take risks in a social context based on a sense of confidence that others will respond as expected and will act in mutually supportive ways, or at least that others do not intend harm" (p.24). Trust also brings a certain cohesiveness to a group and allows teamwork to happen, especially in the context of sport, which then gets reinforced with the participation in said sport.

It is important to recognize that social capital is a dynamic and adaptable concept, and it will change depending on the socio-cultural context in which it is being accumulated (Mohan & Mohan, 2002; Onyx & Bullen, 2000). This is a crucial distinction that is being made here, and forms the basis for this thesis' comparison. For example, distinctions can be made between different kinds of social connections. Firstly, one can contrast between formal (e.g. political parties, churches) and informal (e.g. pick-up basketball game, supermarket checkout line) ways to connect. Next, and arguably more important, are the divisions between the individuals, or groups of individuals, making these connections. Another often mentioned way to make a division is between bonding social capital (between members of an individual's same close community) and bridging social capital (outside of an individual's direct network and into more distant friends, associates, colleagues). Although there are obvious benefits to the creation of social capital through social bonding, there is a

group of scholars warning about potential issues, in what Putnam calls social capital's *dark side* (Putnam, 2000), and other scholars have called the *double-edged sword* (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Among other things, by bonding a group together tightly, it may make it more difficult for others to enter the group, or may lead to further exclusion of that group from the majority, especially if they are already experiencing marginalization – an oft focused on category of people for S4D programs. The further exclusion of this group can then lead to them becoming even more disadvantaged, by resources and opportunities for employment becoming even more inaccessible.

Putnam defines and explains social capital in a precise and accurate manner, but falls short in sufficiently demonstrating nuances of intra- and inter-group dynamics of social capital building that are so important for this thesis. To this, Woolcock (2001) adds a third dimension, which is linking social capital, broadly defined as "the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community" (p.72). For the author, examples of these are banks, insurance firms and the legal system (i.e. the courts). However, in the context of the comparison at hand, and in S4D in general, linking with structures of the state does not correspond to the type of social connections that these activities are normally aiming to provide. Given that S4D has been a tool consistently used in numerous post-conflict settings to link disparate and/or feuding communities (see Gasser & Levinsen, 2004; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012; Sugden, 1991), this is where linking social capital in the S4D realm needs to be focused on: social connections between dissimilar communities rather than between communities and structures of the state. S4D does have some value in creating social connections

between communities that have had very little to no contact, or where children (the usual participants in S4D programs) are raised to be fearful or contemptuous of the other community. It does not qualify to be social bridging, because, although it describes connections with more distant people than social bonding, they should still share a similar demographic profile (Woolcock, 2001).

Social capital accumulated through bonding is done within networks of similar people in, for example, the same age group, gender, ethnicity, cultural group, socioeconomic demographic etc. Bridging social capital refers to people who have some differences between them, such as different ethnic or cultural background, but share an already established network because of certain characteristics that they have in common. Linking social capital is done through networks of people that have very little in common, have had very few past interactions between members of their respective communities (and somehow resulted in feuding) and have a certain reticence to create a network with each other because of this.

Having the bonding, bridging, linking social capital scheme the way it is (similar, somewhat similar, dissimilar communities) brings the focus of the comparison on the nature of the relationship between the communities. This way, the aforementioned consequential nuances can be qualified and uncloaked through the use of this framework. This is by opposition to Woolcock's definition of social linking with structures of the state, which provide a lesser stage for comparison.

Finally, it is important to understand that social networks are not simply something that gets created passively, and so individuals or a community must provide the appropriate setting for which they can be developed. Indeed, social contact and networks are what contribute to the development of social capital, and so

"social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable as a reliable source of other benefits" (Portes, 1988, p.3). Only then will social capital be accumulated and results be obtained. Along that same thought, once we understand what social capital is, the next questions should lie in how social capital is accumulated through S4D programs.

3.2.2 The link between social capital and sports

The relationship between social capital and sports happens on many levels. It would be foolish to pretend that sport magically brings more social capital on its own. However, what sport can do is, in the broad sense, provide a stage on which social contact, networks, and by extent social capital (in the ways described above), can be developed and maintained. In fact, according to social network theory, the ties, or relationships, between people are not bilateral and isolated, but rather they can affect one another indirectly as well. Accordingly, it is crucial to examine the structure of the network as a whole, because it can be an important determinant of what happens to the individuals, and the entire community. "Thus, a team's success is not only a function of the individual talents of the team members, but of the way they are connected to one other" (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010, p.20). This then applies to S4D programs because, as many scholars point out (Ulsaner, 1999; Burnett, 2006a; Coalter, 2007, 2010a; Sherry, 2010), sport is a setting in which social capital can come out and play, through the connections that are forged within the social network. If the S4D program is executed correctly, the stakeholders are willing, and the context

is appropriate, then its participants, and broader members of the community, can reap the benefits of increased social capital.

Also, in response to the above criticism/limitation regarding the possible negative effects of social bonding, the creation of S4D programs that aim to create connections between not only other people of the same close group (i.e. social bonding), but also of dissimilar people (i.e. social bridging), and people from a totally different de group (i.e. social linking) can be seen as a lessening these negative effects (Coalter, 2010a). This is an interesting aspect of social capital building because it conveys the message that the added variety of these social connections actually improves the possibility of social capital accumulation and beneficial outcomes. So, what the author is in fact saying is that S4D programs should indeed push toward a mixture of types of social connections, instead of exclusively emphasizing a single type.

On a first level, social capital is built up through creating social connections with teammates by playing sports with them. In fact, it requires both verbal and non-verbal communication in order to play sports, and this contributes to establishing a network with the people that play on the same team. Furthermore, it requires some off-pitch organization, exchange of contact details, etc. when it comes to transportation, food, venue, uniform and equipment arrangement and purchasing, among other things. By extent, this can also be the starting point of a closer relationship outside of simply the sports arena, if the participants choose to do so.

Next, as many of the target participants of these S4D programs are indeed children, the parents are often involved and either watch or help with the organization and planning of said programs. In order to do this, many of them get involved in the

projects as well, if not simply to monitor and evaluate the safety and benefit to their family. Contact and networks are then constructed between parents and other parents or others responsible for the program.

Next, the local organizers, coaches, administrators also need to build and/or reinforce these social connections in order to see the projects through. In fact, in many cases getting this segment involved in projects is almost as important as the benefits provided to the participants. For them, not only can they create a network of like-minded people who are in similar positions as themselves, but they have the opportunity to become more involved with the parents of the participants, the individuals working for the organization in charge of operating the program, and in many cases community leaders and public officials in charge of the community.

Lastly, putting together a S4D program often drives a community to converge in order to consult on the matter, assembling leaders of different interest groups, civil society, government, business to interact.

Not only do S4D programs provide the platform for individuals to create, maintain and increase their social connections and build networks with similar, somewhat similar, or dissimilar people, but it does so in a quality setting. It is said to be a quality platform because participants are required to co-operate toward a goal and to solve problems, support each other in good and bad times, leave selfish desires behind for the benefit of the team, and trust each other (among many other things). Sport is a good setting simply because of the nature of the way an individual participates in it. The quality of the setting in which social interactions happen is important for the development of social capital. Another form in which S4D creates an excellent setting for the accumulation of social capital is in the egalitarian nature

of sport participation. This is in opposition to the views on social capital of Bourdieu (1986), a renowned European sociologist and someone who studied social capital extensively, who was of the mind that it could only be attained by the elite. Moreover, he considered social capital from the angle of understanding social hierarchy and the forms of capital that produce inequality, specifically with relation to how other forms of capital (e.g. financial, human, physical) were used to produce inequality (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). But this is not the case with S4D, as many programs are held among unaffluent groups and provide the social capital opportunities to different strata of society. Undeniably, one of S4D's assets in the growth of social capital is the quality of the social networks it creates for everyone involved.

This thesis will be based on the idea that sport is not simply a catalyst for which community development can occur, but that sport is the entire platform that will lead to the creation of networks among similar, somewhat similar or dissimilar people. This, in turn will lead to the raising of social capital, which is a proven asset for community development, according to many scholars in the multiple different fields.

The resulting breakdown is that the context that is unique to every situation feeds into and influences the S4D program. Then, the organization and practice of S4D programs act as a foundation for the creation and maintenance of social connections. This means that all of these elements act as independent variables, and they all contribute to the accumulation of the dependent variable, social capital. This is all visually represented with figure 7 below. It can be said that the variables feed into each other and can, in some ways, become circular in causality. In point of fact, social capital can help improve the context which can lead to benefits for the

community, and also increase sport participation, creating an even sturdier platform on which to accrue additional social capital. What will be explored in depth is the way in which independent and dependent variables interact, and especially the way in which the context feeds into the delivery of sport as a platform for social connections, regardless of the type of connection. Despite the fact that they can have an effect on each other both upstream and downstream, the focus is in the way they feed into each other in a somewhat linear fashion, each contributing so that the next stage can occur.
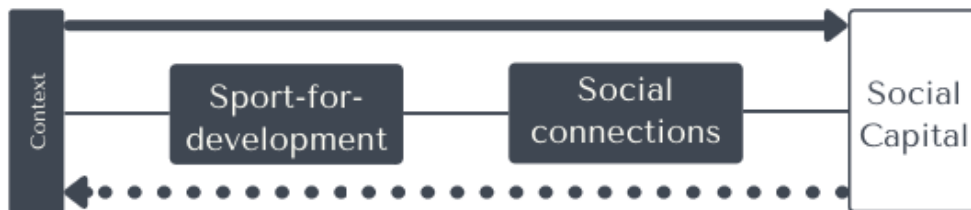
Figure 7 Social capital framework

3.3 Methods

The format of his thesis will be a comparison of different S4D programs around the world on three continents. The basis for comparison between these programs will be about how social connections contribute to the accumulation of social capital. Centering around this, the three chosen programs will have different starting points in the type of social capital that they are building. Although it is not the aim of each of these programs to improve one kind of social connection in isolation, the distinction has been evaluated based on the context and the way the program is being delivered. The programs are contrasted based on social bonding, set in South Africa, social bridging, set in Thailand, and social linking, set in Israel. In fact, given the realities of these very different cultures, the project objectives are,

of course, different. First, in South Africa, the aim was to gain social capital through the creation of social bonds between people of the same community and demographic profile (within ethnicity, gender, age). Secondly, in the culturally and ethnically diverse border town of Mae Sot, but where people find themselves in a similar situation (i.e. being migrants in a new country), the project aim is for social bridging. Third, in a historically conflictual area with distinct (even opposing) cultures and ideologies, the goal of the project in that region is social linking. All three of these are as defined above in this framework section.

In order for the reader to properly understand the context for the comparison, additional information will be provided. On the one hand, political, socio-cultural, and gender-relational backgrounds are examples of region-specific information. On the other hand, material about the participants and coordinators, organizational structure, activity description, and objectives are related to the specific case studies. With the research questions determined in the previous section as a guide, the context and specifics of each case will provide the background to be able to analyze general aspects, as well as uncommon features, through the looking glass of social capital accumulation.

Given the nature of the work at hand, this will be a qualitative comparison. Although some scholars may find a way to quantitatively measure social connections and social capital, the basis for this thesis is to qualitatively describe the similarities and differences between how the connections in each case study contribute to social capital building. The source of information for the comparison will stem from the multiple authors that have written about two of these case studies. In the cases of South Africa and Israel, there have been many observations, interviews, surveys, and

analyses done about them. Because these two former projects are bigger in size and scope, began almost 20 years ago, and have had the backing of major organizations or governments means that the pool of information available is much wider and more easily accessible. However, for the third piece of the comparison, the football project performed by PlayOnside among Myanmar migrants in western Thailand, less information was available being that the same fortunes was not extended to it as it was to the two others. Given this reality, interviews were performed with project organizers and annual reports consulted in order to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data.

There are a few reasons why these particular case studies were chosen. First of all, compared to other disciplines, S4D is a relatively new and under-developed subject. As a result, choosing case studies where sufficient information is available is primordial and is probably an obstacle consistently faced by scholars unable (or unwilling) to do fieldwork. So, one of the reasons why F4P and ACC were chosen was for the wealth of material already written about them within the subject of this thesis; as the author had a connection with someone within the PlayOnside organization, data was available although no academic studies have been written about it at the time of writing this thesis. Secondly, all three of these programs share many similarities and have comparable yet fundamentally divergent objectives in terms of types of social connections emphasized (outlined above). Considering the fact that they aim to create social capital through different means, as well as operate in different parts of the world, it is interesting to compare these three programs and see if they are able to achieve similar results.

Chapter IV

- Case Studies -

In chapter 4, the programs and the contexts associated to where they are situated will be profiled in order to be able to draw similarities and contrasting aspects and proceed to the analysis. Firstly, the Active Community Clubs (ACC) case studies, located in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, emphasize social capital building among analogous individuals (i.e. social bonding), providing club-like programs for youth in netball, rugby and cricket. Second is Football 4 Peace (F4P) program in northern Israel in order to reinforce social linking between individuals in disparate communities by providing an event-like program. The third program is run by a small NGO called PlayOnside and operating in western Thailand, running a club-like football project among Myanmar migrants. In order to fully comprehend and make good use of the analysis and conclusions in subsequent chapters, the following background is crucial in fully understanding the ways in which S4D programs create an ideal platform for the accumulation of social capital through quality social connections.

4.1 South Africa (Active Community Clubs)

4.1.1 Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, Eastern Cape, South Africa

Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) is located on the east coast of South Africa. The ACC operate in many places in southern Africa, but in this region they are located in Mdantsane and Tshabo, which happen to represent both urban and rural communities, respectively. Both these areas also represent a slice of urban and rural poverty, and if examined more broadly, many of the ills that

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Buffalo City faces, and South Africa in general, stem from poverty (Burnett, 2010). This is further aggravated by the decrease in the traditional values of *ubuntu*, or "sharing whatever one has" (May, 1998). In South Africa, social capital often comes in the shape of access to authoritative structures, formally, and family, neighbors, or other people with the same gender or age group, informally (May, 2000).

From a basic standpoint, many residents lack fundamental resources, and identify an urgent need for clean running water, electricity or gas, roads and toilets, among others. The most vulnerable people (i.e. young children, seniors, and sickly) are most hard hit by poverty in this region, stemming from a scarcity of services to care for these people. Likewise, women are generally in vulnerable positions, given the high gender segregation found in these communities. This affects them because they are then reliant on the men for their subsistence, and it can be said that the most effective way to become continuously poor is to have multiple generations in a row of having female-led households (Bank, 1995). As a result of this disadvantageous societal position, women are often the ones creating and maintaining these social networks, with other women, and building the social capital needed for them to survive in a context of poverty by caring for each other's children, and sharing food and services, among other things (May, 1998). Furthermore, the situation is such that sometimes multiple families are living in tight quarters, all under the same roof. Additionally, the lack of resources affects sport participation by creating major impediments for transportation (i.e. getting to/from the pitch), access to extra food needed when engaging in sports, as well as the acquisition of necessary equipment to participate (e.g. shoes and uniform). (Burnett, 2006b)

When it comes to employment in the area, only a staggering 24.1% of people were in some sort of formal employment at the time when the project was being run (early 2000s), and 15% were pensioners, meaning that non-productive members were a heavy burden for households. This affected the program negatively, as volunteers tended to drop out of coaching quite regularly during the program, often due to being on the lookout for employment opportunities as they arose. As mentioned above, children are often left behind. A major reason for not attending school is the lack of food, and children who attend school often go hungry. According to Burnett (2006b), in the most impoverished areas without a feeding scheme (they often were terminated because of a lack of resources), it is a regular occurrence that "the children are simply too hungry to walk to school" (p.53). Furthermore, an important issue is the lack of stability caused by children's parents moving around to different communities in order to find employment, making it difficult to have regularity in schools and sports. Average school dropout rate in this region is around 9%. Many relate this to poverty, as once the children reach a certain age, it is expected of them to help their parents in contributing to sustain the household. Another alarming reason for the high dropout rate is caused by schoolchildren not seeing the benefit of obtaining a diploma within their community: they see people, even with a school diploma, struggle with poverty and finding employment (Burnett, 2006b). This context paints a bleak picture of the situation for marginalized members of society, namely youth. Evidently, hunger is a top and urgent priority, but in order to be placed in an advantageous position in the long run, a solid, regular bonding social network can be beneficial for them.

At the time of the program operation, sport infrastructure was in dire condition and in some places was so bad that some community leaders even characterized it as unsafe and needing to be upgraded and fenced. However, as crime and vandalism is rampant in both these communities, maintaining adequate facilities is difficult and some coaches in the program were even forced to accompany the children back home for fear that they would get robbed on the way. Prior to the arrival of the ACC initiative, there was very little access to organized sports or physical activity. While elementary school children had very few opportunities, there were some local community clubs for the teenagers, but there were many barriers, mentioned above, that made access difficult for these youth. Furthermore, many members of the community (i.e. coaches and administrators) criticized community leaders as having a lack of direction and vision, social responsibility, and commitment, causing many past programs, outside of the scope of S4D, to fail (e.g. The Gardening Project, Sewing Projects, etc.). This means that there is a lack of trust that leadership will not only be able to work toward making the community better, but will be motivated to do so as well, putting the interests of the community above their own personal ones. (Burnett, 2006b)

4.1.2 Active Community Clubs

The Active Community Clubs (ACC) initiative started in 2002, funded by the Australian Agency for International Development and delivered by the Australian Sports Commission. It looked to establish sports clubs for both girls and boys aged 10 to 15 in various communities in Africa. Given that this program became successful after a short time, regional and national organizations became

stakeholders in the project (e.g. sports federations, Sport and Recreation South Africa) and wanted to contribute in many ways, such as through education, training and service provision, but also through helping build sports facilities in one of the communities (Burnett, 2006b). One of the benefits of the way this program is structured is an uptake in the regularity and frequency among the participants, compared to simply having the facilities available without the club structure.

"The ultimate strategy for Active Community Clubs, and in particular Thembalethu and Siyakhula, was to create opportunities for everyone people [sic] to participate in, and benefit from, physical activity" (Burnett, 2006b, p.17). This project sought to gather benefits through the sport plus approach, meaning that sport is at the focal point of the program and its development objectives passing through this. Indeed, the ACC had many goals, ranging from improving health to employment. One of the most prominent and noted objectives was the accumulation of social capital, specifically social bonding, through the building of a network of closely related people (e.g. gender, age, community, etc.). In point of fact, making friends with other children of similar age who are participating in sport (social bonding) was one of the main points of emphasis of the ACC, and almost all of the participants thought it was important to make friends with other participants of the same age group. Without the presence of these community clubs, it was a usual occurrence for younger kids to associate with older teenagers, where there was a stronger chance of delinquency (Burnett, 2006b).

Most of the volunteer coaches, administrators, and other staff were unemployed residents, but there were some teachers involved as well. Engaging unemployed residents was a significant part of the ACC and the community alike.

Many volunteers saw it as an opportunity to gain certain skills, and tap into a network that would potentially lead to a job, and it also provided the project with more recognition among community leaders because it could involve multiple layers of the community. However, one negative aspect of utilizing this segment of the community meant that there was a high turnover rate, as the unemployed would leave quickly if a paid opportunity came through. In the mid 2000s, the ACC had about 25 coaches, 14 administrators, 19 officials and 121 players (although these numbers differ in the later stages of the project) involved in netball, rugby and cricket in Mdantsane and Tshabo. Although the great need for role models was recognized for the ACC, it was unfortunately a setback that this target was not fully attained. There were some instances where sports players of high esteem came to engage in coaching, but this endeavor lacked in sustainability. Furthermore, given the high turnover rate of some coaches and administrators, role models could not properly forge the desired relationships and have the kind of impact that makes a difference in a child's life. (Brunett, 2006b)

At the center of the project was the delivery of a sports program to local schools in the communities. For this reason, the ACC can be considered an "outside-in" approach because it utilized an infrastructure that already existed (e.g. school facilities), while being initiated by an organization outside of the community, and the country (AUSaid) and follows a model found in that other country. This approach made was beneficial on both ends, in getting the word out to attract participants and coaches, creating legitimacy among the community, being permitted to use available facilities, etc., as well as being convenient for the participants and having some familiarity already present in the project from the start (i.e. teachers, classmates). At

the same time, this program is considered to have a significant "bottom-up" approach, given that, especially at the later stages of the program, projects were requested by the community, as opposed to being suggested to them, as it was in the earlier stages. Moreover, it was a key component of the ACC projects to be heavily shaped by taking community needs into consideration and by creating something similar to a real club, making it much more widely welcomed by this same community (Burnett, 2010). Community input was gained by holding community meetings to explain how the program would be rolled out, and then accepting feedback on multiple different fronts. Key community members (e.g. a school principal) that could then disseminate the message to others were identified, and they informed many people that a new project was being set up in order to benefit not only the participants, but also the entire community (Burnett, 2006b).

Although the ACC did not have the off-pitch component that F4P and PlayOnside possessed, they are still considered a "sport plus" program, given the fact that their main goal was community development through the use of sport, and not simply sport development for the sake of playing sports and improving solely the sports component of that community. This is observable through their stated goals, but also because of their use of volunteers and overall message conveyed.
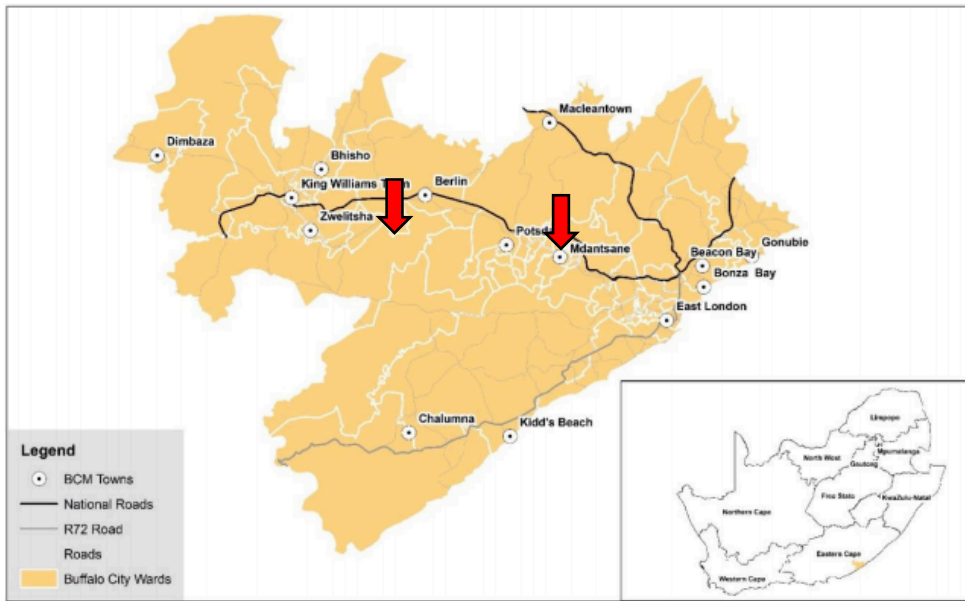
Map 1 *Map of Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, Eastern Cape, South Africa*

4.2 Thailand (PlayOnside)

4.2.1 Thai-Myanmar border region

Thailand borders Myanmar to the north-west, and that region has seen many refugees come in from the bordering nation since the 1970s, with many of them being from the Karen ethnic group. The Karen fled to Thailand after suffering human rights abuses following attempts to self-determine within Myanmar (McCleary & Wieling, 2016). Indeed, given the situation (e.g. poverty, persecution) that the population has been facing for many decades now, many people from different regions along Myanmar's eastern border have fled to Thailand. These refugees are spread out in nine major camps scattered along the Thai-Myanmar border, but the biggest one is in Mae Sot, the city in which the project detailed later on operates. Many refugees have been living in Thailand for close to three decades. Although many people do reside in the refugee camps set up along the border, a lot are also living spread out in

the cities/villages/rural areas along the border. In addition to the refugees, there are, in total, an estimated 3 million Myanmar migrant workers in Thailand living in precarious situations, of which approximately only 1.7 million have legal documents allowing them to be there. These documented and undocumented migrants stem from various backgrounds, but "much of the discourse surrounding migrants and migration that emphasizes distinctions between legal and illegal migrants suggests that the violation of immigration law is the main challenge posed by undocumented migration" (Ackerman, 2012, p.181).

For many families, these legal issues create much insecurity, especially for migrant families that came to Thailand out of necessity, fleeing persecution in Myanmar. As for the children, it affects them in that many are unable to go to mainstream Thai state schools, and are often obliged go to special schools for migrant children set up by international NGOs, or informal schools. These schools are varied in their migrant ethnic integration. Depending on the school, some are ethnically diverse, and others are only attended by migrants mainly from a single ethnicity.

Issues on both sides of the border make life for the migrants difficult. On the one hand, there are critical concerns on the Thai side. These include the Government of Thailand not having signed the UN Refugee Convention, which recognizes their status and rights. Other major issues are uncertainty regarding the refugee screening process, which creates many more complications for the work that NGOs and UN organizations do, and changes to the migrant laborer regularization process, a group to which many people from Myanmar belong to. On the other hand, complications on the Myanmar side make repatriation efforts problematic. The main points here are land tenure concerns, assurance of livelihoods, mine clearance, and access to services

in the area where the refugees have fled from in Myanmar. The lack of initiatives on the part of the Thai government means that international organizations and NGOs are needed to step in and intervene. In fact, many migrants have received aid from international organizations in the form of cooking supplies/food, for example (The Border Consortium, 2019).

For migrants living outside of the refugee camps, which make up all the participants of the target project, a major issue faced is the volatility of employment opportunities. Many of the parents of the participants are day laborers, which comes with many problematic issues, namely not having the assurance that they will find work every day. This contention trickles down to their children as well, as they are often forced to help their parents at their day labor job, or help around the house/raise children when their parents are out working for long hours. This is a first issue that limits the participation rate of the children, as they leave school early or drop out completely at an early age. Even if the S4D program is run on weekends or after school, some parents prioritize employment above sports, especially when the young people hit their teenage years (Michelsen, 2020).

Another issue that limits the participation rate among these migrant communities is the lack of importance placed on education – including the physical education and off-pitch learning activities that S4D also provide – which can contribute not only to the lowered participation rate of migrant children in S4D programs, but also can contribute to them dropping out of school and becoming 'not in education, employment or training' (NEET) at an early age (Michelsen, 2020). Furthermore, female participation in sport is often not taken as seriously as male participation, often leading to a much lower attendance. Women, as one of society's

vulnerable groups, generally do not possess safe spaces to voice issues and find refuge from or resolution to problems that they face (PlayOnside, 2019).

4.2.2 PlayOnside

PlayOnside is an NGO working in the Mae Sot area in Thailand and was founded in 2013. The target participants for PlayOnside are migrants from Myanmar that either came to western Thailand as refugees or children of workers. The age targeted by their project is quite wide, usually children anywhere between 6 and 16 years old. Their mainstay project is the club-style football league among migrant schools. Each school has at least one club, grouped by age and gender, which the participants can join and compete in against other schools. They currently have around 700 participants receiving football training on weekdays, and weekly games on the weekends, working with 27 different schools. The girl to boy ratio in this particular project is 39/61 (Michelsen, 2020). Although this number might appear on the low side, it can be lauded considering the context of the divergence of expectations between boys and girls. As a result, it was requested for them to create girls teams, which encouraged as much the participants as the surrounding community to improve their outlook on women's presence in sport – and overall – as well as promote the creation of safe spaces (PlayOnside, 2019).

This organization's stated goals are to work toward gender equality, social integration, and community empowerment. In order to help achieve this, they implemented an off-pitch component in addition to their on-pitch practices and matches, centered around life-skills training through a different pedagogical approach than most of the children are used to in their normal migrant schools. This

novel pedagogical approach allows for more creativity and self-expression. The off-pitch sessions are held during the weekday training sessions, where their coaches allocate around 15 minutes at each practice time for life skills coaching. After this, related homework is given which is then presented at the weekend games, for extra points. Their off-pitch, life skills education can be divided into four broad categories (PlayOnside, 2019):

- Thinking skills;
- Working skills;
- Learning skills;
- Social skills.

The program's success is based on a healthy amount of competition in order to achieve their goals. However, the competition is not only based on the final score of the football game, but also participants' performance in the off-pitch activities and other criteria related to their stated goals. In other words, the project emphasizes achieving its goals through club-like sport-plus program, over having a winning score at the end of the match.

On the one hand, they are bound by the reality of each school, and the mixing of different cultures within a single team varies from school to school. In a school in which there is a mix of cultures it will be reflected in the football team, but in some cases schools are ethnically homogeneous. On the other hand, PlayOnside counterweighs this homogeneity by encouraging participants to mix with participants from other schools and other ethnicities. They accomplish this by holding competitions of teams composed of different backgrounds to play against each other, giving positive exposure for teams to different groups, as well as holding

an activity filled final day with an awards ceremony and other celebrations. In other words, the project aims to contribute to social capital building, and in the broader sense social development, through creating social connections that can be qualified as social bridges. It can be qualified as such given the make-up of the schools and communities, where they are all migrants in similar situations, but from a variety of different cultures, ethnicities, and backgrounds.

From their humble start in 2013, PlayOnside has expanded to have multiple projects, and now partner with other NGOs to implement new projects in nearby places along the border. Furthermore, they have also expanded their donor base, getting small regular donations, in addition to what they receive from large companies' CSR initiatives, such as from Siemens.

PlayOnside has an interesting, bottom-up approach to coming up with new ideas about potential projects, despite the fact that it is run at the highest level by foreigners. Being that many of the volunteers in the organization are locals, they are more in touch with the community needs and desires. This allows the organization to not only tap into and utilize the local network, which may be much harder if the program held a more top-down approach, but also gain legitimacy and acceptance from community leaders. Indeed, during the initial phases of a project, a community meeting is held so that they can on one side, get the community's input to more appropriately respond its needs (e.g. Thai language classes), and on the other side get their approval to start. Furthermore, having the approval of the community leaders, as well as the wider community in general, it is much easier to get the parents on board, which raises participation (Michelsen, 2020).

Map 2 Map of Thailand

4.3 Israel (Football 4 Peace)

4.3.1 Galilee region, Israel

When writing about the context of this long disputed region, it is imperative to talk about the post WWII formation of the state of Israel. At the time of its creation in 1948, some Arabs, numbering about 160,000, remained in Israel, and the rest moved away to neighboring countries, including the Occupied Territories of West

Bank and Gaza. The media tends to focus on what is more shocking, and that is the state of Israel's handling of relations with its Palestinian neighbors; but this thesis focuses on the case of Arabs living in Israel.[1] They represent about 20% of the population of Israel, residing in clusters throughout the country, and although most of them are Muslim (both Sunni and Shiite), other religious groups are also represented, such as Christians and Druze, in addition to the different tribal affiliations. As for Israeli Jews, they came from different places to populate the state of Israel, namely from Europe and the United States, Ethiopia, and former communist nations starting in the early 1990s (Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011).

As the case study related to this context, Football for Peace (F4P), is about football, it is important to understand a little bit of the history of the sport's popularity in Israel, especially among Arab-Israelis. At the time of formation of the Israeli state, "football was an integral part of the process through which the cultural façade of the (Jewish) state of Israel was constructed" (Sugden, 2006a, p.224), with close ties to political parties and trade unions. This brought along the notion that Arab-Israelis were being excluded from this sphere of society, and until recently, made it very difficult for them to join the highest ranks of the footballing world in Israel. It is not until somewhat recently – the early-to-mid 2000s – that Arab-Israelis were given a better chance and the sport grew in popularity among this demographic, especially in the Galilee region with their team miraculously making the Champions League while being Arab-owned, Israeli-coached, and having a mix of players from

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[1] For the purpose of this paper, the term *Arab-Israeli* will be used because it is the official term used by the media and Israeli government. However, this author acknowledges that it is a contentious issue and that there are many different terms that can be used, depending on the individual's preference.

different backgrounds (Sugden, 2006a). Despite this case being heralded by the Western media as proof that Jews and Arabs can get along in the state of Israel, there have been many noted cases of racism at professional football games in Israel. The situation had gotten so bad that the Israeli Football Association (IFA) decided to start consulting with the English Football Association (the FA) in order to get help on dealing with the racist chants and other demeaning activities that were going on around football in the country (Sugden, 2006b). The growth in popularity among this important demographic happens to coincide with the beginning of the Football for Peace project.

Galilee is an interesting region for the implementation of this program as well as for the comparison with other programs in other regions. Firstly, 2/3 of the residents of this region are ranked on the lower end of the socio-economic scale, and the unemployment rate in the region is around 50% higher than the national rate. Secondly, despite only one Israeli out of five being Arab in the whole country, in the Galilee region this goes up to nearly one resident in two (Sa'ar, 2004). That being said, it is very much segregated between different population clusters. In rural areas, Jews and Arabs live in different towns, whereas in large metropolitan areas, such as Haifa, the two communities live in separate population clusters. This has significance because, in many instances, Jewish children will have no Arab friends, or even acquaintances, and even never have been to an Arab town, and vice-versa. The condition of facilities is also dichotomous, with the Jewish areas receiving more funding, in many cases, and having better access to well-structured leagues (Sugden, 2006b).

At the time of the implementation of the F4P program in Israel, the state of women's participation in competitive sport in that country was not only lower than most western countries, but it was also lower than the entire world average. In fact, only one out of four competitive sports participants are women. Of all the sports, football was one of the most poorly represented, both in percentage of participants, but also in management of the sport (Israel Women's Network, 2002). There are multiple factors that are responsible for this situation, including religious ones, but this situation was still pervasive almost a decade after the adoption of laws by the Israeli Ministry of Education attempting to remedy this inequality (Sugden, 2006b).

Given this particular context, the potential for F4P to build social connections links between Israeli-Arabs and Jews is substantial. Not only is this the right time, considering the growth in popularity of the sport in among Arab-Israelis, which make up a large segment of the population in that region, but also because of a general understanding among some leading scholars on the Middle East issue that people must coexist in the region. Indeed, many hold the opinion that a solid place to start on the matter is to have people live together in the current state of Israel, and only then can the conflict with the rest of the region have any hope of being resolved (Sugden, 2006b). That being said, given the features of social capital accumulation, S4D, and the F4P program, can become a decent platform, along with other development initiatives, on which to build coexistence.

4.3.2 Football for Peace

The Football for Peace (F4P) program was founded in 2001 by an English Baptist Minister and originally run under the name World Sport Peace Project with

six volunteers from the University of Brighton who ran the program with 100 children. F4P grew every year and 10 years later reached 13 projects in 33 different communities (mostly in the Galilee region). It has not only expanded in terms of participants, going from 100 to 1000, but also in terms of communities it serves and regions it operates in. It can be found in places like Bedouin villages, Jerusalem, the West Bank, and in Jordan. Furthermore, the number of partnering organizations has grown to include not only the University of Brighton, but another academic institution (i.e. German Sports University in Cologne), sports associations (i.e. Israeli Sports Administration, the FA, the German Football Association), governmental organizations (i.e. British Council Israel, Cologne City Council), among others (Schulenkorf *et al.*, 2014).

First and foremost, in order to achieve their goals, the project developers needed to create a neutral and comfortable atmosphere, which meant that everyone involved in the project had to leave their political and ideological views at the door. Furthermore, as it was seen to possibly devolve into religious, ideological or political rivalry, all competitive spirit was heavily discouraged, to instead focus on amusement. With this mindset, F4P was able to offer "an evolving, values-based educational curriculum centred on the five key principles of inclusiveness, equality, respect, trust and responsibility" (Schulenkorf *et al.*, 2014, p.376). As for the functioning of the project, the coordinators locally adapt the programs, but keep with their four overarching goals, all aimed at improving the linking of social connections between Arabs and Jews:

1) Provide opportunities for social contact across community boundaries;
2) Promote mutual understanding;

3) Engender in participants a desire for and commitment to peaceful coexistence;

4) Enhance sport-related skills and technical knowledge.

These goals were achieved through on-pitch and off-pitch curricula, where the participants spend their time equally split between the two. On-pitch means the actual football-related skills-training and drills, whereas off-pitch refers to team-building and cultural activities. For example, off-pitch sessions can be indoor or outdoor games, information sessions, performances celebrating culture, or visits to a different community (Schulenkorf *et al.*, 2014). Fundamentally, creating mixed teams of Jews and Arabs was crucial for the on-pitch part, as it helped construct trust and support and build new friendships between members of different communities by allowing participants to appreciate each other's skills and play style, among other things. At first it proved to be a little bit daunting for the participants (mostly 8-13 year-olds) to cooperate and play with members of a community with which they have very little interaction with, for some, and were raised to fear, dislike or be apprehensive about, for others. However, through experience, the activities were well designed to have teams composed of children with a variety of skills and the participants were placed strategically (Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011).

The F4P program of the mid-2000s went as follows. First, only for the coaches, there was a weeklong training in the UK with some foreign and local coaches, then a 1-day training for some more local coaches in Israel. Then, there was the actual program for the participants, which consisted of 4 days of coaching using the F4P manual, then a finals tournament and award ceremony (Sugden, 2006b). Although there have been calls for more regularity in the project (e.g. club format,

or once every 2 or 3 months) for it to be able to have a greater impact, the once per year/per community camp is all that is being offered (Schulenkorf *et al.,* 2014).

Although coaches did not always receive the extensive training that they did once F4P was better established, they have always heavily relied on local knowledge in order to adapt their program to each community in which they operate, as part of their philosophy of being sensitive and responsive to the local reality. In order to gain the necessary local knowledge to adapt the project to the reality of the community, leaders within the community were consulted both beforehand, and at the evaluation stage to get their comments. Also, as the projects grew, some locals were given the skills needed to transition from simply being coaches, to becoming trainers themselves in their local communities (Spacey & Sugden, 2016).

Since 2004, there has been a girl's project, which was originally, for the sake of inclusion and equality, supposed to be blended with the boys group. However, after community consultation, it was requested to some of the F4P projects in certain areas run the girls training altogether separately (Schulenkorf *et al.,* 2014). Although they compromised in this regard, there were still some communities that, after originally accepting the girls' segregated involvement, rescinded on this point and disallowed it (Sugden, 2006b). Against the backdrop of alarmingly low female involvement in sport in Israel, these are some of the socio-cultural and religious obstacles faced by project organizers, especially in terms of their desire to create a values-based program. That being said, community involvement is crucial in order to progress on other issues.

The duty of role models in this program is an important part of its success, and this is one of the points emphasized in the training of coaches (Spacey & Sugden,

2016). In fact, it was often requested that coaches act favorably toward their counterparts from a different community, as the children often mirrored what they saw their coaches doing. There were many such instances, like when community leaders (from different communities) decided to join hands and encouraged the children to do so as well. However, this can also work in a negative way, and there are also a few examples in which this happened, namely when coaches started arguing and participants decided to leave. In the case when no one comes forward to take the place of role model or one is unavailable, it has happened that some of the participants have replaced the coaches as kind of interim role models (Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011).

As the program's goal is to bring together members of disparate communities living side-by-side, these F4P projects can be regarded as building social capital through linking using a sport-plus approach. The organizers, through research and experience, did not stop at simply providing opportunities for inter-community exposure, but also sought to make those connections based on positive situations and relations. In fact, building common goals and encouraging co-operation (e.g. through sport) is often seen as good, specifically when qualifying inter-group contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).
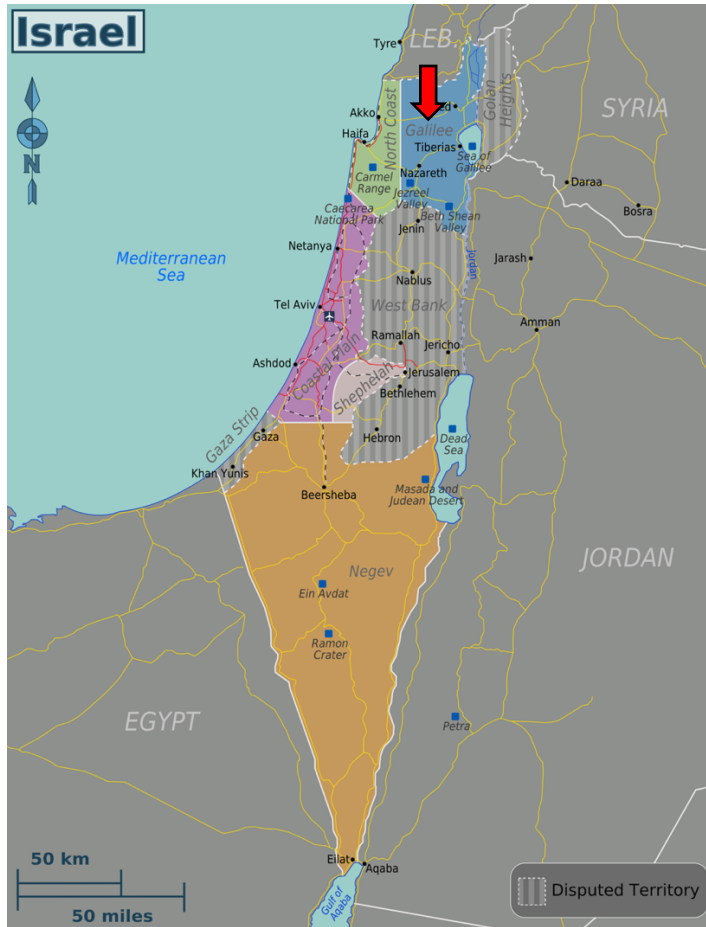
Map 3 *Map of Israel and Palestine*

	ACTIVE COMMUNITY CLUBS	**PLAYONSIDE**	**FOOTBALL 4 PEACE**
YEAR STARTED	2002	2013	2001
NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	~120	~700	~1000
NUMBER OF TEAMS/ COMMUNITIES	2 communities in BCMM	27 schools	~30 communities
AGE	10-15 years old	6-16 years old	8-13 years old
SPORTS PRACTICED	Netball, rugby, cricket	Football	Football

Table 1 *Information about the programs*

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Chapter V

- Analysis -

Identifying the gaps in what is known about S4D programs, laying out the framework, background, context and case studies has led to this point, in which we can understand the differences and similarities between three programs. These differences and similarities will often be referred to as they move in intensity along the following spectrum (see figure 8). This spectrum shows the continuity of the different aspects discussed in the section below. All three types of social capital – bonding, bridging and linking – contribute to social development but the elements discussed below vary along this continuum. The explanation behind these differences is the emphasis placed by each program on a different area of social capital. The analysis herein is divided at two different points in the program execution. At the input level, the elements of analysis are about how implementers control various aspects of the execution of sport as a platform for the accumulation of social capital, the frequency at which activities are being held, the role of the off-pitch sessions, and the eagerness for the wider community participation. At the outcome level, aspects that are discussed are the ways trust and reciprocity as well as common social norms are constructed. This will all be looked at through the lens of the main research question which asks how S4D programs create a platform for the building of social capital.

Figure 8 *Social connections spectrum*

5.1 Input Management Analysis

In this section of the analysis, different elements that the program implementers brought will be discussed and considered according to the social connections spectrum. The three factors examined are seemingly deliberately integrated into their program in order to accomplish their social capital acquisition (among many others) goal.

5.1.1 Regulating Interactions on the Platform of Sport

If we look at the particularities of the F4P case, it is crucial in instances such as this one to be cautious, culturally sensitive, and take into account the needs of the community by listening to them. It is here that it is the easiest to gain negative, instead of the desired positive, outcomes. Compared to social bonding and bridging, where there is already an initial familiarity present, social linking deals with creating social capital among individuals from disparate and apprehensive communities. The organizers had to continuously enforce the goals of the project among the participants, local coaches, and other stakeholders. Without these prompt reminders, it seemed to veer into an undesirable direction. For the ACC, there is no mention in any of the literature of the need to push everyone back into the direction that the project wants to take. The social capital building through social bonds came in a

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more natural manner, where sport in and of itself played the role of platform for the creation of social capital. For PlayOnside, gentle reminders were more often given to the coaches, not the participants, about what the goals of the project are (but not to the extent to which F4P) in order to keep everyone on track and create the best platform for the accumulation of social capital. Nonetheless, with an adequate, responsive and experienced design and implementation structure, Dienes (2012) is confident that

> As a first and powerful "ice-breaker", sport – especially team sport and when mixed teams are formed – provides participants, supported by coaches, with the opportunity to get to know each other, learn to understand and respect the points of view of others, thus paving the way for a more peaceful co-existence. (p.46)

And indeed, this aspect of sport – creation of a sentiment of familiarity – plays a larger role the more the goals of the S4D project move toward the right side of the spectrum, toward social links. When observing the way in which sport promotes social bonding and bridging, it has a shorter initial period of seemingly forced *limbo*, where participants feel forced to interact just for the sake of social linking, instead of just for playing football. However, this is also a delicate situation because of the potential exclusionary effect of social bonding discussed earlier (Putnam's *dark side* of social capital). That being said, with experience, mixing and matching a variety of social bonding, bridging and linking activities, where the project goal is to increase social links, has the power to reduce some of these insecurities and potentially increase the probability of positive outcomes, i.e. the accumulation of social capital. Given this fact, it might be recommendable to include some more bonding and/or bridging activities in the curriculum. Bonding and bridging activities

strengthen networks among more similar people rather than dissimilar. An example specifically for F4P would be to host 1 day of football training and/or sensitization activities within the communities before the actual weeklong camp where the different communities meet each other, thus strengthening bonding/bridging social capital.

One of the main tenets of sport is the competitive spirit it brings up, which some scholars have claimed can be another creator of negative outcomes. However, through the observation of the different social connection levels, it can be synthesized that some competition (within reason) can be of great value. Whereas F4P organizers were adamantly against any form of competitive spirit, seeing competitiveness as having the potential to spark rivalry stemming from outside the football pitch, ACC and PlayOnside did not object to competition and rivalry being present at their on-pitch activities. ACC noticed that winning was a significant goal for the participants, in order to make their guardians proud (Burnett, 2006b), and PlayOnside outright encouraged a certain level of competitiveness in order to achieve its objectives.

In other words, as you move to the right of the spectrum between social bonds toward social links, sport by itself becomes less of a platform, and the situation must be more controlled in order to get the desired accumulation of social capital. This can be paralleled with the difference between sport plus and plus sport programs. On the one hand, when the primordial aim is to build social links (i.e. F4P), the environment needs to be more heavily controlled in order to mitigate against the potential negative side effects, and sport purely acts as a plus sport platform. On the other hand, if social bonds (i.e. ACC) are what the project is mainly after, then

sport's role is the foundation of a sport plus program, where sport is allowed to act as a platform on its own within a less controlled environment. Then, if looking at social bridging, there is a healthy balance between the two, providing a *juste milieu* between a more controlled environment and a laissez-faire outlook about the activities. This is also applies to off-pitch activities, competition management, and reminding coaches and participants about the objectives of the program so that they do not veer off-track.

5.1.2 Project Frequency

The difference in regularity between these projects is quite important, and plays a different role in each. On one end of the spectrum, with social bonding, regularity is quite important to sustain the social network which is being built. However, on the other end of the spectrum, the goal is simply to ease tensions and build social capital through social linking (as exemplified by the second case study with Football 4 Peace), and which is done through a single yearly one week program in order to cover more ground with more participants, instead of a focused approach with fewer participants.

The effect of regularity is particularly interesting in building social capital because, even though social capital is gained on an individual level at first, social networks are reciprocally benefited, and must be continuously cultivated and worked on in order to grow. Explained in a previous section, because social connections do require proactive building and maintenance in order to have a positive effect toward forging social capital, regularity plays a crucial role. In fact, that is one of the criticisms of the F4P program, where some of the community members wished to

have this type of program year-round, or at least more often than simply a weeklong tournament once a year. The community respondents were of the opinion that a more regular program could have more significant results. However, given the differences in contexts and goals (and probably other limitations), the organizers deemed this the most optimal frequency and duration.

The adaptability of the frequency of sport programs can show how flexible S4D can be depending on the needs of the community. From a schoolyear-round club system such as with the ACC, to a season-long tournament like PlayOnside, to a one-week blitz project such as F4P, sport is easily adaptable and can become a quality platform in order to build social capital through connections, regardless of the context in which it is implemented. The more a program is situated toward the left of the spectrum (i.e. ACC/bonds) the more regular it is. Although other factors might come into play, such as financial ones, the program implementers adjusted their program according to what social capital type they were focusing on.

5.1.3 Off-Pitch Session

S4D off-pitch sessions are held in order to achieve a variety of goals, from health/disease promotion/prevention and education, life skills coaching, job training, and social cohesion. Indeed, organizers often use the interest in sport to first attract participants who would otherwise not have interest or awareness in the off-pitch activities alone, then use the benefits of practicing a sport to promote the creation of social connections so that the off-pitch runs more smoothly. Using sport's unique capabilities to obtain a familiarity through trust and reciprocity then allows for a

certain level of comfort, which is especially important when attempting to create social bridges (i.e. PlayOnside) and links (i.e. F4P).

When comparing all three programs, it is evident that the off-pitch session takes on a bigger role the more we move toward the right of the spectrum toward social links. In fact, the ACC had no off-pitch session, PlayOnside dedicated less than 20% of the time to their off-pitch session, while F4P's off-pitch session took about half of the time. Although the difference in program structure might be partially responsible for this large difference (regular club-like program for ACC and PlayOnside, weeklong event style for F4P), most of the difference can be attributed to the fact that its targets were different, and much more control was needed to attain these in F4P's case. Through the trust and reciprocity building that sport provides, the off-pitch sessions can then become successful, especially in the case of F4P, where participants are exposed, often for the first time, to cultural activities from a totally different community. It is during the on-pitch session that many of social barriers that are noticeably present at the beginning of the program can be broken down, to then allow the off-pitch sessions to proceed unabated. Further strengthening these aspects, the off-pitch sessions also contribute to helping on-pitch activities run smoothly.

The type of off-pitch learning that is done is somewhat more dependent on community input than the actual on-pitch activities, although some control is important here and discussed above. The reason for this is that is simply that the off-pitch sessions are more adaptable to the needs of the locals, as opposed to sport which is more universal. With regards to PlayOnside, the voice of the community is highly valued for this part of the project, and usually implemented accordingly. In

this particular case, because of the different pedagogical approach that is taken comparatively to what the participants are used to during the course of their regular education in schools, the trust that is constructed during the on-pitch sessions is of utmost importance. Indeed as a novel experience for many of the children, venturing into unknown territory is no easy task, especially if it is in front of others who are somewhat culturally dissimilar. In this way, becoming vulnerable and subsequently accepted by peers builds trust, and building social capital. Furthermore, the off-pitch sessions can bring an understanding of common social norms, as described above. When looking at the off-pitch activities of F4P, something different is discernable, mainly that they are usually done simply in order to expose the group to the other's culture and community. Social capital is built in this case through reciprocity and trust that is achieved by learning about and respecting each other's cultures in the off-pitch sessions.

Whereas PlayOnside uses football to attract youth to then participate in its off-pitch sessions that teach life skills, F4P has a more unified approach with its on- and off-pitch sessions. Indeed, the football related activities' goals, as well as the multicultural activities' goals are directly connected. This identifiable difference in the way the off-pitch and on-pitch sessions are related seems to be a function of a gap in program design.

5.1.4 Broader Community Involvement and Role Models

Stakeholders in S4D programs are not only the participants, but other members of the community as well, including parents, coaches, and community leaders. In order to take into account the voice of the wider community, members

were invited to participate in consultation sessions, which all three programs conducted. Arguably, these sessions held more weight when it came to the program in which social linking was prioritized (i.e. F4P) because if the opinions of both communities (Arab and Jewish) were not taken into account properly, there could be more severe repercussions.

Regardless of the type of social capital that each program mainly strives for, they all possessed a similarity in their desire to create social bridging between coaches/role models and project participants. In fact, despite the fact that for the ACC and F4P social bonding and linking were focused on, respectively, forging this type of social network is social bridging. This relationship can be categorized as such because they are from a different age group and a different social status (child vs adult). Although present in all three programs, F4P is where the role model-participant relationship was given the most emphasis compared to the other two. For F4P, "role model support was considered important from both a moral and integrative perspective, particularly in situations where cultural differences are strongly observable" (Schulenkorf & Sugden, 2011, p.245). Given this special position that was placed on the actions of the role models, F4P considered S4D programs to be an ideal place to create social capital through the bringing together of participants and coaches. On top of that, they used the role model position so that participants could mirror the social linking actions (i.e.. getting along with people from the other community). For its part, PlayOnside places the coaches, who are either a part of the PlayOnside organization or the schools, as role models that children can identify with. That being said, it does not place the same amount of emphasis as did F4P, which allocated a substantial part of the training to fulfilling

this duty. Lastly, due in large part to the fact that the ACC projects had a large turnover for their coaches, they did not intervene as role models in the same way as the other two programs, but were nonetheless a minor, contributing factor to the building of social capital among individuals.

In a certain way, the fact that the coaching training placed a lot of importance on their position as a role model resulted in the two positive consequences: mirroring of social linking and bridging social capital building between participants and coaches. For these three projects, the more you move toward the right on the spectrum (i.e. further from similar and toward social linking), the more role models played a role as part of the program's implementation strategy and the more the program relied on these actors in order to gain more social capital.

5.2 Outcome Analysis

As opposed to the above section, this section looks at the differences in the element outcomes of the three programs. Rather than have full control over the following aspects of social capital, program implementers had these as their goals.

5.2.1 Trust and Reciprocity

It is also important to highlight the way in which sport as a foundation creates mutual trust. As mentioned previously, mutual trust's role in building social capital is something that many authors, including Putnam, discuss extensively. If sport is executed properly, trust develops naturally during the practice of sport. Also, not only is trust vital in order to succeed in team sports, but sports also fortify trust and enable to build off of it. This mutual relationship between the two elements is

one of the reasons why sport is such a solid foundation. In fact, both sides of the mutuality in trust grow together and reinforce each other. Trust playing sports has the potential to translate well into quality interactions and social network building between partakers. Reciprocity and mutual trust between bonding participants was clear. This was shown by, for example, traveling together to get to and from practice when it is a dangerous time to travel for young people (Burnett, 2006a).

With regards to the particularities of these three cases, trust takes on a different role depending on where on the spectrum the S4D program's point of emphasis is. The further toward the right you get on the spectrum toward social linking (i.e. F4P), the more trust is crucial in order to achieve the developmental goals set forth by the S4D program. People learn to be apprehensive of the *other,* and the further a program moves toward the right, the more individuals are called on to interact and create connections with a more dissimilar *other.* In fact, having the added stress, insecurity, and volatility of a situation in which participants are asked to interact with members of a dissimilar community (i.e. bridging, especially linking), trust takes on a different dimension. Accordingly, under these circumstances, social capital cannot be effectively accumulated without trust. This is why it can be said that sport creates the ideal platform for the creation of trust, because it both creates and reinforces it.

Sport is not only an excellent base for the construction of mutual trust among participants, by simply practicing sports as outlined above, but also between participants and coaches, and between coaches and parents. This is the case because they are responsible for the active, healthy, and joyful participation of the children in the S4D program, in their role as guardians, leaders and mentors to the children.

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Often, the children are left in the care of the organizers/coaches during the time they are participating in the program, who make sure they are safe playing sports as well as getting to/from the program location. This type of social bridging was very much emphasized in the ACC and somewhat so in F4P but this was not as accentuated for PlayOnside. However, although for many of PlayOnside's participants their parents either had very little to no involvement, or even disapproved of the use of sports in the child's development, the responsibility to ensure that the above characteristics were fulfilled in a child's time was nonetheless cast onto the coaches. In this sense, despite not being emphasized, social connections could still be forged in that way. This is another way in which trust is thrust upon stakeholders, and at the same time creates opportunities to interact between the different program stakeholders in order to create connections and social capital. For this aspect of trust building, it seems to be invariable in its relation, intentionally or not, to the aim of the program. This is a commonality between all three programs.

5.2.2 Building Cohesive Social Norms

Intuitively, the practice of sports in a healthy manner pushes the participants to adopt certain norms, such as sportsmanship, respect of the rules, learning to lose (and win) properly and respectfully, among others. In other words, sport in and of itself is an excellent foundation for the transmission of informal norms outside of the rules of the game. Sport engenders positive social norms, and this concept is demonstrated very well in football, the gentleman's game based on the concept of fair play. Regardless, this can also be expanded to the practice of other sports as well. These social norms learned while playing sports aid in the development of social

capital as they are also unifying. However, the acquisition of social capital through unified social norms call on other aspects of this discussion to also fall into place correctly. For example, the coaches, and by extension the program implementers who train the coaches, must become the role models that they are supposed to be and push through the potential for the propagation of correct values that can be found in sport. Furthermore, the off-pitch sessions can play an important role in the building of common social norms, and will be discussed below.

Beyond the norms of fair play and other sport-related rules, others norms were also disseminated by way of sport acting as a platform for social connections. Compared to the other programs, for the ACC sport had the effect of providing a platform on which participants could network with others in the same demographic, given that social bonding capital was prioritized over the two other forms. This is one of social bonding's main advantages, tailored to the specific context of South Africa where there is ample opportunity to run astray if networks are built with others, often older males, involved in criminal activity. With the platform and structure of a sport program, where it is organized in such a way that social bonding is emphasized, youth have a higher chance of encountering, socializing, and eventually becoming closer to others of the same demographic.

Where PlayOnside is concerned, an example of social norms that were promoted found in the off-pitch sessions. As education is not always found in its most desirable in schools for the migrant children, the S4D program took advantage of the interests among its participants in order to instill life skills, outlined in the previous chapter, that became complementary to the basic school curriculum. Building social connections in this positive group allows for positive social norms

to be spread throughout the group composed of participants from different backgrounds, ethnicities and cultures. As one of the tenets of social capital, bringing cohesion in social norm building contributes positively to the accumulation, regardless of whether social bonds, bridges, or links is favored. PlayOnside used its off-pitch sessions to communicate social norms to the participants through their teachings about life-skills, whereas F4P used cultural activities in its off-pitch sessions to do so.

F4P actively sought to build common social norms (e.g. tolerance, acceptance, understanding), and it was seemingly the most important aspect for this program. Through the building of similar norms (listed in the previous section), F4P could build individual social capital, which then led to community social capital accumulation as well, aided by the promotion of mutual understanding and trust. This program looked to create shared norms during their on-pitch activities by organizing the activities in such a way that co-working and co-existence was necessary as well as stressing to the role models/ coaches how the children would mirror their behavior. Moreover, off-pitch activities were used as, accentuating understanding of one another's culture.

In addition to the social norms learned through sport's intrinsic values, all three programs sought to promote common norms using slightly different methods. On the one hand the ACC (i.e. bonds) used sport's role as a platform for social connections to propagate social norms. On the other hand, PlayOnside (i.e. bridges) used its off-pitch sessions teaching life skills and F4P (i.e. links) used its off-pitch cultural activities in order to instill these norms. The importance here is the

commonality in what the participants are learning, and it is this aspect in particular that creates social capital.

- Thesis Synopsis -

The goal of this paper is to compare three sport-for-development programs from around the world and how they contribute to the building of social capital, which can be defined as individual and societal advantages gained through social networks. The comparison is based on the following framework:
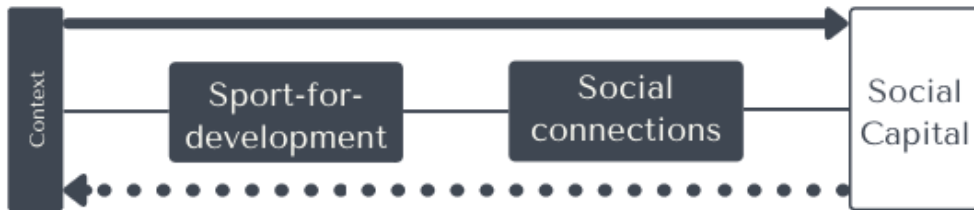
In order to compare the programs, they are divided along what kind of social capital they focused most of their efforts on: social bonding (i.e. with individuals from a similar demographic), bridging (i.e. with people from a slightly different demographic), and linking (i.e. dissimilar people). The discussion is summarized as follows:
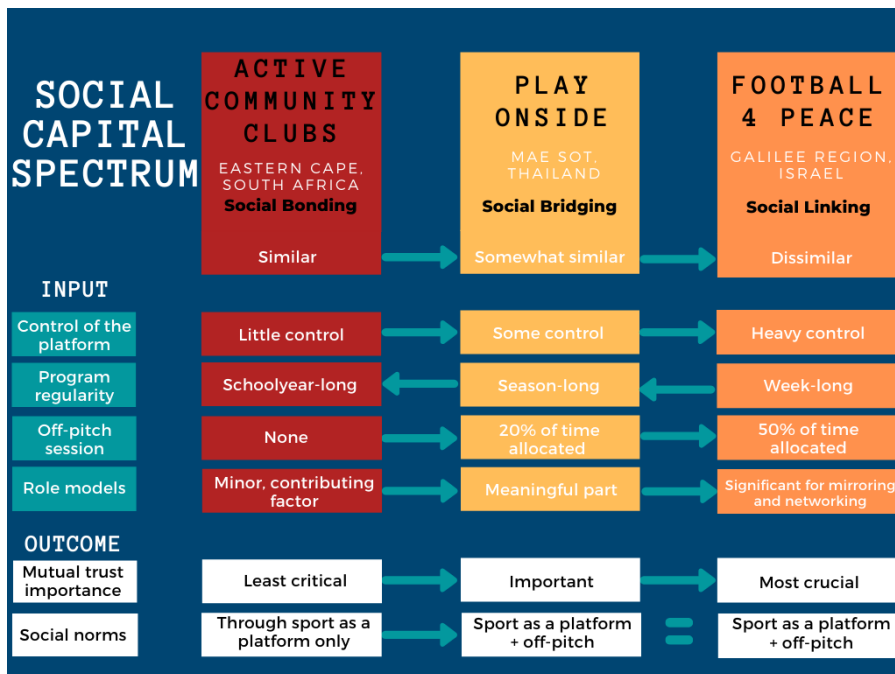
Chapter VI

- Conclusion -

6.1 Denouement

The aim of this thesis was to examine the relationship between sports and development. The way it did this was by comparing, contrasting and analyzing three sport-for-development (S4D) initiatives situated around the world. The first one is the Active Community Clubs, located in eastern South Africa, the second one is Football 4 Peace, located in northern Israel, and the third one is PlayOnside, located in western Thailand. Using social capital as a framework, this thesis sought to analyze the three programs based on the distinction between the type of social capital that was at the core of its social capital building initiative. On the one side the ACC builds social capital among closely related peers, such as people from the same ethnicity, age group, and gender (social bonding), whereas on the other side F4P's objectives are to build social capital among Arabs and Jews, historically divergent communities of different ethnicities (social linking). Located in between those two programs is PlayOnside, where social capital is constructed among individuals who are dissimilar in some ways, originating from different ethnic backgrounds and religions, and coming from different geographical locations within Myanmar, but who have a strong commonality, being part of the migrant community Mae Sot, Thailand (social bridging).

The first research question posed at the beginning of the thesis was "Are sport-for-development programs facilitating the creation of social capital for the all the concerned stakeholders involved in the case studies? If so, in what ways?" Broadly speaking, S4D programs are facilitating the creation of social capital for

most stakeholders. In all three case studies, the stakeholders implicated are the participants at the center, along with coaches and other community members. Despite programs' difficulties in including without fault every single stakeholder in the community, they are nonetheless included in these social capital building initiatives. Following the bonds, bridges and links spectrum (see figure 8), we can observe that as a program moves toward the right of the spectrum (social links), the community is more involved and the number of stakeholders included in the social capital accumulation is also increased. Referring to the social capital framework (see figure 7), a noteworthy way that this can be accomplished is through a S4D program as a stage for all stakeholders to actively create the social connections needed to build social capital. All the while having S4D as a foundational platform, context plays an unquestionably important role as to how the program is developed. One significant aspect is the decision as to which type of social capital the project will focus on. Following this, social connections will be built, using S4D as a facilitator in the creation of the social network. That is the way in which social capital can be accumulated for stakeholders using a S4D program.

When attending to the second research question, "How do sport-for-development programs contribute to social connection bonds, bridges, and links?", as well as the third, "How do sport-for-development programs differ in how they enable the acquisition of social capital?", comparing and contrasting the three programs resulted in common elements. Some of these are in line with some of the common themes found in past literature on social capital, while new components appeared while doing analysis. These elements deal with how tightly the project implementers manage the activities, the involvement of the broader community in

which the programs are situated, the role of trust in the acquisition of social capital, how the building of social norms is executed, what regularity and frequency brings to the accumulation of social capital and how the off-pitch sessions play into social capital acquisition. These aspects influence the acquisition of social capital and usually move along the spectrum (see figure 7). Through this, we can understand that, often times, programs are executed differently in order to acquire social capital, depending on where the focus is placed.

6.2 Limitations

A first limitation is that only a limited amount of primary data was able to be collected in order to obtain in-depth information. Despite there being a wealth of information available about the Active Community Clubs (ACC) and Football for Peace (F4P) programs, there was very little information about PlayOnside, outside of their annual reports. Due to the absence of much literature about the program, interviews were conducted, but only with the head of the organization. Even though this person had previously conducted surveys and interviews with participants of the program, which allowed them to gain some valuable knowledge, it unfortunately still only provided a limited point-of-view, especially given the fact that the questionnaires were geared toward monitoring and evaluation, as opposed to the specifics of the thesis at hand.

Moreover, of the available literature about the three programs, only a limited amount is about social capital building. Despite the fact that social capital building is recognized as one of the strong contributing points of S4D programs, case studies often only profiled this particular aspect as a section of their overall discussion.

Nonetheless, there was still enough information to engender an entire thesis and associated analysis.

Also, despite the strong basis for the use of social capital in this thesis and the strong interconnectedness with S4D, an important caveat to consider for the scope of this thesis is that the accumulation of social capital was not quantified or measured. What was discussed and analyzed are the factors that lead into the formation of S4D programs as a foundation for the accumulation of social capital, as well as some of the specific outcomes related to key components of social capital. One of the reasons for treating it in this way is that social capital, given its flexible nature, its public and private spheres, as well as its multiple ways of expressing itself, is difficult to measure. Another reason is the minimal amount of primarily collected data in this paper, which restricted the possibility of getting pinpointed data from precisely manicured questions.

6.3 Future Research

The most important future research would be to complete the same or a similar exercise with other case studies and similar research questions, in order to confirm or deny the this paper's answers to the questions posed. Only when comparing more case studies can we then realize what generalities emerge and be able to create a more solid theory for S4D.

A second potential research direction stemming from the theme of this paper is to compare programs divided along different lines than what has been done in this paper. Whereas this thesis compared programs that sought to build social capital based on the difference between bonds, bridges and links, other divisions within

social capital exist as well. One such example would be to compare programs based on their accumulating social capital through formal and informal social networks.

Lastly, although each program had a different type of social capital that it focused on (i.e. bonds, bridges and links), within each program all three forms were accumulated to a certain, lesser, degree. One such example, although social bonds were the focus of the ACC projects, social connections between coaches and parents were forged, creating social bridges. Another such example is the social bridges that were formed between Arab coaches and participants, or between Jewish coaches and participants in the F4P program. This balance of different types of social capital is something that must be considered when designing and implementing a project, but also can be a potential future research avenue.

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